

**THE PERCEPTIONS OF MEMBERS OF THE KAREN AND  
HMONG HILL TRIBES OF THE IMPACTS UPON THEIR  
COMMUNITIES RESULTING FROM THE DEVELOPMENT OF  
TOURISM IN NORTHERN THAILAND**

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# Abstract

Kanokkarn Kaewnuch

## **The perceptions of members of the Karen and Hmong hill tribes of the impacts upon their communities resulting from the development of tourism in Northern Thailand**

This research investigates the perceptions of hill tribe people in Northern Thailand of the socio-cultural impacts and changes in their communities resulting from the interaction between themselves, their communities and the incoming mainly Thai, origin, external tourism actors (ETAs), such as tourism authorities, tourism businessmen / investors and tour operators. In Thailand, most studies on the impacts of tourism have been limited to economic analyses, and the socio-cultural impacts of tourism on hill tribe people has been under-researched. Of the previous studies of the socio-cultural impacts of tourism, the majority have examined the impacts from host and guest interactions, emphasising the negative social impacts resulting from the influx of tourists in general. Specific research on the interaction of local hill tribe people with incoming ETAs has not been reported.

To fill this gap, this research aims to compare the perceptions of two hill tribe peoples (the Karen and Hmong), both those working for ETAs and those who do not, in terms of their employment experiences and perceived socio-cultural impacts resulting from the arrival of ETAs.

In order to achieve the research aim, a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods was used. A sequential approach was adopted incorporating a mixed methods design in order to better answer the research challenge of exploring the participants' views and perceptions. Building on a thorough literature review the first phase of primary data collection adopted a qualitative approach. Focus groups were used to explore the local hill tribe perceptions towards the interaction between ETAs and themselves, and their perceptions towards socio-cultural impacts upon themselves and changes in their community. Then semi-structure interviews were used to gain more in-depth details from selected participants. Themes from this qualitative phase were then used in the second stage of primary data collection to develop an essentially quantitative questionnaire, to measure, by means of a large scale survey, the perceptions of the selected population.

The findings suggest that exposure to the social and cultural characteristics of ETAs, have significantly influenced some of the values, beliefs and lives of tribal people. However, despite the impacts resulting from the arrival of ETAs, these hill tribe people tend to be in favour and perceive these impacts and changes as positive changes.

Moreover, the findings also suggest that differences in ethnic background, working environment and gender can be factors that influence perceptions of these hill tribe people. However, each factor, ethnicity, working environment, gender, exerts differing degrees of influence upon the perceptions of these hill tribe people toward different issues regarding impacts from ETAs. In addition, individual's perceptions toward impacts from ETAs differ despite their having the same ethnic background. However, the evidence gathered suggests that ethnic background does still control, to a degree, these differences with the result that while people's perceptions do differ in many ways nevertheless those from the same ethnic background tend to show greater similarities in their perceptions and actions when compared to those of different ethnicities.

To this end, this study has pointed out several recommendations for future research together with the implications of the findings from this research on tourism management and policy makers.

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## List of abbreviations

DINP	Doi Inthanon National Park
ETAs	External Tourism Actors
RPF	Royal Project Foundation
TAT	Tourism Authorities of Thailand
USD	United States Dollar
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organisation

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# Chapter 1 Introduction to the Thesis

## 1.1 Introduction

The chapter presents the background of the research and a diagram developed to illustrate the foci of the research. It provides an introduction to tourism in Thailand and describes the emergence of hill tribe tourism. It then presents rationale and focus of the research, in the context of existing studies and states the aims and objectives of the research and suggests what its contribution to knowledge may be. It concludes with an outline of the structure of the thesis.

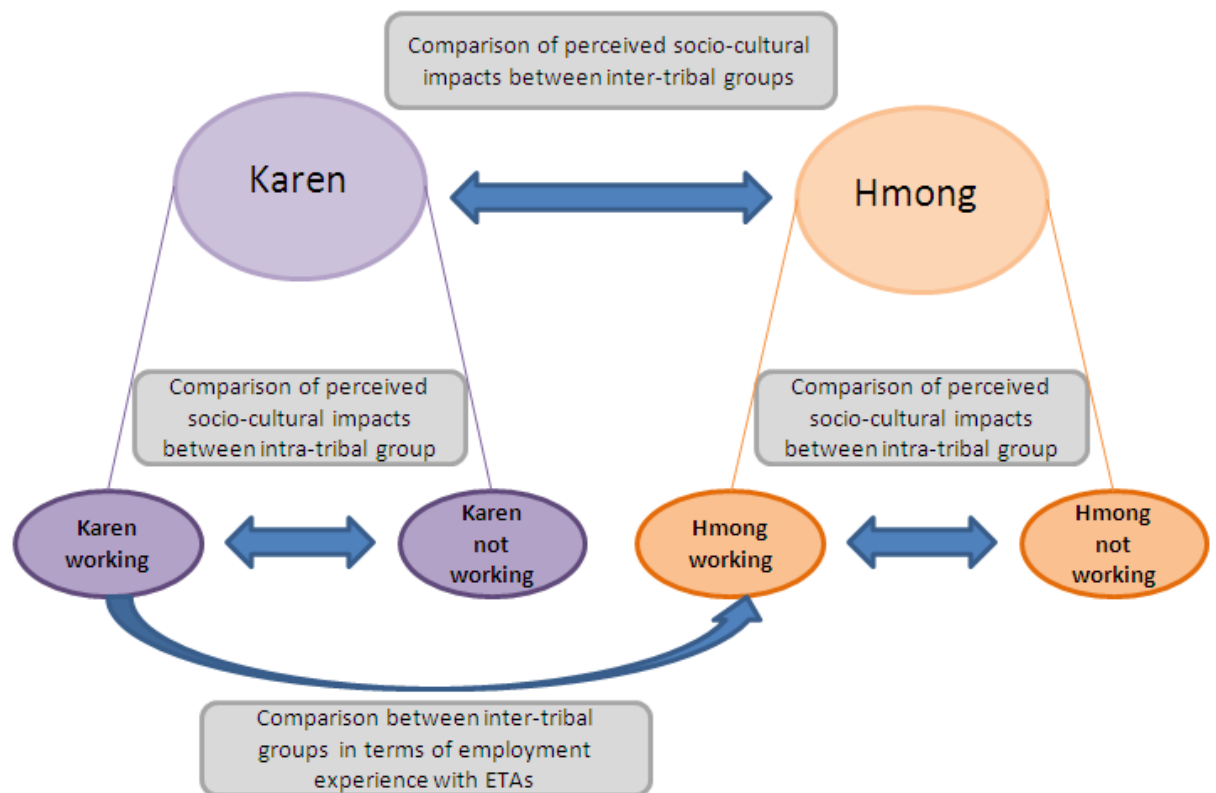
## 1.2 Background of the research aspects

The Karen and Hmong tribes are two of the minority groups of people in a developing country in Southeast Asia. The Karen and Hmong are the biggest two tribes in Thailand (Rajani 2002; Sutamongkol 2006). According to Rajani (2002) the Karen people moved to Thailand approximately 200 years ago whereas the Hmong entered Thailand later, around 150 years ago. They are scattered throughout the country but are found mainly in the northern part of Thailand (see Chapter 3 for more detail). These hill tribe people are of lower status and experience poor living condition when compared to Thai nationals. The Thai government sees the opportunity to enhance their living standard as well as developing hill tribe tourism as a means of improving the Thai economy. Therefore, these ethnic communities have been selected, due to their unique characteristics and diversity, by the Thai government to promote as one of the Thai tourism products. The Karen and Hmong hill tribe people, residing on Doi Inthanon mountain in Chiang Mai province located in the Northern part of Thailand (see Chapter 3, Figure 3.2) are the subjects of this study.

In this study the focus is on the impacts the hosts (the Karen and Hmong) perceive to be related to a particular group of 'guests' the 'external tourism actors' (ETAs) who tend to dominate a host community due to their higher social status and wealth when compared to the hill tribe people. This study will exclude those who worked in the tourism industry but had no direct contact with ETAs. The ETAs are individuals from outside their community who are not tourists, they are not there for entertainment purposes and tend to stay for longer than 12 months. They have moved into the hill tribe areas to develop tourism enterprises such as accommodation units, tour operators, travel agencies, souvenir shop, spa, tourism adventure activities, catering outlets etc. (see Chapter 2, Section 2.2.2 for more detail).

The research will compare perceptions of the Karen and Hmong who work with ETAs in terms of their employment experience with ETAs and of the socio-cultural impacts they experience. The impacts investigated included the impacts upon their daily lives and lifestyles, the development of their communities, the impacts upon their culture and disruption to their society. The perceptions of two subgroups within each tribe (those working and those not working with ETAs) will also be compared in terms of this range of socio-cultural impacts. Figure 1.1 below indicates comparison of the Karen and Hmong perceptions towards impacts from ETAs.

**Figure 1.1 Comparison of perceptions between Karen and Hmong**



A range of theories, including rational choice theory, social exchange theory, and acculturation theory will be used to explain different aspects emerged in this study.

### 1.3 Background of the tourism industry in Thailand

Tourism is the movement of persons visiting and staying in other places outside their residences for no more than a year for leisure, business, and other purposes (United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) 2006). Tourism is now growing at a very rapid rate in many developing countries. According to the Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT) 2006, tourism is an important industry in Thailand and it plays an unquestionably important role in the Thai economy. It has become Thailand's leading source of foreign exchange and was key to

Thailand's recovery from the Asian financial crisis in 1997-1998 (TAT 2009). Tourism is said to be the fastest growing industry in the country, growing with the support of the Thai government and stakeholders in the physical fabric of the tourist industry such as lodging, eating and entertainment facilities, luxury resorts and hotels (Kruger 1996) and in promoting Thai tourism (TAT 2009). Due to the image Thailand has as a tropical paradise and a 'land of smiles' (TAT 2007), it has evolved into a major service economy, with a GDP in 2008 of over 273 billion USD, making the tourism industry in Thailand the second largest in South East Asia after Indonesia, and the 35<sup>th</sup> biggest in the world (International Monetary Fund (IMF) 2008).

The Thai government had predicted a five percent increase in tourism revenue, for 2009, over 2008 (TAT 2009). Unfortunately, the recent ongoing political turmoil in Thailand, i.e., the November 2008 closure of all flights at Bangkok airports and the April 2010 blockade of the Bangkok central business area, has cost the tourism industry between 50 and 100 billion Baht (1.5 to 3.03 billion USD) in lost revenue (Wordpress 2009). A dramatic drop of 25% or about 11.7 million foreign tourist arrivals was a result from the ongoing political unrest (Wordpress 2009). While this issue is not the focus of the research, the details are presented to provide greater contextual understanding.

Due to the political issues in Thailand, which resulted in the financial crisis, the Thai government, recognising the importance of the tourism industry and its historical resilience to economic crisis attempted to increase tourism's contributions to the economy. It launched a drive to encourage investment in small and medium sized tourism companies, and give an impetus to further construction of tourist infrastructure in February 2008. As part of this policy, in July 2008, TAT launched a campaign in collaboration with local airlines to stimulate domestic travel to the neighbouring area of Isan in the Northeast of Thailand (TAT News 2008). Later, in partnership with MasterCard, TAT launched the campaign called '72 hours Amazing Thailand Chiang Mai', which was intended to boost domestic and international tourism in the Northern part of Thailand, which is the context for this study.

Therefore, it becomes apparent that Thailand as with other developing countries depends on tourism, which has played a significant role in providing positive benefits such as an improvement in local quality of life through better local facilities and infrastructures, better education, health care, and especially employment opportunities and income. This is reflected in the increasing revenue generated for the Thai economy and the heightened interest local communities and private stakeholders have in developing the tourism industry (Kruger 1996; Cohen 2006). Nonetheless, tourism has not only been identified as a means of generating national income for Thailand but also its significant role in promoting and exchanging local

Thai culture with others (TAT 2006).

#### **1.4 The emergence of hill tribe tourism**

Many countries in both the developed and developing world view the tourism industry as an agent for developing rural areas. In some countries, including Thailand, tourism is associated with the development of areas inhabited by hill tribes (Rajani 2002; Sutamanakan 2007). The term hill tribe refers to the tribal peoples who migrated to Thailand from other countries, mainly PR China, Burma<sup>1</sup>, officially the Union of Myanmar, and Laos PDR, over the past few centuries (Leepreecha 2005). These people have their own culture and have different traditions and lifestyles to the majority Thai population (Cohen 1989; McKinnon 2003). They normally live in remote rural areas especially in mountainous areas, away from Thai communities, with lower standards of living compared to Thais (see Chapter 3). The Thai government recognises tourism as an opportunity for reducing the prosperity gap between urban and rural areas, and as a means of modernising the economic base, retaining the population and improving the welfare of rural communities (Community Based Tourism Institute (CBTI) 2008). Therefore, the Thai government promotes the concept of rural/hill tribe tourism to both private and public sector investors to create job opportunities and higher incomes for local people. It is recognised that the development of tourism may have significant impacts upon those hill tribe communities that receive these developments.

Many hill tribe areas of Thailand have a great diversity of natural resources and this together with the cultural features, and traditions of the hill tribes, make them highly attractive tourist destinations. The varieties of tourism activities in hill tribe locations are not only interesting for tourists but also for stakeholders, investors and businessmen who foresee the opportunities to develop tourism businesses. Often these people take advantage of the natural resources of the locations (Cohen 2002). According to the researcher's experience, many package tours offer a comfortable room in a resort or hotel where tourists can enjoy western amenities and urban entertainment such as pubs and bars during the night, yet appreciate natural resources and ecotourism activities during the day.

As a result of the penetration of outsiders (tourists, stakeholders and businessmen), the tourism industry affects many areas and activities particularly tribal communities, often subjected to quite intense pressures from the industry. For example, when an influx of outsiders occurs, the

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<sup>1</sup> Both names (Burma and Myanmar) are recognised internationally, however, this research will refer to the country as Burma as most people (American and British) are more familiar with Burma rather than Myanmar.

number of inhabitants inevitably increases generating problems in hill tribe areas by restricting resources available to local people and the emerging tourism business, creating a shortage of resources such as water. However, the extensive growth that the tourism industry has witnessed in the past century has made tourism one of the most extraordinary economic and social incidents with tremendous social, cultural, political and technological changes at national and local levels (UNWTO 2006). However, especially in hill tribe destinations, the sector has the ability to create negative impacts upon socio-cultural and environmental elements, the main resources of the tourism product in tribal areas.

According to Murphy (1980 p.1) “Tourism is an industry which uses the community as a resource, sells it as a product, and in the process affects the lives of everyone”

Therefore, it is important to consider the socio-cultural effects of the introduction and development of tourism since the industry is dependent on local community hospitality and needs.

### **1.5 Need/Rationale of the research**

A growing volume of literature relating to the socio-cultural impacts of tourism is available, and many of the impacts reported are similar. Despite these similarities, it is not possible to use the result from one case study in a specific situation as the basis for a general conclusion (Lickorish and Jenkins 1997). A large number of distinctive factors can influence socio-cultural impacts, and similar factors might provide different responses in different destinations (Lickorish and Jenkins 1997). Therefore, it is important to undertake research on a variety of aspects and not to restrict such enquiries to the interactions between the tourist and the host population. While host residents can be affected by the incoming of tourists (Cohen 1989; Smith 1989; Burns and Holden 1995; Williams 1998; Mathieson and Wall 2006; Cooper *et al.* 2008) other groups of people can equally cause effects on host communities. Among them are the ETAs, who are attracted by the tourism opportunities and seek to develop their businesses in new tourism development destinations. These people can potentially create more serious and longer term damage to the host destination than the tourists, because tourists will just come and go and usually stay for only a short period of time (Mathieson and Wall 2006). ETAs, however, tend to stay in the host destination over a longer period of time and may behave as if they are better and more important than others because they consider themselves wealthier than most local residents in the area where they opened their businesses. Therefore, they may confront and dominate a host community and expect the host residents to integrate and change themselves to serve their values.



Studies on tourism impacts in Thailand may not be regarded as comprehensive as for example very little research has been done on the interaction between ETAs and hill tribe communities. Interestingly, since the hill tribe communities have been promoted as one of the tourist destinations in Thailand, more and more ETAs and other tourism organisations particularly development NGOs, have been involved in hill tribe villages, including those of the Karen and Hmong tribes. In practice, ETAs have played a significant role in terms of tourism in hill tribe villages by establishing new tourism businesses and attracting more visitors to these areas. As most of the hill tribe tourism in Thailand takes place in Chiang Mai Province, it may be argued that, in part as a result of the developing of hill tribe tourism in Chiang Mai, from January to June 2007, international and domestic visitor arrivals to Chiang Mai totalled 2,382,147, up 11.83% over the same period of 2006 (TAT 2008). The average length of stay was 3.53 days, and average expenditure per person per day was 2,660 baht (\$81 USD) generating tourism revenue of 19,637 million baht or \$595 million USD (TAT 2008).

The contribution of ETAs to development in ethnic rural communities is considerable, and includes occupational development, social development and basic public facility development (Department of Public Works (DPW) Annual Report 2000). This is an intriguing and contentious view, because it implies that outside forces are not necessarily leading to weakened ethnic identity, as mentioned by other scholars (e.g., Andronicou 1979; UNEP 2002; Shaw and Williams 2003). Equally in the context of non European countries in particular, outsiders have been criticised as cultural imperialists (Arnove 1980), while Liu (1964) and Klanatorn (1990) refer to cultural invaders.

Issues regarding the relationship between locals and outsiders or concerning cultural diversity in relation to globalisation have been extensively discussed (see Chapter 2, Table 2.1). It has to be recognised however, that the findings of earlier studies may not be a reliable indicator of current impacts due to ongoing changes in society and the introduction of different policies and actions of the government.

While some of the previous studies have interviewed or surveyed hill tribe people, many divergent hill tribe groups can be found in Asia, including Thailand. Moreover, each tribe has to deal with different situations and circumstances and as a result, a number of issues have been raised that can and have been investigated in cultural, social, environmental and economic terms. For example, Marks (1973) explored environmental and social problems in a Meo Tribe in Northern Thailand. Cohen (1989) reported on impacts from trekking tours on ethnic crafts and arts in general without revealing the specific ethnic subgroup. Cohen (1996) also investigated tourism impacts on hunter-gatherer societies in Thailand, focusing on three groups: the Mlabri

in the north, the Semang in the south and the Moken at island beaches in the south. Not only were ethnic differences reported, but also in terms of the amount of support they receive from the Thai government. Because these hunter-gatherers in Thailand do not play any significant role in Thai society, the Thai government pays much less attention to them in contrast to the hill tribe groups.

Brockelman and Dearden (1990) focused their study in terms of environmental conservation from trekking activities in hill tribe areas. Moreover, Dearden (1991) also presented a case study of the interaction between tourism and the hill tribes of northern Thailand, focusing on the economic benefits of trekking and an assessment of its social and cultural effects. Binkhorst and van der Duim (1995) looked at ecotourism in the form of hill tribe trekking and its impacts on tribal residents. Dearden (1996) continued his study in hill tribe locations by looking at the impacts resulting in change over time from trekking activities. Wall (1996) described the economic benefits gained by local tribal people through their involvement in tourism in the protected areas of the heritage sites. Toyota (1996) presented impacts from tourism development in an Akha tribal community in Chiang Mai. Michaud (1997) observed the cultural impacts from tourism activities in a Hmong village. Bartsch (2000) focused on the impacts from trekking tourists and Karen tribal people. Hvenegaard and Dearden (2002) examined the relationship between ecotourism and biodiversity conservation and potential changes over times in Doi Inthanon. McKinnon (2003) studied two different groups of people, mass trekking tourists and hill tribe people, to understand why people go trekking into hill of Thailand and see the interaction between these two groups. Zeppel (2006) researched indigenous ecotourism and policies in sustainable management. Though, this study looked at specific points of interacting between the two, it mostly only addressed the impacts from mass tourists. Moreover, previous studies did not cover the results of change in every hill tribe group after their interaction with tourists, which left several gaps for further research.

Not only are the contexts of hill tribe studies different, but different scholars have applied different approaches, i.e., qualitative, quantitative or mixed methods. Therefore, the results conducted by one scholar cannot always be applied to all. Some of their findings contradict each other due to their different samples, locations and purposes of their studies. A study by Dearden (1991), for example, reported that hill tribe villagers are often extremely shy and do not wish to be seen nor photographed by tourists while others (e.g., McKinnon and Bhruksasri 1983; Cohen 1988; Cohen 2004) said hill tribe people want to be involved in tourism, some even dress up in their different tribal costumes and invite tourists to take pictures with them. Therefore, many research studies exhibit gaps with regard to their findings on hill tribe tourism. The most obvious gaps of these publications to be noted are that they tend to overlook the importance of

local perceptions toward socio-cultural impacts and changes in their society resulting from the interaction with ETAs.

It is a given that different case studies lead to different outcomes because different groups of people will react to factors differently. Therefore, these groups of hill tribe people could be influenced by a number of factors from tourists as well as the arrival of ETAs from other provinces and countries.

The previous literature review points out the need to examine perceptions of local hill tribe people and their response to the involvement of ETAs in their community and the need to assess their perceptions of changes in their society and socio-cultural impact from their interaction with ETAs. Therefore, the new research results will indicate the degree and types of impact stemming from their interactions with ETAs. The findings from these comparative cases can be used to enhance our understanding of the minority group. Since hill tribes are not a homogeneous culture, factors that strengthen ethnicity in one tribe may destroy the cultural integrity of another. Consequently, this research has chosen to compare two tribes' perceptions from their experiences with ETAs.

## **1.6 Focus of the research**

According to Brislin and Cushner (1996) the conditions of the world are such that we are all increasingly coming into contact with those who are different from ourselves. Changes are evident in a broad range of contexts, both internationally and intra-nationally around the world, (Brislin *et al.* 1986). International businesses continue to expand, international refugees and immigrants cause major affects on the growth of national populations, communities struggle with challenges produced by the increasingly diverse mix of nationalities, genders, ethnicities, races, and sexual orientations, and businesses are increasingly involving individuals and groups from cultures other than the mainstream (Pedersen 1988; Tannen 1990; Cushner *et al.* 1992; Brislin 1993; Brislin and Cushner 1996). In addition, ETAs have expanded into hill tribe communities for business purposes. A number of tribal people have deviated from their original career paths and agricultural practices, and are paying more attention to jobs related to tourism. As a result, the number of tribal people interacting with ETAs is increasing rapidly. The change in career paths of local tribal people is due to the influence of development expanding from urban to rural areas. Some local people in rural areas have been attracted by supplementary income from jobs, other than farming, which allow them to live in a modern world.

Noting that one principle of tourism management is to maximise the benefits and alleviate negative impacts, destination planners and decision makers strive to understand both positive and negative impacts of tourism on host communities from different causes in order to plan

effectively. Consequently, this research aims to study the perceptions of hill tribe people towards impacts resulting from their interaction with ETAs, therefore, it excludes those who worked in the tourism industry but had no direct contact with ETAs. This research attempted to identify the impacts perceived by those working with ETAs from the selected Karen and Hmong communities including their perceptions of the transformations of their societies and the impacts they have upon their daily lives. The comparison of residents' perceptions was also made to identify whether any significant differences between different ethnic groups existed as well as within the same ethnic group, divided into those who work with ETAs and those who do not. Even though the research mainly aimed to study the perceptions towards impacts from ETAs, the respondents were to varying degrees also exposed to tourists, especially Thai tourists. Therefore, their perceptions may well have also been influenced by the tourists they came into contact with.

## **1.7 Aim and Objectives**

The aim of the study is to compare the perceptions of Karen and Hmong hill tribe peoples of their employment with, and the socio-cultural impacts arising from, the arrival in their communities of External Tourism Actors (ETAs).

### **1.7.1 Objectives**

The research concerned the five objectives stated below.

1. To identify and compare the nature of the involvement between the Karen and Hmong hill tribe people in the tourism employment opportunities offered by ETAs.
2. To examine and critically compare the reasons given by the Karen and Hmong respondents for working or for not working with ETAs.
3. To explore and compare the perspectives of those Karen and Hmong working with ETAs regarding their work experiences, including their perceived conflicts and proposed solutions.
4. To analyse and compare the changes in their lifestyles perceived by the Karen and Hmong working with ETAs and those who did not following the arrival of ETAs into their communities.
5. To compare and critically review the influence that the arrival of ETAs has had upon the development of the tribal communities and the associated cultural and social impacts perceived by both Karen and Hmong people working and those not working with ETAs.

## 1.8 Contribution to knowledge

This research hopes to contribute to the knowledge in the academic fields listed below.

1) Nearly one million hill tribal people live in Thailand and the Karen and the Hmong are the two largest of these tribes in Thailand, but most people outside Asia have never heard of them (Lawan 2006; Sutamanakan 2007). It is hoped that the finding of this research – one of the few studies in English on this group of hill tribe people – can introduce this little known minority group to the wider world.

2) The study explores an under-researched area, the socio-cultural impacts of tourism perceived by hill tribe respondents who have chosen to work for the incoming ETAs as compared to the perceptions of those who do not work for ETA's and who continue to follow their traditional occupations. The results from this study complements the work, of both Thai and western scholars, on tourism impacts on hill tribe people in Thailand (Cohen 1979; 1982; Chaipikulsin 1982; McKinnon *et al.* 1989; Dearden 1991; Hitchcock 1993; Sangsai 1993; Wood 1997; Cohen 2001; Sriwanthananukoolkit 2001; Rajani 2002; Delang 2003; Buadang 2004; Leepreecha 2005; Thanasarn 2005; Toyota 2005; Cohen 2006; Pinsarn 2006; Ennard and Leepreecha 2009 etc.) by addressing at a different cause of socio-cultural impacts resulting from the arrival of ETAs perceived by hill tribe people. Most of the existing studies focus on tourists and community interactions (Wearing and Wearing 1996; Brunt and Courtney 1999; Reisinger and Turner 2003; Andereck *et al.* 2005; Reisinger 2009; Brunt and Hooton 2010) while this research investigates a different type of interaction, the interaction between host community and ETAs, who moved in and tend to stay in a host destination for longer than 12 months, who may have, it is argued, a bigger and longer term impact on the hill tribe communities. The findings regarding the perceptions of hill tribe people, towards their employment opportunities and the socio-cultural impacts caused by the interaction of ETAs and the local communities will contribute to tourism impact studies as a whole.

3) The research employs a number of relevant theories: rational choice theory, social exchange theory, social identity theory, acculturation theory, four drive theory, Butler's destination life cycle and the Irridex model. Previously, these theories have not been applied to studies of the 'hill tribe people' on Doi Inthanon Thailand.

4) Although, many studies have been conducted on the social cultural impacts of tourism, i.e. Burns and Holden 1995; Brunt 1999; Mathieson and Wall 2006; Cooper *et al.* 2008, most of these research projects have been conducted in developed countries where tourism has already passed through the early stages of development. This research of socio-cultural impacts

associated with the early stages of tourism development in an Asian society will add to this 'developed' world literature.

5) The research will provide empirical knowledge concerning reasons rural tribal people leave their agricultural jobs and take up tourism employment opportunities offered by ETAs. The exploration of the tribal respondent's view of their employment with ETAs and the associated employment related conflicts and proposed solutions will add to an understanding of the interactions in the work place between particular ethnic groups.

6) The result of this research may not be able to minimise differences between majority and minority societies but it will contribute towards a greater understanding of the issues involved.

7) This research will contribute to studies of host communities by identifying the potential factors that influence similarity and differences in residents' perceptions.

## **1.9 Thesis structure**

Chapter 1 presents the focus of the research by identifying the gaps between the current state of knowledge and the contributions this research will make. To accomplish this requires a brief overview of tourism in Thailand focusing on the emergence of hill tribe tourism, and a summary of the concepts of the impacts of tourism. These introductory reviews lead to the formal statements of the aim, and objectives of the research including an overview of the structure of the thesis.

Chapter 2 examines the literature related to the focus of the research. This chapter is presented in three main sections according to the focus of the research. The first section reviews literature regarding perceived socio-cultural impacts which involves the following topics; definitions of host and guest, definitions of perceptions, definition and concept of culture, concepts of communities and their functions, social changes in a community, socio-cultural impacts of tourism development and reasons behind the interactions of host and guest of different backgrounds and its impacts. The second section presents literature related to employment, the topics include cross-cultural in the workplace, conflicts in the workplace, employment of tourism and its image. The final section presents theoretical framework for this study.

Chapter 3 reviews the characteristics of hill tribe people in Asia and is followed by a discussion of hill tribe people in Thailand and their relationship with Thai society. The chapter also considers the characteristics of Karen and Hmong people who are the focus of this research.

Then hill tribe tourism in Thailand is reviewed in regard to the range of tourism products/ experiences offered, and the ownership of the tourism related enterprises. In this final section of this chapter introduces the location of Doi Inthanon, where this research was undertaken and summarises the reasons for choosing it as a study area.

Chapter 4 explains the methodology. This study was conducted in two stages; therefore, the chapter begins with a discussion of combining qualitative and quantitative methods and research strategies. This is followed by an explanation of research methodologies for data collection, selecting the representative sample and sampling techniques, data collection processes and the limitations of each stage. Data analysis approaches for each stage of data collection are also presented. Ethical and risk considerations are presented at the end of the chapter.

Chapter 5 presents the findings from the first and second stages of data collection regarding employment issues, reasons for working and not working with ETAs, types of employment, conflicts, proposed solutions and perceived impacts from working with ETAs.

Chapter 6 presents the findings in regard to the socio-cultural impacts the respondents perceive as affecting them.

Chapter 7 considers the perceived social changes that have taken place in the two communities.

Chapter 8 discusses the findings of Chapter 5 on employment issues and reviews them in relation to the rational choice theory.

Chapter 9 presents a discussion of the findings of Chapters 6 and 7 by organising the findings under four separate themes, namely, changes in lifestyles, cultural impacts, community development, and disruption of life perceived by the Karen and Hmong in Doi Inthanon. These themes are reviewed in relation to the social exchange theory, social identity theory, acculturation theory, four drive theory, Doxey Irridex model and Butler's concept of the tourist destination life cycle.

Chapter 10 presents the conclusions and evaluation of the research including recommendations for further research.

## **1.10 Conclusion**

This chapter has presented an overview of tourism in Thailand and hill tribe tourism. Needs and focus of the research were identified. Then, research aim and objectives were presented as well as contribution to knowledge and thesis structure. Next chapter will review literature related to the focus of the research.



## Chapter 2 Literature Review

### **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter reviews the literature relevant to a study of residents' perceptions of the socio-cultural impacts from the interaction with ETAs. This chapter is divided into three main sections; socio-cultural aspects, tourism employment and the conceptual framework. However, the chapter starts with a clarification of the terms used with specific definition used in this study, and continues by explaining the ambiguities inherent in defining hosts and guests in order to provide a definition of the 'hosts' and 'guests' which are the focus of this research. As the focus of this study revolves around residents' perceptions, therefore, it seems appropriate to review the relevant literature by starting with review definitions of perceptions and influences of perception leading to causes of negative perceptions. This chapter also considers definitions of culture and the cultural dimensions proposed by Hofstede. It then considers communities and their functions both in general and in relation to hill tribe societies. It is followed by a review of social change in community. It then considers the socio-cultural impacts of tourism, leading to the discussions regarding interactions between hosts and guests of different cultural backgrounds, reasons behind the interactions of hosts and guests and its outcomes. The next section addresses relevant literature in terms of tourism employment. However, as the focus of this research is on the employment between two parties of different cultures, therefore, this section starts with a review of cross-cultural work groups and the causes of conflicts arise in the workplace. Employment of tourism is then discussed focusing particularly upon the image of tourism employment. The final section presents and defends the conceptual framework which underpins this research.

### **2.2 Terms used in the study**

This section discusses the definitions of the terms used in the study in order to provide clarity and to enhance the understanding of the findings.

The term impact refers to tangible or intangible effects of one thing on another or from an activity (Oxford Dictionaries 2010) in this case it is the arrival and the interaction with ETAs, of the individual (hill tribe people). This study addresses the impacts the hill tribe people perceive as affecting themselves.

In this study, the term change refers to transitions in the characteristics and features of these communities which are perceived by the residents to be due at least in part to the arrival of ETAs.

Disruption is another term used. This term is employed to refer to the impacts that hill tribe people perceive as causing unwelcome changes to their lives, which result in the disruption of their routines and lifestyles. Therefore, disruption is employed to describe the disturbances which tribal people face that they perceive as causing possibly irreversible changes in their own lives and that of their community.

## **2.3 Ambiguity in defining hosts and guests**

### **2.3.1 Definition of a host**

There is vagueness in defining the terms hosts and guests. According to Oxford Dictionaries (2010) among other definitions, host is one who receives or entertains guests in a social capacity. According to Reisinger and Turner (2003) hosts are defined either as (a) local residents; (b) people of the visited country; or (c) those employed in the tourism industry. However, in this study the term host and guest will have specific meanings:

The definition of the term host in this study refers to two groups of hill tribe peoples (Karen and Hmong) who have been living in the selected destination (Doi Inthanon) for more than 50 years. Therefore, in the context of this study, the term host will be applied to these people as they have settled down in the area for a longer period of time compared to the incoming (ETAs) who are ethnic Thais. Moreover, due to their long residence in the area, they are the ones who receive visitors, in their area. More details on the Karen and the Hmong in Doi Inthanon can be found in Chapter 3. The hosts in this study include both tribal people who work for the ETA's and those who do not.

### **2.3.2 Definition of a guest**

Guest is a term that is frequently used to denote the group of incomers who are perceived by the community to be responsible for various impacts and in many cases. According to Reisinger and Turner (2003) in tourism impact study, the term guest has often been presume as sojourners or commonly refer to as tourists without defining a specify type. In this study the focus is on the impacts hosts perceive to be related to a particular group of 'guests' the 'external tourism actors' (ETAs) namely individuals from outside their community who have moved into the hill tribe areas to develop tourism enterprises such as accommodation units, tour operators, travel

agencies, souvenir shop, spa, tourism adventure activities, catering outlets etc. Therefore, ETAs referred to in this study are defined as:

- Non tribal people (mainly Thai) who are culturally different from the Karen and Hmong, and who have moved into Doi Inthanon for business purposes, either in order to open their own businesses or to work for other external tourism employers.
- Non permanent resident of Doi Inthanon, though they have been staying in the area over a year, longer than tourists but still shorter period of stay comparing to those Karen and Hmong.
- Who have direct interaction with local Karen and Hmong through a form of tourism employment.

### **2.3.3 Definition of ETAs**

External tourism actors or ETAs is defined as individuals from outside their community who are not tourists, they have been attracted by tourism opportunities in host community, they are not there for entertainment purposes and tend to stay for longer than 12 months.

#### **2.3.3.1 Roles of ETAs**

The planning and management of tourism, particularly but not exclusively in rural areas, potentially involves a large number of organisations, from both the public and private sectors, which are either directly or indirectly involved in tourism (Sharpley 1997). ETAs often play a significant role in developing tourism areas in Thailand especially in rural area and within ethnic minority communities (TAT 2008). ETAs have been active in ethnic communities in Thailand from the 1960s onwards and started to engage more in hill tribe tourism in the 1990s (DPW Annual Report 2000; Rajani 2002). In their efforts to expand tourism development in ethnic communities in Thailand, ETAs, mainly Thai from major cities like Bangkok, developed tourism activities, built and ran accommodation units such as resorts, hotels, homestay and camping ground, opened up fast food chain restaurants, coffee shop and bar or engaged in other tourism related businesses (Rajani 2002; Sutamanakan 2006; TAT 2008). These ETAs provided the local hill tribe people with job opportunities both, to work for them, and to become part of their tourism businesses.

Having defined the terms used and identified host and guest in this study, next section reviews definitions of perceptions.

## **2.4 Perception**

### **2.4.1 Definitions of perception**

Schiffman and Kanuk (1987) give a broad term for perception as the process through which people see the world around themselves. In academic terms in contrast of the notion previously, Schiffman and Kanuk (1987) define the term in more specific details as “a process by which an individual selects, organises, and interprets stimuli into a meaningful and coherent picture of the world” (Schiffman and Kanuk 1987, p. 174). On the other hand, Samovar and Porter (1991) define perception as the method by which stimuli are chosen from the external environment and interpreted into profound meaningful internal experiences. This notion is supported by Rungapadiachy (1999) who describes perception as the interpretation of sensory input. Markin (1974); Mitchell (1987); Moutinho (1987); Truong and King (2006) refer to perceptions as the processes that shape and produce what people actually experience. Cole and Scriber (1974) partially agree with the previous definition yet, a slightly different definition has been introduced by Cole and Scribner (1974, p. 11) report that “...perceptions, memory and thinking all develop as part of the general socialisation....and are inseparably bound up with.....social relations...”. According to Hargie (1986, p.47) “the impressions people form of one another and how interpretations are made concerning the behaviour of others”. According to Smith (2002) perception is a primary aspect in the judgment. Perception is significant and supporting view of an individual, and thinking, about the world. It determines how individual experience objects or events (Haakonssen 2006). Merleau-Ponty (2002, p.xi) “Perception is the background from which all acts stand out, and is presupposed by them”. Having presented definitions defined by different scholars, the following section identifies influences of perception.

### **2.4.2 Influences of perception**

According to Bronfenbrenner (1977; 1979) perception is not totally objective, it depends on neonatal, childhood, and later experiences (Freud 1930; 1953-7; Klein 1959; 1986). Pert (1997) affirms that perception is selective in what it wishes to allow in, it also puts its own interpretation on what it lets in. As Merleau-Ponty (1962); Elder (1990); Turner (1992) believe that people perceive from embodied state and have the power to recognise themselves perceiving to be reflexive and to change their perceptions (Giddens 1991; Steier 1991). Thus perception is the link between internal of an individual and external worlds, this perception is heavily affected by emotions (Rungapadiachy 1999). According to Reisinger and Turner (2003) perceptions are formed by a number of external factors, such as economic, social, cultural, geographical, and internal factors, such as demographic, psychographic, behaviouristic. Samovar and Porter (1991) point out that one of the main factors that directly influence the perception is culture. They explain that culture strongly influences the environment in which

people are raised, it exposes them to experiences and produces meanings. Tajfel (1969) offers a similar view by suggesting that culture is a factor that teaches people how to perceive experiences and interpret meanings, it also determines which stimuli and criteria of the perceptions are important. Therefore, the perceptions of an individual can be determined by culture, from which it can be concluded that, people are different in their perceptions because they have different views of the world which are constructed by their own culture (Krench and Crutchfield 1948; Robertson 1970; Brislin and Cushner 1996). Ritchie (1974) and Singer (1982) also agree by giving examples of culturally determined values which determined the perception of physical appearance and attractiveness (Singer 1982).

Tajfel (1969) offers an interesting view that cultural similarity and familiarity can influence an individual's perceptions. Maznevski (1995) supports the idea by affirming that people from different cultures will notice different pieces of information and interpret them differently. Some researchers (Monroe 1973; Bertenthal *et al.* 1980; Robinson and Johnson 1997) affirm that perceptions and their meanings are subjective in that perceivers interpret the meaning of the object or event differently. The differences in perceptions result from the environment in which people live in or their experiences (Reisinger and Turner 2003).

On the other hand, Hall (1994) argue that people who live in the same community and share the same culture do not necessarily have shared interests or perceive in the same way, and they often hold very mixed views. In terms of tourism development perceptions, several scholars (e.g., Pizam 1978; Thomason *et al.* 1979; Murphy 1983; Tyrell and Spaulding 1984; Ap and Crompton 1993; Brougham and Butler 1981; Husbands 1989; Lawson *et al.* 1998; Ryan and Montgomery 1994) have focused on different perceptions about tourism held by residents of the same community. Ryan and Montgomery (1994) for example, in their study of the English Peak district, found that residents held different perceptions and interests. Schiffman and Kanuk (1987) affirm that it is vital to understand the individual value orientation that affects perceptions. According to Supaap (1993) there are five determinants of change in perception;

1. Family is a basic foundation of society that has a strongest influence on behaviour of children in which case, the training and teaching family members can be done by both direct and indirect. In a direct way is by teaching what is good and what is not. The other way can be done through imitation of behaviour of people who they are surrounded by.
2. Friends are another factor that can have a strong influence on individual's perception, especially teenager. The reason behind this is, teenagers want to be accepted among

their friends, they might be acting out by imitating the way their friends dress, talk and act in order to show that they are one of them.

3. School is considered as a second home for children. It plays a similar role to the family's role. School has a powerful influence in terms of improving and developing personality of children.
4. Choice of career, each job has its own characteristic. People who involve in one job may have a different set of mind and act differently from people who involve in another job. In addition, change in perception can happen when more than one people get together, interact and share some idea, the progress of change may be slower than in children because most adults tend to already have their own perceptions, eventually change will occur in order for them to blend into the community or the group they are in.
5. Media such as radio, television, newspaper, movie etc. can be a determinant of change in perception in terms of belief, and value of life.

Having identified definitions of perceptions and addressed influences of perceptions, now will turn our attention to culture.

## **2.5 Culture**

### **2.5.1 Definitions of culture**

A dictionary defines culture as: "The sum of the inherited ideas, beliefs, values and knowledge, which constitute the shared bases of social action" (Borley 1994, p.3). This definition is supported by a study by Swarbrooke and Horner (1999, p.434) which defined culture as "The sum total of knowledge, attitudes, beliefs and customs to which people are exposed in their social conditioning." While, Hofstede (2001, p.9) defined culture as: "The collective programming of the mind that distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another...The mind stands for the head, heart, and hands that is for thinking, feeling, and acting, with consequences for beliefs, attitudes and skills." Vokonic (1996) offers a similar notion of culture and defines it as the set of unique spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of humanity or a group of society, which includes art and literature, lifestyles of people, ways of living together, value systems, traditions and beliefs. Hence, culture is often defined as the combination of material and spiritual goods reflecting the general comprehension, whereas, UNESCO defines culture as "The synthesis of creative activity of a nation, its way of production and acquisition of material goods, forms of its organisation, its beliefs, work and leisure, dreams and achievements" (UNESCO 1979, p. 20 in Vokonic 1996, p. 291).

### **2.5.2 Concept of culture**

Harper (2001) refers to culture as patterns of human activity and the symbolic structures that give such activities significance and importance. According to Murdock (1971) every human society has its own element patterns due to its culture. Scafidi (2005) indicates that culture can also have an influence on people's attitudes, behaviour, values, ideals, and beliefs, in which they live in. As a result, people from different groups with different cultures tend to have different ways of living their lives through language use, customs, dress, ways of producing and cooking food, political, economic systems, codes of manners, rule of behaviour, religion, rituals, tradition, works of art, norms of behaviour such as rule, law and morality and systems of belief etc. which results in the conception of culture and has been passing on from one generation to the next, and it can change over times (Kroeber and Kluckhohn 1952; Harris 1968; Murdock 1971; Tylor 1971; Harris and Moran 1979).

Klanatorm (1990) highlights the characteristics of culture as follow:

- Culture occurs through knowledge not instinct or human biology
- Culture will be passed on from one generation to the next. Culture has been considered as an inherent of human kind
- Culture is a sharing of knowledge within society and it does not belong to any particular individual but own by a group
- Culture represents patterns of thinking and behaviours of people from the same group.

However, culture is only an abstract in reality people behaviour in one society may not follow its own culture (Klanatorm 1990).

Tylor (1971) mentions that culture exists in every human society with its own characteristics and uniqueness. Culture distinguishes one human group from others (Tylor 1971). Socio-cultural in one group may overlaps to some extent with other groups (O'Neil 2006). Potter (1989) and Wallerstein (1990) suggest that culture can be referred to as differences between groups of people who do things differently and perceive the world differently, and these differences indicate the existence of different cultures.

### **2.5.3 Hofstede's cultural dimensions**

Hofstede derived the conclusion after he undertook research on the subject of national cultural differences from people at all levels of a major multinational corporation over fifty countries. In

1981, Hofstede came up with the conclusion that there are five main dimensions that can describe a national culture (Ten Have *et al.* 2002).

- Power distance is the way in which culture and value is distributed unequally among individuals.
- Uncertainty avoidance dimension is the degree to which people feel threatened by ambiguous or uncertain situations and try to prevent by living lives according to rules and regulations, believing in the truths, and avoiding arguments and conflicts.
- The individualism versus collectivism dimension refers to the level of how much people think they are supposed to either take care of or be cared for by themselves and their direct families as opposed to being part of a larger group with a strict social framework to which they belong.
- Masculinity versus femininity refers to the supremacy of boldness and achievement of things (masculine) versus concern and care for people, feelings and the quality of life (feminine). It is obvious that men and women tend to display these respective characteristics across nearly all cultures.
- Confucian dynamism, which refers to be the extent to which a society exhibits a realistic future-oriented point of view rather than a conventional historic or short-term prospect.

According to Hofstede (1980) people of different nationalities and ethnic backgrounds often hold different cultures, thus they might act differently to the way they are expected. Hofstede has come up with different dimensions of culture to explain behaviour of people from different cultures. Hofstede's cultural dimensions can help any type of organisation to prevent cultural misunderstandings and failures while working together with people of a different culture. However, Ten Have *et al.* (2002) argue that, despite Hofstede's cultural dimensions, there is still conflict since no one can be exactly the same and people may or may not behave according to their nationality and culture for many reasons such as: changes in society as cultures develop and demographic changes, for example, as a result of relocation and immigration.

Having reviewed definitions of culture and culture related aspects, the following topics consider definitions of communities, their functions both in general and in relation to hill tribe societies.

## **2.6 Community**

### **2.6.1 Definitions of community**

According to Smith (2001) the term community has been used and has remained, since the late nineteenth century, to some extent associated with and between people. Many authors (e.g.,



Harper and Dunham 1959; Pearce 1980; Prentice 1993; Snepeger *et al.* 1998) attempt to define the concept of community, however, despite the range of the existing literatures on the concept of community, researchers have not yet agreed on one definitive definition. People often interpret meaning to suit with their own purposes. Huang and Stewart (1996) referring to a review study conducted by Hillery (1995) of 94 definitions of the term community reached the conclusion that “all of the definitions deal with people, beyond this common basis, there is no agreement” (p.117).

Traditionally, the term community is commonly defined as a group of interacting people living in a particular local area and usually interacting or depending on each other for existence (Princeton 2008). However, Madrigal (1995) disagrees with the notion that a group of people living together in the same location can necessarily be concluded that they belong to the same community. Lee and Newby (1983) support the idea by pointing out that when people live close to one another in a particular area does not always mean that they are in the same community and share a certain beliefs or have anything to do with each other. In addition to that, one particular location may hold more than one community, such as the homosexual community, the elderly community, or communities defined by ethnic group (Smith 2001). Cohen (1985) offers a similar idea that community involves two related suggestions that the members of a group have something in common with each other; and the thing held in common distinguishes them in a significant way from the members of other possible groups. In this regard Williams and Lawson (2001) affirm that the most appropriate definition of community is simply defined as a group of people who share the same culture, value of beliefs and norms or common goals.

With regard to community level studies, Smith (2001) outlines community in two different ways:

*Place:* Territorial or place community can be seen as where people have something in common, and this shared element is understood geographically. Another way of naming this is as ‘locality’.

*Interest:* In interest or ‘elective’ communities people share a common characteristic other than place. They are linked together by factors such as religious belief, sexual orientation, occupation or ethnic origin. In this way it can be referred to as the ‘Catholic community’ or the ‘Chinese community’. In other words, a community holds people with a similar background who share a same culture and lifestyle.

Chavis *et al.* (1986) suggest that there is a strong possibility that by defining both place and interest the resulting communities overlap. Smith (2001) also asserts that place and interest

communities may well happen together, for example in the case of places where many of those who live there work in the same industry – such as the case of Pa-Daung Karen tribal people in Mae Hong Son where the whole village agreed to be involved in tourism industry resulting in a ‘human zoo’. Willmott (1989) argues that it is legitimate to add a third understanding of community – that of attachment – as communities of place or interest may not have a sense of shared identity.

### **2.6.2 The function of a community**

The primary function of a community is to satisfy its members’ needs (McMillan and Chavis 1986). Huang and Stewart (1996) propose that the role of a community is to reinforce people within the community to help each other achieve their common goals. Moreover, Spreight (1968) and McMillan and Chavis (1986) affirm that community plays an important role in connecting its members together and provides them with a sense of belonging. People often use their community membership to protect themselves from intimidation and threat which includes: language, dialect, dress, ritual etc. to separate “we” from “they” (McMillan and Chavis 1986). In addition the community acts as to influence members’ behaviour by developing social norms to control its members (Wilkinson 1986). Surprisingly, community does not only influence the members by supporting them individually and collectively, but the individual can also influence its community (Sanders and Lewis 1976). Therefore, if members of the community have different needs and culture, it can debilitate the culture of the community and weaken a community as a whole (Cohen 1985; Reisinger 2009).

### **2.6.3 Hill tribe communities**

Hill tribe communities are normally located in upland rural areas which are areas outside towns and cities and which include non urban areas such as countryside and mountain areas (Ryan 1991; Combs 2001). However, this study does not attempt to deal with the rural area as a whole but only to focus on hill tribe destinations which may also be considered as rural destinations. Therefore, a brief review of rural characteristics follows.

These areas have experienced limited growth due to several inherent disadvantages. The most obvious drawback is many of these destinations have limited resources and often face the problem of declining populations, they regularly experience the feeling of isolation, and suffer from being disconnected from major sources of investment and have poor economies of scale, all features which can be concluded as a characteristic of rural areas in general (Butler 1993; Pearce 1995; Cross and Nutley 1999).

Sharpley (1997) believes that it is also difficult to define what is meant by rural areas because different people have different perspectives, may result in differing criteria by which areas are judged to be rural or urban. However, Lane (1994) disagrees by offering a different point of view namely that rurality is unique and easily identified as being:

1. Located in rural areas
2. Functionally rural –built upon the rural world’s special features of small-scale enterprise, open space, contact with nature and the nature world, heritage, traditional societies and traditional practices.
3. Rural in scale – both in terms of buildings and settlements- and, therefore usually small-scale
4. Traditional in character, growing slowly and organically and connected with local families. It will often be very largely controlled locally and developed for the long-term food of the area.
5. Of many different kinds, representing the complex pattern of rural environment, economy, history and location

Lane (1994, p.14)

The definition of rural areas defined by Lane is consistent with the concept of hill tribe communities in this study as the communities are located in rural mountain area with close contact with nature. People in the communities more or less employ traditional practices. Houses and infrastructures are rather small and non-urban. People in the hill tribe communities often have tight relationship, they know each other and rather treat their neighbours as their family members rather than strangers.

Having identified community’s aspects, the following section will address characteristics of society and review its definitions and type of change.

## **2.7 Social changes**

### **2.7.1 Characteristics of society**

A society is a group of interacting people living in a particular country, region or specific location who share a common culture, customs, laws (Oxford Dictionaries 2010). Over a period of time, a society will develop its own tradition, attitudes and a style of life which may be more or less distinctive (Supaap 2006). It is this way of life which is usually incorporated in the word ‘culture’ (Lickorish and Jenkins 1997).

### 2.7.2 Definitions of social change

Kornblum (2007) defines social change as when social structure such as culture, tradition, family structure, rules have changed to be either more developed or declined which could be for permanent or temporary. Shackman *et al.* (2005) mention that the term is usually applied to changes that are beneficial to society, however it may result in negative side effects or consequences that undermine or eliminate existing ways of life that are considered positive.

Samakarn (1998) affirms that any changes which could be either massive or light that have impacts on social relationship in a certain period of time can be considered as a change in society. Jary and Jary (1995) define social change as any differences of social structure and cultural form between past and present. However, Ruxpholariyakun (2002) concludes that social change is the degree of difference that happen within society in any period of time which could be a small or enormous change that brings either positive or negative impacts to society.

According to McWhinney (1992) and Chuto and Wongsurbchart (2007) change is normal and often happens in society. Change can have an impact both at an individual and at a collective level in terms of social structure, economic status and culture. Change in economic conditions is of the change of most concern to global society (Shackman *et al.* 2005). It involves the ability of individuals within the society to earn a living. Nowadays, in many cases rural societies have been transformed to become more industrialised like urban societies which results in a higher income (Supaap 2006). Sanyawiwath (1999) points out that there are different degrees of changes in different societies; most rural societies are concerned with agro-industry while urban areas tend to be more involved with the industrial and commercial sectors.

Klanatorn (1990) asserts that there are two types of social change;

1. Change in society, is a change between human relationship for example, change in family structure from extended to nuclear, big to small or vice versa. Or change in type of relationship such as from employer and employee to friendship. Or change in status of the society members, for example status of Thai ladies is higher and becoming equal to the men when compared to the past.
2. Change in culture, is a change in culture of that society, which are value, belief, knowledge, perception, trend, ideology, norm including tradition and custom.

Borrie (1973) proposes that the term society refers to a social relationship between groups of people who live together. However, if people within the same society start to disagree with their social structure such as rules and regulations, traditions, culture, or value and belief, then changes in society tend to occur. Ayaz (2008) finds that any society that start responding to new

cultural and social demands and dimensions with modern trends, approaches, ideas, and thinking often have some degree of changes in its society. While, Srisantisuk and Buatoun (1991) affirm that change in society can happen due to two principals; level of development of that society and level of a willingness to accept the unfamiliar from other societies or cultures.

Redfield (1948) affirms that a state of society often changes from folk society to urban society. Sanyawiwath (1999) agrees that societies are likely to be transformed from simple to more complicated forms resulting from the change from a rural to an urban society. Tanavichai (1991) offers his thoughts on the nature of change that people in every society tend to associate with progress or change, such as in family structure, political forms, education and religion. There may be a collapse in family structure due to changes in society. For example, when children receive higher education they will look for higher paid jobs, in which case, their original career path such as agriculture will be replaced by jobs offered by outsiders often in a bigger city. Eventually, they will relocate themselves to go after job they want, which will result in changes in the individual (Pinsarn 2006).

Moreover, Pongpan (1978); Gingrich (1999); O'Neil (2006) suggest that technology and new innovations are important parts of modern life, many communities tend to implement a new modern lifestyle for the development and maintenance of their societies. Domenico *et al.* (2003) support the idea that societies can change because of external influences, however, Domenico's article suggests a variety of internal reasons that can bring about social change such as transmission of cultural traits, invention of new traits, random errors in cultural transmission etc.

According to Parsons (1960) and Wandsnider (1983) social change can be in terms of demographic structure, degree of development and technology, which could happen to any part of a society or as a whole. Hagen (1964) believes that social change started off as an improvement in economic status. He affirms that the change from traditional to modern forms of society can result in personality change. Hagen (1964) explains that the characteristics of people from traditional society is often that of people that need to be told to do things as they show a lack of creativity and innovation. As a result, this particular group of society often stays the same or changes very little over time. While, modern society has a tendency to change rapidly because people tend to be more creative and open-mind to accept new experience. Hagan believes that this kind of characteristic is a factor that creates social change.

Having reviewed aspects of social change, the following section will address socio-cultural impacts on host community resulting from tourism development.

## 2.8 Impacts

The growth of tourism creates environmental and economic as well as socio-cultural impacts (The Nation 2006). However, this study does not attempt to address the environmental and economic impacts but only the socio-cultural impacts arising from ETAs. Until the 1960s most of the early studies on the impact of tourism concentrated on economic aspects (Pizam 1878; Ramchander 2004); little emphasis was given to a prime characteristic of international tourism – the interaction between tourists and the host community (Lickorish and Jenkins 1997). From mid 1970s onward, anthropologists, sociologists, and practitioners in tourism gave increasing attention to the relationship between host and guest, and particularly to the non-economic impacts induced by that relationship (De Kadt 1979; Lickorish and Jenkins 1997). As a result of these studies awareness of the social cultural and environmental problems which can arise from development and growth of tourism has increased (Cohen 1972; De Kadt 1979; Harrison 1992; Lickorish and Jenkins 1997; Uriely and Reichel 2000; Mathieson and Wall 2006). Cooper *et al.* (2008) affirm that where high levels of tourist activities are apparent there is concern that the site is at risk and becomes vulnerable due to the tourism's sensitivity to aspects outside of the control of the tourist destination. As mentioned, there are many kinds of tourism activities undertaken in hill tribe areas. As a result tourism has contributed to the transformation of some settlements of hill tribe people, though these changes may not be readily apparent but can be assessed by detailed anthropological or tourism impact research (McKinnon and Bhruksasri 1983; Cooper 1984; Cohen 1989). However, it is still the case that, the more tourist activities increase the more impacts will occur in tourist destinations while the number of impacts generally depends upon the type of tourism activity in the destination (Burns and Holder 1995; Cooper *et al.* 2008).

Lickorish and Jenkins (1997) point out that it is misleading to refer to the social and cultural impact of tourism on a certain country as a whole. Lickorish and Jenkins (1997) explain that tourism tends to be limited to a small area and therefore impacts tend to be confined to that particular small area initially. Whether impacts cause changes, and whether these changes spread through society, will be influenced by a wide range of factors, such as the size of country, general spread of tourism activity, and basic cultural and religious strengths (Lickorish and Jenkins 1997). Davidson (1989) suggests that tourism is not the only factor that impact the community or leads to change in culture and society, but there are many other aspects, for example media such as cinema and television etc. that have the effect of accelerating the process of change as well. However, it is not the purpose in this chapter to discuss social and cultural impacts from other aspects, the aim of this chapter is to discuss and identify some of the major social and cultural impacts on a host society which result from the development of tourism and

the interaction between host residents and outsiders. Details on different type of impacts affected by expansion of tourism are discussed in the following section.

### **2.8.1 Socio-cultural impacts of tourism**

A wide range of tourism impacts, economic, social, cultural and environmental have been identified as being perceived by local residents. However, with the awareness that tourism development will inevitably lead to changes in host communities, and can have serious adverse impacts on local cultural values (Collins 1978; De Kadt 1979; Cohen 1988; Nunez 1989; Sharpley 1994; Burns and Holden 1995; Smith and Krannich 1998; Ashley 2000; Cooper, 2003; Butler and Hinch 2007 and Cooper *et al.* 2008), researchers over the past decade have paid increasing attention to the social effects of tourism (Du Cros 2001).

The socio-cultural impacts of tourism described in this section are the effects upon the local host community resulting from the development of the tourism industry. Many possible impacts of tourism upon local communities are associated with the development of tourism can be both positive and negative impacts. The following sections will address both negative and positive socio-cultural impacts from development of tourism in greater details, with some illustrative examples taken from a Karen and Hmong tribe in Thailand.

#### **Negative socio-cultural impacts from tourism**

The development of tourism has been considered as a significant factor that can cause negative impacts to the local community (De Kadt 1976; Butler 1978; Cohen 1984; Harrison 1992; Ross 1992; Lankford 1994; Mbaiwa 2005; Theobald 2005; Butler and Hinch 2007; Lepp 2007; Cooper *et al.* 2008). According to Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) and Cohen (1996, 2001) the more accessible host residents become, the more they have to suffer from losing their culture. Cohen (2004) suggests that the pressures of modern life that come in by the mean of tourism have forced some changes on host residents which has caused various problems, especially in terms of socio-cultural impacts. UNEP (2002) has described the most common impacts as the following:

#### **Commodification**

The term “commodification” is used to explain the impact that turns local cultures into commodities to comfort and fulfil tourist expectations (De Kadt 1979; Cohen 1988; Browne 1993; Burns and Holden 1995). Some traditional local products of the hill tribe such as taste of food, crafts, cloth, etc. have been adapted to tourist preferences and try to satisfy what tourists

like and somewhat abandon a little piece of their real traditions and style (Cohen 2002). It has also been pointed out in many tourism destinations, craftsmen have responded to the growing demand, and have made changes in design of their products according to the new customers' tastes to make more money (Cohen 1984). Therefore, the details are either left out or made without care (Cohen 1984; Davidson 1989). As a result of commodification of cultural goods, may create cultural erosion (Boniface 1998; Cohen 2004; Pinsarn 2006). These local people may lose their knowledge of the old designs and the interpretation and meanings of their local products (Davidson 1989; UNEP 2002). Whalley (1996) affirms that it is perhaps understandable that it is anticipated that the authenticity of their culture and custom will be ruined because of demand of tourist make the local products become commercial.

### **Standardization**

Tourism destinations risk standardization in the process of satisfying tourists' desires for familiar facilities (Collins 1978; Smeral 1998). It has become one of the common issues in tourist destination that when (mass) tourists visit unfamiliar destination, they tend to look for recognisable brands and facilities in an unknown environment to comfort themselves such as well-known fast food restaurants, hotel chains etc. Therefore, when there is a high demand of western amenities, a host destination that depends entirely on tourism industry will tend to adapt themselves and try to serve the needs of tourists, in order that factors such as the type of accommodation, food and drink etc. meet the tourist's wishes. Davidson (1989, p.170) defines this effect as, "cultural drift because it involves one culture drifting into another...the disco music and cocktail bars begin to replace the traditional music and leisure activities of the host population. "

### **Loss of authenticity**

The problem of loss of authenticity may occur when tourist destinations try to adapt cultural expressions and appearances to fit the tastes of tourists or even performing shows as if they were "real life" this practice constitutes "staged authenticity" (Haralambopoulos and Pizam 1996; Cohen 2004). For example, the meaningful Eating the New Rice ceremony and Nee Saw Coe, wedding ceremony, and funeral that can be seen only in a certain traditional occasion or once a year can now be seen throughout the year, as they organised it to boost their economic condition through the form of tourism, the ceremonies being arranged as a performance in the village for tourists (Rajani 2002). Moreover, the artificial white rope will be given to the tourists who visit the Karen tribal village as a souvenir, when originally it will only be given to the child as a protection from God during the New Year event (see Chapter 3, Karen tradition and custom) (Rajani, 2002). Although, this impact seems to occur more in the developing world, Davidson (1989) believes that even the developed world still cannot escape these effects, by giving



examples of the 'Cockney nights' in London's West End, and 'Caledonian evenings' in Edinburgh, at which guests are given kilts to wear and haggis to eat, have become commercialised to the extent that they now trivialise traditional cultures from different parts of Britain. Wall and Matheson (2006) point out that special events, sacred sites, religious rituals etc. may not be respected when they are perceived as goods or tourism products to trade.

### **Demonstration effect**

This effect concerns the behaviour of individuals caused by observation of the actions of others and their daily life (Greenwood 1972; Murphy 1985). Davidson (1989) offers a similar point of view that local people may respond to outsiders by imitating them. These outsiders can appear wealthy, successful and sophisticated, which may have the effect of causing younger generation of the host destination desire to become more like them, which can be simply done by imitating the outsiders' ambitions and values (Davidson 1989). It often happens in tourist destinations where local people copy tourists' behaviour, e.g., seeking pleasure, spending large amounts of money or dressing differently, and lose their own culture (Greenwood 1972). However, Maznevski (1995) argues that when people adapt to a new lifestyle or accept a new way of thinking does not mean they have to forget their own lifestyle or erase their prior way of interpreting situations. Sutamanakan (2007) offers an example of hill tribe people that some people chose to abandon their original career path and relocate themselves to the tourist destinations such as in central of Chiang Mai, Pai, Mae Hon Son, to work for outsiders in the tourism industry with the hope that by doing this will allow them to live lives like the outsiders and also give them chance to make money in order to spend extravagantly. Language is also another aspect that can be affected in this way, the language of the outsiders can threatens the survival of minority or second languages (Murphy 1985; Davidson 1989; Ryan 1991). Davidson (1989) explains that when some areas host a large amount of outsiders, the local language tend to decline in use much more rapidly than it has in those areas where less outsiders go to.

### **Ethical issues**

The impacts of tourism can create more serious concerns where ethical and even criminal issues are involved such as crime generation (De Kadt 1976; Graburn 1976; Pizam *et al.* 1982; Cooper *et al.* 2008; Brunt and Hooton 2010), child labour (Sharpley 1994; Lickorish and Jenkins 1997; UNEP 2002) and prostitution (Cohen 1982; Haralambopoulos and Pizam 1996; Fink 2003). These negative impacts are some of the effects arising from development of tourism in the host destination which can alter their host's social ways of life by subtracting and disturbing the basic and long-established norms of the host residents (Collins 1978; Mbaiwa 2005). Therefore,

tourism is considered as a factor that creates structural changes in society (Murphy 1985; Mathieson and Wall 2006).

Having reviewed the negative socio-cultural impacts of tourism the next section will review some of the positive socio-cultural impacts.

### **Positive socio-cultural impacts from tourism**

This section will emphasise on how tourism can contribute to socio-cultural aspects of destinations. UNEP (2002) has highlighted some of the potential positive impacts from tourism as being:

#### **A force for peace**

Tourism is an industry that brings people closer to one another, and by that, it creates understanding between people from different backgrounds and cultures by providing opportunity for cultural exchange between hosts and guests (Archer *et al.* 2005). In addition to this contact, it develops mutual understanding and sympathy for others with different cultures and values (Wall and Mathieson 2006).

#### **A force to strengthen communities**

The tourism industry provides employment opportunities for local residents in host destinations (Crompton and Sanderson 1990; Urry 1991; Harrison 1992; Sharpley 1994; Macleod 2004). According to Lickorish and Jenkins (1997) the income and employment opportunities arising from tourism provide solidity to community life. This opportunity not only generates extra income to the community members but also serves as a significant factor that helps reduce change in demographic structure in terms of the problem of residents moving out from their communities to search for job opportunity in more developed areas (Lickorish and Jenkins 1997). Tourism can influence local people to work together and participate in tourism development as well as improving their employment opportunities and earnings prospects, through tourism-related professional training and development of business and organisational skills (Crompton and Sanderson 1990; Macleod 2004).

#### **Conservation of culture and traditions**

Tourism creates an interest in these particular forms of culture, it can help in preserving traditional arts and crafts from being lost altogether (Smith 1978; Pearce 1982; Hobsbawm and

Ranger 1983; Davidson 1989; Reisinger and Turner 2003; Cohen 2004; Bangkok Post 2007; Boonkgamanong 2007). Cohen (1989) gives an example of the case of Laotian refugee camps in northern Thailand, where sponsoring agencies gave opportunities to tribal women by offering special courses for them to learn their traditional textile techniques which many of them, particularly the younger ones had no occasion to acquire previously. Davidson (1989) and Boonkgamanong (2007) support this argument that without the expansion of tourism, and the demand for souvenirs, some particular crafts may have been lost forever. Cohen also mentions that the younger generations frequently do not follow the occupations of their fathers. However, the increased contact with outside world may bring their cultural products to the attention of tourists or middlemen for the tourist market providing an alternative outlet for local product such as crafts, traditional textiles (Cohen 2004).

### **Encourages local involvement and pride**

Tourist destinations often have wonderful natural resources and unique cultural resources which could attract tourists from other countries (Shaw and Shaw 1999). In addition to the arrival of tourists, it can stimulate a feeling of pride in local and national heritage and an interest in its conservation. In many cases it was the arrival of tourism that led to members of communities participating for the first time in their traditional events and festivals (UNEP 2002). Lickorish and Jenkins (1997) and Archer *et al.* (2005) assert that tourism can also encourage contacts within the country, attracting young people and favouring local activities.

### **Facilities developed for tourism can benefit residents**

The development of tourism has supported the establishment of infrastructures, facilities and services that community members can benefit from it, such as: upgraded infrastructure, health and transport improvements, new recreational facilities, restaurants and public space as well as an influx of better quality of goods and food (McKercher 1993; Burns and Holder 1995; Leepreecha 2006; Ennard and Leepreecha 2009). These benefits can enhance the quality of life and provide higher living standards for a host destination (Cohen 2006; Cooper *et al.* 2008). Davidson (1989) suggests that though there are other factors that help create development in an area and tourism is considered as one of them, therefore without tourism, these facilities may not have been developed.

In conclusion, tourism is a significant industry and if it is introduced into a community there will be new benefits and impacts experienced by residents (Harrill 2004). Mason and Cheyne (2000) and Mathieson and Wall (2006) suggest that it is important for residents to be aware and

understand the cost and benefits from development of tourism, in order to alleviate negative impacts as well as maximise the positive benefits.

Having reviewed socio-cultural impacts from the development of tourism, now will turn our attention to interaction between hosts and guests of different cultural backgrounds, reasons behind the interactions, leading to impacts resulting from the interaction of hosts and guests.

## **2.9 Interaction**

### **2.9.1 Interaction between hosts and guests of different cultural backgrounds**

Interaction between hosts and guests of different cultural backgrounds refers to the direct face to face encounter between local residents and outsiders who are members of different cultural groups. This type of interaction is experienced by outsiders who visit and encounter with the host residents in the host destination. This section is directed at understanding the interaction between local hill tribe people and ETAs. By its nature, tourism brings outsiders into a local community and some of these people may eventually decide to move to the local community that once served as their tourism destination (Huang and Stewart 1996; Rothman 1998). Several studies have supported this notion (e.g., Smith 1977; Pizam 1978; Reisinger and Turner 2003; Reisinger 2009) which indicated that tourism is one of many forms of development that encourages interaction between people of different backgrounds. MacCannell (1973); Young (1973); Huang and Stewart (1996) affirm that local people may not only realise that their lifestyle can be a factor that attract a number of outsiders, but they also may find out more about new lifestyle and opportunity that they otherwise would not have known without the influx of those with an appreciation of the tourism potential from outside their area. The following section reviews reasons behind the interaction of hosts and outsiders.

### **2.9.2 Reasons behind the interaction of hosts and outsiders**

A study conducted by Kennedy (1998) reveals that two groups that are already culturally similar are more likely to interact, and therefore to become even more culturally similar. While on the contrary, two societies with no cultural similarity are unlikely to interact, and therefore will have no tendency to become more culturally similar. Robinson and Nemetz (1988); Reisinger and Turner (2003) also agree and support Kennedy's proposition by affirming that cultural similarities bring people together and dissimilarities separate people. However, Vergunst (2008) argues that at the present time when society is becoming more industrialised, there is an

increased demand for resources, such as human resources, and need for employment opportunities, as a result, there is an increased degree of interaction between people from urban and rural areas despite the similarity or dissimilarities in culture.

Wilson *et al.* (2001) indicate that community members and outsiders play an important role in tourism development and promotion and it cannot work without the participation and collaboration of outsiders directly and indirectly involved with the community members in tourism. Some researchers (e.g., Freeman 1984; Gunn 1994; Donaldson and Preston 1995; Keen 2004) believe that in order for the community to become a successful and well developed tourism destination, it will often need help and support from a number of stakeholders not only by local residents but also entrepreneurs, middlemen-minorities, government sectors. Moreover Murphy (1985); Gunn (1994); Palmer and Bejou (1995) and Wilson *et al.* (2001) offer a similar notion that most tourism destination in remote areas do not have the individual resources and abilities to promote either themselves or the community as a tourist product. According to Keen (2002) these interactions in tourism business between local and ETAs are emerging for several reasons:

- It is difficult for communities to develop their assets on their own, as they lack access to capital, tourism expertise and marketing skills etc.
- In a context where tourism is growing in a new destination, ETAs need access to new opportunities, and hence to the assets owned by communities.
- Tourism is increasingly being seen as an option to enhance quality of life of local communities
- There are many initiatives to support tourism in the community, one of them is through working with ETAs in the area.

Moreover, Shaw and Shaw (1999) offer the following reasons for why the interactions of community and ETAs occur:

- Developing countries are poor, so they often need help from tourism to attain economic prosperity.
- Developing countries generally have magnificent natural resources and unique culture than many developed countries.
- Because of their poor economic conditions, the development of tourism in developing countries does not have sufficient capitals, so they need help from the outsiders such as: foreign investment.

The recommendations of Keen (2002) and Shaw and Shaw (1999) are very similar. Another study conducted by Benbow (2008) proposes the significance of the following perspectives in regard to the creation of interactions between local and ETAs:

- The limitations of local infrastructure
- Small number of local entrepreneurs
- External funding and the focus on a particular market segment

Despite the fact that tourism development can be expensive and local people may have limited capabilities to do so in certain cases such as large resort and hotel, some other researchers (e.g., Shaw and Williams 1994; Fesenmaier *et al.* 1995) however, disagree with the aforementioned reasons, and point out that the development of rural tourism is not necessarily dependent on ETAs because with the help and participant from local community members is enough to develop rural tourism to be successful with less cost in the development process. Therefore, rural tourism need not involve dependency on the outsiders. According to Paengnoy (2007) due to the fact that their main occupation is still farming linked to a rapid growth in their population, there is a need for alternative ways to earn more income. Tourism happens to be known as the means to stimulate local economy as well as providing job opportunities. Therefore, local people who are in need tend to allow ETAs to come into their area, with hope to find employment opportunities offer by them, which mostly are businesses related to tourism (Paengnoy 2007).

However, Prachachart (2008) notes that in reality the tourism industry in hill tribe area is mostly dominated by outside investors. These groups of people have the ability to set up a business, yet they still need help from the local to provide tourists with a typical hill tribe experience. A study by Ashley and Jones (2001) supports this argument by pointing out that the involvement of tourism business activities between communities and private non resident investors are an emerging trend in Southern Africa as well, because of the aforementioned reasons. Therefore, it can be logically concluded that without the help from one another, rural tourism cannot be successfully developed because it requires several components from both local and the outsiders which include:

- Attractions: the natural and manmade features both within and adjacent to a community.
- Promotion: the marketing of a community and its tourism attractions to potential tourists.
- Tourism infrastructure: access facilities (roads, airports, trains, and buses), water and power services, parking, signs, and recreation facilities.

- Services: lodging, restaurants, and the various retail businesses needed to take care of tourists' needs.
- Hospitality: how tourists are treated by both community residents and employees in tourism businesses and attractions.
- Tourism entrepreneurs: their role in fostering these components.

Gunn (1988 in Wilson *et al.* 2001, p.133)

Therefore, the interaction between the local and ETAs in the community is evident in two ways. The first dimension of this dynamic is the way that ETAs utilise the community as part of their tourism product and the way they manage community to ensure the smooth running of the business. The second way reflects the reality that rural communities are often in a relatively weak position in relation to other stakeholders in the tourism process, as they usually lack the information, power and resources especially when finance is not available locally (McLaren 1998). As a result, they often permit outsiders to step in and help out with what the community lacks and gain positive impacts from the success of an enterprise owned by the outsiders (Woodley 1993). In conclusion, a diverse range of reasons frequently creates a complex environment in which tourism activities are developed and operated. This complexity ensures that the interaction between the ETAs and local in the community is inevitable (Wilson *et al.* 2001).

### **2.9.3 Impacts result from the interaction of host and guests**

The impacts described in this section are the effects upon the host residents resulting from the cross-cultural contact of host and guest. According to Brislin and Cushner (1996) there is an increase in intercultural and intracultural interactions throughout the world, which has an influence on behaviours, thought patterns, socioeconomic status, culture and religion etc. Ap (1990); Allen *et al.* (1993); Sharpley (1994); Mathieson and Wall (2006) believe that the key to the socio-cultural impacts of tourism is the interaction between hosts and guests. A number of scholars have examined hosts and guests contacts and its impacts. Table 2.1 below summarises studies on tourist-host encounters and its impacts.

**Table 2.1 Literature on interaction between hosts and guests**

<b>Author/ year</b>	<b>Research focus</b>
Doxey (1975); De Kadt (1979) Pearce (1982); Pearce and Bochner (1982); Pearce (1984) Reisinger and Turner (2003)	The effects of intercultural tourist-host contact on host attitudes, behaviour and values toward tourists.
Pearce (1982)	The effects of social contact between tourists and hosts and the way in which tourists and hosts view one another.
Mittelberg (1988); Sharpley (1994) Uriely and Reichel (2000) Mathieson and Wall (2006)	The effect of tourist-host contact in terms of the social and cultural impacts of tourism development.
Pizam (1982)	The tourist-host contact as a potential source of crime.
Krippendorf (1987)	The tourist-host contact in terms of understanding and communication.
Ryan (1991)	The disappearance of the local language and dialect as an outcome of tourist-host contact.
Srisang (1991)	The unequal nature of tourist and host relations by discussing its most extreme form of child prostitution.
McKercher (1993); Boniface (1999)	The tourist and host contact as a potential source of conflict because of the differences in tourist and host demands.
Sharpley (1994)	The host adoption of foreign languages
Burns and Holden (1995)	The host coping behaviour and efforts to avoid contact.
McIntosh <i>et al.</i> (1995)	The host resentment towards tourists as an outcome of the economic gap between tourists and hosts.
Black <i>et al.</i> (1996)	The communicative messages behind the tourist-host encounter and examined whether host perceptions of their guests and of themselves change overtime.

The interaction between people of different cultural backgrounds may result in positive as well as negative outcomes (Williams 1947; Rose 1948; Saenger 1953; Allpoty 1954; Cook 1962; Brewer and Miller 1996; Berry 2005; Brunt 2010). The following tables present common negative and positive outcomes for the host residents from the cross-cultural interaction between hosts and guests.



**Table 2.2 Negative outcomes of the local from the cross-cultural interaction between host and outsiders**

Author/ year	Outcomes
Downs and Stea (1977); Andronicou (1979); Hofstede (2001); Reisinger (2009)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Becoming confused about their identity, which can weaken their value of beliefs</li> <li>• Losing their culture due to the forces of shared culture</li> </ul>
Keen (2002)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Facing cultural conflict and culture shock</li> </ul>
Poostchi (1986); Rattanasuwongchai (1989); Ryan (1991); Huang and Stewart (1996); UNEP (2002); Archer <i>et al.</i> (2005); Cohen (2006); Pinsarn (2006)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The host culture being restructured, for example, the agriculture which was the basis of traditional life is replaced by, and becomes secondary to tourism</li> </ul>
Cohen (2006); HADF (2007)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Facing a conflict from income contribution among the local residents themselves which often weakens the community</li> </ul>
McMillan and Chavis (1986)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A problem of fractionalisation in society which divides people into groups. As a result, it can create boundaries between residents in a community</li> </ul>
Doxey (1975); Hofstede (1980); Bochner (1982); Huang and Stewart (1996)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increased the negative feelings resulting from the frequent interaction between people of different cultural backgrounds</li> </ul>
Young (1973); Feather (1976); Peck and Lepie (1977); Petit-Skinner (1977); Reiter (1977); Urbanowicz (1977); Boissevain (1979); De Kadt (1979); Biddlecomb (1981); Cooke (1982); Ngunjiri (1985); Jackson (1989); Bianchi (2003); Reisinger and Turner (2003); Nyaupane <i>et al.</i> (2008); Salem (2010)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Clash of values, conflicts and disharmonies in the host community</li> </ul>
Brewer and Miller (1984); Furnham and Bochner (1986); Milman <i>et al.</i> (1990); Pizam <i>et al.</i> (1991); Anastasopoulos (1992); Hofstede (1997); Uriely and Reichel (2000); Marx (2001)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The interaction between outsiders and the host residents is the most superficial form of cultural encounter and are less likely to be positive</li> </ul>

Table 2.2 indicates that local people may be suffered from having cross-cultural contacts with outsiders. According to Liu *et al.* (2007) tourism development in developing countries or less developed destinations is usually dominated by the outsiders who hold different values which disrupts host culture. Host communities often are the weaker party in interactions with their guests and service providers (UNEP 2002; Shaw and Williams 2004). Therefore, if one culture from a stronger party interacts with a weaker one, the local community often loses its own culture. However, it is also widely recognised that the host residents may also benefits from the cross-cultural contacts, especially through the form of tourism which has been accepted by many rural areas in spite of its negative effects (Poostchi 1986; Rattanasuwongchai 1998; Rajani 2002; Buadang 2004; Karabati *et al.* 2009). Table 2.3 below presents positive outcomes from cross-cultural contacts between hosts and outsiders.

**Table 2.3 Positive outcomes from the cross-cultural interaction between host and outsiders**

Author/ year	Outcomes
Cook (1962); Buck (1978); Bochner (1982); Pizam (1982); Uriely and Reichel (2000); Thyne <i>et al.</i> (2006)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Gaining knowledge of each other and their culture</li> <li>• Foster social interaction and improve and preserve local's traditional values</li> </ul>
Mann (1959); Nunez (1963); Cohen (1971); Li and Yu (1974); Fulbright (1976); Robinson and Preston (1976); Bochner (1982); Pearce (1982a); Pizam (1982); Fisher and Price (1991); Pettigrew (1998); Uriely and Reichel (2000); Litvin (2003); Reisinger and Turner (2003); Snow (2008)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Enhancement of positive attitudes towards each other in terms of mutual appreciation, understanding, respect, tolerance and liking</li> </ul>
(Davidson 1989).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Being inspired by successful careers, resulting in gaining determination</li> <li>• Developing greater ambitions for themselves</li> <li>• Becoming more independent thinking as outsiders</li> </ul>
Dee (1998); Hogh (1998); Warren (1998).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Learning and adopting change to create and sustain social value</li> </ul>
Myers (1962); Kakabadse <i>et al.</i> (2004)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• By working together in the shared event can help bring people closer to one another because their involvement helps create bond between community members</li> </ul>

To be noted, some literature (e.g., Ap 1992; Ap and Crompton 1993; Aref and Gill 2009) suggest that their judgment of positive or negative outcome depends on whether or not the benefits host residents gain can outweigh the negative outcomes. While others (e.g., Pearce 1989; Nyaupane *et al.* 2008) believe otherwise by suggesting that the interaction between outsiders and host residents only confirms previous attitudes toward each other, regardless of whether these attitudes are positive or negative. Therefore, there is no confirmation on whether an outcome of the interaction between host residents and ETAs can be more positive or more negative, as it depends on value and judgment of individual.

However, Keen (2000) suggests that, the abilities of non resident business owners with the involvement of local people have a significant impact on the community. Despite a large number of studies (e.g., Fox 1977; Pizam 1978; Cohen 1984; Hall 1992; Ross 1992; Ap and Crompton 1993; Wall and Mathieson 2006) which have emphasised the impacts resulting from the interaction of local communities and its tourists, there is however, a limited information about the interaction between ETAs and local tribal residents. Therefore, the interaction between ETAs and community members creates interrelationship which may potentially play an important role in shaping the community.

Having reviewed literature related to residents' perceptions and socio-cultural impacts, however, the interaction between people of different cultures in the workplace is another focus of the research. Therefore, the following section begins with a review of literature relating to cross-cultural work groups, leading to cause of cultural diversities in the workplace and its outcomes.

## **2.10 Cross-cultural work groups**

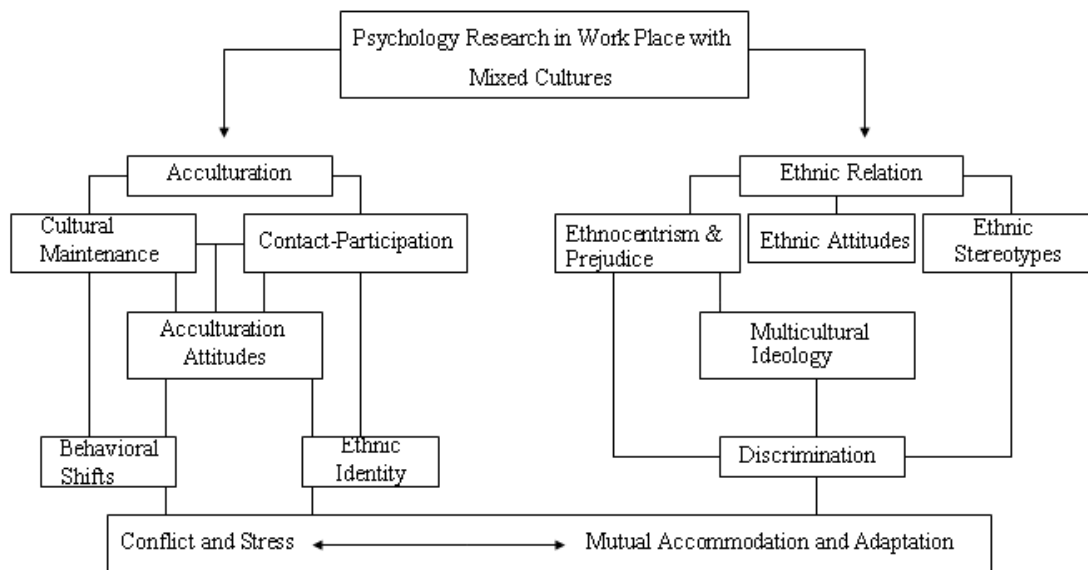
The concept of cultural plurality has become accepted in all contemporary societies (Fine *et al.* 1990; Triandis *et al.* 1993). Berry (1997) also believes that there are no longer any societies that can claim to be homogeneous. Granrose and Oskamp (1997) assert that after people from different cultural backgrounds have come to live together in a diverse society, they often form cultural groups that are not equal numerically, economically, or in terms of political power. These are variously known as mainstream, minority, ethnic groups etc. Berry (1990a) supports the idea by suggesting that minorities are often becoming part of the mainstream culture. However, UNESCO (1985) and Kymlicka (1995) argue that this phenomenon does not always happen, and in some cases it is resisted by either or both the dominant and non-dominant cultural groups, resulting in continuing cultural diversity.

### **2.10.1 Cause of cultural diversities in the workplace**

According to Tung (1993) a cross-cultural work group often form after an organisation recruit people from different cultures to work together. Granrose and Oskamp (1997) highlight several factors as reasons of cultural diversities in the work places by explaining that some groups voluntarily to come live together (e.g., immigrants, in this case the ETAs) while another group is involuntary involved with others (e.g., refugees, slaves, indigenous peoples). Some groups come into contact with other society because they have migrated to a new location (e.g., immigrants and refugees) which could be permanent (e.g., immigrants and ethno-cultural groups) or temporary stay (e.g. sojourners such as guest workers and asylum seekers). While there is another group that have had the new culture brought to them (e.g., indigenous peoples and national minorities) (Granrose and Oskamp 1997). Despite different factors in leading to the establishment of plural societies, Berry and Sam (1996) suggest that the fundamental processes of intercultural relations and psychology adaptation appear to be common among these groups, what different is the degree of their interaction of each group which can result different outcome of their contact.

Granrose and Oskamp (1997) offer a diagram explaining outcome of the contact in culturally plural societies which has been divided into two domains; acculturation and ethnic relations. Berry (1990a) points out that when individuals or groups have continuous intercultural contact, they may result in change upon them. However, Granrose and Oskamp (1997) assert that the results from the interaction could be varies due to number of factors such as social, political and psychological factors that are involve in the two groups in contact. Granrose and Oskamp (1997) also suggest that acculturation and ethnic relations in plural society can result in state of affairs that ranges from conflict and stress to mutual accommodation and adaptation.

**Figure 2.1 Psychological research in work place with mixed cultures**  
Adapted from Granrose and Oskamp (1997)



Granrose and Oskamp (1997) explain that the results of ongoing interaction of people engaged in shared activities are cultural maintenance which is when one's cultural identity and characteristics important to maintain. Transformation is another outcome from the interaction and is dependent upon to what extent one becomes involved with other cultural groups. In addition a conceptual framework is generated which posits four strategies of acculturation and another form of relation, it deals with the ability to get along with others from a different cultural background which is known as intercultural relations (Granrose and Oskamp 1997). According to Berry (1974) from the point of view of non-dominant groups (which in this study is the selected hill tribe people) the following are the principal strategies:

- Assimilation strategy is defined when individual do not wish to maintain their cultural identity and seek daily interaction with other cultures
- Separation alternative is defined when individuals place a value on holding onto their original culture, and at the same time wish to avoid interaction with others
- Integration strategy is defined when there is an interest in both maintaining one's original culture, and being in daily interactions with other groups by maintaining some degree of cultural integrity while at the same time seeking to participate as an integral part of the larger social network
- Marginalisation is defined when there is little possibility of or interest in cultural maintenance and little interest in having relations with others

### **2.10.2 Outcome of cross-cultural interactions in the workplace**

According to Punnett and Shenkar (1995) in the cross-cultural workplace people of different cultural backgrounds (minority) are expected to work in ways identical to the mainstream (majority), however the majority are often disappointed in the outcome. Berry and Kalin (1995) support this argument by affirming that people who are from different cultural backgrounds often think and act in ways they are used to which may only be relevant to their own values and beliefs. Lalonde and Cameron (1993) point out by having cross cultural work group may result in beneficial outcomes as they can gain different perspectives not only from the majority but also the minority's point of view. On the other hand, Brewer (1986) and McConahey (1986) share a similar idea by affirming that cross-cultural work groups can also create conflict among themselves. Despite the beneficial outcomes, Granrose and Oskamp (1997) argue that in most cases the minorities' view often gets ignored or punished.

Landis *et al.* (1993) highlight the benefits of cross-cultural work group as to promote equal opportunity, social justice and economic development by involving minorities into majority-dominated work group. Despite these positive outcomes, McConahey (1986) has contradicted Landis's study by arguing that in most cases, minorities often fail to receive equal opportunity or justice either inside or outside work group. Brewer (1986) also explain the cause of these outcomes which arise from basic intergroup dynamics- such as the apparent universal tendency to view one's own group as superior and more trustworthy than other groups. When the distinction of ingroup and outgroup membership is based on cultural group (ethnocentrism), rather than the work group, then opinion often formed beforehand which often result in discrimination against members of different cultures within a work group (Brewer 1986; Dipboye and Colella 2005). Kmec (2006) agrees with Brewer by arguing that discrimination often leads to less effective functioning and negative work group interaction. Stephan (1994) also suggests that discrimination from cross-cultural workplaces may lead to avoidance or impoliteness, which is harmful to work group functioning. Moreover, cross-cultural working group may lead to unequal treatment of, or unequal opportunities for, group members not belonging to the most powerful cultural ingroup (Kinder and Sears 1981; Glick and Fiske 1994).

### **2.11 Conflict in the workplace**

According to Foster (2000) conflict is a normal and natural part of the workplace and personal lives. Conflict exists when two or more parties disagree about something within the setting in which work is performed (Bacal 1998). Masters and Albright (2002) also suggest that the resolution of the conflict to mutual satisfaction cannot occur without some mutual effort. The

disagreement may be real or merely perceived, but it is psychologically felt by at least one of the parties (Masters and Albright 2002).

### **2.11.1 Cause of conflict in the workplace**

Bacal (1998) affirms that conflict occurs from a clash of perceptions, goals, or values in an organisation where people care about the outcome. The fundamentals for conflict could be confusion about something, or disagreement with, the common purpose and how to achieve it while also achieving individual goals within an organisation (Bacal 1998). According to Foster (2000) the competition for limited (internal and external) resources will cause conflict. Foster (2000) categorises the basic components of conflict as follow:

- Two or more persons are involved
- There is a perceived incompatibility between ideas, actions, beliefs, or goals
- The opposing sides see their way as the only way to achieve their goals and objectives

Dixon (2010) highlights most common conflicts in the workplace:

- Interdependence conflicts: a person's job depends on someone else's co-operation, output or input. For example, a worker on the production line works at a slower rate and does not give effective job performance. This will affect the next worker in the production line, as he/she will not be able to complete his tasks as expected.
- Differences in style: people's style for completing a job can differ, this might affect others and cause conflicts.
- Differences in background/gender: conflicts can happen between people because of their differences, which may result in conflicts in the workplace due to differences in what they value.
- Differences in leadership: leaders have different styles. If one person has more than one leader or they change from one to another, he might find himself in a conflicting work environment.
- Differences in personality: everyone has a different personality and this can cause conflicts in any social environment. People look at things differently, which shows differences in perceptions and may result in conflicts in the workplace.

Foster (2000) concludes that conflict can result in a positive impact as it can stimulate the organisation to make some necessary changes within the workplace. However, Bacal (1998)

suggests that it is important to understand the conflict in the workplace in order to prevent it from happening. Bacal (1998) also explains that the unsolved conflict can result in feelings of dissatisfaction, unhappiness, hopelessness, depression and other emotions which can result in behaviours such as physical or emotional withdrawal, resignation from jobs, dissolution of personal relations, aggression, and even violence.

## **2.12 Employment in tourism**

Metcalf (1987) affirms that tourism industry has been one of the fastest sectors of employment growth. Tourism employment sector comprises of three sectors which are accommodation and catering; travel and passenger transport and tourism leisure and related activities (ETB/IMS 1986). *“the tourist industry consists of all those firms, organisations and facilities which are intended to serve the specific needs and wants of the tourists”* (Leiper 1979, p.400). However, Baum (1993) affirms that employment in accommodation and catering are the dominant employment sectors within tourism.

Burns (1993) on the other hands points out that it is difficult to address the boundaries of tourism employment. Szivas (1999) states that tourism employment tends to be only focused on hotel sector, however, other sectors can also stimulate tourist expenditures. Riley *et al.* (2002) agree with Szivas’s by affirming that apart from the hotels and travel agents that are obvious as tourism employment, there are also other tourism-related occupations such as resorts and motels, camping sites, hostels, health-oriented accommodation facilities, restaurants, bars, fast food, night clubs, taxi services, airline and car rental companies, travel agencies, amusement parks, tourists attractions, tour guides, tourist information services, souvenir shops, beach vendors etc. that serve not only tourists but as well as locals (WTO 1997). Smith (1988) indicates that tourism employment should be divided into two sectors: first sectors are those businesses that their main revenue is derived from tourists, and the second one are those businesses which serve both tourists and locals.

Jordan (1997) on the other hand, indicates that employment within tourism varies considerably, encompassing everything from direct employment in travel agencies, tour operators, food service and accommodation, to indirect employment in souvenir production and retail. Bourdain (2000) agrees with Jordan’s and explains that not every employee is directly involved and dealing with the tourists or working within “front-of-house” such as waiters, bartenders, front offices in hotels, receptionists, travel agencies, tourism information offices, aircrafts or shopping outlets, there are other employees who do not have direct contact with tourists are known as “back-of-house” employee, for example restaurant suppliers, cooks, porters,



accountants, maintenance people, marketing agencies etc. For the purpose of this research, both front-of-house and back-of-house hotel employees from the tourism businesses whose total income earned mainly from ETAs were included.

### **2.12.1 Image of tourism employment**

The image of tourism employment appears to be distinctive: tourism jobs possess a certain image of glamour while other tourism jobs can be seen as of low status and low skill. The National Economic Development Council (NEDC) (1992) reports that the positive characteristics attributed to tourism are opportunities to travel, meeting people, foreign language use and variety. However, Corcoran and Johnson (1974) and (NEDC 1992) also highlight some of the down sides of tourism employment, images of low pay, long hours and minimal training prevail. Corcoran and Johnson (1974) and Sindiga (1994) affirm that tourism employment such as hotel work that is dealing with servicing often has a low image and often seen as menial and low level for unskilled hands' and many of them are considered to be demeaning. Jafari *et al.* (1990) and Mathieson and Wall (2006) state that tourism worker often described as a low skill employer in the general sense of tourism literature. The International Labour Office (1989, p.9) also report similar findings that 'in some countries the sector is not yet viewed favourably as an employer owing to poor employment and working conditions and high levels of unskilled employment'. Riley *et al.* (2002) conclude that meeting new people and chance to travel are often seen as glamorous and attractive aspects of tourism employment but it contains some negative aspects such as low pay, service and servile status.

Despite the negative image of tourism employment, Jafari *et al.* (1990); Cukier-Snow and Wall (1993) and The Tourism Alliance (2001) state that there is often a high demand in tourism employment, one of the reasons is that it has an easy access to get a job. Riley *et al.* (2002) explain that tourism employment accommodates those with a great variety of skills, low skill levels or with no relevant skills. Tourism jobs often require lower levels of qualification and these employees often do not have high status (Riley *et al.* 2002). Pizam (1982, p.5) therefore, defines tourism employee as 'uneducated, unmotivated, untrained, unskilled and unproductive'. Alpert (1986) indicates that for restaurant job is not a career option for many workers, but rather a preparation for a career in another section of the economy. Alpert (1986) also highlights the benefits of tourism employment in terms of restaurant sector is that it provides a convenient opportunity to gain work experience, training and some income.

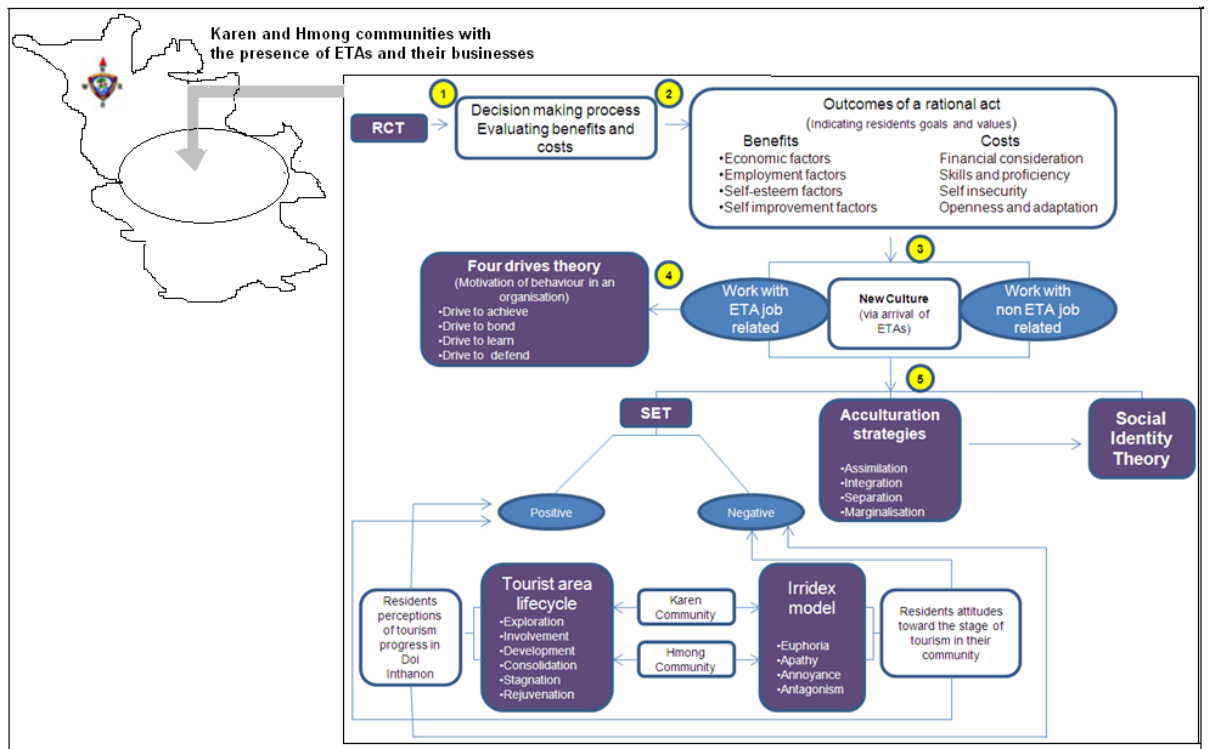
### **2.13 Conceptual framework**

This research applies a range of theories to the analysis of similarities and differences between and within ethnic groups in the perceived impacts on themselves and changes in their communities from those who are working with ETAs and those not working with ETAs. Rational choice theory is applied to address one of the research objectives that explains the reason why some respondents have chosen to work for ETAs while others have chosen not to. Then, the four drives theory is used, with those who working with ETAs, to explain types of employee motivation in the workplace.

Social exchange theory is used to highlight the Karen and Hmong evaluation of transaction to help explain why these residents perceive impacts from ETAs in the way they did. Doxey's Irridex model is used as a framework to justify attitude and perception of the hill tribe people towards the stage of tourism in their communities. While, Butler's tourist destination lifecycle model is used to support their perceptions of tourism development in Doi Inthanon brought about by ETAs.

Acculturation theory is applied to the analysis of differences between and within ethnic groups of those who working and not working with ETAs in their degree of adaptation towards ETAs. Then, social identity theory is used to explain how group actions in working environment between ETAs and hill tribe people can influence and change the identities of individuals involved in them. These theories are believed to be appropriate conceptual frameworks upon this subject area.

Figure 2.2 The conceptual framework applied in Doi Inthanon site



### Rational Choice Theory

Rational choice theory (RCT) was proposed by sociologists and political scientists who have tried to build theories around the idea that all action is fundamentally 'rational' in character and that people calculate the likely costs and benefits of any action before deciding what to do (Elster 1989). RCT is primarily a normative theory (Elster 1989). It emphasises the role of enlightened self-interest in individual decision-making (Elster 1989; Coleman 1990). The RCT is based on the assumption that action is purposeful, and choices are the outcome of the rational pursuit of ends, by considering the outcome from the current action (Muth 1961; Coleman 1990; Berninghaus *et al.* 2003). RCT is a framework for understanding people's decisions and their actions regarding their social and economic behaviour (Becker 1978; Arrow 1987; Moser 1990; Bicchieri 1993). According to Green (2002) RCT is an approach used by social scientists to understand human behaviour. It is the dominant theoretical paradigm in microeconomics. However, it has become more widely used by several scholars (e.g., Becker 1976; Radnitzky and Bernholz 1987; Hogarth and Reder 1987; Swedberg 1990; and Green and Shapiro 1996) in other disciplines such as sociology, modern political science, and anthropology. The rationality described by RCT is different from the colloquial and most philosophical uses of rationality. Although models of rational choice are diverse, all assume individuals will see if the price of doing something is greater than the price of not doing then there is likely that their decisions will be towards doing the thing they perceive as more valuable to them (Elster 1989; Coleman 1990; Ulen 1998; Green 2002).

In RCT, individuals are seen as motivated by the wants or goals that express their preferences (Coleman 1990). As it is not possible for individuals to achieve all of the various things that they want, they must also make choices in relation to both their goals and the means for attaining these goals. RCT holds that individuals must anticipate the outcomes of alternative courses of action and calculate which will be best for them (Carling 1992; Green 2002). Rational individuals choose the alternative that is likely to give them the greatest satisfaction (Heath 1976; Carling 1992).

RCT adopts a methodological individualist position and attempts to explain all social phenomena in terms of the rational calculations made by self-interested individuals (Homans 1961). RCT sees social interaction as social exchange. Economic action involves an exchange of goods and services; social interaction involves the exchange of approval and certain other valued behaviours. In order to emphasise the parallels with economic action, rewards and punishments in social exchange have generally been termed rewards and costs, with action being motivated by the pursuit of a profitable balance of rewards over costs (Homans 1961). The various things that a person might do - his or her opportunities - vary in their costs, but they also vary in their rewards. In many cases, there will be a combination of monetary and non-monetary rewards and costs. Becker (1978) gives an example of stealing a car; it might be rewarding because of the pleasures derived from joy riding, the recognition and social approval accorded by fellow car thieves as well as the value of the goods or the amount of money resulting directly from crime. This action also involves costs such as imprisonment and social disapproval that will be incurred if the thief is apprehended and convicted (Becker 1978).

According to Homans (1961) the profit that a person gains in an interaction is measured by the rewards received minus the costs incurred. Homans states that 'no exchange continues unless both parties are making a profit' (Homans 1961, p. 61). Participants in social interaction engage in a calculus of rewards and costs and the interaction will continue in a stable form only if all participants are making a profit. Those who experience a loss will withdraw and will seek out alternative interactions where they are more likely to earn a profit. A sustained social relationship, therefore, rests upon a balance of mutual profitability (Homans 1961).

### **The use of RCT in the scope of the research**

Due to the nature of this research, RCT is applied to explore the reasons behind the tribal resident's decisions to work with ETAs or not to work with ETAs. One of the objectives of this research addresses the tribal residents' reasons behind the choice of their career - in this case, their reasons for working with ETAs and for not working with ETAs. However, most of the motivations in employment theory -e.g. employee motivation, motivation decision, achievement

motivation theory- are dealing with what motivates or demotivates people who are already in an organisation.

Although RCT and social exchange theory (SET) are based on the same fundamental of exchange theory (Coleman 1990) SET does not seem to be the most suitable theory for this objective in explaining the decision of choice of action of the tribal residents. However, SET is considered to be more appropriate in the other part of this research in explaining the tribal residents' perceptions concerning the outcome (favourable or unfavourable) after evaluating the costs and benefits from the interaction. Yet, it does not look at which benefit from a certain choice of action is most rational for the residents. Whereas, RCT focuses on which action is perceived to be the most rational for them to pursue their goals allowing the researcher to see the differences in values held between the Karen and Hmong ethnic groups.

In conclusion, RCT was considered to be appropriate for underlining the selected tribal people's career decisions. The advantages of using RCT is that it gives an explanation for their reasons of working and not working with ETAs, which consist of showing what goals these people are pursuing and how the action is a reasonable choice given their goal.

### **Limitations of RCT**

There have been some criticisms about RCT that it is an unfamiliar technique, wielded principally by young scholars and clearly threatens the academic standing of those who use traditional methods (Green 2002). Green points out that RCT may be fine for the consideration of explicit market decisions such as which car to buy, whether to lease the car or to purchase it with a loan, which job to take and what terms and conditions to accept etc. These are quantifiable decisions and involve something tangible such as money and that currency allows comparison among different economic courses of action. However, it does not seem too popular to apply to other areas such as whom to marry or how many children to have and so on (Green 2002). Arrow (1989) explains that RCT is more suitable with market choices than for non-market choices, because market choices are frequent and routine, meaning, if people make mistakes when they make their first market choices, they have an opportunity to learn through repeated transactions. For example, a decision to go to work for a certain company -there are many people who have made this decision, so that there is the possibility of learning from others about potential disasters and benefits from this transaction. However, for those non-market choices -love and marriage such as who to marry as examples- there are not frequent incidents for people to repeat opportunities and learn from others with similar circumstances (Ulen 1998). Another problem of RCT is that it can only apply to those people who act rationally. It does not take other types of action such as emotional acts into consideration (Coleman 1990). Moreover,

it does not touch upon people's perceptions why they perceive in a certain way. Therefore, this research attempts to apply SET to support the findings of the selected tribal people's perceptions of impacts, from the arrival of ETAs, they see in themselves and changes they see in their community.

### **The Four Drive Theory**

The four drive model is a theory on employee motivation. This theory looks at the motivation of employees beyond monetary benefits such as pay, bonus and other incentives (Lawrence and Norhira 2001). The four drive theory (FDT) is based on research that shows four underlying drives that influence interactions in the workplace: 1) the drive to acquire and achieve; 2) the drive to bond and belong; 3) the drive to be challenged and comprehend and 4) the drive to defend (Lawrence and Norhira 2001). They explain the four drive as follows: the drive to acquire includes both material goods and status and can lead to both excellent performance and detrimental competition. The drive to bond can lead to interactions of support among co-workers. The drive to learn is satisfied by work environments that stimulate curiosity and allow for exploration and developing understanding. Employees are driven by opportunities to learn new things at work and the chance to gain skills and/or knowledge as a part of their work. According to Lawrence and Norhira (2001), acquisition, bonding and learning are active drives that humans seek to fulfil, the defend drive is different as it has to be stimulated by a threat to become active. In conclusion, the basic premise is that employees are driven by the four drives mentioned above and applying this model will help an understanding of how the four drives influence individual motivation.

### **The use of the FDT in the scope of the research**

This research uses the FDT as one of the frameworks for explaining the behaviour of Karen and Hmong employees who work with ETAs in an organisation. It can be used to describe the factors that drive these Karen and Hmong to interact in a certain way within their workplace with ETAs. According to Lawrence and Norhira (2001) each of the four drives (acquire, bond, comprehend, and defend) includes features and components that influence interactions in the workplace. Therefore, this model can help provide a framework for what behaviour is occurring in the multicultural workplace that consists of minority and majority groups.

### **Limitations of the FDT**

Although, the FDT can help describe the motivations of respondents to interact with their co-workers (ETAs) in a certain way in their workplace, the relative strength of each drive varies in

individuals. Moreover, the influence of individual drives can be different over time in each person. Furthermore, the outcome from using the theory in one case cannot be used to support or assess other cases as employees' experience and motivation may vary in different organisations and factors that motivate one employee may differ from others. Moreover, this model does not address all of the possible factors that can influence the motivation of employees to act in a certain way.

### **Social Exchange Theory**

Social exchange theory (SET), a model rooted in social psychology was developed by Emerson (1962) and has been used with much success, and it is widely used in tourism research to find out residents' perceptions encountered in a tourist destination (Perdue *et al.* 1987; Nash 1989; Ap 1992; Allen *et al.* 1993; Andereck and Vogt 2000). Several researchers have applied this theory to study diversity of perceptions in a single community (Perdue *et al.* 1987; Ap 1992; Madrigal 1993; Riley 1995; Jurowski *et al.* 1997; Snepenger *et al.* 1998). These studies found that host residents favour tourism when the benefit they acquire from tourism is more than what they lose from the industry. The theory assumes that people select exchanges after having assessed rewards and costs (Ap 1992). People who evaluate the exchange as beneficial perceive the same impact differently than someone who evaluates the exchange as harmful (Turner 1986; Ap 1992). Theoretically, residents who view the results of tourism as personally valuable and believe that the costs do not exceed the benefits will perceive more positively and favour the exchange of tourism.

Sutton (1967) asserts that host and guest contact can be compared to a social exchange, therefore, the social interaction between outsiders and host residents can be assessed in terms of perceived costs and benefits. According to Triandis (1976) the perceived costs and benefits determine whether or not the interaction is perceived as rewarding; the contact can be perceived as rewarding when benefits outweigh costs, despite initial negative perceptions (Ap 1992). If the perceived costs outweigh benefits, the contact is perceived negatively (Triandis 1976). Reisinger and Turner (2003) suggest that the measurement of the perceived costs and benefits depends upon the cultural similarity and differences between participants. The more similar people are the more likely they perceive their interaction as rewarding, and the more different they are the more likely they perceive their interaction as being costly for them.

### **The use of SET in the scope of the research**

Ap (1992) mentioned that perceptions of residents derive from having evaluated the benefits and costs of tourism and exchange those costs with benefits from tourism, similarly, it also

applies to the benefits and costs from the arrival of ETAs. Therefore it provides an appropriate component of a framework to investigate residents' perceptions of socio-cultural impacts on each individual and changes they perceive in their community result from hosting ETAs.

In this regard, SET acts as a framework to provide explanations for the hill tribe people perceptions, both positive and negative, towards the arrival of ETAs. Therefore this theory is applied in attempting to understand perceptions of residents of the Karen and Hmong both who working and those who not working with ETAs in the Doi Inthanon community.

### **Limitations of SET**

SET explains residents' perceptions toward tourism based on the relationship between them and the exchange. However, the theory tends to emphasize the exchange in terms of economic benefits (Miller 2005; Terzidou *et al.* 2008), therefore, not many SET studies are concerned with an exchange in terms of social and cultural benefits but tend to pay more attention to costs and benefits in terms of economic benefits.

However it is argued that the transactions of exchange do not have to be only in a monetary form but it can be anything that residents' value and can influence their perceptions. This research applies SET and its idea of evaluating costs and benefits to explain residents' perceptions in the non-monetary forms of exchange such as the chance of being accepted by the mainstream, the chance to adapt to be more 'Thai like' and becoming well known and improving the hill tribes image.

### **Doxey's Irridex model**

Doxey's Irridex model is one of the most influential models that explains residents' attitudes toward tourism at each stage (Faulkner and Tideswell 1997). The model is a four stage theoretical model which starts from euphoria which is the beginning stage when tourism impacts are small and economically beneficial, residents are enthusiastic, and little planning is required. The second stage is apathy which involves increased visitors and decreased resident excitement toward tourism development. Then, irritation is the stage when residents have misgivings about the tourism industry. In this stage, there is an increasing infrastructure rather than limiting growth of tourism development. Planning at this stage entails separating tourist developments from resident communities. The last stage is an antagonism which involves deteriorating relationships between residents and visitors. It leads to tourism decline and/or redevelopment. The model attempts to explain host community responses to tourism development. It indicates that residents' attitudes and reactions toward tourists can change over



time. With the increase in the number of tourists and development of tourism, residents' attitudes will develop through each series of the 4 stages in which residents' attitudes are initially favourable then become more negative after reaching a threshold. This annoyance is determined by the degree of incompatibility between residents and tourists.

### **The use of Doxey's Irridex model in the scope of the research**

The Doxey's Irridex model is applied in to this research to identify what the expected perceptions of hill tribe people will be like as their communities go through a certain stage of tourism.

### **Limitations of Irridex model**

There are some limitations of the Doxey's Irridex model despite positive comments as it is the most easy to understand and currently regarded as one of the most influential works addressing the relationships between tourism development and residents' responses (Mason and Cheyne 2000). One of the most significant limitations however, is that it tends to group all residents together, not allowing for individual differences of the local population (Mason *et al.* 2000; Wall and Mathieson 2006). The model assumes a degree of homogeneity in a community and therefore ignores intrinsic factors associated with the community members. It has been acknowledged that the model cannot explain in detail the variations among residents within the same community (Zhang *et al.* 2006). Shaw and Williams (2002) suggest that the model fails to address other possibilities that may reduce tourist pressures or influence local residents to involve more in tourism development.

### **Butler's Tourism Area Lifecycle**

Butler's Tourism Area Lifecycle is a theoretical model that looks into the relationship between tourism development and residents' attitudes. Butler (1980) states that tourism areas evolve and change over time, and it is similar to an evolution pattern of product cycle concept in which product sales proceed slowly at the beginning then increase in a rapid rate of growth then stabilise and finally decline. Butler also explains that tourism progresses through the stages of exploration, involvement, development, consolidation, stagnation and then decline. The first stage is typified by a new found curiosity in travelling to the area. The area will be visited by a small number of tourists who are restricted by lack of access and facilities. Local residents have no idea about the needs of visitors and do not know how to serve their needs such as accommodation and tourism activities. Then in the second stage or involvement stage, more facilities and awareness about the area grows. Services, facilities and tourism entertainments are

also introduced, the number of visitors increases as well. In the development stage, the number of visitors often exceeds host residents due to the increasing popularity of the destination. The number of visitors keeps increasing and commodification effects often happen where original attractions are rapidly replaced and improved by man-made facilities.

In the consolidation stage, due to more robust physical development in products and services and further facilities provision, the area grows more rapidly. This is due also to marketing efforts with information dissemination where the local economy starts to depend heavily on tourism incomes. However, due to this rapid development it becomes an issue for the residents regarding host community impacts. This phase effort is still made to attract more tourists as the rate of increase in tourism declines but total numbers of tourists still exceeding host residents. However, not only the process of attracting tourists but maintaining a balance with available resources is done in this stage as well. In the stagnation stage, the destination is fully-established where the peak number of visitors and carrying capacity levels are reached. In this stage, the number of visitors begins to drop as the destination is no longer in demand and relies on repeat visitors. After reaching the stagnation stage, many destinations often face the decline stage where the tourism market decreases and there is a collapse of tourism activities and infrastructures. Other destinations may recover into the rejuvenation stage identified by a complete change of the attractions to start attracting visitors all over again.

### **The use of Butler's tourism area life cycle in the scope of the research**

This theory is suitable for the examination of how ETAs and their businesses evolved in Doi Inthanon. This framework of tourism development can be linked with other theories to provide a useful insight into hill tribe people perceptions of their involvement in tourism with ETAs in different stages.

### **Limitations of Butler's tourism area life cycle**

Ap and Crompton (1993) point out that this model has been regarded as an unidirectional conceptual model which is similar to the Irridex model. Mason and Cheyne (2000) also affirm that this model also assumes a degree of homogeneity of community reactions. Haywood (1986) points out that one of the problems of this theory is that it lacks specific criteria by which planning authorities could forecast when a saturation point might be reached. Nonetheless, according to Butler (1980) a consistent evolution of tourist areas can be conceptualised. However, it is of importance to acknowledge that, as other scholars have found (Tosun 2002) not all areas experience the stages of the cycle as clearly as others and therefore the model

should be regarded as partially applicable since the cycle experience must be expected to vary for different areas.

### **Acculturation Theory**

According to Redfield *et al.* (1936); Kim (1979); Padilla (1980); Berry (1986) acculturation has been defined as cultural change that results from continuous, firsthand contact between two distinct cultural groups with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups. These changes may involve a variety of personality changes as reflected in behaviour, language, values and identity as well as physical changes in housing or increased population density (Berry 1970). Nunez (1989) explains that acculturation theory offers a framework to understand two cultures that come into direct contact and borrow traits or artifacts from each other, and each one becomes somewhat like the other. However, the changes in each group are not always balanced (Spindler 1977; Nunez 1989; Nash 1996). Nunez (1989) gives an example of host populations that learn another language in order to communicate with tourists while the tourists usually hold themselves back from learning the host resident's language.

### **The use of acculturation theory in the scope of the research**

In this research, the acculturation model is used to explore the degree of acculturation of the minority group (Karen and Hmong) and acts as a framework to explain how this group assimilates into the mainstream (ETAs).

### **Limitation of acculturation theory**

According to Berry (1980; 1984) the assessment of acculturation is not based on a multidimensional, multicultural approach. As a result, it cannot assess both the degree of immersion into the alternate culture and native culture which does not allow for an assessment of acculturation modes or typologies and biculturalism. Therefore, the limitation of the model of acculturation is that it only focuses on assessing the degree of immersion into an alternate culture.

This limitation has been taken into account, yet it does not seem to effect the scope of this research as the research aims to assess perceptions of the minority group and this theory can help give guidelines to explain the tribal acculturation process from having interaction with the dominant group. However, it is vital to note that this process of acculturation is not uniform for all immigrants or refugee groups (Berry 1984). It depends on the characteristics of both cultures and the hopes and aspirations of the individual members (Berry 1984).

## **Social Identity Theory**

Social identity theory (SIT) is a theory of the dynamic and generative interdependence of self-concept and intergroup relations (Abrams and Hogg 2004). It helps enhance the understanding of human identity and the processes involved in the relationships between groups and the causes and effects of prejudice (Abrams and Hogg 2004; Hornsey 2008). The theory divides identity into two separate sub-systems: personal identity and social identity. However, the theory mainly focuses on social identity by looking at how people come to identify with some groups and dissociate themselves from others (Tajfel 1978). The theory is concerned with the psychological and sociological aspects of group behaviour by looking at why individuals identify themselves in a certain way and behave as part of social groups or adapt to certain shared attitudes (Tajfel 1978). Tajfel *et al.* (1971) state that each identity informs the individual of who they are and what this identity involves. Different identities are perceived as important to an individual at any time depending on the social context (Tajfel 1978). According to Abrams and Hogg (2004) the idea of social identity is that behaviour and identity operated on a continuum based on situation, ranging from the highly individual and unique at one end, by being purely interpersonal, to the collective and common at the other. In the sense that if an individual's personal identity is salient, the individual will associate with others in an interpersonal manner, dependent on their character attributes and any personal relationship existing between the individuals. However, under some certain conditions, an individual might not wish to show their personal identity which might result in a group identity taking precedence (Tajfel *et al.* 1971). Jenkins (2004) states that group membership is meaningful to individuals in conferring social identity and permitting self-evaluation. Moreover, group membership exaggerates the similarities within the ingroup and the differences between the ingroup and outgroups. It is sufficient to encourage members to discriminate against outgroup members. Therefore, this model describes how group actions can influence and change the identities of individuals involved in them (Drury and Reicher 2009). Drury and Reicher (2009) explain three ways in which group actions can influence individuals. First, if there are other people behaving with an individual, the support and increased feeling of power the other people are giving will encourage the individual to be more aware of the shared identity involved in being part of that group which will allow them to feel the power of being a part of that shared identity. Secondly, how an outgroup treats the ingroup involved in a collective action will influence the members of the ingroup. Thirdly, the experiences of being part of a group and taking part in group actions reinforce a sense of group identity.

### **The use of SIT in the scope of the research**

This research applies the concept of social identity in the social context of the hill tribe people and ETAs. This theory helps explain intergroup behaviour as it looks at how Karen and Hmong behave when they relate to the mainstream (ETAs) on an intergroup basis as opposed to an individual basis. It allows discussion on the social nature of respondent processes and the societal roots of Karen and Hmong behaviour which cover areas such as group formation and interaction, social change, status and conflict. Therefore, this theory is considered as appropriate to apply to this research as it offers a potential explanation regarding social change and social stability of the Karen and Hmong.

### **Limitation of SIT**

According to Hinkley *et al.* (2002) a limitation of SIT is that it does not give an accurate prediction of responses from the low-status groups about their perceptions regarding social injustice. The theory also makes prejudice and discrimination become more inevitable (Abrams and Hogg 1999).

### **2.14 Conclusion**

This chapter has presented the literature relevant to a study of residents' perceptions of the socio-cultural impacts. The chapter divided into three main sections; firstly, general definitions of the terms used in this research were identified, then socio-cultural impacts of tourism development, reasons and its outcomes of the cross-cultural contacts were reviewed. Secondly, it addressed cross-cultural in the workplace and its outcomes leading to conflicts in the workplace as well as tourism employment aspects. Thirdly, it presented the conceptual framework underpin the research. Next chapter will present information about hill tribe people and overview of Doi Inthanon.

## Chapter 3 Overview of Hill Tribe in Thailand

### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter comprises four sections; the first section reviews the characteristics of hill tribe people in Asia generally and is followed by a discussion of hill tribe people specifically in Thailand and their relationship with Thai society. The second section considers the characteristics of Karen and Hmong people who are the focus of this research and this section concludes by considering the similarities and differences between the two tribes. In the third section, hill tribe tourism in Thailand is reviewed in regard to the range of tourism products/experiences offered, and the ownership of the tourism related enterprises. The final section of this chapter introduces the location of Doi Inthanon, where this research was undertaken and summarises the reasons for choosing it as a study area.

### 3.2 Characteristics of hill tribes

Hill tribe or “chao khao” (chao means people and khao means mountain in Thai) are known as a group of people who live in the border and highland zones in China, Burma, Laos, and Thailand. These people live mainly in the highlands and each group or tribe has their own distinct culture, lifestyle, religion, language, art, lifestyle and dress code. According to many authors (Cohen 1995; 1996; 2001; Hall and Lew 1998; Cummings 2005; Robin 2009) these people had travelled from the southern part of China and entered Laos, Burma, Vietnam and stopped in Thailand. Rajani (2002) argues that these tribes have moved to Thailand mainly due to their traditional nomadic lifestyle - moving around from one place to another on a 7 year cycle rather than settling down in one location due to their farming technique which is known as “slash and burn” (see Section 3.3 the occupation of Karen and Hmong people), coupled with other reasons such as political, and economic problems and other social pressures in their native lands (McKinnon 2003; Eversole *et al.* 2005; Hall and Patrinos 2006; Evrard and Leepreecha 2009). Tribes are referred to differently according to their race, language and ethnicity and each has many different names (Tribal Research Institute (TRI) 2007). Nevertheless, these groups are generalised as hill tribe mountain people or people of different cultures (Rajani 2002). Moreover, observations (Charles *et al.* 1961; Nadel 1995; and Parry 2007) suggest that hill tribe peoples live in societies that appear to be distinct and different from many contemporary societies, Thai society as an example. Wall (1996) and Cummings (2005) claim that hill tribes tend to have low standards of living. This argument is supported by McKinnon (2003) who describes the stereotype of hill tribe people as “forest simpletons”.

Cohen (1996) points out that hill tribes are not a group or tribe ‘returning to’ or ‘rediscovering’ their roots. In contrast to many indigenous and first nation people in other countries, many tribes continue, to a great extent, to retain their original culture in their day to day life (Rajani 2002; Ministry of Interior of Thailand 2008 (MIT)). This idea, however, is not only supported by Thai researchers but by western researchers; Keyes (2003) and McKerron (2003) affirm that some of the hill tribes still maintain the culture and traditions of their ancestors and fortunately have been able to maintain their ethnic identity, with little change for over centuries. This can be seen through their architecture, dress, belief systems and rituals. In the remainder of this chapter, the following section reviews general details on hill tribe people specifically in Thailand and their relationship with Thai society.

### 3.2.1 General information on hill tribes in Thailand

Many different ethnic groups which are collectively known as ‘hill tribes’ have been living in northern Thailand some for centuries and some for decades. According to Rajani (2002) the Thai authorities have categorised these hill tribe people in Thailand into nine major groups which are Karen, Hmong (Meo), Yao, Lisu, Lahu, Lawa, Akha, H’Tin and Khamu. Table 3.1 shows a recent official Tribal Population survey:

**Table 3.1 Hill tribe population in Thailand**

Source: Social Development Center (2008)

Hill tribe groups	Approximate population
Karen	438,450
Hmong	151,080
Lahu	102,371
Lisu	37,916
Yao	44,017
Akha	65,826
Lawa	21,794
H’Tin	42,782
Khamu	10,519
Total population	914,755

The hill tribe communities are mainly scattered in the 20 provinces of northern and north-western Thailand, the highest proportion of the hill tribe population is found in Chiang Mai province (25.5% of this population group). Mae Hong Son province has the highest ratio of the total hill tribe population to Thai nationals (53%), Tak province has 22%, Nan and Chiang Mai are next with 13% and 11% respectively (TRI 2007). Some groups of hill tribe such as Karen

and Lawa have lived in northern Thailand for centuries, while other groups are more recent arrivals such as the Hmong, Akha, Yao/Mien, Lahu, Lisu, Khamu and H'tin, around 1890 to 1974 (TRI 2007).

Ethnic minority groups traditionally live on the edge of Thai society (Toyota 2005). However, there are an increasing number of hill tribe people in Thailand in recent decades that have shown their willingness to participate in development programmes with the hope of becoming closer to mainstream Thai society (Wijeyewardene 1990; Aguetant 1996; Buadang 2004). Now, these hill tribe people are settled in Thailand and some have legal status as Thai citizens but some do not (see below section) (Kasper 1999; Keyes 2003).

### **3.2.2 Relations of hill tribe people in Thai society**

Hill tribe people are often the victims of violence from other groups and can find themselves alienated from Thai society as a whole (Cooper 1979; McKinnon 2003; Pinsarn 2006). They used to receive many negative comments from outsiders and lowland Thais, the main reason being that they were originally animists and this is problematic for the Thai nation which is predominantly Buddhist (Cohen 1996; Rajani 2002; Leepreecha 2005). Moreover, in the past decade, hill tribe areas have been marked as the most underdeveloped areas / communities both by the government and in the eyes of many Thai people (Pipithvanichtham 1997; McKinnon 2003; Delang and Wong 2006). As a result, tribal people have relocated themselves, to get away from all the negative comments, to live in the central area of Chiang Mai and some have managed to move to live in major cities like Bangkok where they try every way they can to survive (Enrard and Leepreecha 2009; Robin 2009).

This migration to the major cities was when issues of prostitution and drugs became their trademarks (Buadang 2005). Not only has the government realised the negative impacts resulting from the dislocation of these hill tribe peoples but they are also concerned with other problems such as opium cultivation, drug addiction, national security issues, conservation of natural resources and environmental degradation (Tan 1975; Tapp 1986; Thai Development Research Institute (TDRI) 1994; McKinnon 2003; TRI 2007). Therefore, they reached an agreement with the hill tribes that they would settle down in places where they can be monitored (Leepreecha 2005). A hill tribe population registration system was then introduced (in the 1980s) and by registering, individuals had the opportunity to become full citizens (Panishjarean 1993). However, the hill tribe population registration of each destination does not allow tribal people who are not qualified (this could be due to various reasons such as no proof of residence, no recommendation letter from Thai citizen, no proof of employment, not enough length of stay in Thailand) to register, even though they are living in that area (Leepreecha



2005). The information obtained during the data collection stages revealed that being recognised as citizens is what most hill tribe people need.

As mentioned, hill tribe people live throughout Thailand, but mainly scattered in the Northern part. Despite various locations, each tribe managed to hold on to their own tribe characteristics. The following section highlights characteristics of Karen and Hmong tribe, respectively.

### **3.3 The characteristics of the Karen and Hmong tribes**

#### **3.3.1 The Karen**

The origin of the Karen hill tribe remains unclear, as there are no historical written documents stating their exact origin. One oral version is that they used to live in the east of Tibet, then moved to the southern part of China about 3,300 years ago, but were forced to leave their lands after military defeat. They headed south and settled down in Chiang Mai Thailand (Boonkgamanong 2007). An alternative version, Hinton (1969) and Gray (1998) claims that the Karen tribe originally came from Myanmar (Burma) and relocated themselves due to their Nomadic lifestyle to Laos then moved again and settled down in northern Thailand as refugees. Another theory by Rajani (2002) combines the two versions given above and concluded that in the past the Karen lived in accessible areas of the Salawin River in China. They migrated to Burma, Laos and Thailand about 200 years ago. In Burma, there are two Karen states. When there was a dispute between the Burmese government and a Karen state or another minority group, it usually created war, as a result many Karen sought refuge in Thailand. Interestingly, another study conducted by Coedes (1925) indicates that the Karen lived in the vicinity of the ancient city of Chiang Mai as early as the eight century. However, all the common notions agree that the Karen had already established their first settlements in the northern Thailand in the 18th century (Gray 1998; Rajani 2002; Buadang 2004; TRI 2007; Sutamonkol 2007a; Boonkgamanong 2007; Robin 2009).

#### **The characteristics of Karen people**

‘Pakayaw’ is another name for Karen and the Karen prefer to be called Pakayaw rather than Kareng because Kareng is regarded as an insulting term, however, the Karen do not ‘make a big deal’ out of it and quietly accept this name as it is what most Thai people call them. Equally they are not, as many think, hunter gatherers (Cohen 2001; Buadang 2004).

The Sgaw and Pwo Karen are the two main Karen groups in Thailand but there are some small sub groups such as the Padaung (long neck), who are famous among the growing numbers of tourists (Rose 1995; TAT 2007). Each of the Karen sub groups has their own language and dialect, some words are similar and some are totally different from each group. Some of the Karen can speak in Thai, however, only the young generation are capable of writing Thai (Sutamongkol 2007a). According to Rajani (2002) and Buadang (2004) the Karen people are very peaceful, serene and cooperative. They show great humanity and are hospitable (Parry 2007) a characteristic which is expressed by their welcoming visitors to their villages, providing them with the opportunity to see and experience their way of life (Buadang 2006). These characteristics of Karen could be the reason why the Thai government tries to promote them as one of Thailand's tourism products. As was predicted, most of them easily accept the introduction of tourism into their community (Buadang 2004).

### **The villages and homes of the Karen people**

According to Sutamongkol (2007a) in the past the Karen preferred to live in isolated mountainous areas staying close to nature. The Karen settled in what is termed the "middle level" in the mountains, namely between 500 and 1800 metres above sea level. Today however, the Karen appear to prefer lower altitudes, about 500m above sea level, for their settlements, the reason behind the change in their perception towards the settlement maybe that they want make it easier for outsiders, such as tourists and ETAs, to access their communities and to allow modern facilities to expand into their area (Buadang 2004). It is uncommon for the Karen to live in the high mountains like the Hmong, or groups of hunter-gatherers like Ml'ri (Cohen 1996; Rajani, 2002; Discoverythailand 2007). According to Rajani (2002) the Karen are familiar with land rotation which is important for conserving the fertile soil that they rely on.

Their houses are basically made from bamboo raised on stilts (TRI 2007) which is different from other tribes such as Akha who live in smaller houses built not on stilts but on the soil indicating their relative poverty (Geusau 1999). The Karen house is usually constructed of split bamboo for walls and floors, with roofs made of thatch or grass (TRI 2007). All traditional Karen houses have a spacious, partly covered balcony which can be used for many purposes such as cooking, preparing food, weaving, doing other work, and as a place to chat with friends and accommodate overnight guests (TRI 2007). The houses usually consist of 1-2 rooms, one of which is used as a sleeping compartment and in the main living room, which is located in the centre of the house, there is a fireplace surrounded by cooking utensils, and dishes. Over the fire is suspended a woven bamboo tray that is used for drying and storage. The fire is often used for cooking, to keep the family members warm, and also prevent mosquitoes, giving family members some protection from malaria (Karen 2008).

The Karen let their domestic animal stay under the same roof but most of the time they will let the cattle such as pigs, chickens, and buffalos live beneath their bamboo house (Sutamongkol 2007a).

### **The Karen way of life, past and present**

In their daily life, a mother will train her daughter how to be a housewife, the training usually includes cooking, bringing water into the house, mortaring rice, picking vegetables and wood, baby sitting and raising cattle, with an additional focus on yarn spinning and cloth weaving for making clothing. A son will have his father or elder brother teach him how to farm, participate in ceremonies, hunt, raise animals such as wild pigs, and various skills such as basketwork, carpentry, and blacksmithing (Sutamongkol 2007a). However, the lifestyle of Karen people, especially the younger generation, has changed towards a more modern lifestyle (Thanasarn 2005). Nowadays, the parents send their children to school to receive a proper education like the Thais, and therefore they are no longer kept at home learning their way of life from their parents. Moreover, instead of helping their parents with the household chores, they can be found in the major cities like Chiang Mai, Mae Hong Son selling their handmade local products or working in the service industry in different positions varying from a cleaner in a hotel or resort to acting as a private tour guide (Bangkok Post 2004).

### **The occupations**

The main profession of the Karen tribe is farming. They practice slash and burn agriculture - which involves clearing an area of trees then burning the undergrowth. The burning process adds minerals to the soil, which helps crops to be grown. Unfortunately, the negative aspects outweigh the positives as this process strips the soil of essential nutrients and leads to more erosion, therefore, only allowing crops to be grown for a few years (Cornell and Miller 2007). They commonly grow rice, however, they also grow other crops in different seasons, such as corn, pumpkin, chilli, eggplant and other vegetables, and these products are only for their consumption (Delang and Wong 2006; Sutamongkol 2007a). According to Rajani (2002) and Delang (2006a) it is noticeable that the Karen never grow opium. They raise chickens and pigs for some ceremonies, while wealthy people have cattle or elephants as well. While agriculture was the main occupation for the Karen, today many of them abandon farming and head to the cities to look for work and a number involve themselves in the tourism business such as waiters, waitress, traditional performers etc. (Thanasarn 2005; Pinsarn 2006). Many other things have changed, for example, in the past they cultivated vegetables for consumption within their community but now they also plant more of these vegetable to sell to the market in the city as an additional source of income. Additionally, in the past the Karen people raised their animals such as buffalo, cow and elephant for agriculture purposes but today they prefer to use their animals

for the business purposes such as elephant tours (Thanasarn 2005; Sutamongkol 2007a). Consequently the importance of agriculture has decreased and has in many cases been replaced by tourism related and other commercial activities.

According to Thanasarn (2005) another new form of occupation for Karen women, who are well known for their skill in weaving, which is done on a back-strap loom, is to use their home, underneath their houses, as a place to deliver weaving lessons for tourists as another way to earn extra income. In some families the men, instead of going hunting, are also involved with tourists giving free demonstrations of making Karen tea and coffee for those who visit the village with the hope that after the visitors have tasted their products, they can make money from selling packs of Karen tea and coffee beans.

Moreover, shops in Bangkok and Chiang Mai often purchase clothes and hand-made products from the Karen villagers (ARC 2002). The Karen observed that ethnic objects sold well to the tourists, therefore, these days instead of practising agriculture or running small businesses in their villages, some of the Karen now rent a place in “Night Bazaar” (a famous shopping place in Chiang Mai, selling food, clothes, handicrafts, jewellery etc., and staging cultural performances; it only opens at night). Karen men usually make musical instruments, animal bells, unique tobacco pipes and numerous other crafted items. While some Karen women do what they are good at which is in weaving and others will dress in their traditional clothes in order to perform their traditional dances for tourists (Buadang 2004).

### **Diet**

The traditional Karen diet is based on rice (as it is for most of the rest of Asia), eggs, and spices (Sutamongkol 2007a). Other common foods and fruits are chicken, pork, fish, papaya, banana, mango, lychee, and longan. The taste is mainly spicy with a strong smell because their main ingredients are based on seasoning and spice. A favourite dish of the Karen is known as Talapaw, which has as its ingredients crushed rice, fish sauce, green beans, hot peppers and spices (Sutamongkol 2007a). Karen people do not eat their domestic animals such as dog, cat and monkey like some other groups in Cambodia, India, and some parts of China. Contrary to the opinion of McKinnon (2003) and Cummings (2005) despite the difficulties in finding food in some seasons, they will not kill their domestic animals for food (Sutamongkol 2007a) indicating that they are not the ‘savages’, some people think they are. Nowadays, some of their stable foods remain the same but due to their interaction with outsiders and expansion of modernisation, some changes have occurred, such as their ways of cooking, has becoming easier with the use of more modern amenities such as a gas stove instead of the traditional fire stove, their way of eating, now they use spoon and fork instead of bare hands, they eat and drink from

a proper utensils such as plates, bowls, cups instead of banana leaves and bamboo tubes. Although, they more open to new types of food, such as Moo-Kra-Ta (pork on hot crater), hotpot (Chinese fondue), their taste of food still remain more or less the same, which is based on the taste of spices (Thanasarn 2005).

### **Clothing and dress codes**

The Karen, both male and female, often wear colourful hand-made clothes (Buadang 2004). Unmarried girls tend to wear loose white V necked blouses and plain black skirts while married women wear blouses and skirts in bold colours, predominantly blue and red. Karen dress codes are also used to indicate Karen sub groups, Skaw Karen tend to dress with more detailed and unique patterns, while Pwo Karen often wear more colourful dress with simple patterns (Thanasarn, 2005).

Today most of the Karen, especially the younger generation have switched to western outfits like jeans and T-shirts. Yet, the Padaung people still remain their costume especially the Padaung women who put brass rings around their necks, arms and legs (Gray 1998). The Padaung woman generally has about twenty or more rings around her neck. This neck ring adornment is started when the girls are 5 or 6 years old. The rings on the arms and the legs are not quite as prominent as those on the neck simply because the neck rings are so pronounced. However, these rings are just as important. The rings on the arms are worn on the forearm from the wrist to the elbow. Those on the legs are worn from the ankles to the knees, and cloth coverings are kept over most of these rings, from the shins down to the ankles (TAT 2005). Karen women commonly carry cotton shoulder bags, also woven in the villages (Sutamongkol 2007a). Nowadays, the style of their clothing has become quite famous throughout Thailand and can be seen in many tourist markets and traditional shops in major cities like Bangkok, Chiang Mai, Pataya, and even Phuket in the south of Thailand (Buadang 2004). Possibly without the demand from tourists, these costumes may have disappeared very quickly due to the increased contact with outside world and expansion of modernisation (Thanasarn 2005).

### **Social structure**

The smallest social unit among the Karen is the nuclear family, which occupies one household. Most households are made up of a husband, wife, and any unmarried children. But it is also common for younger married couples to live with the parents of the wife for 1-3 years before building their own home on the compound of the wife's parents home or on a separate piece of property (Sutamongkol 2007a; Karen 2007).

The husband is usually the one to announce decisions in public, however, in private the husband will always consult with his wife before making a decision, as they share equally in decision making that will affect the entire family (Karen 2007). Despite the men playing a stronger public role in Karen society, they pay the same great respect for their male and female ancestors and living elders.

In addition to the nuclear family the village itself is considered to be the largest social unit for the Karen people (Karen 2007). The village is controlled by a headman who is recognised as the village's political leader by the government of northern Thailand. However, from the Karen point of view: the village headman has little power or authority (Karen 2007). The main duty of the village headman is to determine the village consensus and then to follow it carefully (Sutamongkol 2007a). Buadang (2004) offers an interesting perspective that though the position of village headman has little power to do anything except follow what they have been told but this can put him in a difficult position, as he needs to remain a "good Karen," while at the same time carrying out whatever duties the Thai authorities require.

Most Karen people do not aspire to this position because of the potential conflicts that might arise (Karen 2007). According to Keereepraneed (2005) a Karen village is a very democratic group, therefore, all decisions will be made by the whole group with the men doing most of the talking. Agreement is an important ideal and goal before any decision is reached. It is generally safe to say that any topics or issues that are never agreed upon are never acted upon. The headman is not so much a decision maker as the voice of the group after a consensus has been reached (Keereepraneed 2005). However, today, Karen village headman is not only a representative who deliver the voice of the Karen to the government but also cooperate with the local government and come back to his village to introduce ways to increase higher standard of living in the community to his Karen villagers (Thanasarn 2005).

### **Traditional customs**

There are three important rituals of the Karen: and the New Year (in February); marriage (in April through May); and Eating the New Rice is a ceremony that every community must hold each year which shows the essence of survival (in August), (Rajani 2002).

According to Sutamongkol (2007a) "Nee Saw Coe" is a Karen traditional activity for celebrating New Year which is held once a year. Nee Saw Coe event is very important for Karen people as they believe that if they attend this event all the good things will happen to them in the coming year. The ceremony usually starts at night before the new year (traditionally at the end of the harvest season when all work is done). The leader of the cult (high priest)

known as “He Ko” will gather all the men, who is a family leader, from every family to join the ceremony which everyone will need to bring a bottle of alcohol to the He Ko, then He Ko will take the first bottle from whoever came first and prays over it, then He Ko will take a first sip then pass it on to everyone in that ceremony, when everyone has had his turn on the first bottle, He Ko will take the bottle and pour out any remaining alcohol while reciting a prayer of petition and asking for blessing for the owner of the bottle and his family members of the bottle owner. He Ko needs to do this activity over and over for every bottle that is there. Sometimes it may last until morning (Sutamongkol 2007a).

The next morning, everyone will gather together around “Kan Tok” (a traditional food stand filled with 4 or more small dishes) and all the children will be given a little white rope by the elderly in the family to wrap around their wrist. They believe that the rope from this event represents all the good things and they believe that it can prevent bad things from happening to the children (Sutamongkol 2007a).

### **Belief systems and moral codes**

The majority of the Karen tribe are Buddhists or Animists while roughly 20% are Christians. Karen people were Animists before the arrival of Buddhism and Christianity (Sutamongkol 2007a). In the belief system of Karen tribe “He Ko” (priest) is the most important person in the traditional non-Christian animist Karen village (Karen 2007). The priest is always a man who has inherited his position from the deceased priest from his father's lineage. Karen people will consult the village priest when asking for advice from the spirits or gods. He will determine the will of the spirits through the casting of lots, and for this purpose he will consult special divining paraphernalia such as seeds of rice, bones from chickens and pigs, ashes from a ritual fire, and even common bamboo or wood (Sutamongkol 2007a).

The Karen tribe people have their own beliefs which are different from other tribes in Thailand. These include the belief that women should not eat rice directly from the pot or step across the broom because that will cause them to have a difficult time in child birth. Secondly, they believe that if they punish their child with the broom, they will make the child unintelligent and unhealthy. They also believe that if the child eats chicken heads that child will not listen to the parent, and children should not eat chicken legs because they believe that the child will become naughty (Hayami 2004; Sutamongkol 2007a). It is obvious that most of their beliefs concern their families, which relates to the observation that families matters most in their culture. As noted above Karen people tend to live together as a whole family and it is uncommon to see anyone of the family members move out and live alone (Sutamongkol 2007a).

There are many rules of etiquette that Karen people live by for instance unmarried couples are not supposed to touch each other, unless they intend to get married. Premarital sex is considered immoral and those who violate this code will be forced to marry in isolation without the presence of young friends. There is usually no divorce after marriage and adultery is considered to be a major taboo (Rajani 2002).

Having addressed characteristics of the Karen, the following section presents the characteristics of the Hmong.

### **3.3.2 The Hmong**

The history of Hmong is very complex and there are many different ideas about their origins. Sutamongkol (2007b) mentions all of these; some say the Hmong tribe originated in western China possibly Mongolia, others believe they originated from Tibet, and some even say they are from Siberia, but no one can prove or disprove it because there are no exact records, only the stories told by the older Hmong people that are passed on from one generation to another. Some researchers (Marks 1973; Dearden 1991) believe that the Hmong people are an ancient tribal group who originated in South China and Southeast Asia, and then moved into Vietnam, Burma, Thailand, and Laos. Therefore, there is still a question as to the real origin of Hmong people. However, it is believed they moved to China and settled down somewhere near the yellow basin 4,000 years ago subsequently they were forced to accept the native traditions and norms. The Hmong lived in Yunan, China for many centuries until the 17th century they were very primitive and as a result of the many wars fought with the Han Chinese many Hmong were evicted from China. They moved south and separated into many small groups, some returned back to China, some stayed in Laos, some in Vietnam and Burma and some moved to the northern part of Thailand (Rajani 2002; Txong Pao Lee and Pfeifer 2006). Such migrations began in the middle of the 19th century and continue today (Geusau *et al.* 1980; Kasper 1999). Table 3.2 presents the time line of recent Hmong refugee history.



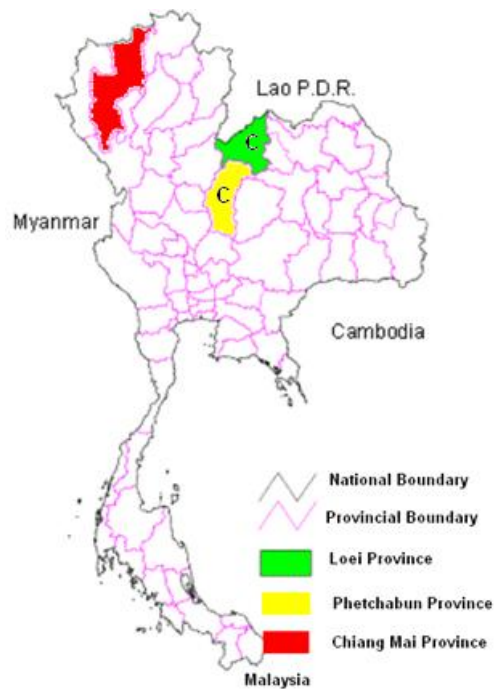
**Table 3.2 Timeline of Hmong Refuge History**

Source: Txong Pao Lee and Mark E. Pfeifer (2006)

1790-1869 A.D.	Many Hmong migrant out of China to Laos, Northern Vietnam and Thailand
1963-1975	The Vietnam War and the U.S. Secret Army in Laos
1975	Thousands of Hmong refugees (about half of the Hmong in Laos) began attempting to escape Laos by crossing the Mekong River into Thailand
Late 1970s	Several Hmong refugee camps were established in Loei Thailand (see Figure 3.1)
1976 to Present time	Hmong refugees move to the U.S., France, Australia, French Guyana, and Canada. The number of Hmong refugees admitted into U.S. from the Thailand refugee camps exceeded 10,000 in 1979 and reached a peak of about 27,000 in 1980 before decreasing to under 5,000 in 1981 and even less per year through mid-1980s
1988	The number of Hmong refugees annually admitted to the U.S. began increasing again. The number exceeded 5,000 each year between 1989 and 1994
1992	Ban Vinai and the other Hmong refugee camps in Loei, Thailand closed
1992-2004	Many of the Lao Hmong refugees left in Thailand who had not yet been able to come to the U.S. or other countries as refugees were given refuge by a Thai Buddhist monk in a temple called Wat Thamkrabok in Phetchabun province. The 15,000 or so Lao Hmong refugees in Wat Thamkrabok had no official status in Thailand. For many years the Thai government had allowed them to stay in the Hmong refugees camp (Wat Thamkrabok) as they were afraid to go back to Laos.
December 2003	Finally, U.S. State Department agrees to accept applications for resettlement from 15,000 Laotian Hmong refugees living in Wat Thamkrabok, in Phetchabun province, Thailand.
June 2004	First Hmong refugees from Wat Thamkrabok begin arriving in Minnesota, California, Wisconsin and other states

The groups of Hmong refugees in Loei province and Phetchabun province are not the Hmong selected in this research (see Figure 3.1) and the contentious issue of Hmong refugees will not be addressed further.

**Figure 3.1 Locations of Hmong refugee camp**



### **The characteristics of Hmong people**

The Hmong people are a minority ethnic group in several countries (Pinsarn 2006), they have the reputation of being hard working and independent. Rajani (2002) offers an example of Hmong in Maneepruck village in Thailand who have not opened up significantly to the tourism industry, and rather depend on themselves without asking or taking help from outsider, a point also emphasised by Sutamongkol (2007b).

The Hmong do not live as hunter gatherers like other groups such as the Mlabri in the northern forests, the Semang of the southern forests, and the Moken from the islands and beaches of southern Thailand (Cohen 1996) or the indigenous people in Australia (Mooney 2004) and Maori population in New Zealand (Pool 1977).

According to Chinese historians, the Hmong people were once called "Meo" which means barbarians. Hmong do not want anyone to call them "Meo" because it is insulting to them (Rajani 2002). The name evolved into Hmong, which means "A Free People" (Livo and Cha 1991; Rajani 2002). Hmong people have the similar looks and features as Chinese: clever, sharp and organised (Rajani 2002; Sutamongkol 2007b). The Hmong tribe has been considered as the most successful of the tribes in adapting to the changing world in which they live (Livo and Cha 1991; Leepreecha *et al.* 2008).

According to Marks (1973); Rajani (2002); TRI (2007) and Sutamongkol (2007b) the Hmong were semi-nomadic using swidden (slash and burn) farming methods, moving around on a 7 year cycle. There are three groups of Hmong in Thailand: White Hmong, Blue Hmong and Guamaba Hmong. Being of a very limited number the Guamaba Hmong are customarily and traditionally assimilated into the Blue Hmong (TRI 2007). Therefore, the Hmong are categorised into two main groups the White and Blue Hmong who represent themselves differently from one another in terms of dress and language (Rajani 2002). More details on their costume will be discussed below. The Hmong language is highly influenced by Chinese however, there is no written Hmong language. Some Hmong can speak Yunnan fluently, but the younger generations can speak Central Thai or Northern Thai better because they study in the Thai common school system (Sutamonkol 2007b).

### **The villages and homes of the Hmong people**

In the past, Hmong people settled on a high mountain slope about 3,000-5,000 feet above sea level, in the deep jungle, as they prefer to be near nature. Now due to the attention given by the Royal Project Foundation and the government (see Section 3.4.2 below), they are allowed to live in more accessible areas on the mountain, however, some still prefer to stay at the top of the mountain but others move to a middle level. Now, the Hmong are spread over a wide area of northern, and even central Thailand, but most are concentrated in Chiang Mai, Chiang Rai, Nan, Mae Hong Son, Petchabun and Tak provinces (Duffy *et al.* 2004; Sutamonkol 2007b).

In a Hmong village, 7-8 houses of family members and immediate relatives are gathered together in a small area. Hmong Karen people use Nypa leaf as their roof and softwood to build their houses. The Hmong houses appear to sit right on the ground (TRI 2007), yet the main floor of their houses is not at ground level, but rests upon a kind of above-ground basement or root cellar that they use for food storage. Moreover, their house-fronts slope outward and downward, an architectural feature that is the trademark of their villages (Sutamongkol 2007b). This style can still be found however, due to the expansion of modernisation, it is not a surprise anymore to see traditional Thai housing or other modern styles of housing in some Hmong villages (Pinsarn 2006).

### **Hmong ways of life, past and present**

In the past Hmong people tend to keep themselves away from the mainstream. Although, both males and females have a similar role as they work on their farm, but the men are expected to be responsible for more physical tasks such as collecting wood fuel for the next day or looking for additional food and vegetables for their family as well as be responsible for bringing home money while the women are expected to be responsible for domestic works and teaching their

children the Hmong way of life (Leepreecha 2005). The main responsibility of Hmong children was to help their family in terms of farming, finding food, cooking etc. (Sutamongkol 2007b). Today, Hmong males and females are no longer restricted to their previous responsibilities, both men and women are expected equally to bring home money. The children are sent to school during the day and help out with family chores after school, while some have part-time jobs, work in gas stations, cleaning dishes in restaurants, or doing housework for Thai people (Leepreecha 2005).

### **The occupations**

In the mountains of Thailand, the Hmong practice slash-and-burn, or shifting, agriculture (Dearden, 1991; Delang, 2006). In the past, growing opium poppy was their main source of income, now, rice is a main commodity crop, but they also grow a variety of other crops as well, these include corn, sweet potatoes, yams, taro, cabbage, Chinese broccoli, parsley, tomatoes, squash, bitter-melon, radishes, cucumbers, and sugar cane (Dearden 1991; Delang 2006). Hmong spend most of their time farming, both male and female Hmong have a similar role when working on their farm.

What is different from the past is that today they are not only employed in agriculture jobs but Hmong men and women can be seen at markets throughout Thailand selling their handicrafts mostly to tourists and non-tribal people (Cohen 1996; Pinsarn 2006).

### **Diet**

The eating habits of the Hmong are similar to Chinese, for example, they often use chopsticks to eat, they tend to drink a lot of tea rather than water and they will not drink any water, if it has not been boiled first. They do not eat dogs and cats like some other groups of people such as Korean, Chinese, and Cambodian (Bartlett 2007), rather eat smoked pork. After smoking they hang the smoked carcass underneath their house (Sutamongkol 2007b). In the past, they only ate the food that they cooked themselves, they would not eat other types of food that they were not familiar with.

Today, many things have changed; the Hmong in Thailand do not eat with chopsticks as much as before now they also use a spoon to eat with (Sutamongkol 2007b). They are more open to new types of food and drink, such as some common Thai dishes that are quick and easy to prepare and fizzy drinks. The female Hmong still give respect to the male but the female Hmong do not have to wait until the male finish their food, they are now eating together at the same time (Sutamongkol 2007b). These changes may be a result of their increased interaction with outsiders, and a change towards a more modern lifestyle.

## **Clothing and crafts**

As mentioned in the previous section the Hmong tribe has two sub-groups: White and Blue, but most of the Hmong tribal in Thailand are Blue Hmong (Sutamongkol 2007b). Blue Hmong women wear beautiful pleated skirts with parallel horizontal bands of red, blue and white. Jackets are of black satin with wide orange and yellow embroidered cuffs and lapels. Men wear baggy black pants and jackets embroidered in a similar way to the women's. White Hmong women wear black baggy trousers with a long wide blue cummerbund with a central pink area, which hangs almost to the ground (Sutamongkol 2007b).

Prior to 1975, when contact between the Hmong in Laos and the Hmong in other countries was rare and each subgroup wore its own traditional costumes, clothing tended to be used as markers to distinguish Hmong subgroups, such as the Striped Hmong (Hmong Quas Npab), whose women wear striped arched bands on their shirts, or the Mong Leng, with their fine batik plaited skirts (Sutamongkol 2007b). Today, as the result of increased contact and trade among the Hmong in China, Laos, Thailand, and the West, and the fact that it is increasingly easier to buy than to make traditional costumes, Hmong from each subgroup tend to wear any costumes that they can find in the market, which often result in mix and match of the costumes from other subgroups (Duffy *et al.* 2004; Pinsarn 2006). In this context, clothing has become more a mark of one's wealth and imagination than of group identity. As a result, the dialect spoken by a Hmong is now a surer indication of subgroup membership than is traditional clothing (Duffy *et al.* 2004; Sutamongkol 2007b).

Sadly, the beautiful traditional Hmong dress is starting to disappear and is being replaced by the clothes that other people wear in the major cities (Duffy *et al.* 2004). Nowadays, many of the Hmong people would rather wear something other than their traditional dress due because they feel they are not being accepted or treated well when they attend social events or enter the cities. Men generally prefer to dress in Western-style clothes, while women dress to blend in with the majority of Thais (Duffy *et al.* 2004). Decoration such as a silver neck-loop is an ornament that both men and women used to wear as a symbol of status. Other ornaments that they prefer were bracelets, earrings and silver, now they only wear these on their important occasions like New Year's Day and at weddings (Rajani 2002).

## **Social structure**

Extended families are common among the Hmong and the family is the basic social unit in traditional Hmong society, it serves as the unit of production, consumption, socialisation, social control, and mutual assistance (Sanja 2004). In the Hmong patriarchal system the male head of the household usually controls the family as a whole (Rajani 2002). Binny (1968) and Lee

(2007) also point out that the Hmong highly value a social system in which father is 'right' as the norm. In other words, the male head of the family and those male relatives who represent him in his absence or after his death have the authority to make decisions affecting the household and the lineage. According to Sutamonkol (2007b) there are traditional gender roles in Hmong society. A man's duty involves family leadership and the provision for the physical and spiritual welfare of his family (Leepreecha 2001). Hmong women are responsible for nurturing the children, preparing meals, domestic house work, feeding animals, and sharing in agricultural labour. Therefore, it can be said that the family is under the authority of the oldest male or the oldest adult married son in the family. A study by Saykao (1997) supports the idea of male dominance by referring to the fact that education was not often available in the village, thus, the family can only afford to send one child away to school far away from home, and the chosen child is usually a son. This demonstrates that to some extent, Hmong people pay more attention to males rather than females.

However, if there were any problems within the village the arguments were frequently resolved by elders in the community (Saykao 1997; Sutamongkol 2007b). The elders were considered the most knowledgeable members of Hmong society due to their life experiences and knowledge which were regarded as essential to the survival of the community. The elders were the ones that everyone went to for help, counselling and guidance in the settlement of disputes (Saykao 1997). However, since people are now more educated, they tend to consult people of their own age, however, they still pay great respect to their ancestors and living elders (Sutamonkol 2007b).

Hmong people consider each other clan brothers or clan sisters. Socially and culturally, they are obligated to help each other (Saykao 1997; Sutamongkol 2007b). Moreover, there is also a position of the village headman which acts as the community leader and the contact person between the village and the district administrator or local government representative (Saykao 1997).

### **Traditional customs**

The Hmong New Year celebration is a cultural tradition that takes place annually in select areas (Duffy *et al.* 2004) and is the major community event of the year. Similar to the Vietnamese and Chinese New Years, it is held at the end of the 12th lunar calendar month and the beginning of the first lunar calendar month (Rajani 2002; Sutamongkol 2007b). Hmong often dress in traditional clothing and enjoy Hmong traditional foods, dance, music, bull fights, and other forms of entertainment during the New Year's celebration (Sutamongkol 2007b). At least for the

time being, Hmong New Year celebrations help preserve the ethnic traditions and culture, and may also serve to educate those visitors and tourists who visit the tribe (Leepreecha 2005).

Historically, the purpose of Hmong New Year celebration is quite similar to the Karen tribe which the event was created to give thanks to ancestors as well as to welcome a new beginning. Traditionally, the celebration lasts for ten days (Sutamongkol 2007b). Another Hmong traditional event is when they worship their ancestral spirits. Each village holds their worship at different times to accommodate other villages –especially for the young to meet potential mates. This worship event lasts for two-three days in December. People will be praying and engage in local games (Sutamongkol 2007b).

### **Beliefs and moral codes**

The Hmong religious beliefs and rituals come from ancient China and Tibet (Marks 1973; Sutamongkol 2007b), however, some Hmong have converted to Christianity after groups of missionaries visited the tribe (Rajani 2002). Yet there are still those who were not converted whose belief is still based on animism and ancestor worship (Sutamongkol 2007b). Animism is the belief that spirits and forces inhabit the natural places like caves, lakes, big rocks, rivers etc. If someone offends one of the wild spirits, it can place a curse on the person, causing illness and even death (Wenner 2001). Animism encourages the Hmong to respect animals and nature and to be in harmony with their environment. It also serves to bind the community and clan together, as members share in religious responsibilities, take part in family ritual, and help one another in the practical tasks related to ritual performances (Saboon 2003).

The Hmong believe that the spirits of the ancestors continue to influence their daily lives and the welfare of their descendants, who in return continue to offer foods and observe the proper rituals to ensure that the ancestors are remembered and worshipped. Ancestor worship also serves to strengthen Hmong identity by helping people remember their ancestors and their roots (Saboon 2003).

When talking, Hmong people will not look directly into each other's eyes or engage in eye contact, as it is considered rude and inappropriate. Non family members cannot touch the hand of Hmong elders or those of their children due to their religious beliefs and personal values. Persons greet one another verbally as traditionally handshakes do not occur especially among women. Personal touch (shaking hands, hugging, patting, rubbing) is considered an inappropriate activity for Hmong people, especially for women as they often feel embarrassed. Most traditional Hmong families do not enjoy hearing direct comments about their children, especially infants and babies. A comment such as "your child is cute" is not looked upon

favourably. Many Hmong believe that if a bad spirit hears such comments, it might come and take the child's soul away (Rajani 2002).

### 3.3.3 Similarities and differences: an overview

This section will analyse the similarities and differences between these two tribes which are summarised in Table 3.3 below.

**Table 3.3 Similarity aspects between Karen and Hmong**

Similarities	Comments
Origin	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• They are not Thai natives, and they have moved around neighbouring countries and some have ended up in Thailand, and mainly settled in the northern part of Thailand.</li> <li>• Neither tribe has a clear record of where they originated.</li> </ul>
Characteristics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• They are not hunter and gatherers.</li> </ul>
Villages and Homes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• They both live isolated geographically, socially, economically, culturally, and politically from the majority in Thailand.</li> <li>• They both prefer to live in the mountains</li> <li>• Both tribes used to move from place to place to look for new location base on 7 years cycle.</li> <li>• Nowadays, increasing number of Karen and Hmong people have relocated to live in more accessible areas / near big cities</li> </ul>
Ways of life	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Both tribes have a similar way of life as both male and female work (mainly agriculture) to earn income for the family, with a clear role that men tend to do more of a heavy duty job (hunting, collecting wood, food, water etc.) while women are responsible for nurturing their child, weaving clothes and domestic house tasks (cleaning, cooking)</li> <li>• Both tribes send their children to school now, instead of home schooling them.</li> <li>• Their lifestyles have changed to be more convenient with the use of more modern amenities</li> </ul>
Occupations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• They engaged mainly and fully take part in the agricultural sector or a form of shifting cultivation.</li> <li>• Both tribes used to practice shifting cultivation resulting in periodic soil exhaustion.</li> <li>• Now, they seek other types of career as the mean to earn supplementary income apart from agriculture job.</li> </ul>
Diet	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Their ingredient of food mainly based on spices with the spicy taste.</li> <li>• They do not eat their domestic pets.</li> <li>• They have changed their diet in terms of ease cooking, eating and accepting a wider range of food, but they still maintain their taste of food</li> </ul>
Clothing and dress codes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• No similarities in Karen and Hmong clothing styles and dress codes</li> </ul>



	except that each of their sub group has different clothing styles which is used to differentiate among themselves
Social structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• They both pay high respect to their living elders and ancestors.</li> <li>• Both tribes have a village headman who acts as their representative</li> </ul>
Tradition customs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• No similarities in their tradition customs</li> </ul>
Belief system	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Many are animist, who believe in spirits</li> </ul>

**Table 3.4 Difference aspects between Karen and Hmong**

Differences	Comments
Origin	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Karen people have already settled down in Thailand since the 18<sup>th</sup> century, or possibly before, whereas the Hmong entered Thailand late 19<sup>th</sup> century.</li> </ul>
Characteristics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• They both have their own characteristics such as value of belief, customs, costume, language, religion, and social structure.</li> <li>• Hmong people have a stronger personality, they are independent, determined, diligence, work hard, always look for something better, not afraid to take risk and go after what they want while Karen are more shy, 'laid back', easy going and appreciate what they already have or been given.</li> <li>• Hmong people are more protective of themselves while Karen tend to easier open themselves to others and more hospitality.</li> <li>• Hmong people are wealthier (due historically to their income from cultivating the opium poppy) than the Karen.</li> </ul>
Villages and Homes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In the past, Hmong people prefer to live higher up the mountain than the Karen who prefer to stay at the middle level.</li> </ul>
Way of life	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• There are no differences in Karen and Hmong way of life.</li> </ul>
Occupations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Hmong traditionally where the tribe who cultivated the opium poppies, while the Karen tribal people do not traditionally grow opium poppies but rather grow rice. *the opium poppy is today illegal in Thailand.</li> </ul>
Diet	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In the past, both tribes eat different type of food and have different way of eating</li> </ul>
Clothing and dress codes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Both tribes have different clothing styles and dress codes</li> </ul>
Social structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Hmong people usually consult or turn to the elderly when they have problem whereas Karen respect and listen to their priest.</li> <li>• Hmong people have a strong preference for the male line, and males are more predominant than in Karen society.</li> <li>• Hmong male plays a leading role decision making while Karen have equal opportunity in role of decision making.</li> <li>• The extended families are common among the Hmong people, while nuclear family is common among the Karen.</li> </ul>
Tradition customs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Both tribes have different tradition customs</li> </ul>
Belief system	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Both tribes have different values of belief</li> </ul>

Having reviewed characteristics of Karen and Hmong tribe, and a comparison of their similarities and differences, next section presents information on hill tribe tourism in Thailand and related aspects in general leading to tourism on Doi Inthanon and its location.

### **3.4 Hill tribe tourism in Thailand**

#### **3.4.1 The evolution and development of hill tribe tourism**

According to an anecdotal story Leepreecha (2005) Dara Rassamee, a princess of the Chiang Mai court who had been living in Bangkok as consort to Chulalongkorn, King Rama V, returned to reside in Chiang Mai in 1932. As a Royal family member, she and her followers travelled to nearby famous high mountains of the region, such as Doi Ang Khang and Doi Suthep. The blossom of the opium poppy, the costumes and way of life of the highland people drew her attention, as a result she built a vacation house there. This journey to the highland for the purpose of recreation for Royal family began in the early 1930s and has been considered as the start of what is called today hill tribe tourism.

The hill tribes had and have the potential to attract both domestic and foreign tourist due to their distinctive way of life, cultural exoticism and their surrounding natural resources environment in northern Thailand (Delang 2003; Leepreecha 2005). However, there are no detailed records as to the exact time when hill tribe tourism began and which tribe was actually the first to fully interact with this industry. While hill tribe tourism first came to notice in the late 1960's and an early record records that the Hmong village on Doi Pui became popular in the early 1970s due to its location close to mainland (Leepreecha 2005). Hill tribe tourism became increasingly well recognised during the 1980s and the 1990s (Dearden 1991; TAT 2004; Tourism and Travel Asia 2009), with the most common initial form of hill tribe trekking tour in northern part of Thailand, in which backpackers especially young Western tourists was their main target group (Cohen 2001; Pinsarn 2006).

There was a period (late 1970s-1980s) when tourism in Thailand developed a very negative image principally related to a perceived uncontrolled growth of sex tourism (Cohen 2002), the TAT in an attempt to find a solution to overcome this launched campaigns from the 1980's onward to promote the country as a destination for cultural tourism. With this new policy, every part of Thailand that can be sold as cultural and traditional aspects, which obviously includes of the hill tribe people, has been promoted as a tourist attraction (Cohen 2002). Subsequently, hill tribe tourism became popular not only because of Royal family continued to visit these areas as did the middle class families of central Thailand (Leepreecha 2005) but also the tourism campaigns and encouragement of the government.

Despite generally growth, there were a slowdown period for overall tourism in Thailand during the years 1997-1998 due to the economic crisis but shortly after, hill tribe tourism boomed again dramatically (Cohen 2001; Ka Ho Mok *et al.* 2009) with the trend of hill tribe homestay. Although, the initial target group of hill tribe tourism had contributed to some extent of good impacts on the Thai economy, Thai tourism policies however, have changed during the premiership of Thaksin Shinawatra (2001-06), he shifted his attention to wealthy tourists, who tend to spend large amounts of money during their short stays and denied the importance of cheap backpacker tourism (Sritama 2007). As a result, there was a changing trend in Thai tourism, which had shifted from cultural tourism to nature tourism. Therefore, hill tribe tourism in the north was being promoted less and being replaced by up market tourism in the South, Phuket island as its hub (Cohen 2006). Important changes have again taken place in 2004 as the Tsunami hit Thailand and Phuket was the island that suffered extensive damage from this natural disaster. To sustain Thai tourism, the emphasis in tourism development was back to cultural resources, including the hill tribes, with the hope to serve the need for both higher and the lower ends of the market. The form of hill tribe tourism that is more easily accessible with western amenities to comfort the high-end market, that was growing somewhat slowly when compared to the beach tourism before the incident, has received more attention especially by Thai domestic tourists, whose numbers increased with growing prosperity (Prachachart 2006).

The new tourism policies launched by the Prime Minister Abhisit Vejjajiva (2007-present), demonstrate that tourism is being used, once again, as a vital mean to help recover the Thai economic from political crisis issue (2007-2009). In these recent policies attention is being paid equally to every tourist destination by encouraging Thai people to travel more in Thailand, rather than travelling abroad, to discover the real beauty in every part of Thailand by highlighting the characteristics of each destination consequently the development of hill tribe tourism is again being encouraged (TAT 2010).

Today, hill tribe tourism is considered to be one of the important sources of wealth for the Thai economy (in general each hill tribe destination in Thailand receives range of 300-700 visitors per day, depending on how mature the tourism development in a destination is, but this number can reach 1000 visitors in the high season, especially during Thai New Year (in December-January), Songkhan festival (in April), and other long holiday such as religion days (in May, June and July). These visits generate around 2.2 million USD of income for the hill tribe destinations per year (Enrard and Leepreecha 2009).

### **3.4.2 Role of External Tourism Actors (ETAs) and hill tribe tourism ownership**

Due to the fact that hill tribe tourism generates considerable income for the nation, different organisations, including the government, the private sector, investors, NGO, and even the Royal family have become involved with these destinations. These external parties have arranged number of activities for hill tribe people, for instance, the Royal Project, an agriculture based foundation has been promoting cash crops and hill tribe tourism as replacement for growing opium poppy among hill tribe people (Rajani 2002; Royal Project Foundation (RPF) 2003; Bangkok Post 2006).

The Royal Project Foundation programme, a humanitarian initiative was established in the year 1969 and is run by the Thai Royal Family to help the hill tribe people throughout Thailand. Initially it sought to encourage them to grow good and useful profitable crops. Now, it has also encouraged hill tribe people to involve with both government and private sectors in hill tribe tourism. The primary goals were to provide supplementary income to hill tribe people, provide genuine knowledge about these people in order to rectify any misunderstanding among outsiders (Thai Development Research Institute (TDRI) 1997; Sabphiboonpol 2001; Sitthikan 2001; Chareonchai 2002). The RPF's work covers the following provinces: Chiang Mai, Chiang Rai, Lumphun, Payao and Mae Hong Sorn with the cooperation and support from governmental and non-governmental offices both in and out of the country.

In addition, the Thai government has also highlighted the tourism potential after new tourism themes; Exotic Thailand, Unseen Thailand, Amazing Thailand etc. were promoted (Cohen 2002; Bangkok Post 2006). Many investors and private sector operators entered these areas with the intention of developing tourism businesses. Non tribal people both public and private sectors play a significant role in promoting hill tribe tourism. As a result most of the existing tribes in Thailand often have been promoted as part of the hill tribe tourism campaign, for example: the long necked Karen, the elephant ride in Karen village, the opium poppy museum in Hmong, trekking tours provided in the Lisu and Lahu village and even a river / jungle rafting tour by the Lawa. All the promoted activities are basically based on the uniqueness of each tribe (TAT 2007).

As a result of this expansion, there is an increased penetration of ETAs who develop their business even in the remote areas of the region (Cohen 2002; Ennard and Leepreecha 2009). Bhruksasri (1989) and Rajani (2002) give an example of the businesses owned by external sectors both entrepreneurs and institutions with the involvement of the local resident themselves. These are the ethnic museums such as hill tribe museum in Tribal Research Institute in Chiang

Mai, opium museum in Hmong tribal village which aim to educate visitors about the history of highland people and opium. Even though, the hill tribes are the main reason these museums are being built but the tribal people only play a small part in the exhibition (Elmore 2000).

Recently the Thai ethnic people pay much more attention to bringing tourism to their areas (Presse-Agentur 1998; Leepreecha 2006). The rapid growth of tourism has influenced the relationship between residents and ETAs to work together in tourism business such as the case of the Lisu Lodge in Thailand (Pinsarn 2006; Buadang 2006). However, hill tribe people mostly play a passive role in the contrived attractions created and managed by stakeholders and other private investors (Cohen 2006). Guest houses, homestay, lodges and resorts were usually introduced to the hill tribe area by ETAs (Chareonchai 2002; Cohen 2006). Pai, a small town in the northern part of Thailand is another popular destination where highland people have been promoted as the attraction is an example. Most of the tourism businesses in Pai are owned by outsiders who came into the town due to the tourism business opportunity (Cohen 2006).

Nowadays, some hill tribe communities take ideas from ETAs and run their own tourism businesses while some communities co-operate with ETAs by offering homestay lodging for visitors who have an opportunity to stay longer, so they can observe the life in the villages, while the local can use this opportunity as another source of supplementary income (Tucker 2002; Rabibhadana and Jatuworapruk 2005). Some are located within the village area, with business names that relevant to the tribes, for example, Lisu Lodge, Karen Hilltribe Guesthouse, Hmong Lodge, Akha Hill House etc. and some are located outside the tribal settlements but still represent their businesses with the names of the respective tribes such as Lisu Mountain in Suppong, Akha River House, to attract more tourists (Toyota 2005; Cohen 2006). Some of these establishments are owned by the hill tribe people such as Akha Hill House, Ruam Jai Guesthouse and Ou Tit Homestay which provide basic accommodation at very low rates (Rhodees 2007), while most of the upscale businesses are owned by outsiders in the area, by foreigners who are often married to local women from the highland village (Rabibhadana and Jatuworapruk 2005). These businesses tend to charge a lot higher rates, than the ones provided by locals, with the reason that they provide their guests something local business cannot which are a combination of authenticity and comfort, despite the trekking tours. The Lisu Lodge is a good example, it is one of the oldest and most successful in type of business. It is located inside a Lisu village which owned and managed by East West Siam, a subsidiary the transnational Cycle of Asia company (Bangkok Post 2001). The business is owned by the ETAs, however, its local manager and staff are Lisu tribal people.

### 3.4.3 Thai hill tribe tourism products

Hill tribe tourism normally takes place in mountainous areas (Kunstadter *et al.* 1978; Kaplan 1981; McKinnon and Bhruksasri 1983; McKinnon 1989; Cohen 2001) and has noted previously the main attraction of hill tribe tourism is the distinct ethnic, culture, and linguistic characteristics of the different tribal groups (Rajani 2002; Pinsarn 2006). The uniqueness and attractiveness of hill tribe destinations and people have gained worldwide reputation, as one of the few remaining opportunities to see primitive peoples (Cohen 1989; Dearden 1999). It is not only the characteristic of hill tribe people that attract both domestic and international tourists it is also the appeal of the surrounding natural environment in northern Thailand (McKerron 2003). Hill tribe tourism offers a number of tourism activities such as trekking, homestay, camping, tribal spa and massage, tribal traditional performance, visiting tribal sacred monuments and temples, tribal crafts and arts and adventure activities such as ATV riding, elephant riding, bamboo rafting, waterfall and rock climbing. However, the trekking and homestay have long been the main hill tribe tourism activities and have become the well known tourism activities (Leepreecha 2005; Sutamanakan 2007). According to Beattie (2007) many tribes have established many homestays in their tribal village as a starting point of their tourism business which aim to attract tourists to visit and get to know their culture and way of life (Beattie 2007). The concept of a full package homestay has become increasingly popular especially in remote areas. The package usually offers a homestay and a trekking tour for the tourists to experience the lifestyle of hill tribe people as well as the natural resources in the area. A typical itinerary of hill tribe tourism comprises of:

- Visiting shops selling tribal arts and crafts (some of them owned by ETAs which are often bigger and more luxurious, while the shops owned by local tribal people are much smaller)
- Visiting the tribal sacred sites, temples in the hill tribe community
- Visiting local tribal villages
- Trekking through natural resources and scenery such as waterfalls, mountain, jungle
- Sightseeing, bird watching and photography
- Other activities such as fruit and vegetable picking, rock and waterfall climbing, bamboo rafting, visiting elephant camp for elephant riding or other activities with elephant such as bathing elephant, feeding elephant or watching elephant show
- Home-staying and camping

Since hill tribe tourism has become one of the popular tourism activities in Thailand, there are range of types of accommodation from; homestay<sup>2</sup>, camp ground, bungalow, to luxury resort and hotel.

Therefore, hill tribe tourism stays can range from a minimum of a half day programme to one that is a week or more long. However, the most common programme of hill tribe tourism is 3 days and 2 nights.

Overall hill tribe communities for example; Karen and Hmong are still underdeveloped compared to cities such Phuket, Pattaya and especially Bangkok. As mentioned earlier the hill tribes still need help in terms of financial and managerial resources from both government and private sector to develop the area to become a more mature tourist location. In spite of this, it does not stop tourists from visiting these destinations. In fact, hill tribe village tourism is considered to be a more famous tourism destination compared with craft and fishing villages (Cohen 2001; Sutamanakan 2007). As a result, these destinations can be regarded as having created a cultural tourism product to attract tourists (Bhruksasri 1989; TAT 2007).

Having addressed Thai hill tribe tourism products, the hill tribe tourism specifically on Doi Inthanon will be discussed in the following section. However, the following section will start with a general overview of Doi Inthanon, its location and the Karen and Hmong on Doi Inthanon will be presented first.

### **3.5 Doi Inthanon**

#### **3.5.1 Reasons for choosing the Karen and Hmong communities on Doi Inthanon as a study area**

The characteristics of the mountain, Doi Inthanon result in it being a suitable location for investigating the perceptions of hill tribe villagers of the impacts of tourism as, in common with many other tourism destination areas worldwide, the host residents confront impacts from the interaction of themselves as hosts and their guests, the tourists.

This research will seek to determine whether there are any differences in perceptions among those people from the Karen and Hmong tribes who live on Doi Inthanon and whether different

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<sup>2</sup> Homestay is divided into two types; living in a house with tribal people or on their own. The choice of homestay can be chosen as traditional way by living in a stilts bamboo house (typical tribal house) with the use of fire instead of electricity or standardise way which is more comfortable type with amenities, bathroom and use of electricity

perceptions are held by those who work on a regular basis with ETAs in comparison those whose employment is not dependent upon ETAs. Considering only one tribe in one area can only give one particular perception, hill tribe people who live in the next village or different tribe may have a different set of attitude towards the same issue due to differences in their historical background, socio-economic conditions and culture etc. Mayo and Jarvis (1981); Schneider and Jordan (1981) point out that culture causes different nationalities to perceive differently.

In addition to historical and cultural differences these Karen and Hmong living on Doi Inthanon differ in regard to their degree of engagement with tourism. The Karen have engaged with ETAs continuously from 1998 – present, which is a longer period compared to the Hmong who initially appear to have believed that they could generate enough income for their community without the help from ETAs. Their main occupation was agriculture or running their own business such as a small convenience shop, selling food and drink etc. and approximately in 2005, did they seek employment with the ETAs in the area to develop tourism in their villages.

### **3.5.2 Location and its environment**

Doi Inthanon is the highest mountain in Thailand. It rises to a height of 2565 meters (8,415 feet) above sea level. It covers 482 square km (186 square miles) and is located in the Province of Chiang Mai in the northern region of Thailand (Figure 3.1). The community belongs to the Mae Jam tambon (sub-district). The top of Doi Inthanon is cool year around, it has a monsoon climate, the temperature is around 6 degrees C. and frosts are not unusual during the cool, dry season. January is the coldest month. At any season, Doi Inthanon is a represents a comfortable reprieve from the heat of the lowlands.



Figure 3.2 Location of Doi Inthanon

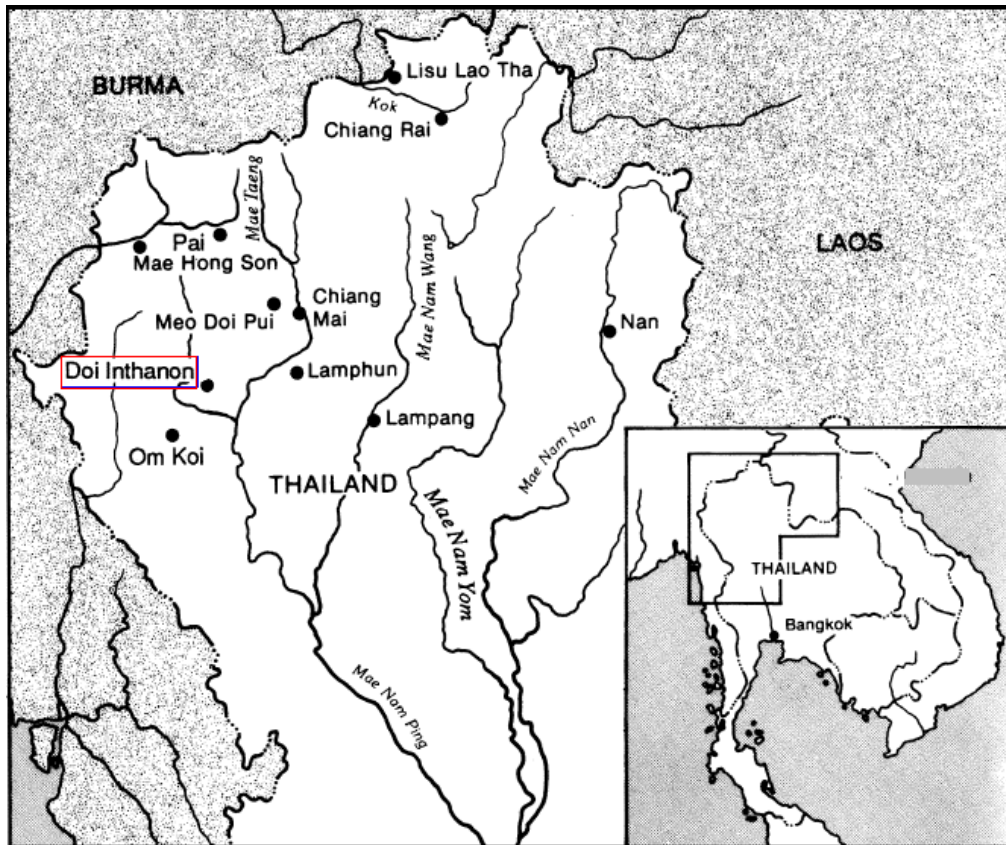
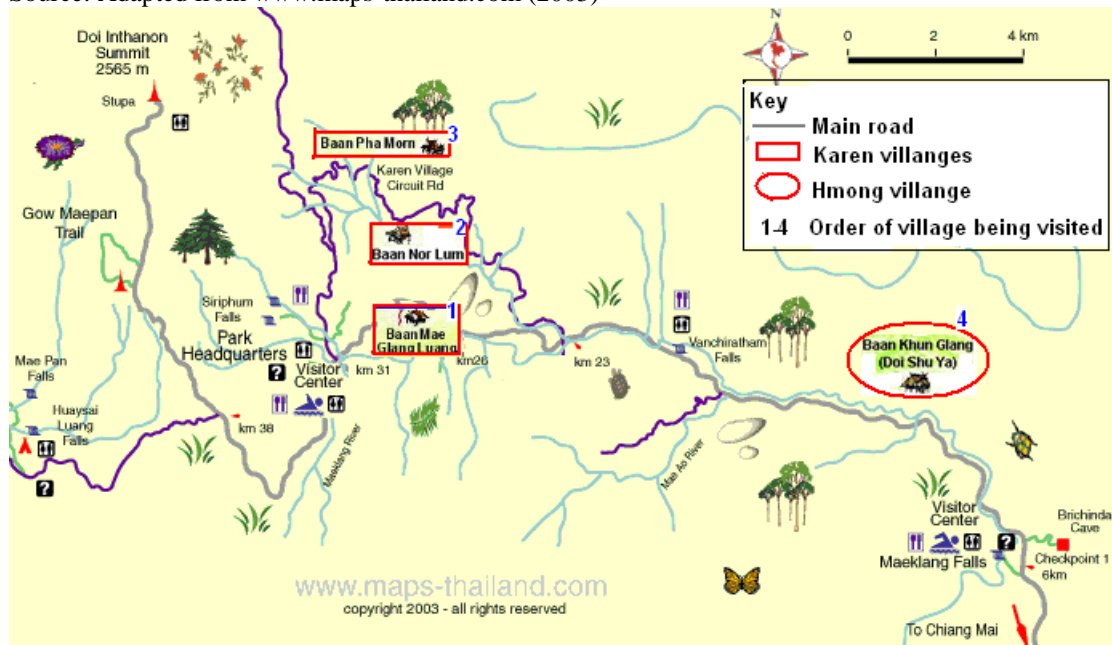


Figure 3.3 Map of the selected Karen and Hmong villages on Doi Inthanon  
 Source: Adapted from www.maps-thailand.com (2003)



Doi Inthanon is the source of many rivers such as the Ping, Mae Pako and Mae Pawn. The natural scenery is of rugged mountainous terrain blanketed by lush tropical forests crossed by rivers and numerous waterfalls, particularly Mae Ya Waterfall, which is considered one of the most beautiful in Thailand.

### **3.5.3 Population and hill tribe groups on Doi Inthanon**

In places other than Doi Inthanon, some groups of hill tribe people, living in refugee camps, are not allowed to move due to national security issues. However, the groups of Karen and Hmong on Doi Inthanon are not subject any restriction on their movements. According to Pipithvanichtham (1997) roughly 4,500 people live within the Doi Inthanon boundaries. The main inhabitants include the Karen, Hmong and Northern Thais. However, according to the interviews conducted with Doi Inthanon national park staff, during the first period of data collection in 2008 there is a population of approximately 5,000 people - the reason the actual total population cannot be stated is due to some of the hill tribe people who live here have not been registered. However, information derived from the staff of the national park and village headmen indicate that about half of the total population are Thai, both Chiang Mai residents and those who have moved to the area due to job opportunities, and the other half are Karen and Hmong which are considered as hill tribes.

Doi Inthanon has long been home to settlements of Karen and Hmong (Pipithvanichtham 1997). According to the story passed on from ancestor generation to the next, the 'white' Hmong people were the first group that moved into the area living secretly on Doi Inthanon they were followed by a Sgaw sub group of Karen, there are however no official records to support these claims and when exactly they first moved to Doi Inthanon.

Most of the tribal people in Doi Inthanon were crop-shifting farmers (Royal Forestry Department (RFD) 1993; Dearden *et al.* 1996). In addition most of the Hmong people grow opium as their main crop which had become a serious concern for the Thai government (Puginier 2003; Delang 2006). The RPF proposed a solution for the problem by advising the government to put in place strategies to stop opium cultivation and to look after the forest and the hill tribe people by allowing them to settle down in Doi Inthanon legally and by providing proper training for agriculture, such as crop rotation, and providing them with choices of other of crops instead of opium (Rajani 2002). Subsequently the hill tribes have been encouraged to practice forest conservation, to avoid a heavy use of forest resources and to undertake legal agriculture activities, in exchange for their legal settlement in Thailand (RDF 1993). Since the agreement had been made, the Thai government has allowed these hill tribe people to maintain their traditional culture.

In addition to that, the Karen and Hmong communities on Doi Inthanon were generally very poor and faced food shortages (Delang 2003). Compared with the Karen, the Hmong however, benefitted from their early engagement in opium cultivation and from government and Royal family –sponsored development projects to replace this with growing cash crops and selling

flowers grown within Doi Inthanon (Dearden *et al.* 1996; Rajani 2002). The Karen were not involved in the Royal family projects, which is known as Klong Garn Lueang, until 1998 when the RPF introduced both the Karen and the Hmong to a project developing hill tribe tourism (Rajani 2002).

### **3.5.4 Tourism in Doi Inthanon**

Doi Inthanon has been selected by the tourism authorities as one of the most remarkable places to visit. The site is popular among domestic tourists because of its temperate climate, attractive waterfalls, the summit of Doi Inthanon, and views over the mountains. The campaigns sought to attract visitors to the area by highlighting the beautiful natural as well as promoting a unique lifestyle of the hill tribes.

Both public and private sectors saw the potential for a successful tourism destination, as a result, more investments have been undertaken in upgrading the tourist attractions and services in Doi Inthanon (Kaae 2006). According to Leepreecha (2006) a special tourism zone was established along the main road to the majority of tourist attractions, facilities and services. Paved roads, extensive parking spaces, public toilets, shops, restaurants, overnight accommodation, ornamental flower displays, tourist information centres, and many other modern tourist services were established. Interviewees in the first stage of data collection asserted that before the arrival of ETAs in the late 1990s, there was only a dirt track to each tribe village. This is supported by Evrard and Leepreecha (2009) who state that many hill tribe destinations (e.g., Doi Suthep, Doi Pui, Nan etc.) were previously undeveloped with poor standard of living, until the development of tourism supported by the both government and private sectors. Leepreecha (2006) points out that in the past one of the reasons for road construction to reach hill tribe communities was based on concerns re national security, their purpose being to send troops to defeat Communist bases and take control over the jungle area.

Presently, as has occurred in many remote communities, it is for the purpose of tourism and as a consequence, the more facilities have been developed. Moreover, according to the law for national parks, which includes Doi Inthanon, no construction is allowed. However, for tourism, basic infrastructure and private constructions are allowed in national parks (Leepreecha 2006). Even though some of the Karen and Hmong on Doi Inthanon, as well as other hill tribe people in other areas who, do not have Thai citizenship they have been given employment opportunities and land to settle down in national park which appears to violate the nation's natural resource conservation policy, these initiatives are acceptable for the National Park policy maker and the Thai government, in the context of tourism (Pipithvanichtham 1997; Leepreecha 2006).

In Doi Inthanon both the Karen and the Hmong were encouraged to cooperate with ETAs in this tourism programme, to further discourage both the Hmong from growing opium and other agriculture activities performed by Karen and Hmong that are harmful to the ecology and environment. Due to their active cooperation, in 1998 the Thai government together with the Royal Project Family introduced opportunities for the Karen to access a supplementary income by encouraging them to join with ETAs to operate formal tourism businesses. In practice homestay was their first tourism business together. On the other hand, according to the interviews with the Hmong on Doi Inthanon, the Hmong, who had been introduced to the form of tourism at the same time as the Karen, did not respond very well and initially were less cooperative with the ETAs. Since the punishment for opium cultivation has become more and more serious the Hmong have turned to other choices of employment, becoming increasingly involved in tourism from around 2005 onwards. (This information revealed during the interview with Hmong people on Doi Inthanon).

Therefore, as a tourism destination, the Karen village has already experienced the first stages of tourism development and with the help of the Royal Project and the Doi Inthanon National Park have made hill tribe tourism in Karen villages on Doi Inthanon a relative success. In contrast the Hmong are still experiencing this formative exploratory stage of tourism development.

Today, Doi Inthanon is a popular destination for visitors and has attracted numbers of ETAs to establish tourism businesses in the area, especially around the natural resources. A well defined tourism industry in the Karen village has developed and the destination has been advertised and well recognised by both tourists and investors compared to Hmong. Tourism facilities commonly owned by ETAs in Doi Inthanon include a visitor centre, bungalows, guest house, homestay, resort, hotel, camp groups, food services, leisure and adventure activities etc.

### **3.6 Conclusion**

This chapter has presented the information of hill tribe people of Thailand and their relationship with Thai society and has reviewed characteristics of Karen and Hmong people in particular. It then reviewed hill tribe tourism in Thailand in regard to the range of tourism products/ experiences and ownership. Then information on the characteristics of Doi Inthanon where this research was undertaken were presented with reference to its location, environment, the resident hill tribe groups and the emergence of tourism in Doi Inthanon. The next chapter will present the methodology of this study.

## Chapter 4 Methodology

### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter starts with a justification for the adoption of a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods and a description of the research strategy, data collection process and its stages. The methods employed in the different stages of data collection to achieve the research aims and objectives are described as well as details of sampling and the sample size. The limitations of each stage are discussed and analysis techniques for qualitative and quantitative data are presented. Finally, ethical considerations and risk issues are presented.

### 4.2 Research approach

#### 4.2.1 A combination of qualitative and quantitative methods

Rather than accepting that one research paradigm should dominate the whole research (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004; Johnson *et al.* 2007), a combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches were adopted for this research by selecting specific methods and approaches with respect to the underlying research questions. Although, mixed methods could be used with any paradigm (Creswell 2003), this study employs a pragmatic paradigm. This paradigm is associated with the combination of methods in a single study that involve collection data in a sequential (or simultaneous) manner using methods that are drawn from both qualitative and quantitative approaches in a manner that best addresses the research question/s (Tashakkori and Teddlie 1998; Creswell 2003).

The concept of using both qualitative and quantitative methods has been increasingly recognised as a growing trend in conducting research (Johnson *et al.* 2007). An increasing number of tourism impact studies, i.e., Davis *et al.* 1988; Foster 2001; Abdool 2002; Rao and Lbanez 2003; Farmer and Knapp 2008; Rattan 2008; Aref and Gill 2009, employ a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods (also referred to as mixed methods, integrated or blended) because the integration of quantitative and qualitative research methods provides depth and clarity to the research (Walle 1997; Bryman 2001; Mason 2002; Tashakkori and Teddlie 2003 and Weinreich 2006). Creswell (2009, p.203) states that ‘because research methodology continues to evolve and develop, and mixed methods is another step forward, utilising the strengths of both qualitative and quantitative research.’ However, debate exists over whether quantitative research and qualitative research methods can be complementary. According to Sarantakos, (2005, p. 145) the term “triangulation” refers to the “use of multiple means for collecting data,” either qualitative or quantitative methods (within-method), or a combination (between-methods) in the same study (Denzin 1989; Sarantakos 2005; Sorenson 2006).

#### **4.2.2 Benefits and criticism of a combination of qualitative and quantitative approach**

Several scholars have highlighted the benefits of using more than one approach to collecting data as it can overcome the limitation of one particular approach and gain a wider picture of the topic being studied (Denzin 1989; Tashakkori and Teddlie 2003 and Sorenson 2006). Sarantakos (2005) explains that the combination approaches allows the researcher to consider the subject of a study from more than one perspective allowing an enrichment of knowledge and/or to test validity. Johnson *et al.* (2007) and Creswell (2009) highlight the benefits of numerical data which can be used to add precision to words which together produce more complete knowledge to inform theory and practice. Tashakkori and Teddlie (2003, p. 14-15) also believe that using a combination of methods, rather than a single method, can answer research questions that the other methods cannot. It can also provide the opportunity for presenting a greater diversity of different views (Tashakkori and Teddlie 2003).

Whereas, other researchers (Kuhn 1970; Witkin 1994; Bryman 2003; Haynes 2004; Weinreich 2006 and Wallace 2007) believe that the theory of knowledge and how it relates to truth, belief, and justification highlighted in each of the approaches is so different that they cannot be reconciled within a research project. As a result, one may end up not doing either type of research well. Witkin (1994) and Wallace (2007) support the idea that different methods bring in results that cannot be compared. Bryman (2001) suggests that the main character of qualitative studies tends to get the correct meaning; however, if the questions in quantitative approaches are based on prior qualitative questions it then can also lead to correct meaning. Though both techniques are valid, applying the right tool to the right job is valid because different approaches raise different issues.

Bryman (2001) discusses the common argument regarding mixed methods, namely, that qualitative and quantitative methods should not be used together as they represent conflicting paradigms. However, he argues that qualitative and quantitative research methods are research approaches and not paradigms although they have overlapping areas. Three question types relate to paradigms, i.e., ontological, epistemological and methodological questions. However, in this case the tool that has been considered to answer the ontological questions uses the qualitative research approach to facilitate a quantitative approach as the qualitative approach provides in-depth knowledge of social contexts to help design the questionnaire (Bryman 2001). Therefore, this study employed a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods to gain deeper and more valid insights into the perceptions of local hill tribe people toward the socio-cultural impacts they perceive occurring upon themselves and the changes in their community resulting from the interaction between themselves and ETAs. In this case, the concept of triangulation

(between methods) was used to gather information on this topic with the intention to improve validity and provide better (stronger) inferences (Tashakkori and Teddlie 2003).

#### **4.2.3 Reason for choosing a sequential exploratory approach**

Creswell (2003) asserted a sequential exploratory approach (qual + QUAN) as the inquirer first explores generally to learn about what variables to study then studies those variables with a large sample of individuals, who can answer the research questions that the researcher is investigating. Therefore, this research has adopted a sequential exploratory approach (qual + QUAN). In this case, the primary enquiries began by using qualitative methods, that is focus groups and in-depth interviews to gain insights that may not have arisen from a review of the existing literature. These insights were then combined with those arising from the literature to determine perceptions by means of a large scale quantitative survey. Therefore, the results can be cautiously regarded as representative of the population and may be cautiously generalisable as they do not simply reflect the views of a small number of participants.

The sequential explanatory approach (QUAN + qual) on the other hand, can be more straightforward and can be useful when unexpected results arise from a quantitative study (Mores 1991). However, this strategy does not fit well with the selected research participants due to their limited ability to analyse and reflect on their lifestyles from the questionnaire, which is more likely to unnerve them due to the formality of the process. Secondly, giving them a set of questions at first may have made them feel nervous and uncomfortable to talk to the researcher for the first time. As a result, they would generally give the most obvious and expected answers according to the choices given in the questionnaire without being critical or thinking outside the box. Therefore, utilising the sequential exploratory design (qual + QUAN) allowed the investigatory process to move forward resulting in unpredicted and surprising outcomes that developed through interaction and discussion in a group of people, sharing similarities and feeling familiar enough to contribute their ideas.

According to Denzin (1989) and Creswell (2003) it is important not only to use the existing literature because they do not come from the same resources, which may lead to a misinterpretation of the result. Therefore qualitative methods with a particular group were applied initially in order to gain more precise detail of the certain group. Therefore, focus groups and interviews can be helpful for two main reasons. First, they help improve the questionnaire design, e.g., some of the information reported during focus groups and in-depth interviews was not found from existing literature and was used to form questionnaire items to more accurately fit this selected sample group. Second, they help limit the risk of restricting the depth of the interpretation of the questionnaire data, because they enhance better understanding

of how respondents understand and answer questions. Separating the data collection process into two stages using three research methods (focus groups and interviews for the initial stage and questionnaires in the second stage) led in the first stage to an appreciation of Karen and Hmong perceptions towards the issues arising from the activities of the ETAs and led to an appreciation of their level of knowledge and involvement. These outputs made it easier to subsequently understand the respondents' perspectives, allowing more appropriate questions to be formulated.

### **4.3 Research methods of data collection**

#### **4.3.1 Secondary research**

Stewart and Kamis (1984) mention secondary data contains information and sources collected by others, similar to Veal (1997) who also points out that four main categories of resources are available for secondary research. The first category includes published statistics such as censuses, opinion polls and surveys, and housing and social security data or anything that has to do with figures. The second is published texts, which are theoretical works, literature reviews and secondary analyses by experts and reports. Third is the media such as documentaries, as a source of information. The last category comprises personal documents such as diaries. For this research, secondary research was conducted in the UK and Thailand. Secondary sources were selected from a wide range of articles including published texts and journals in the UK and Thai libraries, websites, and television broadcasts. Documents and reports regarding Thai hill tribes and related tourism were collected from the Tourism Authority of Thailand Information Centre and the Hill Tribe Research Institute. Other relevant information such as tourism impacts and hill tribe issues in Thailand were collected from both Thai and English print media such as Thai newspapers, and both English and Thai texts and journals. Documents, information boards and staff from Doi Inthanon National Park were other sources that provided information regarding the hill tribes. The most influential authors include Buadang, Cohen, Dearden, Delang, Leepreecha, McKinnon, Pinsarn, Rajani, Sutamongkol, and Thanasarn. However, the scope of the research involved a topic that has not been widely addressed –hill tribe residents' perceptions of impacts from interaction with ETAs. Therefore, comparing and contrasting the views and opinions from different researchers was somewhat restrained due to the limited amount of relevant publications.

#### **4.3.2 Primary research**

A number of different methods have been used to understand perceptions of people and the impacts they encountered from tourism development. In some studies, people were interviewed



directly and in some research especially anthropological studies, i.e., Lewis 1975 and 1986 and Young 1976, they were observed, too. Moreover, a number of ethnographic studies, i.e., Cornwell 1984; Davison *et al.* 1991 and Bowen 2002, have made observations or conducted fieldwork in the communities they studied and made field notes. According to Mason (2002) participant observation normally requires months or years of intensive work as the researcher needs to become accepted as a part of that particular environment being studied in order to assure that the observations are of the natural phenomenon. However, due to the limited budget and time constraints for data collection in this research, an observation approach was considered as an inherent weakness of the study. In this study, an integrated approach combining elements of focus groups, semi-structured interviews, and face-to-face questionnaires was chosen. The combination of these three approaches gave an opportunity to collect the information required to address the aims and objectives of the research. The primary research data collection process of this research was divided into two main stages.

Stage one explored the types of tourism businesses, reasons for working and for not working with ETAs, degree of involvement and conflicts encountered between ETAs and the local Karen and Hmong villagers through focus groups and semi-structured interviews. Conducting these enquiries with the hill tribe residents, those who work with ETAs and those who do not, helped in understanding their perceptions of the socio-cultural impacts they see occurring to themselves, the degree of change in their community and also pointed out some issues that were not discussed in the existing literature.

Stage two investigated and compared residents' perceptions and attitudes through a larger scale survey wherein the findings from the first stage were used to create and design a questionnaire to distribute to a larger sample of respondents in the selected communities.

#### **4.4 Representative sample**

It was considered valuable to examine the views of ethnically different tribal groups towards the influence of ETAs. Therefore, the sampling frame for this research included Karen and Hmong villagers, over the age of 15, both those who were in continuous and direct contact with ETAs and those who were not, along with the village headmen in the selected communities.

The main reason behind choosing Karen and Hmong villages was to allow comparisons to be made. These two villages represent the biggest of the 'tribal' groups in Thailand with different historical backgrounds and cultures. See Chapter 3 Tourism was introduced to both tribes residing in Doi Inthanon at a similar time, the late 1990s. The Karen have been interacting more

and cooperating well with outsiders especially ETAs since their villages have been promoted as tourist destinations by both government and NGO's since the late 1990s (Buadang 2004). However, the less cooperative stance of the Hmong at the beginning has resulted in this group of Hmong in Baan Khun Wang Village still operating at an early stage of tourism development and with less interaction among ETAs when compared with the Karen. These differences are reflected in the increased number of visitors to Karen villages and the creation of tourism businesses and activities revolving more around the Karen community.

#### **4.5 Ethical considerations**

Ethical issues were considered before the start of the data collection. This section provides an outline of the ethical issues relevant to the topic. It will begin with some general concerns such as informed consent and confidentiality. The researcher first explained to the sample group being studied: 1) the reason for the study, 2) who was conducting the research and 3) why the particular individual or sample population was being asked to participate. For example, it was crucial to make the village headmen feel important by saying that they were at the heart of their village since they had power to make decisions in the village. Moreover, according to MacKay (1993) and Reilly *et al.* (1997), the researcher must be clear about how data will be identified, and what kinds of information will be revealed to whom, at what point in the course of research. In this case, the risk of obtaining inaccurate information increased, as local people may not reveal the whole truth about their indirect benefits or some of the negative impacts and what problems they are really having from working with/for ETAs. Additionally, they may also wish to hide negative images associated with tourism such as prostitution, drug abuse, and crime and other social issues. Thus, it was important to remind the respondents that their input to the research would be kept confidential and only be used for academic purposes and to ask for their permission to use their answers. In this study, the researcher did not pressure participants or the representative sample to speak or give personal opinions unless they were willing. To be noted, all participants agreed to participate. Furthermore, because this research used the focus group technique, it was necessary at the beginning to clarify that each participant's contributions would be shared with the others in the group as well as with the researcher. They were asked to keep confidential what they heard during the meeting. Moreover, in the second stage of data collection, every participant was informed before conducting the questionnaire that their answers would be kept confidential, which gave participants a feeling of privacy and confidentiality.

#### **4.6 Health, safety and risk issues**

This research concerned the perceptions of local hill tribe people and as such it was not concerned with any health related issues. However, safety issues were taken into account as the destination was little known although there were no records of safety issues such as crime, rape etc. had been reported in the study area. Nevertheless, due to the precautions were taken to prevent any risk and safety issues, the primary data collection in both stages were taken during the day time with two or more people working together in the field without encountering any major risk issues during the period of primary data collection.

#### **4.7 Stage one: Data collection**

The first stage of data collection took place in Chiang Mai, Thailand from the beginning of June to late July 2008. Several phone calls and meetings were made to people who might be helpful with the data collection such as staff from a hill tribe museum, lecturers from Chiang Mai University, Doi Inthanon National Park employees and people in charge of hill tribe people from selected villages, who introduced the researcher to the village headmen. The topic of the research was explained along with a description of the type of information that would be required from them. The aim was to find two groups of people (those who take part in tourism business with ETAs and those who do not) from two different ethnic groups (Karen and Hmong). Data concerning the selected Karen and Hmong was collected such as their main occupations, current and past details of the characteristics and types of problem the hill tribes are facing together with information concerning their perceptions towards ETAs and the degree of transformation of their village.

After everything had been arranged at convenient times and places for interviewees, focus groups and interviews were conducted in a social setting. Focus groups with Karen villagers who worked with ETAs were conducted in the village headman's home, while focus groups with Karen who did not work with ETAs were conducted under a tree in the middle of a field in Mae Klang Luang Village, a common place where Karen villagers in Doi Inthanon rest. For Hmong groups, both of the focus groups took place in the resting area in Baan Kun Wang Village. The interviews took place in different venues depending upon the respondents' preferences, mostly at the subject's work place or home.

All of the focus groups and interviews were recorded with a hand held video camera and MP3 recorder with the participants' verbal permission. Using these two devices together not only

improved accuracy and reliability but also, allowed the interviewer to concentrate on the interaction with the participants without being distracted by changing tapes and batteries.

Moreover, use of the hand held video camera captured participant movements and reactions towards certain issues (Flick 2009). Their body language could be used to support or contradict their answers, as content analysts are also as interested in what content is revealed through unspoken nonverbal language (Krippendorff 2004). The concept of attitude emerged as another important factor because it added another dimension to the content analysis, such as perspectives pro and con or favourable and unfavourable viewpoints (Krippendorff 2004).

## **4.8 Focus group**

### **4.8.1 Reasons for using focus groups**

Firstly, conducting the focus groups encouraged the participants not to be afraid or too nervous to meet with the researcher, a total stranger to them, meeting for the first time. In addition, the benefit of allowing them to participate in a group with people they knew helped them feel less anxious and made the ice-breaking process more effective, resulting in more valid and reliable outcomes from the focus groups (Krueger and Casey 2000). This technique helps in developing concepts at the early stage to gain an understanding of the target groups (Krueger and Casey 2000). According to Mann (1985, p.131) the “focus group process often works best at the initial stage of research when concepts still have to be clarified and cannot replace a properly constituted sample.” Additionally, Mann (1985, p.15) researchers highlight the importance of conducting a focus group as “the goal of these focus groups is to learn how a target audience sees, understands, and values a particular topic and to learn the language used to talk about the topic.” Moreover, the focus groups also helped in relation to knowledge of the current issues, useful expressions and key words that were appropriate to adopt in the face-to-face questionnaire process in stage two of the research. For example, the word Kareng (Karen) was replaced by Pkakayaw as the Karen people in Doi Inthanon refer to themselves as Pkakayaw. Participating in focus groups also assisted gathering relevant information such as reactions, immediate responses and feedback from different sources at one time (Greenbaum 1998). Using a focus group allowed observation on how the participants ‘bounced’ their ideas off each other, their body language and reactions toward certain issues. By gathering participants together and introducing a topic for discussion concerning the collective attitudes and beliefs of the sample populations, the flow of ideas generated insightful responses and meaningful information which would be less accessible without the interaction found in a group (Morgan 1993; Threlfall 2008). As the nature of this research which was to assess the perceptions and beliefs of the Karen and

Hmong, therefore, the focus group was considered an appropriate approach as it can address the hidden areas of human consciousness (Morgan 1993).

To summarise, the three main reasons for applying focus groups at the first stage of this data collection were to relax the respondents when they interacted with the researcher, provide key concepts and clarify local interactions towards ETAs and perceptions toward socio-cultural impacts and changes in their communities. This helped generate more precise questions to form a questionnaire, an idea supported by Pearce *et al.* (1996). Although this method can be useful in the initial research stage and to validate participant perspectives on a given topic the results gathered from the focus groups alone will not completely explain the perceptions of participants. Therefore, semi-structured interviews were considered to address possible gaps arising from the focus groups. Permission was granted for a second visit to conduct personal interviews to obtain missing information from the first meeting. It was recognised that answers given during a follow-up interview may not be as synergistic as those elicited from the focus group (Morgan 1993).

#### **4.8.2 Respondents for the focus groups**

The literature recommends that the structure of the focus group must be characterised by homogeneity because it will be easier for participants to share similar key characteristics and thoughts to help recognize each other's experiences but with sufficient difference among participants to allow for differences in ideas, thoughts, and feelings to occur (Morgan 1993; Krueger and Casey 2000). In this research, the two main common criteria of the sample population were: they had to be a group of people who were born and consider themselves as part of a Karen or Hmong ethnic group and second, Doi Inthanon was their official residence.

Two focus groups were conducted with each tribe. The first focus group with Karen respondents was with those who were engaged with ETAs, while the second focus group was conducted with those not engaged with ETAs or in any tourism businesses. The same categories for respondents were applied in the two focus groups undertaken with Hmong respondents.

The Karen village headman helped in gathering the group of Karen who worked with ETAs and those Karen who did not, and the Hmong village headman also helped to identify and invited Hmong people that fit these two categories.

### 4.8.3 Sample size of the focus groups

Krueger and Casey (2000) recommend that for non-commercial purposes, a focus group should comprise between six to eight participants each time. “A group of ten or more participants is difficult to manage and limits each person’s opportunity to share insights and observations. Smaller groups are preferable when the participants have a great deal to share about the topic or have had intense or lengthy experiences with the topic of discussion” (Krueger and Casey 2000, p. 74). In addition to the consideration of sample size, the number of focus group participants was mainly determined by the number of Karen and Hmong who were working with ETAs. In this regard, the exact numbers of participants – the number of local Karen and Hmong coming into contact with ETAs- was concluded later after a brief meeting with the village headmen. However, as a proposed approach, six to eight subjects would give satisfactory data, based on the budget, time and potential responses available. Moreover, it was important to construct a sample which was manageable. In practice, 24 subjects volunteered to take part in the research as indicated below. A total of four focus groups were carried out. The first focus group involved six Karen working with ETAs. The second focus group involved six Karen who were not working with ETAs. In the case of the Hmong, the first focus group was carried out with six Hmong working with ETAs. Then another six Hmong, who were not involved with ETAs, participated in the second focus group. Following the recommendation of Wolcott (2001), a profile of each participant to establish the context in which this data was collected is given in Table 4.1.

**Table 4.1 Karen focus groups participant profiles**

Name	Gender	Age	ETA related job	Name	Gender	Age	Non ETA related job
Ying	Female	18	a food server	Wa	Female	20	a farmer/hair dresser
Rongroj	Male	23	a guest house manager	Tan	Male	28	a biology researcher
Mam	Female	27	a resort manager	San	Male	32	a farmer
Ae	Female	34	a housekeeper/farmer	Sakchai	Male	36	a farmer/buys and sells second hand products
Somran	Male	34	a porter/farmer	Somsak	Male	40	a farmer
Tong	Male	42	a homestay manager/ trekking guide	Tai	Female	43	a farmer

**Table 4.2 Hmong focus groups participant profiles**

Name	Gender	Age	ETA related job	Name	Gender	Age	Non ETA related job
Pai	Female	19	a food server	Ja	Female	24	a farmer
Pee	Male	24	a campground supervisor	Chop	Male	34	a farmer/freelance e.g. maid, carpenter, gardener
Sae-Ya	Male	25	a singer	Mai	Female	39	a flower seller
Sit	Male	27	a tour guide	Change	Male	40	a farmer
Nikom	Male	29	a hotel sous chef	Pa-Chong	Female	45	food vendor/owner
Nong	Female	31	a homestay manager	Sing	Male	48	a grocery shop owner

#### **4.8.4 Focus group design**

Every effort was made to adopt a friendly and relaxed style for the focus groups. A combination of questioning route and topic guide was adopted as a questioning strategy. A questioning route is a sequence of questions expressed in conversational sentences. According to Krueger (1998) the benefits of using this strategy are that it will increase the researcher's confidence because the questions address the topics precisely as intended. It will also give efficient analysis because it minimises differences in questions that could change the intent. Although Krueger (1998) points out that the questioning route might sound awkward and insincere when the moderator asks questions, but the researcher prepared herself to be familiar and comfortable with the set of topics that had been formed into the range of questions to ask the participants in a certain way making the process flow smoothly. The topic guide was also adopted in the sense that the research can make it more naturally spontaneous, to overcome the insincerity raised by the prepared set of questions, by allowing follow-up questions to be posed based on the responses given.

To be noted, the focus groups were carried out in Thai, however the focus group questions were designed initially in English, in order to discuss them with the supervisory team. Then the researcher, a Thai native speaker, translated the questions into Thai. Brislin (1970) and Werner and Campbell (1970) suggest a back translation, therefore this technique was used to confirm the accuracy of the translation.

Before conducting the real focus group, the draft of the questions, derived from topics the researcher wanted to investigate, was pilot tested with a few colleagues, Thai and British, familiar with the activity and aware of the common problems and the supervisory team who

could offer their experience with similar questions. As a result, many of the questions were simplified, for example:

- What are the most significant impacts you have had from working with ETAs?

The above question is too long and too complicated; therefore, it was revised to be simpler and shorter, as illustrated below. Below are some of the main questions:

- Are there a lot of ETAs here?
- How do you feel about the arrival of ETAs in Doi Inthanon?
- Tell me what made you work for them? not work for them?
- After you have been working with ETAs, do you think that it has somehow impacted upon you?
- Are there any problems when working with ETAs?
- How do you solve those problems?
- What do you like most about the arrival of ETAs?
- What do you dislike most about the ETAs?
- Can you tell me the impact(s) you think have happened to you personally after the arrival of ETAs?
- Have you seen anything change in Doi Inthanon after the arrival of ETAs?

The first two questions were designed to get them talking and thinking about ETAs. Then the following questions were raised according to plan. Some of the questions were only conducted in the focus group with those who work with ETAs. An informal environment was maintained in the focus groups by asking questions in a conversational manner, (see Appendix 1 for focus group protocol).

#### **4.8.5 Focus group process**

Ice-breaking activities were carried out during which the researcher made some general comments about their village and whether they have held this kind of focus group discussion before or come into contact with researchers for academic purposes. To be noted, in this study the participants know each other as they live in the same village. However, this process of ice-breaking was done to make the participants feel less nervous and more comfortable talking to the researcher. Then opening questions were asked at the beginning of the focus groups. In



terms of Thai context, personal questions tended to produce an effective start in getting to know someone. Participants were asked their name, age, marital status, children, where they lived and so forth.

After using the opening questions to get participants talking, the introductory questions followed to focus on the topic being researched. Asking the introductory questions allowed the researcher to find out how much the participants knew about the topic being researched. Some of the introductory questions used in this study were:

- When you see ETAs here, what comes to your mind?
- When you hear people say tourism impact, what comes to your mind?

Then key questions were asked, and some examples are cited below.

- Tell me the benefits you receive personally from having ETAs here?
- What about disadvantages?
- Now, let's think about what are the beneficial changes you have seen happening in your community resulting from the ETAs?
- What about negative changes?

These questions involved asking the participants to talk through specific experiences in their lives. This method provided the researcher with a sense of how issues and concerns were connected in their perceptions (Hollaway and Jefferson 2000). After the key questions had been addressed, the researcher ended the focus group by asking the final question: Has anything been missed? This last question helped once again to get the participants to speak up on some issues they might have in mind but that were overlooked by the researcher.

#### **4.8.6 Limitations of the focus groups**

The Karen village headman, who works for ETAs and has also introduced some jobs opportunities to work with ETAs to the Karen villagers, was invited to stay with the researcher during the focus groups with the Karen, in case the researcher could not catch some phrases expressed by the participants. However, the researcher found that using the village headman as the interpreter may have limited the chances for the participants to express themselves freely. It could be that a Karen language user, unrelated to the participants, may have allowed the participants to show more self-expression and as a result richer information may have been obtained from them. The probable reason behind this could be that the selected group of Karen

felt intimidated by the presence of their village headman as their body language, observed by the researcher, quite obviously indicated that the presence of their headman had created an inhibitory effect. For this reason, the anonymous questionnaire was considered as the most appropriate way to gather data in the second stage of the data collection to gain more valid results and honesty from participants and to overcome this potentially inhibitory effect. However, this problem did not occur while conducting focus group with the Hmong participants, as the Hmong village headman does not involve with ETAs nor introduce any ETAs job to the Hmong villagers.

Moreover, the limitations in the focus groups with both tribes might be that the participants may not always provide honest answers as they might want to look good in the group. As a result of this peer pressure, they might only give answers that seem rational or appropriate to the situation or create a favourable impression. Therefore, the answers received may not be reliable (Krueger 1998). This is why semi-structured interviews were conducted subsequently.

#### **4.9 Data preparation**

After having taped all four focus groups, the tape was kept securely before it was being transcribed. The data were then transcribed by hand, facial expressions and nonverbal sounds (e.g., laughs, sighs) were included. After the researcher had transcribed the tape, the hard copy of transcript files of the focus groups was photo copied as a backup set.

#### **4.10 Data analysis**

Data from focus groups transcription were analysed using content analysis. The following section is a brief summary on the content analysis, its approach and its limitations.

Content analysis has become a well-known research tool used to determine the presence of certain words or concepts within texts (Krippendorff 2004). Traditionally it answers research questions by analysing texts, which are understood quite generally to include image, sound, websites, symbolic events, and even numerical data, that mean something in the chosen context (Berelson 1971). The approach has principally focused on linguistic references, expressions of attitudes, and evaluation. It is fundamentally a quantitative approach to unstructured data though, as applied in this research, it can be undertaken qualitatively (Krippendorff 2004). Norman and Fraenkel (2001) explain that in analysing text by content analysis each time a unit in a relevant category is found, it is counted. Coding in content analysis is a process of summarising responses into groups with the category or concept being given to the groups (Krippendorff

2004). This process must be numerical due to the fact that this process requires the use of numbers in counting the frequency of certain words, phrases, symbols, pictures etc. A word-frequency count is used in the content analysis as it counts words that are frequently used or mentioned by respondents (Krippendorff 2004). According to Krippendorff (2004) researchers have three starting points for content analysis.

- Text-driven content analyses are motivated by the availability of texts rich enough to stimulate the analysts' interests in them.
- Problem-driven content analyses are motivated by epistemic questions about currently inaccessible phenomena, events, or processes that the analysts believe texts are able to answer.
- Method-driven content analyses are motivated by the analysts' desire to apply known analytical procedures to areas previously explored by other means.

A "problem-driven" approach was used in this research, rather than a text-driven approach because the text-driven approach is more suitable with a case of researchers without a clear or explicit research question in mind (Krippendorff 2004). The data were analysed starting from the research questions and carried through to find analytical paths from the texts to their answers. The study aimed to clarify how the interaction between local highlanders and ETAs has affected the villagers' perceptions of the socio-cultural characteristics of the community. Method-driven analyses are intended for when researchers are motivated by the "Law of the Instrument," that is, when a child discovers how to use a hammer, everything seems to be in need of hammering (Kaplan 1964, p. 28). It means, when researchers become experts in the use of a certain technique, they may well end up applying that technique to everything in sight (Kaplan and Goldsen 1965; Krippendorff 2004).

Having discussed the uses of content analysis, let us now turn to the advantages of content analysis in this study. The advantages of using content analysis in this study correspond with some of the advantages mentioned by Berelson (1971) which are:

- It gives the researcher an opportunity to choose whether to use qualitative, quantitative or a combination of both operations
- Analysing the vocabulary used by the respondents provides the researcher with valuable cultural insight
- It provides insight into complex models of the individual's thinking and language use

A disadvantage of content analysis found in this study was that it was very time consuming due to the number of respondents in this study.

#### **4.10.1 Data analysis approach**

The purpose of this section is not to repeat the well-documented differences and functions among other alternative analysis methods, but to put forward the rationale for selecting the content analysis approach. This research involves determining the perceptions of individual socio-cultural impacts and changes perceived in their community resulting from the arrival of ETAs. Frequently, content analysis has most often been thought of in terms of conceptual analysis (Palmquist 2005). Therefore, the goal is to apply this approach to produce a better understanding on the topic as well as highlight some new thoughts, both implicit and explicit, from this first stage data collection.

As in most research, the researcher started by deciding on the level of analysis. To code for sets of words, “*skill improvement.*” was chosen to constitute a category for the research, rather than to code for a single Thai word (which translate into multiple words in English) such as *be taught, be trained, learnt basic English conversation*, etc., to avoid the complication from having too many stand alone categories. However, these single words were grouped under the concept of skill improvement to clarify how their skills were being improved as well as indicating the type of skill. This allowed the researcher to provide a bigger picture of the category as well as keep the analysis simple and clear.

After concluding how to code the data, the research aim and objectives were reviewed to maintain a clear understanding of the purpose of the research and enabled the researcher to assign different categories to code for. In addition, the idea of pre-defined was adopted to use for the coding. Determining a certain number and set of categories allowed for very specific items to be found from a text. In addition, coding for only the relevant issues also allowed the researcher to focus on the research aim, while recognising the possibility of missing some new important data that might have been significant to the findings. Punch (2005) mentions options for assigning codes to data:

*At one end of the continuum, we can have prespecified codes or more general coding frameworks. At the other end, we can start coding with no prespecified codes, and let the data suggest initial codes....Nor...does it need to be an either-or decision. Thus, even when guided by an initial coding scheme, we can be alert to other labels and categories suggested by the data*

(Punch 2005, p. 200)

The pre-defined codes in this research were derived from the findings of the focus groups and interviews as well the relevant literature.

At this stage, it was crucial to determine the level of importance for some issues that occurred in the text. Therefore, the technique of coding for the frequency of word use was applied, for example, whenever the word “*crowded*” appeared in the text it was counted to indicate the degree of importance on this issue. However, the researcher was only interested in quantifying the words to see how many times they appeared and by whom, (this approach is known as a conceptual analysis), not to examine how they were related, (a relational analysis) (Krippendorff 2004).

After listening to the recordings of the data collection with the selected hill tribe people, the key-terms were assigned into different categories such as degree of involvement, motivation, conflict, impact and type of changes. Then the results were presented numerically by counting the key-words, phrases, issues and themes in each category and summarising the word frequency lists occurs during every focus group to represent the villagers perceptions toward certain issues discussed during the focus group. Weber (1990) also affirms that determining word frequency generates results that allow more precise comparisons among texts. Moreover, it allow the researcher to know how much more (or less) attention is given to some topics than to others.

In this study, the transcribing and the content analysis were done in Thai. The coding was done by hand with the use of papers, colour pens and highlighters. Data collected from focus groups during the first field visit were initially organised by focus group topics into different categories. As a result, new categories and subcategories were derived from the data. Same colour was highlighted, on the word with similar meaning, to indicate the category they belong to. After the data had been grouped into individual categories, each category was assigned a different page such as “*lost sense of belonging*” was assigned (written) to the category of negative impacts in one page, and “*better access to use better services and facilities*” was assigned to another page under the impacts on welfare as a subcategory under positive impacts, while “*better appreciation of my culture*” fell into impacts on culture as a subcategory under positive impacts. However, some texts needed to be assigned to more than one category as they encompassed more than one theme such as “*learning new way of work*” would fit learning and skill improvement as well as change in original career path. Organising data in this manner enabled the researcher to provide clearer findings to develop a more refined questionnaire design. See Appendix 2 and 5 for the themes emerging from the first stage used to develop the questionnaire.

The primary objective of this stage was to explore issues and define important value concepts of the study population to help design a large scale questionnaire for the second stage of the research to investigate similarities and differences in their perceptions.

#### **4.10.2 Limitations of the content analysis**

After transcribing all the focus group discussions, all the key-words, from each group were listed and placed into different categories. It might appear to be a normal routine for valid content analysis, but in reality it was more complicated because some key words were ambiguous, making it difficult to decide what certain words used by participants were the most appropriate to each category.

The procedure of transcribing the focus group discussions was done in Thai to avoid further subjectivity from using English. Attention was paid to the language used to translate each key term cautiously and the most suitable English word or phrase for each particular Thai word or phrase was carefully chosen. Nonetheless, not only were there difficulties in choosing the most appropriate English words to explain precise details; but the selected participants often stopped themselves from using ethnically-specific words that were likely to be too complicated to explain. As a result, most of the answers from the first stage of data collection were general rather than specific.

### **4.11 Semi-structure interview**

#### **4.11.1 Reason for using semi-structured interviews**

The reason that interviews were undertaken as one of the approaches in this study was because this method provided rich information, in-depth details, and new insights directly from the interviewees (Seaton and Bennett 1996). This approach allows further questions to be explored apart from those prepared originally that could offer a clear understanding of the topic (Rubin and Rubin 1995; Seaton and Bennett 1996), thereby, providing a greater clarity to the findings of this research (Foddy 1993).

Having hill tribe people interact with the researcher in the focus groups, not only helped the researcher modify her interviewing and questions to make them compatible with the respondents' own terminology, but also helped overcome their reluctance to engage with the researcher, resulting in creating a comfortable atmosphere and building confidence to talk with the researcher on a one-to-one basis. At this stage of the research, individual semi-structured interviews were deemed the most appropriate approach rather than other interviewing techniques. For example, structured interviews were not appropriate because the researcher

might accidentally allow a *priori* assumptions about responses to get in the way of the research. A survey was also inappropriate for the same reason, even though open-ended questions could have been employed, most answers from open-ended questions tend to be unclear or vague (Bernard 2000; Mason 2002). This happens because most people will not have that much patience to carefully write down how they really feel or answer it in great detail. These techniques only aim to get information that can be related to the prepared checklist without allowing any more of the possibilities to be added (Fontana and Frey 1994). Therefore, it is important that researcher should not yet produce a rigid interview structure in advance (Mason 2002) as the role of this tool at this stage is to explore and gain further insights from participants to use for developing a questionnaire in the second stage. Mason (2002) supports the reason for choosing a semi-structured interview over an unstructured interview by explaining that it is not possible to gather data in a purely unstructured interview as the decisions and judgments of the researcher will somehow affect the form of the structure and aim of the data generation process. Another reason for choosing semi-structured interviews over other types of interviews is because semi-structured interviews are more conversational, while still controlled and structured (Foddy 1993). Questions developed from existing literature as well as from the analysis of the focus groups were asked according to an interview schedule (Appendix 4) prepared ahead of time. Mason (2002) argues that this schedule acts as a checklist to help the researcher focus and guide their ontological and epistemological positions.

Therefore, the use of semi-structured interviews gave an understanding of the perceptions of participants without a *priori* assumptions. In addition, the relatively small number of potential interviewees made semi-structured interviews possible and allowed the exploration of issues that were raised earlier in the process and used later to guide the development of the questionnaire. Nevertheless, the interview approach has limitations including higher costs and time demands. Moreover, the interviewer has to try to be objective and competent and recognise that they may be biased and that the information obtained may be too bulky or too complicated to transcribe or reduce (Brunt 1997). However, these limitations were recognised, and partially resolved by piloting the interview with the supervisory team in order to make sure the interview questions made sense and were easy to understand. Furthermore, taping and video recording, with the participants' verbal consent, were used during this process to reduce these challenges and extract all essential information from the interview.

#### **4.11.2 Respondents for the semi-structured interviews**

A series of semi-structured interviews were conducted with participants from the focus groups. Purposive sampling was employed to select respondents from the two tribes for semi-structured interviews. The reason for applying purposive sampling with this group was due to a lack of

information on the actual number of hill tribe employees working for ETAs in the area. Purposive sampling includes judgmental sampling, since it allows the researcher to make a decision on sample size, sample representative and what issues will be involved in the research (Veal 1997; Jennings 2001). In this regard, the saturation point is reached when responses get repeated and respondents barely contribute any more new issues; the researcher usually knows when enough participants have been sampled (Jennings 2001). In this case informants for the interviews were chosen from the focus groups, based on their knowledge about tourism in Doi Inthanon and the impacts from ETAs, their abilities and willingness to talk to the researcher, and those with a wide range of viewpoints. These criteria for choosing interviewees are supported by Rubin and Rubin (1995). People who fitted the criteria were approached and invited to participate in the semi-structured interviews, on a one-to-one basis after each focus group was finished. Twenty interviews in total were done with ten respondents selected from each tribe. Tables 4.3 and 4.4 below provide details of the interviews informants and the village headmen from each tribe were also invited to participate in an interview.

**Table 4.3 Karen interview informants**

<b>Name</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Occupation</b>	<b>Selected from:</b>
Ying	Female	18	a waitress	ETA job-related focus group participant
Rongroj	Male	23	a guest house manager	“
Mam	Female	27	a resort manager	“
Tong	Male	42	a homestay manager/trekking guide	“
Wa	Female	20	a farmer/ hair dresser	Non ETA job-related focus group participant
Tan	Male	20	a biology researcher	“
San	Male	32	a farmer	“
Sakchai	Male	36	a farmer/ buy and sell second hand products	“
Tai	Female	43	a farmer	“
Pongsak	Male	33	a village headman/homestay manager/farmer	Did not participate in any focus groups but willing to complete the interview

**Table 4.4 Hmong interview informants**

<b>Name</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Occupation</b>	<b>Selected from:</b>
Pee	Male	24	a camp ground supervisor	ETA job-related focus group participant
Sae-Ya	Male	25	a singer	“
Sit	Male	27	a tour guide	“
Nikom	Male	29	a hotel sous chef	“
Nong	Female	31	a homestay manager	“
Ja	Female	24	a farmer	Non ETA job-related focus group participant
Mai	Female	39	a flower seller	“
Chang	Male	40	a farmer	“
Pa-Chong	Female	45	food vendor/owner	“
Sing	Male	48	a grocery shop owner	“



#### **4.11.3 Interview design**

The interview topics were based on the information derived from the focus group discussions. The purpose was to scrutinise the participants' perceptions in more details. Therefore, the interview protocol (Appendix 4) was similar to the issues being explored in the focus groups:

Topics for those who work with ETAs:

- Reasons for working and not working with ETAs
- Perceived conflicts from working with ETAs
- Proposed solutions for conflicts
- Perceived impacts from working with ETAs

Topics for both working and non working groups:

- Perceived socio-cultural impacts that have affected them personally from the arrival of ETAs
- Perceived changes in their community after the arrival of ETAs

#### **4.11.4 Interview process**

A process similar to the one developed for the focus group was applied to the interviews by maintaining a conversational manner. However, the researcher's parents were invited to keep the researcher a company during the interviews due to personal safety.

#### **4.11.5 Limitations of the interviews**

Several obstacles were encountered in carrying out the interviews. Not only were the locations of the interview sites in the rural mountainous area, but inclement weather made it even more difficult to travel and arrive at the interview sites, especially when it rained all day. Moreover, the research was conducted when Cyclone Nargis raged, the worst disaster in Burma history and the second deadliest storm of all recorded history (Wikipedia 2009). Because the semi-structured interviews were mostly conducted in the respondents' homes, when it rained, the researcher had to postpone many meetings due to difficult access to their home wasting much time during this stage. However, it did not reduce the number of interviews undertaken.

Another limitation was the bias from the sampling process as according to Rubin and Rubin (1995) it is important to keep a balanced choice of respondents to represent the perceptions of the whole region. In this study, numbers and choices of research participants were limited,

especially regarding those working in tourism businesses. The limited number of respondents relates in part to the fact that most of the target group had to go to work during the daytime, the time chosen to conduct the research for reasons relating to personal safety of the researcher and her team. Another limitation regarding the sample was that it may not have been representative as the people recruited for the research were those willing to participate and were by necessity, the only ones the researcher had access to.

#### **4.12 Data analysis**

As with the focus groups content analysis was adopted to analyse the interviews.

#### **4.13 Stage two: Data collection**

##### **4.13.1 Questionnaire**

The findings of the focus groups and semi-structured interviews were used to design a questionnaire, the data collection tool adopted for the quantitative phase of the research. Using questionnaires assisted in fulfilling the aim of this study to compare similarities and differences in perceptions of the respondents. Weinreich (2006) states that questionnaires are often used in traditional scientific inquiry which is designed to find facts, patterns and comparative baseline information by gathering numerical and statistical data using experiments, measurements and fixed-response questionnaires. Therefore, the data from the questionnaire allowed a comparison of issues that concerned different groups of hill tribe people.

In this study, the lack of language skills of the sample population, all of whom could speak Thai but were unable to read or write in Thai or any other language meant that although an interpreter was not required, it was necessary to undertake interviewer completed questionnaires that allowed the responses to be recorded in a precise way instead of taking notes of a long conversation during the interview process (Mann 1985). The interviewer read out the questions and entered responses for them. Using this technique helped minimise the language difficulties of the participants. The results from this approach are argued to be clearer than those from self-completion questionnaire, because the researcher could clear up seemingly inconsistent answers by explaining the questions to the participants (Miller and Salkind 2002). Moreover, the researcher could address some questions in more detail using the laddering method of interviewing; for example, questions about why they decided to work/ to not work for ETAs. Conducting face-to-face interviews to complete the questionnaire allowed the researcher to ask the respondents why and what they decided by asking them to explain their reasons (Hawley 2009). According to Krueger (1998) “why” questions should be avoided as it often generates

dishonest answers because in real life people do not always make decisions based on logic, instead they often base their decisions on habit, tradition, value or other non-rational processes. Therefore, when asking why, the researcher may get answers that sound good and seem reasonable, but the results may not be reliable (Krueger 1998). In order to address this problem, the researcher explored their answers in greater detail, so that in-depth details could be counted as their response. A further advantage of interviewer assisted questionnaires was that it allowed the interviewer to select respondents who worked alongside ETAs and to exclude those who worked in the tourism industry but had no direct contact with ETAs.

#### **4.13.2 Questionnaire design**

The questionnaire was designed in conjunction with the literature review and the initial data collected in stage one, through focus groups and in-depth interviews, to produce a series of statements. The respondents to the survey were asked to indicate their level of agreement with these statements. The themes explored were employment, and the socio-cultural impacts they see occurring to themselves and social changes occurring in their community.

According to Moser and Kalton (2001) the order of questions may affect refusal rates. Therefore, it is important to know who the target participants are to apply an appropriate style that efficiently facilitates the process. Demographic questions were put at the beginning, due to the culture and value of beliefs of this group that tended to feel more comfortable talking with new faces after exchanging some personal details such as, age, marital status, education, occupation etc. Exchanging this type of information with other people with whom they had just met made both parties feel at ease and willing to talk and get to know each other better.

Although a Likert Scale and closed questions limited the opportunity for respondents to express their own thoughts, open-ended questions allowed the researcher to gain information from the respondents' own individual answers not limited to the items provided by the researcher. However, due to time constraints, the use of open-ended questions with 400 respondents was avoided as this approach would have required an enormous amount of time for the researcher to group and analyse all the answers. Therefore, the researcher used a Likert Scale and closed questions in the questionnaire as the insights gained from the first stage of data collection were used to design this questionnaire, which it is argued addressed the relevant issues. In order to be able to compare responses it was important to use an identical set of items with every respondent. Therefore, the questionnaire design used closed questions with one opportunity to ask an open-ended question to elicit the respondents' reasons for not working with ETAs. Closed questions still allowed comparisons to be made because the respondents had to consider

the same choices of information to give a response (Oppenheim 1992). The finalised questionnaire comprised 74 items, divided into 2 main parts (see Appendix 7).

Part one concerned recording demographic variables such as sex, age, education, and income and was used to form a general description about the background of the respondents from the two tribes and those who worked with ETAs and those who did not.

Questions in part 2 were categorised into the different themes of motivation, conflict, solution, socio-cultural impacts they have experienced themselves and the changes they had seen in their communities.

Part 2 was divided into three sections based on the nature of their employment. Section 2.1 sought information about perceptions of respondents who were working with ETAs towards their level of involvement, types of job, motivation to work for ETAs, conflicts encountered, solutions and their view of impacts from working with ETAs. Section 2.2 was for those who were not working with ETAs, and the questions were designed to elicit the main reasons of the respondents for not working with ETAs and the work they have chosen as their career path. Section 2.3 sought information from all respondents (both working and not working with ETAs) about their perceptions towards socio-cultural impacts that have affected them personally and changes they perceive in their communities. It was believed that this questionnaire would provide some indications of the degree of similarities and differences in perceptions between the Karen and Hmong who work with ETAs and reflect the degree of similarity of people who were from the same ethnic group but were involved in different working environments.

#### **4.13.3 Pilot test**

White (2000) and Jennings (2001) define a pilot test as a test that is carried out to spot weaknesses in the question design and to present alternative data for the range of a probability sample. It can also be said that the use of a pilot test is to help the researcher ensure that the questions are clear enough for respondents to answer before the actual distribution. Moser and Kalton (2001) affirm that pilot testing can be used to check the effectiveness of instructions, questions order, length and layout etc.

A number of people that participated in the pilot test were selected on a convenience basis, but all had stayed in or at least experienced the expansion of tourism brought in to Doi Inthanon by ETAs and its impacts and were able to comply with the requirements of the questionnaire. The pilot tests were distributed to the supervisory team, five family members and friends, four hill tribe people in Bangkok and another six hill tribe people in Chiang Mai town centre. The initial intention was to adopt a seven-point Likert Scale so as to measure their perceptions. However,

due to the respondents difficulties in understanding the Thai language, and their limited analytical ability, identified by the pilot test, it was necessary to change to a five-point Likert Scale to ensure the respondents were able to analyse carefully and answer reliably.

The results from the pilot tests demonstrated that some people required further clarification while the majority were able to answer all questions correctly. However, not everyone completed the entire questionnaire due to lack of patience and the fact some people could not recall all of their experiences accurately. Consequently, certain questions were revised. The pilot test with hill tribe participants demonstrated that face-to-face interviews would be essential as some of the respondents had difficulties in understanding the Thai language and others did not like to read the questions, hence it was very likely that they would answer the questionnaire without a careful reading. Moreover, as identified during the pilot test, interviewer completion is a time consuming procedure; therefore, the need for extra interviewers to conduct the questionnaire to save time in the research process was required. Therefore, four volunteers were invited to help conduct the face to face questionnaire, (see below).

#### **4.13.4 Sample group for the questionnaire**

The criteria in selecting the sample population for the questionnaires were similar to the focus group selection. It was important to use the same criteria in all methods to support the total findings. Hence, the target population for the questionnaire comprised members of both the Hmong and Karen tribes who:

**Type 1:** Work for and are in direct contact with incoming ETAs

**Type 2:** Have no direct contact with ETAs

#### **4.13.5 Sample size of the questionnaire**

Although the statistical records regarding hill tribe populations has improved since 1982, when the Thai Homeland Security Office expressed a need for information on the hill tribe population. The hill tribe population registration of each destination did not include tribal people who could not meet all of three conditions; 1) proof of residence; 2) recommendation letter from a Thai citizen and 3) proof of sufficient length of stay in Thailand. Therefore, due to the ambiguity of the hill tribe population's legal status and irregularities in the registration system in each province, statistical records of the hill tribes in each area are not accurate. Therefore, this study relied mainly on the number of Karen and Hmong residents reported by the village headman.

It is important to have a sample size that can truly represent the Karen and Hmong population in Doi Inthanon. According to Davidson (1970), random sampling can be used to get a

representative sample. Based on the interviews in the first stage, it was clear that the majority of both tribes are still employed in agriculture or other non ETA-related jobs. Unfortunately, no records or evidence exists to prove exactly how many of the Karen and Hmong in Doi Inthanon work with ETAs.

Therefore, an estimate of this group was made by the village headmen from both tribes who both reported that approximately 150 of their tribal members work for ETAs, representing approximately 15% of each tribe. Therefore, after having discussed this issue, a sample of 100 hill tribe people who were working with ETAs and a further 100 of those who were not from each tribe were included and considered as an appropriate number to allow reliable comparisons to be made.

Data was collected from four villages in order of the nearest distance/adjacent to the tourism hub (see Chapter 3, Figure 3.3). Three Karen villages were selected: Mae Klang Lueang, Nor Lum and Pha Mon. Mae Klang Lueang had an estimated population of 269, 70 to 80 of whom were estimated to be working with ETAs. Nor Lum had 424 Karen living in the village of which approximately 50 were working with ETAs. Pha Mon with an estimated population of 346 had only about 20 of them working with ETAs. Pha Mon was the most rural village, furthest from where most ETAs businesses were located.

Another set of 200 questionnaires were completed in Ban Khun Wang which is the only Hmong village in Doi Inthanon. According to the village headman of Khun Wang Village, about 1,200 Hmong were living in this area. Due to a large population, the village headman could not give the exact number of Hmong who were working with ETAs but he judged around 150.

The location of the majority of Hmong who were working with ETAs was “Doi Shu Ya,” a part of Ban Khun Wang Village (see Figure 3.3). Some of the people who were working with ETAs have relocated to the area of Doi Shu Ya, where several businesses owned by ETAs are based, including camping, resorts, homestays, tours, adventure activities, and restaurants, and some are still living at home further down in the village.

#### **4.13.6 Questionnaire sampling technique**

This research used a combination of several sampling techniques. Quota sampling was used in order to sample the four sub groups, two tribes and two employment types. The first group comprised Karen working with ETAs, the second group comprised Karen not working with ETAs, the third group comprised Hmong working with ETAs and the fourth group comprised Hmong not working with ETAs.

Household systematic random sampling was applied to those who were not working with ETAs. A sample of 400 tribal people, divided into 200 Karen and 200 Hmong, were selected from an approximate population of 2000. The ratio was set at 400/2000 with an interval of five. Systematic sampling techniques were applied through the selection of every fifth household after a random starting point in the selected community. The number of fifth households were derived from  $2000 \text{ (total population)}/400 \text{ (sample size)} = 5$ , so every fifth house was chosen after a random starting point in the selected community. The sample element three was the starting point of the first house of the sample then every fifth house was selected thereafter to give a sample of 100 Karen who were not involved in ETA tourism businesses. The same technique was then applied to the Hmong tribe to achieve an equal number (100) for each tribe. The logic behind this was to allow everyone to have the same chance of being picked (Mann 1985).

Due to the limited time available for data collection, four volunteers were recruited to help the researcher at this stage. They were informed about the aim and objectives of the research. Moreover, each question was explained to them to create a clear understanding before starting to collect the data. In each village, each person was assigned a different route to collect data to save time and prevent risk of asking the same respondent. The job was equally distributed, and each volunteer including the researcher was assigned a certain number of questionnaires to complete. For Mae Klang Lueang Village, everyone was responsible for five to six questionnaires to be completed; this number resulted from the equation:  $269 \times 100/1,035 = 26/5 = 5.2$  (total population of Karen in Mae Klang Lueang Village  $\times$  target sampling size/total population of all Karen = number of questionnaires to be completed in Mae Klang Lueang Village/5 people = number of questionnaires each person was responsible for in Mae Klang Lueang Village). The same formula was applied to all four villages, for Nor Lum each person was responsible for eight to nine completed questionnaires, and six to seven set of questionnaires for each person were completed in Pha Mon Village. However, Ban Khun Wang was a Hmong village with approximately 1,200 residents living in the area. Therefore, 20 sets of questionnaires were assigned to each person in order to achieve the sample of 100 Hmong.

In the process of conducting systematic random sampling, action was taken according to the initial research plan. Every fifth household was visited and the first person who answered the door was asked if any member in the household was involved in a tourism business with ETAs. If so, then that person was asked to participate in the questionnaire. If no one in the household was working for ETAs, then the person in the household over the age of 15 whose birthday fell next was asked to participate in the research. However, in the case where no one answered the door, the next house or the house before was visited instead, depending on which house was

available to participate. Then the next house would be the fifth house from the previously visited house. This process was repeated until reaching the expected number of questionnaire from each village.

However, household systematic random sampling method was not suitable to use with those who were working with ETAs because a lot less were working with ETAs compared with those with non ETA-related jobs. It was more frequent to find this group of people every time the fifth house was visited. It was possible that these people tended to stay home due to their type of work such as agriculture that usually is performed for only half a day, handyman and dressmaker, who typically work at home. Unlike those who work for ETAs, these people were often away during daytime, the time of the visit.

Therefore, snowball sampling was applied in order to reach 100 samples of those who were working with ETAs from each tribe. Those being questioned as a result of the random household survey and others encountered in the villages were asked to indicate those who were working with ETAs. Then, those people who were working with ETAs were asked to identify others in the same category until the sample of 100 was achieved. The village headmen were also asked to identify these people and help set up meetings with some of those in the village who were working for ETAs in the case that the researcher could not get in touch with them. At the end of every interview, each participant was given a token gift to show appreciation for their time. Pictures were also taken, with their verbal permission, during the interview process as well as pictures of the businesses owned by ETAs in the selected area.

Data from completed questionnaires from each day were kept safely until all 400 questionnaires were reached. Then data from all the questionnaires were entered one by one into a Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) data file, a computer based statistical analysis programme (see below). (This process could be done differently next time by entering data from completed questionnaires every day after the certain amount of questionnaires were completed, rather than wait until an entire 400 set were completed, to save time, reduce confusion resulting from large amounts of data to be stored and to prevent mistakes from entering data all at one time).

#### **4.13.7 Limitations of the quantitative data collection**

As relatively few members of the population were working for ETAs, the choice of respondents was small. Moreover, the snowball sampling technique may lead to recruiting people with similar views and perceptions leading to bias in the result. In addition, the questions may have



influenced the respondents by suggesting or reminding them of information they would not have thought of individually or would have forgotten about. Furthermore, there was a risk of recording inaccurate information because some participants were inattentive, others did not analyse the questionnaire items carefully, and still others lacked the patience to reveal the whole truth about the impacts they have observed. It is also possible that some respondents were too shy to ask for clarification and this may have affected the accuracy of the information they gave.

#### **4.14 Data analysis**

The following analytical techniques were employed with the findings. Data was analysed using the SPSS Version 16. The aim of the research was to compare perceptions of different groups. Descriptive data including frequency, mean score and median were used in discussing the distribution of responses gathered during the quantitative component of the study. It helps explain the data and generates a clearer understanding of the results. According to Peacock and Kerry (2007), the Mann Whitney U test is based on ranks, the median (middle rank), and therefore, mean range is the most appropriate summary statistics to report. However, not only median scores were reported in this research, but the mean value and the frequencies of each variable were also reported, as commonly used by many other researchers for a better and easier understanding of the results (e.g., Shoham *et al.* 2006; Xu *et al.* 2009). Despite the advantage of reporting a mean score, it is technically inappropriate to use mean score to present the results from the ordinal test (Mann Whitney U) because the distance between a rating scales of 1 to 5 cannot be identified.

The collected data in this study consisted of ordinal, nominal and categorical data. The chi-square test was used to determine whether the responses to questions from different groups differed significantly. The chi-square test is applied to nominal or categorical data (Field 2006) and assumes a discrete distribution rather than a normal distribution; the results will be statistically valid. These data are simple counts of discrete events, e.g., reasons for not working with ETAs; therefore, these responses cannot be added together to obtain a value. For that reason, it was considered appropriate to test objective one of the research, e.g., to compare the similarities of the types of job Karen and Hmong hold when working for ETAs. It was also used to test the second objective, e.g., to compare reasons for working and for not working with ETAs between Karen and Hmong.

In addition to the chi-square test, the Mann-Whitney U test was also considered as an appropriate technique for this study. Most of the data obtained from the five-point Likert Scale was ordinal, and therefore, nonparametric (Field 2006). Consequently the Mann Whitney U test

was used to analyse the nonparametric differences between the perceptions of the different independent sample groups (Polit and Beck 2004). The test involves assigning ranks to the two groups of measures. The sum of the ranks for the two groups can be compared by calculating the U statistic (Peacock and Kerry 2007). According to Field (2006) it is equivalent to the parametric t-test of independent samples, but instead of comparing the means of the two groups, the Mann-Whitney U test compares medians to find out which variables differ significantly between two groups. In the other words, “it compares the number of times a score from one of the samples is ranked higher than a score from the other samples” (Bryman and Cramer 2001, p.133). As is widely recommended (Bryman and Cramer 2001; Pallant 2001; Field 2006) a significance value of 0.05 or less was used as a robust basis for indicating significant difference.

The calculation of effect size was used to confirm the results from the Mann Whitney U test. According to Field (2006) the approach gives additional information on the size of significant differences held by the two groups being compared. It can be used to narrow down the results of significant differences and identify which statement regarding their perceptions accounts for the most significant differences. Field (2006) suggests that, for the nonparametric, the effect size ( $r$ ) above the .5 threshold for a large effect size of differences;  $r = 0.3$  or less indicates a medium to small effect size. SPSS does not calculate an effect size but it can be done by using the test statistics that the SPSS has converted into a z-score. Below is a formula of the effect size calculation:

$$r = \frac{z}{\sqrt{N}}$$

The equation to convert a z-score into the effect size estimate  $r$  is  $Z$  is the z-score that SPSS produces and  $N$  is the size of the study (the number of total observations) on which  $z$  is based (Field 2006).

#### **4.15 Conclusion**

This chapter has presented the methodological issues applied in this study. The themes derived from the focus groups which informed the interviews can be found in Appendix 2. These together with the themes derived from the interviews informed the questionnaire design can be found in Appendix 5. The next three chapters present the findings from the questionnaire regarding the respondents' similarities and differences in perceptions in terms of employment (Chapter 5), socio-cultural impacts upon individual (Chapter 6) and changes in their communities (Chapter 7).

## Chapter 5 Main Findings of Employment

### 5.1 Introduction

The findings regarding similarities and differences in perceptions of the respondents derived from the questionnaire will be presented in three chapters (Chapter 5-7). Relevant quotations from the focus groups and interviews from the first stage data collection will also be included in these finding chapters. Chapter 5 presents findings regarding the respondents' similarities and differences in perceptions in terms of employment. The findings of perceived socio-cultural impacts upon each individual will be presented in Chapter 6. Chapter 7 presents findings concerning perceived changes in their communities. The discussions of these findings are presented in the following two chapters, Chapter 8 and 9. Chapter 8 presents the discussion of the findings of employment issues. Chapter 9 presents the discussion of the respondents' perceptions regarding perceived socio-cultural impacts upon themselves and changes occurring in their communities after the arrival of ETAs.

This chapter presents the statistical findings relating to the employment section in terms of the Karen and Hmong similarities and differences. The chapter will be presented in seven main sections in which it addresses Objective 1-3 of this research. However, the first section starts with the socio-demographic data, to inform the general characteristics, of the respondents. Then, Objective 1 will be addressed in section two, in which the Karen and Hmong employment types and patterns are presented. Section three and four, answer Objective 2, by looking at the respondents' reasons for working and not working with ETAs. The next section compares their perceived conflicts encountered while working with ETAs and their proposed solutions. Then, the similarities and differences in the respondents' perceptions of impacts from working with ETAs will be presented in the last section. These last two sections attempt to answer Objective 3 of the research.

## 5.2 Demographic profile of respondents

The respondents' profile is summarised in Table 5.1 below.

**Table 5.1 Socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents who participated in the survey**

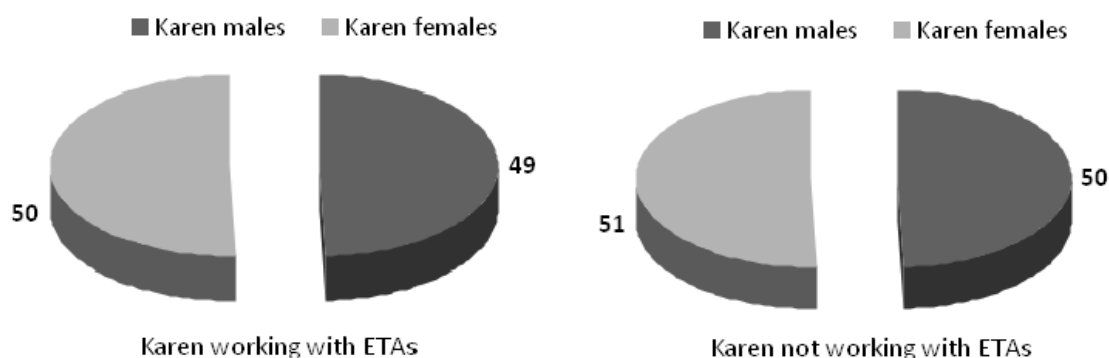
Demographic variable	Karen working with ETAs	Karen not working with ETAs	Hmong working with ETAs	Hmong not working with ETAs
Gender (male: female)	49 : 50	50 : 51	36 : 68	42 : 58
Age group				
• 18 years or less	6	0	10	1
• 19-25 years	24	22	25	14
• 26-34 years	31	16	25	13
• 35-44 years	25	27	35	39
• 45-55 years	13	30	9	24
• 56-64 years	0	6	0	9
Monthly income group				
• \$60 or less	0	26	0	24
• \$61-120	13	49	16	42
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
• \$121-180	68	15	71	8
• \$181-241	16	9	16	7
• \$242-303	2	2	1	4
• \$304 or more	0	0	0	15
Education level				
• no education	8	42	8	30
• elementary	17	19	29	19
• junior high	25	13	33	18
• high school	42	15	30	19
• vocational training:	5	10	4	10
• university	2	2	0	4

\*USD:1 = 33 baht on 9 November 2009

Source: [www.bangkokbank.com/fxrates](http://www.bangkokbank.com/fxrates)

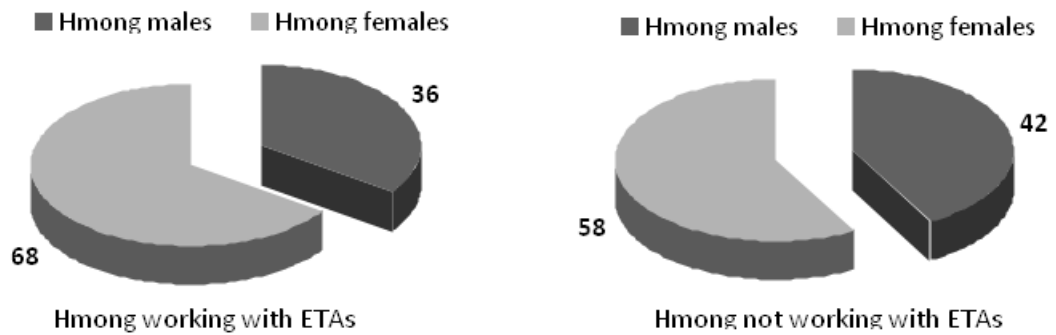
### 5.2.1 Gender

**Figure 5.1 Gender profile of Karen respondents**



In the case of the Karen, Figure 5.1 shows almost an equal split between the number of males (n=49) and females (n=50) in both sample groups, working with and not working with ETAs (n=50 and n=51).

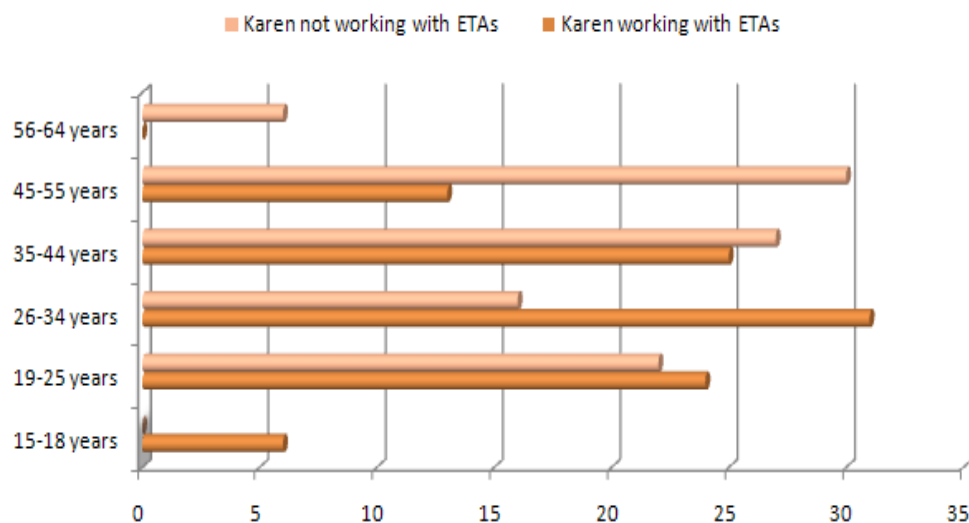
**Figure 5.2 Gender profile of Hmong respondents**



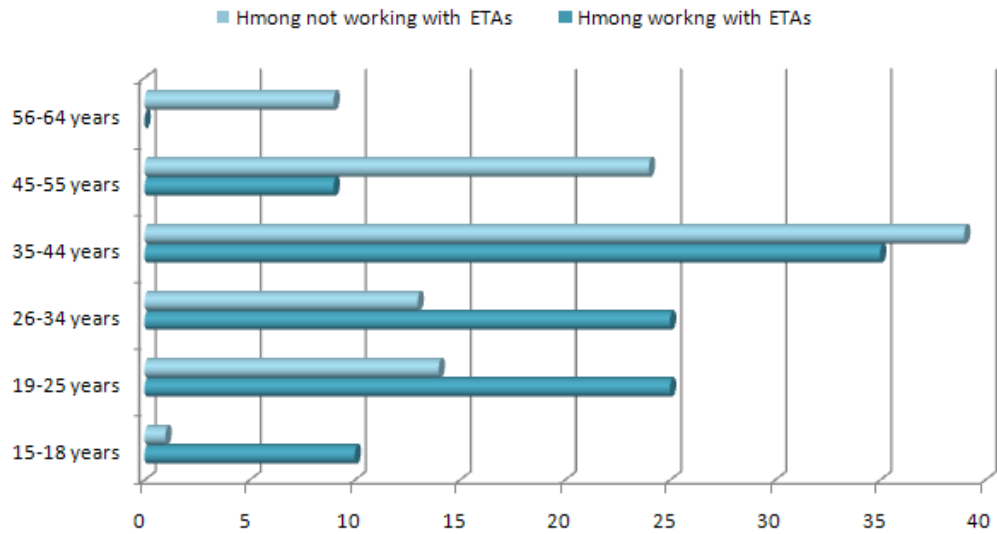
However, there was no gender balance in the sample of the Hmong population both in terms of those working with ETAs and those who were not. This survey sampled more female than male Hmong respondents. Differences were therefore seen in the numbers of male and female Hmong respondents both in regard to those working with ETAs (n=36 and n=68) and those who were not (n=42 and n=58). While these data are based on the outcome of a random household survey, unfortunately, no statistics are available to allow the representativeness of the sample to be confirmed.

### 5.2.2 Age groups

**Figure 5.3 The distribution of age groups of the Karen respondents**



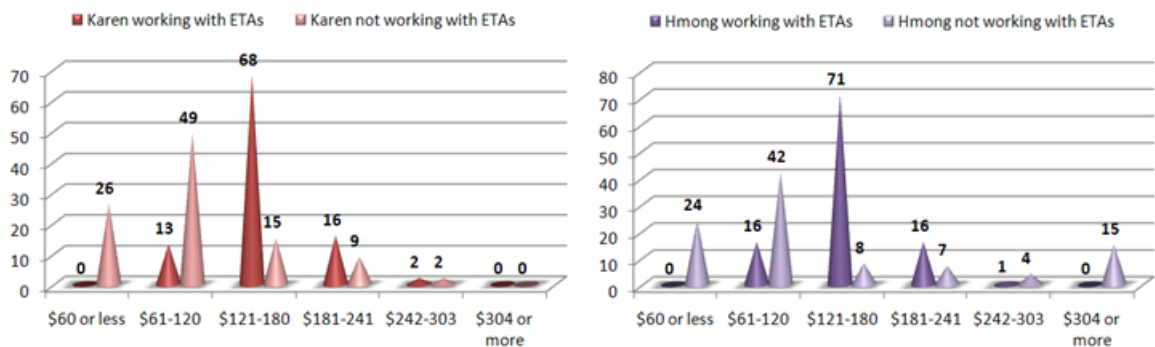
**Figure 5.4 The distribution of age groups of the Hmong respondents**



As shown in Table 5.1 and Figure 5.3, the highest percentage of Karen people working with ETAs are in the 26 to 34 age group (n=31), while the highest percentage (30%) of the Karen not working for ETAs were older and were in the 45 to 55 age group. In regard to the Hmong respondents, see Figure 5.4, the highest percentages both for those working with ETAs and those who were not are (32% and 39%, respectively) were in the 35 to 44 age group. These latter findings reflect the fact that the majority of Hmong respondents (74%) were between 35 and 44 years of age. Unsurprisingly, therefore, they appear as the largest group working for ETAs and the largest group not working for ETAs.

### 5.2.3 Monthly income

**Figure 5.5 Monthly income of the respondents**



The results indicate that both Karen and Hmong working with ETAs receive more monetary income than those who were not. The majority of both Karen (n=68 -67%) and Hmong (n=71 - 74%) working with ETAs received incomes in the range of \$121 to \$181 while the majority of

those not working for ETAs received incomes ranging between \$61 and \$120 per month and one quarter of this latter group earned less than \$60 a month.

### 5.2.4 Education levels achieved

Figure 5.6 Achieved education level of the Karen respondents

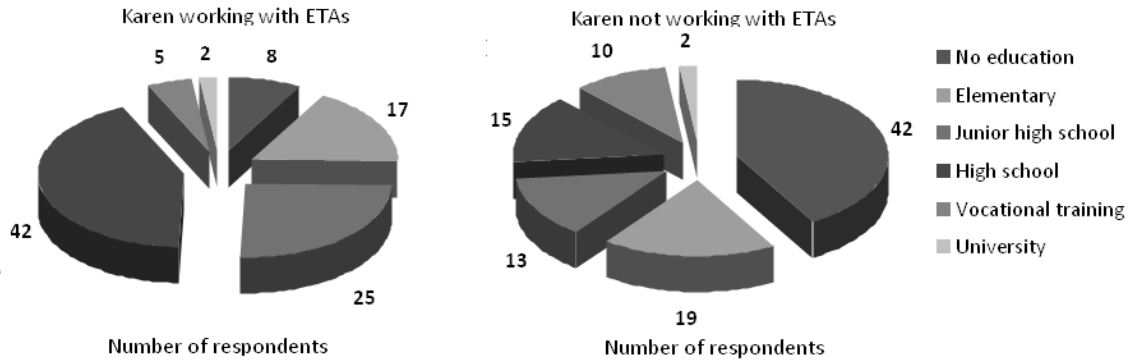
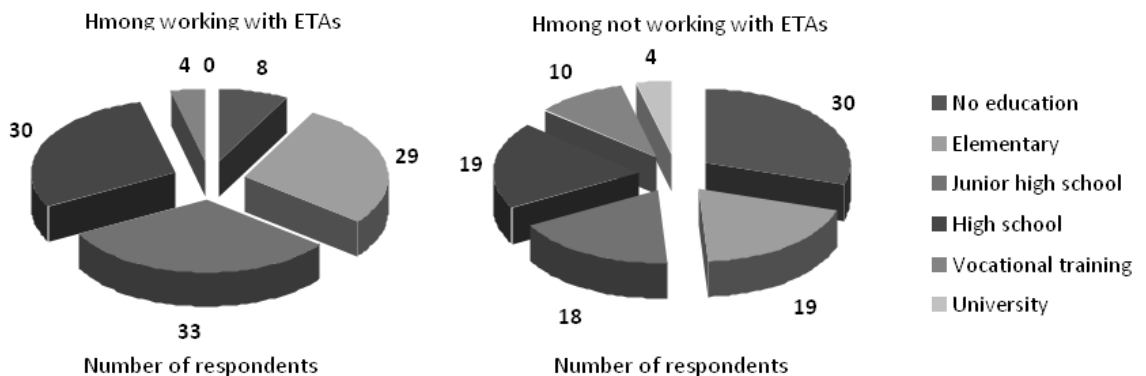


Table 5.1 and Figure 5.6 show that out of the 99 Karen people working with ETAs, 91 had received some formal education; the largest group (n=42) having benefited from high school (12 years of education). Only 2, the smallest group, of the selected Karen people, held a University degree. 25 Karen people working with ETAs held certificates from junior high school (9 years of education). In the case of Karen people who were not working with ETAs, of the 100 people, almost half of them had received no formal education and only 40 of them had achieved junior high school or higher qualifications. The results therefore indicate that, for the Karen tribe, those working with ETAs had received more years of education than those not working for ETAs.

Figure 5.7 Achieved education level of the Hmong respondents



In the case of Hmong respondents, 8 of 104 Hmong working with ETAs received no education while 33, the largest group, completed junior high and 30, the second largest group, completed high school. Of those not working for ETAs, 30 of the 100 had received no education, 18 held a

junior high qualification and 19 had completed high school programmes. Hence, as with the Karen, the results indicate that, Hmong who working with ETAs had received more years of education than those not working for ETAs.

To sum up, the obvious information derived from their demographic profile is that the overall income and education received by those not working with ETAs was significantly lower than those working with ETAs. The next section will address their similarities and differences regarding employment.

### 5.3 Employment types and patterns

The results presented below address the first research objective, namely, to identify the existing types of tourism businesses own by ETAs in the selected communities and to compare the types of job and employment patterns of those Karen and Hmong who have chosen to work for ETAs.

#### 5.3.1 Types of employment

Data collected in the first stage of data collection through focus groups and interviews demonstrated that the type of tourism businesses run by ETAs in the study area (Doi Inthanon) were accommodation units, travel companies, tour business, entertainment providers, museums, spas, souvenir shops, and catering outlets (see Appendix 2). These types of employment were confirmed by the questionnaire in the second stage of data collection. Table 5.2 below shows frequencies of types of employment offer by ETAs employed by the Karen and Hmong.

**Table 5.2 Numbers of Karen and Hmong employed in different ETA owned/managed businesses**

Type of employment offer by ETAs	Number of Respondents					
	Karen			Hmong		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Accommodation units/ Hospitality	16	21	37	16	35	49
Catering jobs	17	7	24	8	18	25
Tour business (tour and tracking guide, porter)	12	0	12	6	1	7
Entertainment sector (traditional dancer, singer, performer)	0	8	8	4	5	9
Other (museum staff, masseur/spa staff, souvenir shopkeeper)	4	14	18	2	9	11
Total	49	50	99	36	68	101

Table 5.2, shows that work in accommodation/hospitality units were the most common types of employment undertaken by both the Karen (n=37) and Hmong (n=49) who have chosen to work for ETAs. Of the 37 Karen, n=21 (57%) were females while of 49 Hmong, n=35 (71%) were



females. Catering represented the second highest form of employment. This business employed more Karen males (n=17 -70%) than females (n=7 -29%) while conversely, more Hmong females (n=18 -72%) worked in this business than males (n=8 -32%). More Karen (n=12) were employed in tour businesses than Hmong (n=7); however, a similar number of Karen (n=8) and Hmong (n=9) worked in the entertainment tourism sector. The results show that among the survey respondents, more Hmong females than males were working for ETAs in every sector except tour-related businesses.

Having reviewed the actual number of the respondents in each employment. However, it would be inappropriate to run a chi-square test on each individual type of employment due to a small number of the respondents in each career type. Therefore, the chi-square test was performed on the whole set of employment data to find out whether there is a significant difference between the Karen and Hmong in terms of their employment with ETAs as a whole. The chi-square test generated a p-value of <.001. Therefore, a significant difference was found between the number of Karen and Hmong in regard to type of employment they had with ETAs.

Furthermore, the chi-square test analysed intra-tribal groups by gender. The test revealed a significant p-value of <.001 between Karen males and females and p-value of 0.038 as a result of significant differences between Hmong males and females. In conclusion, significant differences were found between tribal ethnic groups and gender in terms of types of job undertaken by the respondents having chosen to work for ETAs.

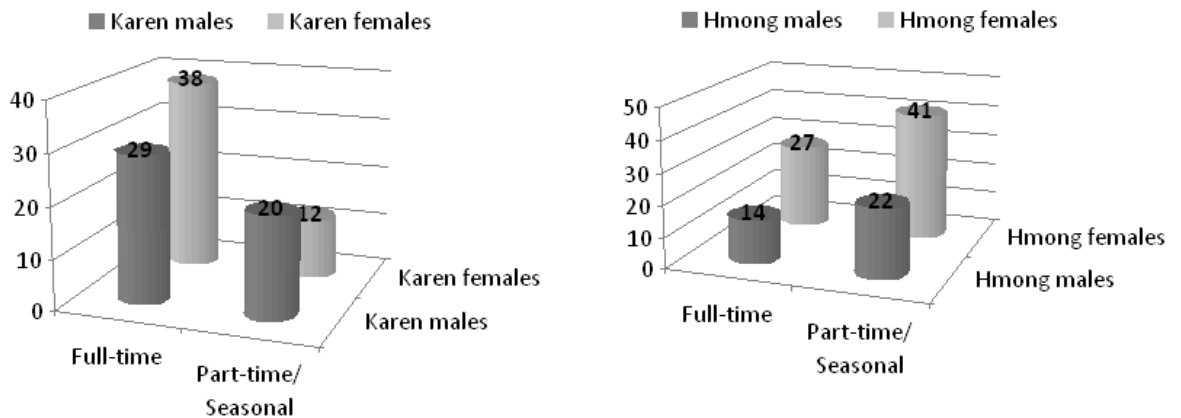
### 5.3.2 Patterns of employment

**Table 5.3 Patterns of full time, part-time and seasonal employment**

	Number of Respondents					
	Karen			Hmong		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Full time	29	38	67	14	27	41
Part-time/Seasonal	20	12	32	22	41	63
Total	49	50	99	36	68	104

Under patterns of employment, the chi-square test showed a significant difference (p-value <.001) between Karen and Hmong in terms of their level of involvement with tourism jobs. Two thirds of the Karen (n=67 -68%) were working full time for ETAs and 32% were working part-time or seasonally while only 41 out of 104 Hmong were working full-time with ETAs and 61% were working part-time or seasonally.

**Figure 5.8 Pattern of employment by gender of Karen and Hmong**



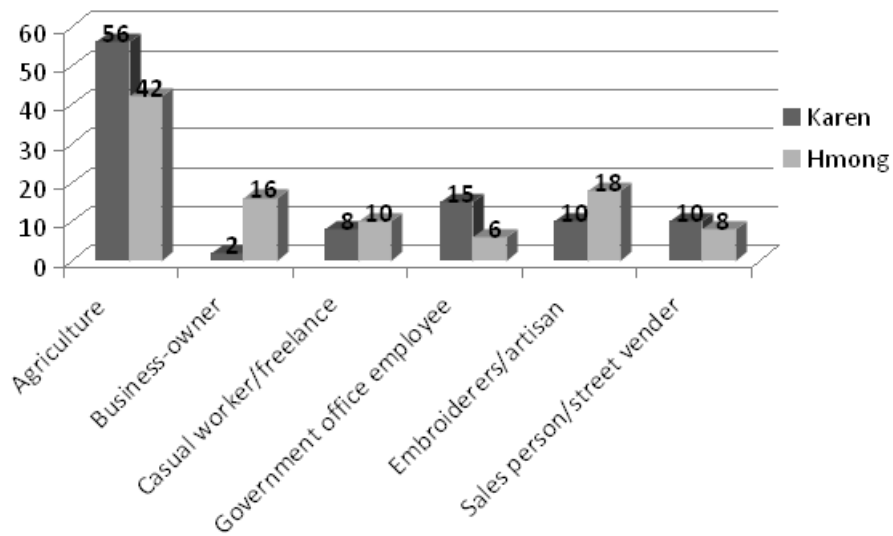
The chi-square test was then employed to find out similarities related to gender. The test showed a p-value=0.175 indicating similarities between Karen males and females. No significant difference was found in terms of patterns of employment between Hmong males and females (p-value =0.069).

Having addressed the first objective by reviewing the differences in the numbers of Karen and Hmong working in ETA businesses and of the differences in terms of patterns of full time, part-time and seasonal employment between the two tribes and gender, the next section will review the types of jobs Karen and Hmong not working for ETAs pursued for a living.

### **5.3.3 Types of jobs for Karen and Hmong not working with ETAs**

Figure 5.9 and Table 5.4 below present a comparison of types of jobs by gender of Karen and Hmong not working with ETAs.

**Figure 5.9 Employment of Karen and Hmong not working with ETAs**



The chi-square test was performed on this categorical data (p-value=0.002) confirming the differences in terms of types of jobs Karen and Hmong not working for ETAs pursued. The data revealed that more Karen (56%) than Hmong (42%) respondents remained in agriculture while eight times more Hmong described themselves as business owners than did the Karen. Interestingly, government office employee was the second highest employment for Karen (15%) while it was the least common job for Hmong people (6%). Moreover, nearly twice as many Hmong respondents were employed as embroiderers/artisan compared to the Karen respondents. Nonetheless, similar numbers of Karen and Hmong were either sales staff or relied on casual/freelance work.

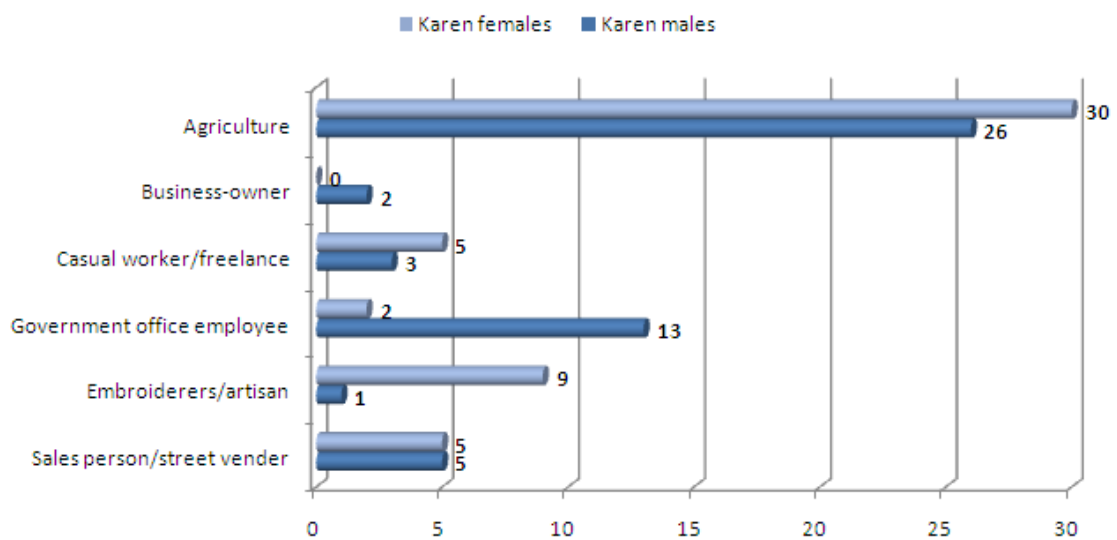
However, as shown, Figure 5.9 and Table 5.4, the gender of the two groups also reflected the outcome of the result.

**Table 5.4 Comparing types of jobs by gender between Karen and Hmong not working with ETAs**

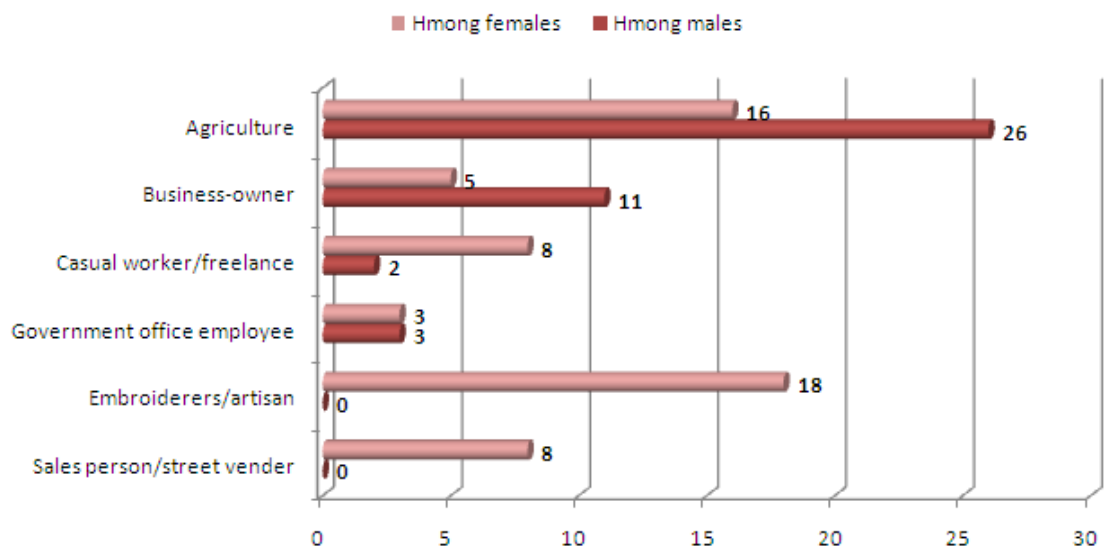
Types of Jobs	Karen			Hmong		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Agriculture	26	30	56	26	16	42
Business-owner	2	0	2	11	5	16
Casual worker/freelance	3	5	8	2	8	10
Government office employee	13	2	15	3	3	6
Embroiderer/artisan	1	9	10	0	18	18
Salesperson/street vendor	5	5	10	0	8	8
Total	50	51	101	42	58	100

The chi-square test was performed to determine the significant differences between genders of both tribes. In the case of the Karen, the test confirmed significant differences in terms of types of jobs Karen males and females not working for ETAs pursue (p-value=0.004). In the case of the Hmong, the chi-square test also confirmed significant differences between types of non ETA related careers Hmong males and females pursue (p-value <0.001). See Figure 5.10 and Figure 5.11 for a clearer visual comparison of types of jobs by gender between the Karen and Hmong.

**Figure 5.10 Type of employment by gender of the Karen not working with ETAs**



**Figure 5.11 Type of employment by gender of Hmong not working with ETAs**



The frequencies showed a higher number of Karen females, compared to Karen males, performed handcraft, freelance, and agricultural jobs while Karen males tended to work for the government. In the case of Hmong, the obvious differences were the majority of the Hmong

males maintained agricultural jobs and running their own business was the second most common job while Hmong females tended to work in sales, handicrafts and freelance.

To be noted, the data showed more Karen females (n=30 -54%) than males (n=26 -46%) were working in the agricultural sector while fewer Hmong females (n=16 -38%) than Hmong males (n=26 -62%) worked in this area. None of the Karen females owned their own business while 31% of the Hmong females did. On the other hand, out of 42, only three males from the Hmong tribe worked in government offices while 13 of out 50 of the Karen males worked as government officers. Handicrafts and street vending were undertaken by both male and female Karen respondents but was not an occupation of any of the Hmong male respondents.

The next section will address the second objective of the research, i.e., to compare the reasons given by Karen and Hmong for working with ETAs in terms of their similarities and differences. It will also compare the reasons given by Karen and Hmong for not working with ETAs.

#### 5.4 Reasons for working with ETAs

This section addresses the second objective of the research and presents the reasons given by Karen and Hmong for working with ETAs.

##### 5.4.1 Similarities

**Table 5.5 Similarities in reasons for working with ETAs**

Variables	Mean rank of agree and strongly agree			Mean score 5=strongly agree	
	Karen	Hmong	Sig.	Karen	Hmong
<b>Economic factors</b>					
Chance to earn regular pay	106.64	97.59	.244	3.81	3.52
<b>Employment factors</b>					
The work is easy and desirable	102.61	101.42	.876	3.26	3.21
Many part-time/seasonal jobs are available	103.99	100.11	.600	4.43	4.32
<b>Self-esteem factors</b>					
Chance to become more 'Thai like' in order to be accepted by Thai society	101.39	102.58	.880	3.74	3.64
Chance to pursue dream job	107.22	97.03	.185	1.98	1.94
Chance to gain a sense of achievement	109.00	95.34	.071	2.43	2.27

As shown in Table 5.5, only one economic factor was equally valued by Karen and Hmong: the opportunity to receive regular pay (e.g., daily, weekly or monthly) (mean >3.5). This reason also emerged during the focus groups in the first stage of data collection, namely, that 'receiving regular pay' resulted from working for ETAs, which compares favourably with agricultural work where they have to wait for the harvest season.

Nonetheless, in terms of employment factors, both of them agree that the work offered by ETAs is easy and desirable and many part-time and seasonal jobs are available. Moreover, it is noteworthy that by having many part-time and seasonal jobs on offer is the most important reason for both Karen and Hmong to work for ETAs (mean >4), while both tribal groups consider that the chance to pursue a dream job is the least important reason for them to work for ETAs (mean <2). Furthermore, as reflected on the Table 5.5, both Karen and Hmong hold similar reasons for working with ETAs in terms of self-esteem factors, such as their main reason in this category, namely, a chance to become more ‘Thai like’ and be accepted by Thai society. Interestingly, however, Karen and Hmong have nothing in common in terms of self-improvement factors.

#### 5.4.2 Differences

Those factors where differences emerged have been divided into four subsets: economic, employment, self-esteem and self-improvement.

**Table 5.6 Significant differences in reasons for working with ETAs (figures in bold indicate significant differences)**

Variables	Mean rank of agree and strongly agree			Mean score 5=strongly agree	
	Karen	Hmong	Sig.	Karen	Hmong
<b>Economic factors</b>					
Chance to earn quick cash	82.75	120.33	<b>&lt;.001</b>	3.20	4.02
It pays good wages compared with agriculture	93.39	110.20	<b>.019</b>	3.72	3.89
Chance to earn foreign currency from tips	89.39	114.00	<b>.002</b>	3.71	4.17
Chance to earn money to support family	135.33	70.27	<b>.001</b>	4.33	3.07
Chance to save up money for opening own business	63.56	138.60	<b>.001</b>	2.09	3.77
<b>Employment factors</b>					
Opportunities to get a higher position in career	117.19	87.54	<b>&lt;.001</b>	3.03	2.64
<b>Self-esteem factors</b>					
Chance to be in a more diverse society to associate with people from different cultures	113.39	91.16	<b>.005</b>	3.83	3.24
<b>Self-improvement factors</b>					
Chance to see new things and modern lifestyle	116.36	88.33	<b>.001</b>	3.89	3.38
Chance to learn new skills in order to do something else apart from agriculture	122.50	82.49	<b>.001</b>	3.97	3.00
Chance to use knowledge learned from school	119.02	85.80	<b>.001</b>	1.62	1.23
Chance to obtain some skills and work experience before opening own business	59.32	142.62	<b>.001</b>	1.43	3.23

### **Economic factors**

Apart from a chance to earn regular pay, the Karen and Hmong place different values in terms of economic factors that encourage them to work for ETAs. According to the mean rank, the highest mean rank for the Karen (135.33) related to earning money to support themselves and their family, while it was the lowest mean rank for Hmong (70.27). Interestingly, the highest rank for the Hmong (138.60) was being given to a chance to save up money to open their own business, but was the least important reason for Karen (63.56). As a result of these differences, the Mann Whitney U test revealed a significant difference between the Karen and Hmong in terms of economic factors (p-value=.001).

### **Employment factors**

Terms of employment factors are presented in Table 5.5. Both the Karen and Hmong agreed that the reasons they work for ETAs are because the work is desirable and many opportunities are available to get part time jobs during seasonal periods. However, the mean rank and the Mann Whitney U test showed a significant difference (p-value <.001) between the Karen (117.19) and Hmong (87.54) in that Hmong people were less concerned about getting a higher career position than Karen people, whose priority was having a chance to save up money for opening their own business.

### **Self-esteem factors**

As shown in Table 5.5, both the Karen and Hmong held common viewpoints on a number of self-esteem factors. However, a significant difference was found (p-value=.005) in the perceptions of the Karen and Hmong towards a chance to be part of a more diverse society and to associate with people from different cultures as one of their reasons for working for ETAs. The result indicates that Karen people valued this opportunity more than did the Hmong (mean rank 113.39 and 91.16, respectively).

### **Self-improvement factors**

The data showed that in relation to self-improvement, the Karen and Hmong had different reasons for working with ETAs. A chance to learn new skills in order to do something else apart from agriculture gained the highest mean rank of the Karen (122.50), while being the lowest mean rank for the Hmong (82.49). On the contrary, a chance to obtain some new skills and work experience before opening their own business was what Hmong people valued the most with a mean rank of 142.62, while being a less important reason for the Karen to work for ETAs (59.32). The results suggest that a chance to learn new skills plays a role as a push factor for the

Karen as they have a tendency to avoid normal routine work by finding something else new to do. However, new skills and new work experience were a pull factor for the Hmong as they are attracted by varieties of new skills and opportunities to get new work experience to work for ETAs. Therefore, these were significant differences in terms of self-improvement factors (p-value <.001). What is noteworthy is that data shows both tribal groups are keen on obtaining new skills by working with ETAs but what makes them different is their purpose for seeking these skills.

Having compared similarities and differences between the two ethnic groups, the following tables present the results of the Mann-Whitney test for significant differences between males and females within each ethnic group, as well as across the ethnic group, i.e. Karen males with Hmong males, in Table 5.8.

**Table 5.7 Intra-tribal groups by gender -similarities and differences in reasons for working with ETAs (figures in bold indicate significant differences)**

Variables	Karen M : F	Mean scores	Hmong M : F	Mean scores
	Sig.	5=strongly agree	Sig.	5=strongly agree
<b>Economic factors</b>				
Chance to receive quick cash	.359	3.31:3.10	<b>.016</b>	3.61:4.24
Chance to earn regular pay	.390	3.69:3.92	.098	3.25:3.66
It pays good wages compared with agriculture	<b>.001</b>	3.96:3.48	.155	3.67:4.01
Chance to earn foreign currency from tips	.276	3.59:3.82	.596	4.14:4.19
Chance to earn money to support family	<b>&lt;.001</b>	3.88:4.78	<b>.006</b>	2.67:3.28
Chance to save up money for opening own business	.471	2.00:2.18	<b>&lt;.001</b>	3.22:4.06
<b>Employment factors</b>				
The work is easy and desirable	.817	3.29:3.24	.488	3.14:3.25
Many part-time/seasonal jobs are available	.755	4.39:4.48	.352	4.44:4.25
Opportunities to get a higher position in career	.818	3.00:3.06	.173	2.69:2.62
<b>Self-improvement factors</b>				
Chance to see new things and modern lifestyle	.053	4.06:3.72	<b>.013</b>	2.97:3.60
Chance to learn new skills and do something else apart from agriculture	.273	4.06:3.88	.257	2.78:3.12
Chance to use skills and knowledge learned from school	.804	1.67:1.56	<b>.019</b>	1.03:1.34
Chance to practice skills before open own business	<b>&lt;.001</b>	1.71:1.16	.539	3.33:3.18
<b>Self-esteem factors</b>				
Chance to be in a bigger society to associate with people from different cultures	.059	3.73:3.92	.389	3.44:3.13
Chance to become more 'Thai' like in order to get accepted by Thai society	<b>.001</b>	3.41:4.06	.913	3.64:3.65
Chance to pursue dream jobs	.427	1.94:2.02	.129	2.19:1.81
Chance to gain a sense of achievement	<b>.039</b>	2.55:2.32	.857	2.28:2.26



As Table 5.7 shows, only five factors demonstrated significant differences between Karen males and females and between the Hmong males and females. For example, in terms of economic factors “It pays good wages compared with agriculture” and “A chance to earn money to support family” were the only two factors with differences between Karen males and females with the males being aware of the comparison with agricultural wages (mean 3.96) and the females valuing the opportunity to support the family (mean 4.78) more than did male respondents. This difference was also seen with the Hmong respondents where again the females valued the opportunity to support their families (mean 3.28) more than their male counterparts. Hmong males and females perceived differently the opportunity to earn quick cash and save up money for opening their own business, in both cases the Hmong females attached more importance to these opportunities (mean >4) than did males.

Interestingly, no significant difference was found between genders in either tribe in terms of employment factors. However, the results showed a significant difference between tribes (p-value <.001), as Karen males and females placed more importance on the opportunities for obtaining a higher position in career (mean 3.00 and 3.06, respectively) while Hmong males and females valued this opportunities less (mean 2.69 and 2.62, respectively).

For the Karen, in terms of self-improvement factors, a chance to practice new skills before opening their own business was less important for females (mean 1.16) than for males (mean 1.71). Apart from this, they had similar perceptions of all the other self-improvement factors, e.g., they both disagreed that working with ETAs gave them a chance to use knowledge learned from school. In the Hmong case, significant differences were found in the perceptions of males and females in terms of a chance to see new things and experience a modern lifestyle (mean 2.97 and 3.60, respectively) and a chance to use knowledge learned from school (mean 1.03 and 1.34), the females valuing these two factors more than the males.

Additionally, among Hmong males and females, no differences were found in terms of self-esteem factors. However, under this issue, some differences were revealed between Karen males and females. Karen males (mean 3.41) placed less importance on the chance to become more Thai-like and become accepted by Thai society while the females valued this issue more (mean 4.06). Another difference between Karen males and females was “A chance to gain sense of achievement” where the females (mean 2.32) placed less importance than the males (mean 2.55).

To sum up, in terms of economic factors, Hmong males and females demonstrated different perceptions while sharing many common views especially on employment and self-esteem

factors. Equally, Karen males and females demonstrated no difference in terms of employment factors but perceived some economic, self-improvement and self-esteem factors differently.

Having reviewed similarities and differences between intra-tribal genders of the Karen and Hmong, the following section presents similarities and differences, regarding reasons for working with ETAs, between inter-tribal genders.

**Table 5.8 Inter-tribal groups by gender -similarities and differences in reasons for working with ETAs (figures in bold indicate significant differences)**

<b>Variables: Economic factors</b>	KM: HM	Mean scores	KF: HF	Mean scores
	Sig.	5=strongly agree	Sig.	5=strongly agree
Chance to receive quick cash	.258	3.31:3.61	<.001	3.10:4.24
Chance to earn regular pay	.127	3.69:3.25	.596	3.92:3.66
It pays good wages compared with agriculture	.459	3.96:3.67	<.001	3.48:4.01
Chance to earn foreign currency from tips	<b>.016</b>	3.59:4.14	.064	3.82:4.19
Chance to earn money to support family	<.001	3.88:2.67	<.001	4.78:3.28
Chance to save up money for opening own business	<.001	2.00:3.22	<.001	2.18:4.06
<b>Employment factors</b>				
The work is easy and desirable	.440	3.29:3.14	.741	3.24:3.25
Many part-time/seasonal jobs are available	.661	4.39:4.44	.337	4.48:4.25
Opportunities to get a higher position in career	<b>.048</b>	3.00:2.69	<b>.001</b>	3.06:2.62
<b>Self-improvement factors</b>				
Chance to see new things and modern lifestyle	<.001	4.06:2.97	.257	3.72:3.60
Chance to learn new skills and do something else apart from agriculture	<.001	4.06:2.78	<b>.001</b>	3.88:3.12
Chance to use skills and knowledge learned from school	<.001	1.67:1.03	<b>.001</b>	1.56:1.34
Chance to practise skills before opening own business	<.001	1.71:3.33	<.001	1.16:3.18
<b>Self-esteem factors</b>				
Chance to be in a bigger society to associate with people from different cultures	.319	3.73:3.44	<b>.007</b>	3.92:3.13
Chance to become more 'Thai' like in order to be accepted by Thai society	.174	3.41:3.64	.177	4.06:3.65
Chance to pursue dream jobs	.506	1.94:2.19	<b>.016</b>	2.02:1.81
Chance to gain a sense of achievement	.090	2.55:2.28	.521	2.32:2.26

More gender related differences emerged when comparing the two ethnic groups, than within the tribal groups, especially between Karen and Hmong females (10 differences of 17), while the males from the two tribes demonstrated eight significant differences.

In terms of economic factors, there is a clear difference between the Karen and Hmong male which was reflected in the following speeches derived from the interviews.

*“Since I have become a resort manager here..... I need to send money back home to buy stuff such as tractor, motorcycle, colour TV etc. for my family to live life more conveniently.....”*

Rungroj (from Karen tribe)

*“I have been saving money because I don’t want to be a slave for them forever!! I want to have my own restaurant.”*

Prasit (from Hmong tribe)

The results from the questionnaire in the second stage also confirmed some significant differences between male of the two tribes that the Karen males valued more the opportunity to earn money to support their families while Hmong males placed significantly more importance upon the opportunities for receiving tips in foreign currencies and saving to start their own business. When comparing the females of the two tribes the Hmong emerged as being very financially aware and to attach rather less importance to supporting their family than did their Karen counterparts.

In terms of employment, Karen females (mean 3.06) valued career advancement more than did the Hmong females (mean 2.62). Career advancement was also more important for the Karen male respondents (mean 3) than for the Hmong males (mean 2.69).

In terms of their self-improvement, the data from the first data collection revealed the Karen and Hmong male hold a similar point of view with reference to learning new skills from working with ETAs.

*“I am very thankful for the opportunity he (ETA) has given me. I can learn a lot here...I like learning new things.”*

Tong (from Karen tribe)

*“I am glad I have this chance to work with them (ETAs)....and I try to take all the chances I get to learn new things.”*

Sit (from Hmong tribe)

*“...I just do whatever they (ETAs) tell me, it is not great working here but it is not bad either....money is not the most important point here, what more important is that I am quite satisfied with the opportunities to learn from working here...”*

Pee (from Hmong tribe)

The following passages given by the Karen and Hmong male during the first data collection was supported by the larger scale questionnaire. However, the results from the questionnaire show that majority of Hmong male did not fully support a chance to learn new things (2.78), when compared to the Karen male (4.06), but placed more importance on a chance to practice skills before open their own businesses. This was also mentioned during the interviews:

*“I do very much appreciate his kindness and everything he (ETA) taught me but one day when I am ready I want to quit working here and have my own tour company, doesn’t have to be too big but at least it’s mine.”*

Sit (from Hmong tribe)

*“...there are lots of things I’ve learnt.....management skills, service mind, marketing strategies...one day I will be able to run my own business.....”*

Pee (from Hmong tribe)

Hmong males particularly valued the chance to practice skills prior to opening their own business (mean >3) while Karen males attached more importance than their Hmong counterparts to finding employment alternatives to agricultural work putting into practice knowledge and skills learnt at school and experiencing new things and lifestyles. A similar set characterises the differences between Karen and Hmong females; the latter being particularly aware of the chance to practice skills in advance of opening a business.

Karen and Hmong males indicated similar estimates of the impact upon their self-esteem arising from their working with ETAs whereas Karen females valued more than the Hmong the chance to be part of a bigger more diverse society and to able to pursue their dream job. As shown in the following speeches:

*“I like working here.....I feel accepted as part of their society.”*

Ying (from Karen tribe)

*“Being here is great, I like to interact with different people and not just to hill tribe people.”*

Mam (from Karen tribe)

To this end, given some differences between males and females within the same tribe, the data suggest overall that they nevertheless have more in common with each other than they have with people of the same gender but from the other ethnic group.

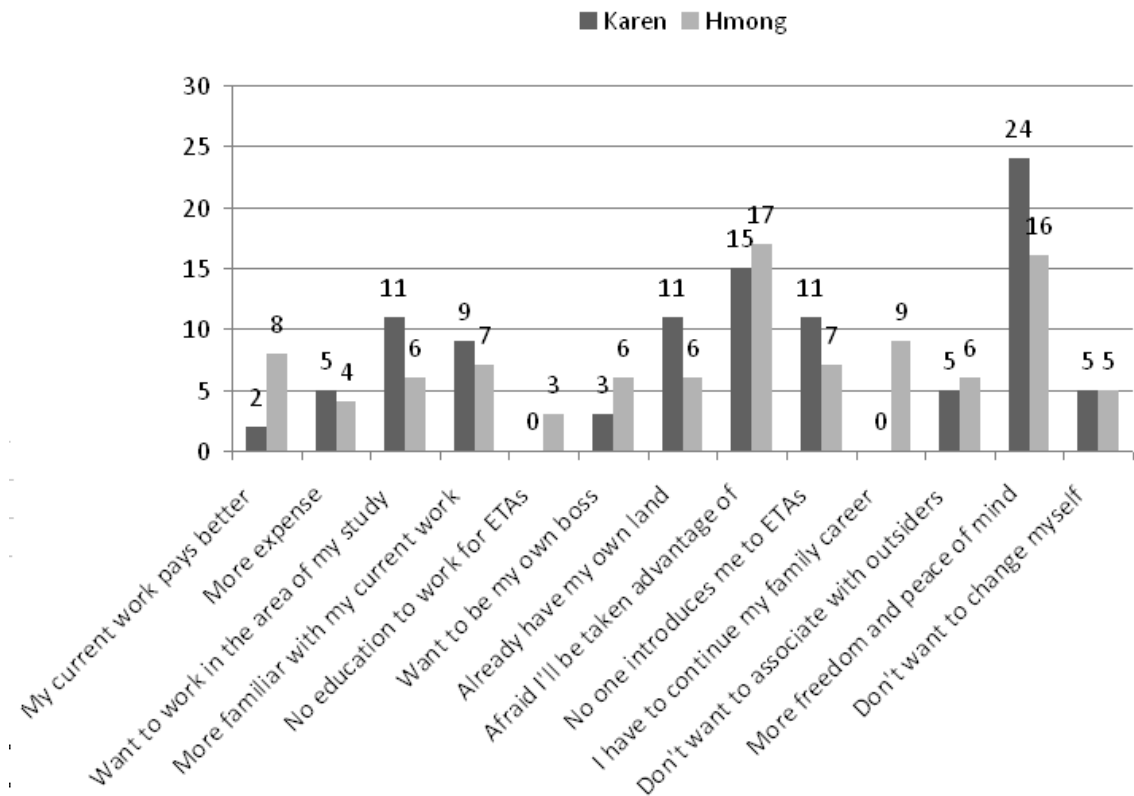
Having reviewed similarities and differences in their reasons and identified which predictor holds the most significant difference among all reasons for working for ETAs, the next section will continue with a comparison between Karen and Hmong and their reasons for not working for ETAs.

### 5.5 Reasons for not working with ETAs

**Table 5.9 Comparing reasons between Karen and Hmong for not working with ETAs**

Reasons for not working with ETAs	Number of respondents	
	Karen	Hmong
My current work pays better than job offered by ETAs	2	8
More expenses after working with ETAs	5	4
I want to work in the area of my study	11	6
I am more familiar with the work I'm doing and its something I'm already good at	9	7
No education to work for ETAs	0	3
I want to be my own boss; don't want to take order from others	3	6
I already have my own land to make a living out of	11	6
Afraid I'll be taken advantage of when working with ETAs	15	17
No opportunities to go/no one introduced me to ETAs	11	7
I have to continue my family career path	0	9
I don't want to associate with outsiders	5	6
I have more freedom and peace of mind here	24	16
I don't want to change myself to fit with their society	5	5
Total	101	100

**Figure 5.12 Comparing reasons of Karen and Hmong for not working with ETAs**



The data in Table 5.9 and Figure 5.12 demonstrate both Karen and Hmong hold similar reasons for not working with ETAs in terms of financial considerations (more expenses), skills and proficiency (already familiar with their current work), self-insecurity (afraid of being taken advantage of), openness and adaptation (do not want to associate with outsiders and do not want to change themselves).

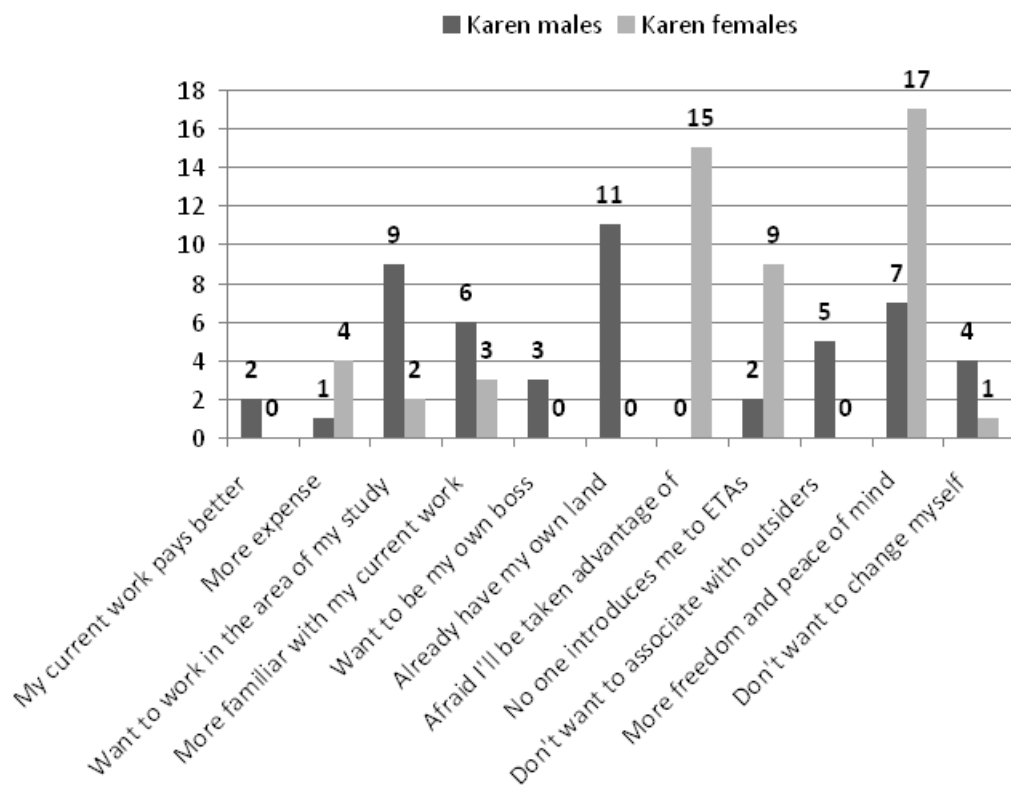
However, the frequencies indicate a few differences, the largest being in response to having more freedom and peace of mind when not working for ETAs indicated by 24% Karen while only 16% of the Hmong referred to this as their reason for not working with ETAs. Continuing their family business was another reason which elicited differences between the tribes. 9 out of 100 Hmong brought it up while none of the Karen gave this reason.

Despite the frequencies mentioned above, given these apparent differences, a cross-tabulation test was performed to find out whether reasons for not working with ETAs between the Karen and Hmong were significantly different. The Pearson chi-square test gave a significance value of 0.666 indicating that no significant difference existed between the Karen and Hmong in regard to their reasons for not working with ETAs. Moreover, the Pearson chi-square tests also showed no significant differences between Karen and Hmong males (p-value 0.063) and Karen

and Hmong females (p-value 0.054) which confirmed that ethnic differences did not affect the reasons the Karen and Hmong decided not to work with ETAs.

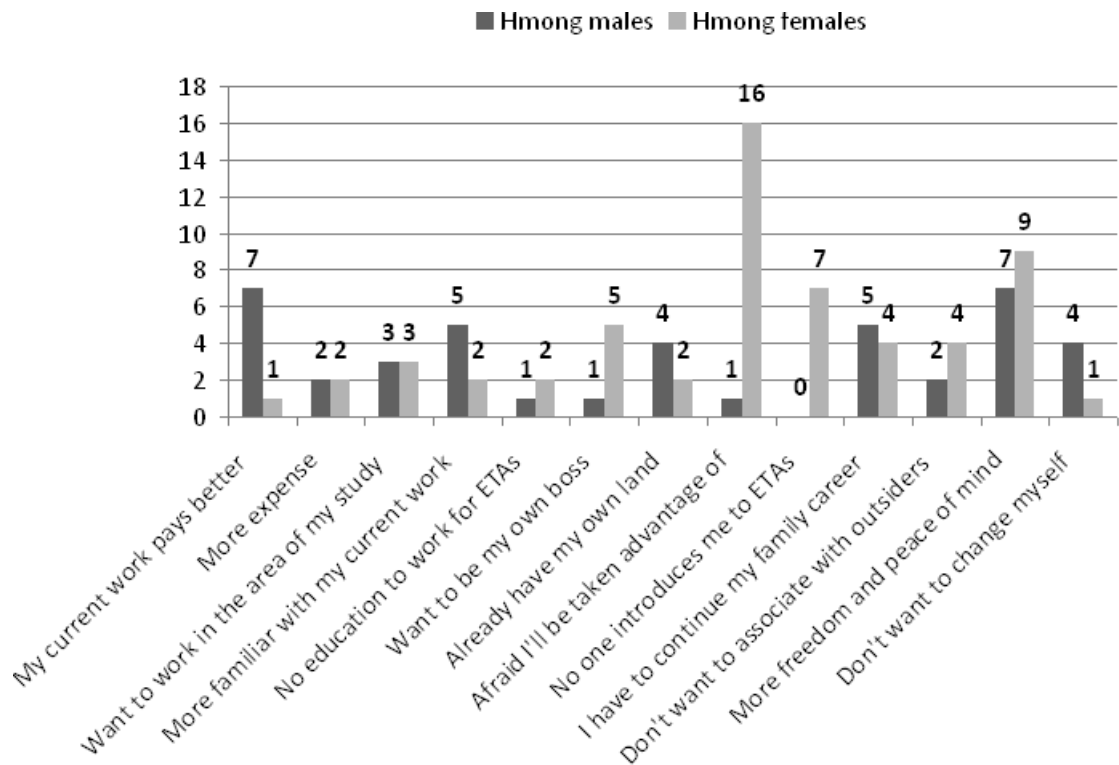
Despite the similarity in reasons for not working with ETAs held by the Karen and Hmong, gender played a role in differentiating reasons between males and females of the same ethnic group. Figure 5.13 shows comparison in reasons for not working with ETAs between the Karen male and female. Then, Figure 5.14 shows the comparison between the Hmong male and female.

**Figure 5.13 Comparison of reasons for not working with ETAs by Karen males and females**



A cross-tabulation test was then performed again to find out whether reasons for not working with ETAs between the Karen males and females were significantly different. The results showed significant differences between the Karen males and females (p-value <0.001), as the males tended to value reasons such as they preferred to work in the area of their studies, they wanted to continue working with the resources such as land, farm, or their own business that they already had. The reason for not wanting to associate with outsiders was also another reason the males valued more than the Karen females. The females tended to give the reason that they were afraid of being taken advantage of and no opportunities to work for ETAs as they did not know anyone who could introduce them. The Karen females also differed from the Karen males in terms of their desire to have more freedom and peace of mind by not working with ETAs.

Figure 5.14 presents a comparison of reasons for not working with ETAs by Hmong males and females



In the case of the Hmong, the Pearson chi-square test was performed against Hmong males and females for their reasons for not working with ETAs ( $p\text{-value} = 0.002$ ), as Hmong males tended to hold on to the reasons that their current work paid better than jobs offered by ETAs, and that they were familiar and already proficient at what they were doing. They also justified their decision of not working with ETAs as they did not want to change themselves to fit in with the ETA society. However, the Hmong females placed more concern on the reasons that they were afraid of being taken advantage of and that no one introduced them to ETAs.

### 5.6 Perceived conflicts

Having addressed Objective Two by reviewing their reasons for working and not working with ETAs, we now turn our attention to Objective Three: to explore and compare the perspectives of those Karen and Hmong working with ETAs regarding their work experiences. However, this section will start by identifying conflicts encountered while working with ETAs perceived by the Karen and Hmong and to determine any differences in terms of the conflicts they perceive.

The identification of potential areas of conflict leads to a review of the conflict resolution solutions adopted by the selected Karen and Hmong. Then similarities and differences in



perceptions of the selected Karen and Hmong who work with ETAs towards impacts resulting from working with ETAs will be presented.

### 5.6.1 Similarities

**Table 5.10 Similarities in perceived conflicts between Karen and Hmong**

Variables	Mean rank of agree and strongly agree			Mean score 5=strongly agree	
	Karen	Hmong	Sig.	Karen	Hmong
Perceived Conflicts					
Unfair job distribution	107.40	96.86	.147	2.79	2.51
Slower in getting promotion	107.66	96.61	.149	2.90	2.72
Different working style	105.28	98.88	.374	4.56	4.42

Based upon the results shown in the Table 5.10, both Karen and Hmong appear to hold common viewpoints. Different working style was the conflict that both tribes agreed on the most (mean >4) but issues of unfair job distribution and promotion were also perceived as causes of conflict. The issue of a slow promotion was also raised during the focus group with the Karen:

*“I don’t think they (ETAs) are being fair with us. Everyone knows that Thai favour Thai..... of course they will get promoted...and us (sarcastic laugh) No, Never”*  
(emphasised on *no, never* with frustration)

Somran (From Karen tribe)

(Being agree with the group by shaking her head) *“it’s hard...you have to be super good then you might have a chance of being promoted to a bigger position, otherwise you will stuck with the same position and wages as when you just started.”*

Mam (from Karen tribe)

### 5.6.2 Differences

**Table 5.11 Differences in perceived conflicts between Karen and Hmong (figures in bold indicate significant differences)**

Variables	Mean rank of agree and strongly agree			Mean score	
	Karen	Hmong	Sig.	Karen	Hmong
Perceived Conflicts					
Being looked down upon	94.48	109.15	<b>.033</b>	2.61	2.88
Being labelled with a negative image	88.60	114.76	<b>.001</b>	3.68	4.18
Not easily being accepted by ETAs and other co-workers	89.62	113.78	<b>.001</b>	2.91	3.40
Getting no respect in the workplace by being teased and laughed at because of being tribal people	85.87	117.35	<b>&lt;.001</b>	3.54	4.02

Four variables were revealed where Hmong employees had a significantly different view of potential causes of conflict from Karen employees. In regard to being looked down upon, both

groups disagreed that this was a cause of conflict. However, the Hmong were more sensitive than the Karen. The Hmong respondents also agreed more than the Karen that they were not easily accepted and were shown a lack of respect in the workplace and generally were labelled with a negative image. This question of image was perceived as an important source of potential conflict by both groups.

### 5.6.3 Intra-tribal perceived conflicts by gender

**Table 5.12 Comparison of the perceived conflicts from working with ETAs between intra-tribal groups by gender (figures in bold indicate significant differences)**

Variables	Karen M : F	Mean scores	Hmong M : F	Mean scores	K : H
	Sig.	5=strongly agree	Sig.	5=strongly agree	Sig.
Being looked down upon	.073	2.41 : 2.80	.978	2.86 : 2.90	.033
Being labelled with a negative image	<b>&lt;.001</b>	3.22 : 4.12	<b>.001</b>	3.75 : 4.41	.001
Not easily being accepted by ETAs and other co-workers	.518	2.84 : 2.98	<b>.023</b>	3.06 : 3.59	.001
Get no respect within the workplace by being teased and laughed at because of being tribal people	<b>&lt;.001</b>	3.08 : 3.98	.410	3.81 : 4.13	<.001
Unfair job distribution	<b>&lt;.001</b>	3.14 : 2.44	<b>&lt;.001</b>	2.75 : 2.38	.147
Slower in getting promotion	<b>&lt;.001</b>	3.24 : 2.56	<b>.040</b>	2.83 : 2.66	.149
Different working style	.160	4.51 : 4.60	.684	4.47 : 4.40	.374

The data indicate that Karen males and females did not perceive being looked down upon serious enough to be an issue resulting in a conflict between them and ETAs. They both marginally agreed that not easily being accepted by ETAs and other co-workers resulted in a certain degree of conflict. However, the factor that both males and females clearly agreed as being a major potential cause of conflict was different working styles.

In terms of where they differed, Karen females tended to perceive “being labelled with a negative image” and “getting no respect by being teased and laughed at” more seriously than Karen males. Karen males perceived “slower in getting job promotion than other co-workers” and “unfair job distribution” as more serious conflicts than did the Karen female employees.

In the case of the Hmong, Hmong females perceived “being labelled with a negative image” and “not easily being accepted by ETAs” as serious conflicts more than did Hmong males, while “slower in getting job promotion” and “unfair job distribution” were the conflicts of more concern to the males of this tribe.

#### 5.6.4 Inter-tribal group by gender

**Table 5.13 Comparison of the perceived conflicts from working with ETAs between inter-tribal groups by gender (figures in bold indicate significant differences)**

Variables	KM: HM	Mean scores	KF: HF	Mean scores
	Sig.	5=strongly agree	Sig.	5=strongly agree
Being looked down upon	<b>.013</b>	2.41:2.86	.577	2.80:2.90
Being labelled with a negative image	<b>.028</b>	3.22:3.75	.071	4.12:4.41
Not easily being accepted by ETAs and other co-workers	.381	2.84:3.06	<b>.003</b>	2.98:3.59
Get no respect within the workplace by being teased and laughed at because of being tribal people	<b>.002</b>	3.08:3.81	<b>.049</b>	3.98:4.13
Unfair job distribution	.070	3.14:2.75	.475	2.44:2.38
Slower in getting promotion	<b>.007</b>	3.24:2.83	.269	2.56:2.66
Different working style	.731	4.51:4.47	.302	4.60:4.40

In considering males from the two tribes, the data indicate that they share a common perception of three potential areas of conflict and differ significantly with respect to four others. They have a similar perception of their “not easily being accepted by ETAs”, experiencing “unfair job distribution” and in recognizing a “different working style”. Where they differ is that Hmong males were more aware of being looked down upon, being labelled with a negative image and experiencing a lack of respect in the workplace, whereas Karen males were more aware of limited promotional opportunities.

Karen and Hmong females agreed on all the conflicts except the issues of “not easily being accepted by ETAs” and “getting no respect within the workplace”, in both cases these were conflicts felt more clearly by females of the Hmong tribe.

The next section will identify the solutions the selected Karen and Hmong chose to resolve the conflicts encountered in working with ETAs.

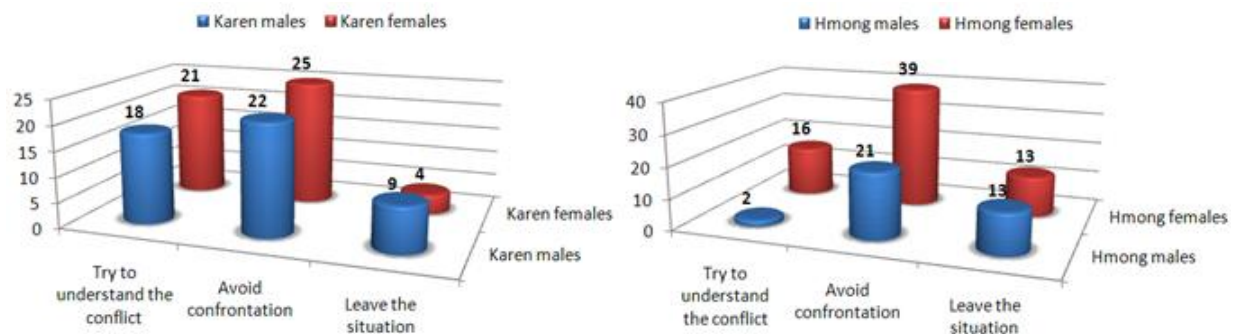
## 5.7 Proposed solutions for perceived conflicts

**Table 5.14 Comparing solutions to solve conflicts result from working with ETAs**

Solutions	Number of respondents					
	Karen			Hmong		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Try to understand the conflict and work hard to solve it	18	21	39	2	16	18
Avoid confrontation by ignoring the conflict, be tolerant and stay calm	22	25	47	21	39	60
Leave the situation that involves any contact with ETAs	9	4	13	13	13	26
Total	49	50	99	36	68	104

Results from the Pearson chi-square test contrasting the two tribal groups indicated significant differences in the way Karen and Hmong people sought to resolve conflicts (p-value =0.01). In terms of gender, no significant difference was found between Karen males and females (p-value =0.311). However, the test showed significant differences (p-value =0.028) between Hmong males and females. Nonetheless, no significant difference was found between Karen females and Hmong females (p-value =0.052), while a significant difference was found between Karen and Hmong males (p-value =0.003).

**Figure 5.15 Proposed solutions for perceived conflicts between the Karen and Hmong**



Males and females from both ethnic groups preferred to solve conflicts by avoiding confrontation. The females from both tribes and particularly the Karen, were more likely to try to understand the conflict and work hard to solve it as their second proposed solution. While the second most common proposed solution of Hmong men was to leave the situation. Karen male respondents stated they would choose to work hard to resolve it by understanding the conflict, an approach only proposed by only two Hmong male respondents.

Having revealed similarities and differences in perceived conflicts and proposed solutions between the Karen and Hmong, the next section will address perceptions of impacts from working with ETAs in terms of similarities and differences between the two tribes.

## 5.8 Perceptions of impacts arising from working with ETAs

### 5.8.1 Similarities

**Table 5.15 Similarities in the perceptions of the Karen and Hmong of impacts upon themselves and other employees resulting from their working with ETAs**

Variables	Mean Rank of agree and strongly agree			Mean Score 5=strongly agree	
	Karen	Hmong	Sig.	Karen	Hmong
Perceived impacts resulting from working with ETAs					
The arrival of ETAs has resulted in a greater demand for female labour	104.24	99.87	.549	4.51	4.41
I've more confidence after working with ETAs, and can easily work with all type of nationalities	108.37	95.94	.061	4.75	4.62
My colleagues always make fun of me being a tribal person which makes me want to lose my identity	99.86	104.03	.507	2.43	2.50
Tribal people have changed themselves to be more 'Thai like' after their interaction with ETAs	98.14	105.68	.323	3.58	3.92
I earn more income from ETAs but with more expenditures as well	107.16	97.09	.166	4.40	4.32
I have failed in keeping in touch with my tribal friends	97.82	105.98	.232	1.68	1.85

Equally, every respondent from both the Karen and Hmong shared the opinion (mean >4.5) that demands were higher for female labour and by working with ETAs has given them more confidence and allowed them to be more open and to work more easily with other nontribal people. Both groups also recognised that while their income increased so did their expenditures. They were also inclined to agree that they have changed themselves to become more 'Thai' like as a result of working with ETAs. The questionnaire results also support what three interviewees in the first stage of data collection had mentioned:

*"I think now I am more Thai like...and I do not think it is a bad thing at all"* (smile)

Mam (from Karen tribe)

*"I know myself that I am a tribal person, I will never forget that but working with them (ETAs) makes me feel brand new. I am not the old me anymore, and I like what I've become."*

Rongroj (from Karen tribe)

*“.....I have changed a lot.....after I have been working with them (ETAs) here, and not just me, I believe many of us feel the same.”*

Nong (from Hmong tribe)

The importance of keeping in touch with their tribal friends was reflected in Nikom’s concern from working with ETAs:

*“...not only my family, but some of my friends back home also complain about me not having time to hang out with them like before..... I keep missing out on our friend social gathering....”*

Nikom (from Hmong tribe)

However this issue was not the biggest concern for the majority of the respondents from the questionnaire as both sets of respondents disagreed (mean <2) that as a result of working with ETAs they failed to keep in touch with their tribal friends.

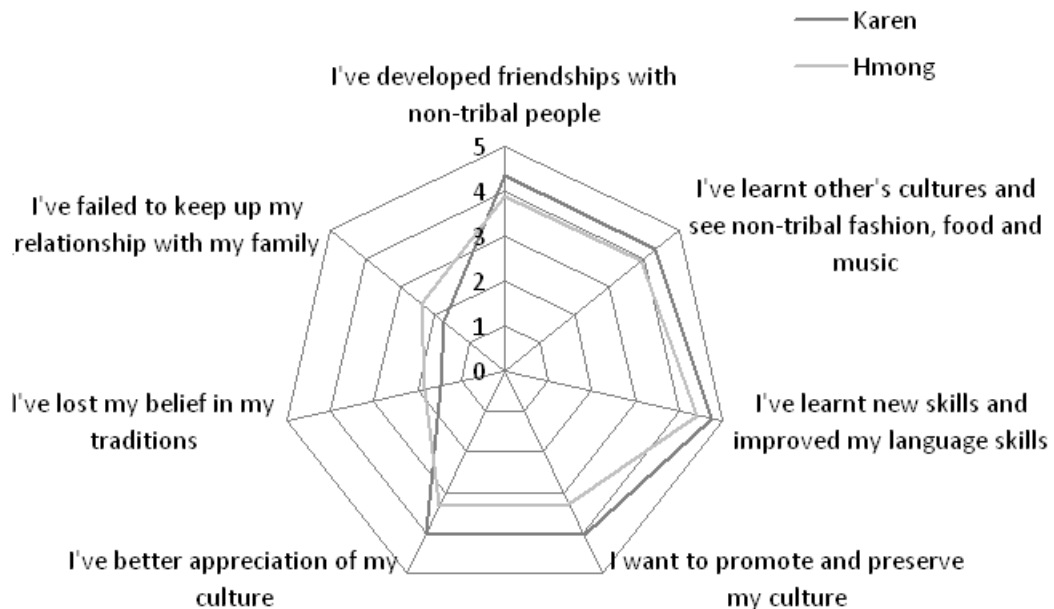
### 5.8.2 Differences

**Table 5.16 Differences in perceptions of the Karen and Hmong towards impacts upon themselves and other employees resulting from their working with ETAs (figures in bold indicate significant differences)**

Variables	Mean Rank of agree and strongly agree			Mean Score 5=strongly agree	
	Karen	Hmong	Sig.	Karen	Hmong
Perceived impacts resulting from working with ETAs					
I’ve developed friendships with nontribal people from working with ETAs	115.28	89.36	<b>&lt;.001</b>	4.35	3.89
I’ve learnt other cultures and see nontribal fashion, food and music by working with ETAs	116.39	88.30	<b>&lt;.001</b>	4.33	3.92
I’ve learnt new skills and improved my Thai and English language skills	117.68	87.07	<b>&lt;.001</b>	4.71	4.39
I want to promote and preserve my cultural products, e.g., culture, dress codes, and food	119.30	85.53	<b>&lt;.001</b>	4.03	3.27
After working with ETAs, I’ve a better appreciation of my culture	121.98	82.98	<b>&lt;.001</b>	4.01	3.33
I’ve lost my belief in my traditions and sacred sites after working with ETAs because I deal with them as tourist attractions	89.33	114.06	<b>.001</b>	1.47	1.82
I’ve failed to keep up my relationship with my family	81.06	121.93	<b>&lt;.001</b>	1.76	2.41

The results from the tables above revealed that the Karen and Hmong perceived similarly many positive impacts resulting from working with ETAs. Yet, the Mann Whitney U test identified some significant differences in their perceptions towards the issues listed above.

**Figure 5.16 Differences in perceived impacts resulting from working with ETAs: comparison of means for Karen and Hmong (5=strongly agree)**



The results from the Mann-Whitney U test showed that the two ethnic groups perceived seven of the thirteen impacts differently. A calculation of effect size was performed based on their Z-scores of the results that hold significant differences in their views. However the results represent small to medium effect (below the .3 criterion) for the view of impacts from their employment with ETAs. Therefore, it can be concluded that their experiences of impacts, shown in Figure 5.16, were significantly different. However, these differences were not that significant as they only held small to medium effect size.

Having compared similarities and differences between the two ethnic groups, the following tables show the results from the Mann-Whitney test for significant differences in perceived positive and negative impacts between males and females within each ethnic group (intra-tribal group by gender), as well as across the ethnics group (inter-tribal group by gender).

### 5.8.3 Similarities and differences in perceived positive impacts

**Table 5.17 Similarities and differences in perceived positive impacts between intra-tribal groups by gender (figures in bold indicate significant differences)**

Variables	Karen M:F	Mean scores	Hmong M:F	Mean scores
Perceived impacts resulting from working with ETAs	Sig.	5=strongly agree	Sig.	5=strongly agree
The arrival of ETAs has resulted in a greater demand for female labour	<b>.002</b>	4.35:4.66	<b>&lt;.001</b>	3.92:4.68
I've developed friendships with nontribal people from working with ETAs	<b>.007</b>	4.20:4.50	.994	3.92:3.88
I've learnt other cultures and seen nontribal fashion, food and music by working with ETAs	<b>&lt;.001</b>	4.08:4.58	.088	4.03:3.87
I've more confidence after working with ETAs, and can easily work with all nationalities	<b>&lt;.001</b>	4.55:4.94	<b>.006</b>	4.44:4.72
I've learnt new skills and improved my Thai and English language skills	.165	4.61:4.80	.225	4.28:4.46
I want to promote and preserve my cultural products, e.g., culture, dress codes, and food	.147	4.24:3.82	.798	3.33:3.24
After working with ETAs, I have a better appreciation of my culture	.452	4.12:3.90	.223	3.17:3.41

**Table 5.18 Similarities and differences in perceived positive impacts between inter-tribal groups by gender (figures in bold indicate significant differences)**

Variables	KM :HM	Mean scores	KF: HF	Mean scores
Perceived impacts resulting from working with ETAs	Sig.	5=strongly agree	Sig.	5=strongly agree
The arrival of ETAs has resulted in a greater demand for female labour	.003	4.35:3.92	.852	4.66:4.68
I've developed friendships with nontribal people from working with ETAs	.205	4.20:3.92	<b>&lt;.001</b>	4.50:3.88
I've learnt other cultures and see nontribal fashion, food and music by working with ETAs	.754	4.08:4.03	<b>&lt;.001</b>	4.58:3.87
I've more confidence after working with ETAs, and can easily work with all type of nationalities	.334	4.55:4.44	<b>.003</b>	4.94:4.72
I've learnt new skills and improved my Thai and English language skills	<b>.010</b>	4.61:4.28	<b>&lt;.001</b>	4.80:4.46
I want to promote and preserve my cultural products, e.g., culture, dress codes, and food	<b>&lt;.001</b>	4.24:3.33	<b>.017</b>	3.82:3.24
After working with ETAs, I have a better appreciation of my culture	<b>&lt;.001</b>	4.12:3.17	<b>.012</b>	3.90:3.41

Tables 5.17 and 5.18 show the results from the Mann Whitney U test analysing similarities and differences between genders within the same tribal groups and across the two groups. In terms of positive impacts, four significant differences of seven positive impacts were identified, resulting from working with ETAs as perceived by Karen males and females indicating that females agreed rather more strongly with the positive impacts than did the males, while two significant difference were found between Hmong males and females. Again, females agreed more strongly with the impacts: higher demand for female labour and more confidence after



working with ETAs and can easily work with all type of nationalities. To be noted, some of the statements in the tables above were mentioned by the participants in the first stage data collection (see Appendix 2 and 5). Learning new skills and improving their Thai language skills after been working with ETAs was one of the most commonly mentioned by the focus group participants from both tribes:

*“I would say I can learn a lot in terms of Thai language and how they (ETAs) communicate”*

Rongroj (from Karen tribe)

*“yes, (agreeing with the group)....and I think we learn a lot from them....I can now understand Thai better, my speaking is not good yet but it is getting better.”*

Ying (from Karen tribe)

*“...maybe improved in my speaking skills in Thai language...”*

Pai (from Hmong tribe)

On the other hand, Karen and Hmong males demonstrated significant differences in perceptions towards three of the seven listed positive impacts, the results indicating that the Karen males were more aware of the positive impacts resulting from working with ETAs than were the Hmong males. Karen and Hmong females differed on all the positive impacts except the higher demand for female labour. Again, Karen females tended to strongly agree more with the positive impacts in comparison with the Hmong females.

#### 5.8.4 Similarities and differences in perceived negative impacts

**Table 5.19 Similarities and differences in perceived negative impacts between intra-tribal groups by gender (figures in bold indicate significant differences)**

Variables	Karen M : F	Mean scores	Hmong M:F	Mean scores
Perceived impacts resulting from working with ETAs	Sig.	5=strongly agree	Sig.	5=strongly agree
My colleagues always make fun of me being a tribal person which makes me want to lose my identity	.145	2.55:2.32	.279	2.39:2.56
I've changed to be more 'Thai like'	.325	3.69:3.46	.630	3.78:4.00
I've lost my belief in my traditional culture after working with ETAs because I have to deal with them as tourist attractions	<b>.010</b>	1.65:1.30	.617	1.83:1.81
I earn more income from ETAs but also incur more expenditures	.462	4.43:4.38	.098	4.14:4.41
I've failed to keep up my relationships with my family	<b>&lt;.001</b>	1.59:1.92	.817	2.44:2.40
I've failed to keep up my relationships with my friends	<b>&lt;.001</b>	1.47:1.88	.981	1.83:1.85

**Table 5.20 Similarities and differences in perceived negative impacts between inter-tribal groups by gender (figures in bold indicate significant differences)**

Variables	KM: HM	Mean scores	KF: HF	Mean scores
Perceived impacts resulting from working with ETAs	Sig.	5=strongly agree	Sig.	5=strongly agree
My colleagues always make fun of me being a tribal person which makes me want to lose my identity	.360	2.55:2.39	.094	2.32:2.56
I've changed to be more 'Thai like'	.791	3.69:3.78	.074	3.46:4.00
I've lost my belief in my traditional culture after working with ETAs because I have to deal with it as a tourist attraction	.221	1.65:1.83	<b>&lt;.001</b>	1.30:1.81
I earn more income from ETAs but also incur more expenditures	<b>.035</b>	4.43:4.14	.963	4.38:4.41
I've failed to keep up my relationships with my family	<b>&lt;.001</b>	1.59:2.44	<b>&lt;.001</b>	1.92:2.40
I've failed to keep up my relationships with my friends	<b>.012</b>	1.47:1.83	.187	1.88:1.85

While significant differences were found in the perceptions of the respondents towards the positive impacts resulting from their working with ETAs, they have more in common with each other in terms of perceived negative impacts, for example, no significant differences were found between Hmong males and females. Karen males and females, on the other hand, held similar perceptions only in terms of loss of identity, changes in their lifestyle and increased expenditure, but on other impacts they differed. The data, for instance indicate that females disagreed more strongly than males in regard to the loss of their beliefs in tradition and sacred sites after working with ETAs, while the males strongly disagreed in terms of their failure to keep up their relationships with family and friends.

An analysis of intertribal comparisons indicates that, Karen and Hmong females had similar perceptions of almost everything except issues of loss of their beliefs in tradition and failure to keep up relationships with family where Karen females tended to disagree more strongly with these impacts (mean <2). Equally, Karen males disagreed more than did Hmong males that they have not maintained their relationships with family and friends (mean <2). Karen males, on the other hand, agreed more with the perception that their increased income had brought with it greater expenditures.

In terms of their significant differences in positive and negative perceptions of both inter-tribal and intra-tribal groups by gender, the results show small to medium effects and do not indicate large differences in their perceptions.

The tables above suggest that both the Karen and Hmong tended to hold different perceptions of the positive impacts arising from their working with ETAs and were more likely to agree regarding the negative impacts. It is also apparent that some significant differences exist

regarding the comparison by gender across ethnic groups as well as between genders within the same group. The results showed that every group held numbers of different views towards both positive and negative impacts except for those Hmong males and females who shared common views on all perceived negative impacts.

## **5.9 Conclusion**

In conclusion, this chapter presented similarities and differences in perceptions of the Karen and Hmong regarding employment. Comparisons of the socio-demographic data of the respondents were presented. It then addressed the Karen and Hmong employment types and patterns. Reasons for working and not working with ETAs given by the Karen and Hmong were presented. Followed by the comparison of their perceived conflicts encountered while working with ETAs and their proposed solutions. Then, similarities and differences in the respondents' perceptions of impacts from working with ETAs were presented. Discussion regarding this finding can be found in Chapter 8. However, the next chapter reveals the statistical findings of perceived socio-cultural impacts.

## Chapter 6 Main Findings of Socio-Cultural Impacts

### 6.1 Introduction

The results from the questionnaire presented in this chapter address the forth research objective, to compare the socio-cultural impacts of ETAs that the Karen and Hmong, working with ETAs and those who not working with the ETAs, have perceived as occurring upon themselves. Relevant quotations given by the participants from the first stage data collection will also be included. First, the results presented below address the similarities and differences in perceptions regarding socio-cultural impacts of the Karen and Hmong working with ETAs. It is then followed by a similar comparison of the respondents not working with ETAs. Then the comparison between Karen working with ETAs versus those Karen not working with ETAs will be presented, followed by the comparison between the two groups of Hmong. The findings of each grouping will be presented in order of highest to lowest mean scores. When interpreting the scores, higher scores imply agreement while lower mean scores indicate disagreement.

### 6.2 Comparison between the Karen and Hmong working with ETAs

This section, the results of the similarities in perceptions regarding socio-cultural impacts perceived by the Karen and Hmong working with ETAs will be presented first, followed by the differences. To be noted, the Mann-Whitney U test was used to analyse the results. Additionally, a descriptive statistics frequency test and mean scores were also used to give a simpler and clearer picture of the result. See Appendix 8 for the results in percentages.

#### 6.2.1 Similarities in perceptions regarding socio-cultural impacts of the Karen and Hmong working with ETAs

**Table 6.1 Similarities in perceptions of the Karen and Hmong working with ETAs regarding socio-cultural impacts**

Variables	Mean Rank of agree and strongly agree			Mean Score 5=strongly agree	
	Karen	Hmong	Sig.	Karen	Hmong
Perceived socio-cultural impacts					
I live life more easily, with modern facilities supporting my new lifestyle influenced by ETAs in the area	108.37	95.93	.072	4.69	4.56
I've become better known because of the tourism activities owned by ETAs	101.54	102.44	.889	4.59	4.64
I've abandoned traditional food and prefer to eat like outsiders	103.03	101.02	.788	4.01	3.96
I do not feel welcome in tourism business areas owned by ETAs	106.86	97.38	.206	2.72	2.54
I forget traditional music, dress, ceremonies and culture after the arrival of ETAs	98.52	105.32	.292	2.52	2.62
I feel crowded and find it difficult to participate in traditional events because too many tourists have been brought into the area by ETAs	102.94	101.11	.766	2.06	2.00

The Mann-Whitney U test was performed to find out which variable regarding socio-cultural impacts resulting from the arrival of ETAs perceived by the Karen and Hmong working with ETAs were significant different. However, the results from Table 6.1 reveal a number of commonly held opinions held by the Karen and Hmong, which reflected both negative and positive. In terms of negative socio-cultural aspects, abandoning their traditional food and preferring to eat like ETAs was the issue that both Karen (mean 4.01) and Hmong (mean 3.96) agreed with the most.

Interestingly, both the Karen and Hmong focus group participants have mentioned that: they might have been influenced by working with ETAs in regard to some aspects of their lifestyles, such as the way they eat, dress and talk, but this did not mean they had forgotten their traditional music, dress, tradition and culture. This view was reflected in the following speeches:

*“It is not that I don’t want to wear the Hmong clothes but it is more convenient to dress this way”* (pair of jeans, T-shirt and training shoes)

Pai (from Hmong tribe)

*“I have to wear my uniform, and after work I just get changed and put on something easy....and just because I now dress more like them (ETAs) does not mean I will forget about my own tribal dress...it’s irrelevant”*

Ae (from Karen tribe)

It can be concluded that, the above statements revealed during the focus groups in the first stage data collection was widely held. As the results from the questionnaire undertaken during the second data collection suggested they did not feel that working with ETAs will make Karen and Hmong forget their culture (mean 2.52 and 2.62, respectively).

Both Karen and Hmong groups disagreed (mean 2.72 and 2.54, respectively) that they were not welcome in the tourism business owned by ETAs. Therefore, the sense of belonging in the area with businesses owned by ETAs was not seen as a problem for the tribal people working with ETAs.

Crowding was the issue about which the Karen and Hmong disagreed the most (mean 2.06 and 2.0, respectively). The results suggested that both tribes favour ETAs by agreeing that although there appeared to be too many tourists in the area it did not make them feel crowded nor did it create difficulties for them to participate in their traditional events. Again this finding supports results from the first data collection.

*“ETAs don’t make me feel crowded, I enjoy having them join our traditional events...”*

Rongroj (from Karen tribe)

In positive terms, both Karen and Hmong tribes strongly agreed that their lives were easier and that they enjoyed the comforts of more modern facilities which they believed were due to the influence of ETAs in the area (mean 4.69 and 4.56, respectively). Furthermore, the Karen and Hmong felt that they had become better-known because of the tourism enterprises owned by ETAs (mean 4.59 and 4.64, respectively). This was also revealed during the interviews.

*“We have become better known after we have worked with ETAs....”*

Pongsak (from Karen tribe)

*“...I think more people know me and my people better than in the past,”*

Sae-Ya (from Hmong tribe)

To sum up, the findings derived from the first stage data collection were consistent with the results from the larger scale questionnaire. As the Karen and Hmong working with ETAs tended to agree with the positive views and rejected the negative views, except the issue that they have abandoned tribal food and prefer to eat like Thai.

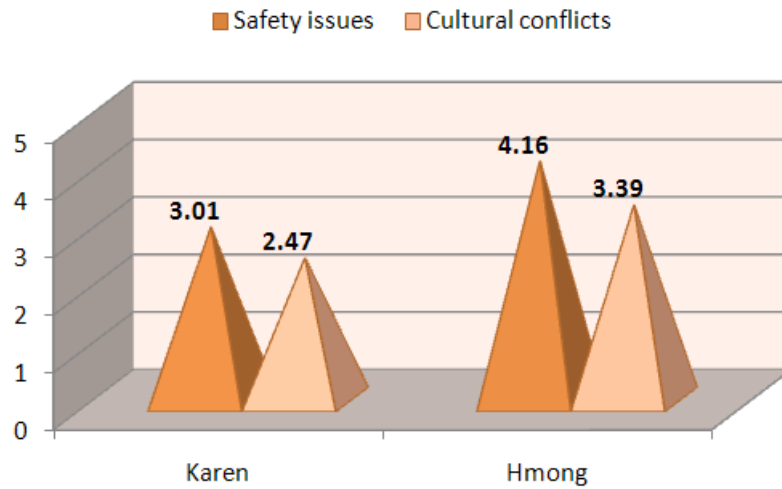
### **6.2.2 Differences in perceptions regarding socio-cultural impacts of the Karen and Hmong working with ETAs**

**Table 6.2 Differences in perceptions of Karen and Hmong working with ETAs regarding socio-cultural impacts (figures in bold indicate significant differences)**

Variables	Mean Rank of agree and strongly agree			Mean Score 5=strongly agree	
	Karen	Hmong	Sig.	Karen	Hmong
I do not feel as safe as before since more ETAs opened their businesses and work in my community	74.75	127.94	<b>&lt;.000</b>	3.01	4.16
Hosting ETAs creates cultural conflicts for me	81.93	121.10	<b>&lt;.000</b>	2.47	3.39

According to the mean scores (see Table 6.1 and Table 6.2) both Karen and Hmong agree with most of the statements (mean >3). However, the Mann-Whitney U test revealed two differences between perceptions of Karen and Hmong in terms of the extent of their agreement.

**Figure 6.1 Differences in perceived socio-cultural impacts: comparison of means for the Karen and Hmong working with ETAs (5=strongly agree)**



### Safety issues

Security was one of the issues that worried Hmong people. 60% of Hmong were concerned about security. They felt insecure and did not feel as safe as before since the ETAs opened their businesses in their community, while 54% of Karen did not perceive security as a major concern.

### Cultural conflicts

A majority, 57%, of Hmong noticed and agreed that hosting ETAs created cultural conflicts for them, while 60% of Karen disagreed. This result was also consistent with the interview with the Karen.

*“I can see that ETAs’ culture is different from mine but I don’t see any cultural conflicts from interacting with them....”*

Ying (from Karen tribe)

A calculation of effect size was performed based on the results with significant differences in their views. The perceived cultural conflicts resulting from ETAs represents the largest effect ( $r=0.49$ ) for the differences in Karen and Hmong views of socio-cultural impacts.

Having compared perceptions between the two ethnic groups, the following tables present comparisons of gender related similarities and differences in regard to the perceptions of socio-cultural impacts within and between ethnic groups.

**Table 6.3 Similarities and differences in intra-tribal perceptions of socio-cultural impacts between Karen and Hmong working with ETAs by gender (figures in bold indicate significant differences)**

Variables	Karen M VS F	Mean scores	Hmong M VS F	Mean scores
Perceived socio-cultural impacts	Sig.	5=strongly agree	Sig.	5=strongly agree
I've become better known because of the tourism activities owned by ETAs	.535	4.63:4.54	.354	4.64:4.65
I live more easily and conveniently, which supports my new lifestyle influenced by ETAs in the area	.562	4.17:4.66	.080	4.67:4.50
I've abandoned traditional food and prefer to eat like outsiders	.069	3.88:4.14	.087	3.75:4.07
I do not feel as safe as before since more ETAs opened their businesses in my community	<b>.007</b>	3.33:2.70	.698	4.06:4.22
Hosting ETAs creates cultural conflicts for me	.419	2.45:2.50	.074	3.08:3.56
I forget traditional lifestyle, ceremonies and culture after the arrival of ETAs	.894	2.51:2.52	.552	2.72:2.56
I do not feel welcome in tourism business areas owned by ETAs	.117	2.82:2.62	.254	2.64:2.49
I feel crowded and find it difficult to participate in traditional events because too many tourists have been brought into the area by ETAs	<b>&lt;.001</b>	1.78:2.34	.967	2.00:2.00

### **6.2.3 Intra-tribal gender similarities in perceptions of the Karen and Hmong working with ETAs**

Males and females from each tribe demonstrated similar perceptions of most of the socio-cultural impact results from working with ETAs. For example, they tended to agree in terms of positive impacts, and that they became better known because of tourism activities owned by ETAs was what both tribes agreed with the most (mean >4.5).

In terms of negative impacts, Karen males (mean 3.88) and females (mean 4.14) agreed that they had abandoned traditional foods; however, they tended to disagree with the rest of the negative impacts in Table 6.3. Hmong males and females demonstrated similar results except that they agreed with the cultural conflict issues.

Having revealed the similarities in perceptions by gender within the Karen and Hmong in terms of what they agreed and disagreed about the following text and Table 6.4 summarises the differences between these groups.

### **6.2.4 Intra-tribal gender differences in perceptions of the Karen and Hmong working with ETAs**

Only two significant differences were found between Karen males and females which were on safety and crowding issues. Given the differences on these issues, the results indicated that Karen males agreed more on the safety issues while females agreed more on the crowding issue. The effect sizes were calculated resulting in the size of  $r=0.27$  for the safety issues and  $r=0.37$



for the crowding issue. It can be concluded that their differences in perceptions towards safety and crowding issues between Karen males and females only held a small to medium effect size. On the other hand, no significant difference was found regarding perceptions towards socio-cultural impacts between Hmong males and females.

**Table 6.4 Similarities and differences in inter-tribal perceptions of socio-cultural impacts by gender between Karen and Hmong working with ETAs (figures in bold indicate significant differences)**

Variables	Karen M VS Hmong M	Mean scores	Karen F VS Hmong F	Mean scores
Perceived socio-cultural impacts	Sig.	5=strongly agree	Sig.	5=strongly agree
I've become better known because of the tourism activities owned by ETAs	.678	4.63:4.64	.925	4.54:4.65
I live life more easily, which supports my new lifestyle, which has been influenced by ETAs in the area	.783	4.17:4.67	.084	4.66:4.50
I've abandoned traditional foods and prefer to eat like outsiders	.634	3.88:3.75	.552	4.14:4.07
Hosting ETAs creates cultural conflicts for me	.357	3.63:3.94	.358	3.82:3.72
I do not feel as safe as before since more ETAs opened their businesses in my community	<b>.007</b>	3.33:4.06	<b>&lt;.001</b>	2.70:4.22
Hosting ETAs creates cultural conflicts for me	<b>.001</b>	2.45:3.08	<b>&lt;.001</b>	2.50:3.56
I do not feel welcome in tourism business area owned by ETAs	.362	2.82:2.64	.548	2.62:2.49
I forget traditional ceremonies and culture after the arrival of ETAs	.314	2.51:2.72	.580	2.52:2.56
I feel crowded and find it difficult to participate in traditional events because of too many tourists have been brought into the area by ETAs	.060	1.78:2.00	<b>.011</b>	2.34:2.00

### **6.2.5 Inter-tribal gender similarities in perceptions of the Karen and Hmong working with ETAs**

The results in Table 6.4 show a number of similarities in perceptions of respondents of the same gender between different tribes (inter-tribal perceptions by gender). The mean scores were very similar with the exception concerning the abandonment of traditional foods and eating styles for which females from the Karen and Hmong tribes agreed with more than did the males of these tribes. However, Karen and Hmong males agreed more than did the females in terms of not being welcome in the area where the ETAs owned and operated businesses.

### **6.2.6 Inter-tribal gender differences in perceptions of the Karen and Hmong working with ETAs**

Karen and Hmong males perceived differently two of the nine impacts. Also, Hmong males agreed more with all the socio-cultural impacts listed in Table 6.4 compared with the Karen males. The results also showed that Hmong females agreed more with the socio-cultural impacts

than the Karen females except for the issue of crowding. The effect sizes of their differences were below the 0.3 criterion indicating only small differences in their perceptions.

In conclusion, as shown in Table 6.5 below, gender did not play a significant role while the results suggested that the ethnic groups had more effect on how the selected Karen and Hmong perceive socio-cultural impacts they associate with ETAs.

**Table 6.5 Similarities and differences in perceptions of Karen and Hmong working with ETAs towards socio-cultural impacts**

Variables	K:H	Karen M:F	Hmong M:F	KM:HM	KF:HF
Perceived socio-cultural impacts					
I live life more easily, with the modern facilities which support my new lifestyles which have been influenced by ETAs in the area					
I do not feel welcome in tourism business area owned by ETAs					
I've become better known because of the tourism activities owned by ETAs					
I've abandoned traditional food and prefer to eat like outsiders					
I forget traditional lifestyle, ceremonies and culture after the arrival of ETAs					
I feel crowded and difficult to participate in traditional events because of too many tourists have been brought into the area by ETAs		<b>D 2</b>			<b>D 1.2</b>
I do not feel as safe as before since more ETAs opened their businesses and work in my community	<b>D 2</b>	<b>D 1</b>		<b>D 2.1</b>	<b>D 2.2</b>
Hosting ETAs creates cultural conflicts for me	<b>D 2</b>			<b>D 2.1</b>	<b>D 2.2</b>

\***D** indicates significant difference, 1=Karen agree more, 2=Hmong agree more, 1.1=Karen male agrees more, 1.2=Karen female agree more, 2.1=Hmong male agrees more, 2.2=Hmong female agrees more

The following section will reveal whether those tribal people from the Karen and Hmong not working with ETAs perceived the socio-cultural impacts in the same way or not. The tables below present the results of similarities and differences between the Karen and Hmong.

### 6.3 Comparison between the Karen and Hmong not working with ETAs

#### 6.3.1 Similarities in perceptions regarding socio-cultural impacts of the Karen and Hmong not working with ETAs

**Table 6.6 Similarities in perceptions of socio-cultural impacts between Karen and Hmong not working with ETAs**

Variables	Mean Rank of agree and strongly agree			Mean Score 5=strongly agree	
	Karen	Hmong	Sig.	Karen	Hmong
I've become better known because of tourism activities owned by ETAs	107.38	94.56	.091	4.06	3.94
Many tribal people have abandoned traditional food and prefer to eat like outsiders	108.40	93.52	.051	3.75	3.52
Hosting ETAs creates cultural conflicts for me	106.72	95.22	.125	2.56	2.36
I forget traditional music, ceremonies and culture after the incoming of ETAs	100.65	101.36	.923	2.15	2.14
I feel crowded and find it difficult to participate in traditional events because too many tourists have been brought into the area by ETAs	107.56	94.38	.068	1.97	1.91

The Mann-Whitney U test was employed to find out the significant differences in perceptions of the Karen and Hmong not working with ETAs. The results, therefore, suggest that the Karen and Hmong not working with ETAs tended to perceive socio-cultural impacts from ETAs similarly. Table 6.6 reveals their similarities in perceptions towards one negative socio-cultural impact in that both tribes agreed that as a result of the arrival of ETAs traditional food is being abandoned (mean >3.5).

However, they disagreed with the other negative socio-cultural impacts listed in Table 6.6 which contradicts much of the existing literature concerning cultural conflicts (Boniface and Robinson 1999; Robinson 2001) (mean <3), loss of traditional music, ceremonies and culture (Cohen 1988; Wood 1993) (Mean <2.5) and crowding (Liu *et al.* 1986; Getz 1993) (Mean <2).

Overall, the results suggest that Hmong people tended to disagree more with the impacts listed in Table 6.6 than the Karen did.

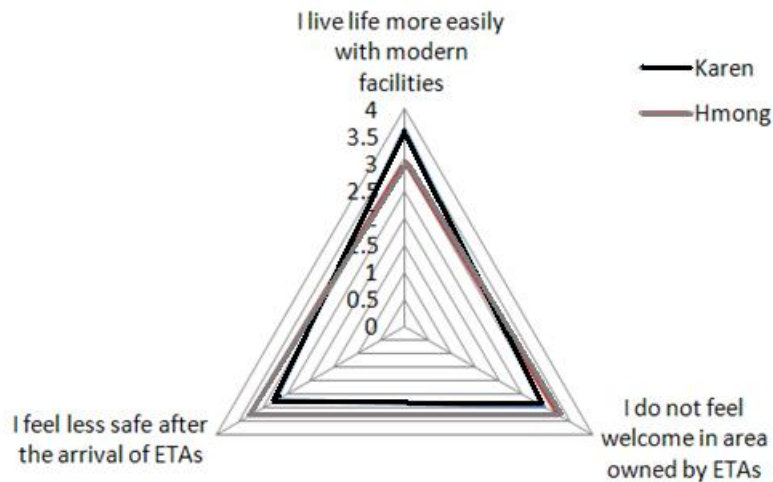
### 6.3.2 Differences in perceptions regarding socio-cultural impacts between Karen and Hmong not working with ETAs

Table 6.7 and Figure 6.2 illustrate the significant differences in perceptions between the two.

**Table 6.7 Differences in perceptions of socio-cultural impacts of Karen and Hmong not working with ETAs (figures in bold indicate significant differences)**

Variables	Mean Rank of agree and strongly agree			Mean Score 5=strongly agree	
	Karen	Hmong	Sig.	Karen	Hmong
Perceived socio-cultural impacts					
I live more easily, conveniently, with more modern facilities to comfort my new lifestyle which is influenced by ETAs in the area	114.99	86.88	<b>&lt;.001</b>	3.62	3.04
I do not feel welcome in tourism business areas owned by ETAs	91.49	110.61	<b>.015</b>	2.95	3.26
I do not feel as safe as before since more ETAs have opened their businesses and work in my community	85.55	116.60	<b>&lt;.001</b>	2.73	3.28

**Figure 6.2 Differences in perceived socio-cultural impacts: comparison of means for Karen and Hmong not working with ETAs (5=strongly agree)**



#### **Higher standard of living and convenient lifestyle**

A total of 42% of the Karen rated agreed and another 20% strongly agreed that they led easier lives with modern facilities in a comfortable new lifestyles influenced by ETAs in the area, while only 33% of Hmong shared the same opinion of agree and 10% strongly agreed.

#### **Sense of belonging**

In all, 40% of Hmong rated agree and 8% strongly agreed with the issue that they are not welcomed in the areas where tourism businesses are owned by ETAs. The results suggest that only 26% of the Karen shared the same level of concern and 8% strongly agreed.

### **Safety issue**

A total of 45% of Hmong rated agree and another 5% strongly agreed with the safety issue, which has become their main concern since more ETAs opened tourism businesses in their community while Karen people showed a quite opposite result; 54% of the Karen rated disagree and 4% strongly disagreed.

A calculation of effect size showed that their significant differences in perceptions were small to medium sizes, while safety issue held the biggest differences ( $r=0.28$ ) among the three issues.

Having compared similarities and differences between the two ethnic groups not working with ETAs, the following tables show the results from the Mann-Whitney test for similarities and significant differences between males and females not working with ETAs within each ethnic group, as well as between ethnic groups.

**Table 6.8 Similarities and differences in intra-tribal perceptions of socio-cultural impacts of the Karen and Hmong not working with ETAs by gender (figures in bold indicate significant differences)**

Variables	Karen M VS F	Mean scores	Hmong M VS F	Mean scores
Perceived socio-cultural impacts	Sig.	5=strongly agree	Sig.	5=strongly agree
I live more easily, with more modern facilities to support my new lifestyle influenced by ETAs in the area	.428	3.54:3.71	.691	3.10:3.00
I've become better known because of tourism activities owned by ETAs	<b>&lt;.001</b>	3.54:4.57	<b>.027</b>	3.71:4.10
I've abandoned traditional food and prefer to eat like outsiders	.065	3.52:3.98	.772	3.57:3.48
I do not feel welcome in tourism business areas owned by ETAs	.104	2.82:3.08	<b>&lt;.001</b>	2.81:3.59
I do not feel as safe as before since more ETAs opened their businesses and work in my community	.216	2.60:2.86	.070	3.07:3.43
Hosting ETAs creates cultural conflicts for me	.113	2.72:2.41	.204	2.50:2.26
I forget traditional ceremonies and culture after the incoming of ETAs	<b>.007</b>	2.50:1.80	.445	2.21:2.09
I feel crowded and find it difficult to participate in traditional events because too many tourists have been brought into the area by ETAs	.446	2.04:1.90	<b>.019</b>	2.14:1.74

### **6.3.3 Intra-tribal gender similarities in perceptions of the Karen and Hmong not working with ETAs**

Table 6.8 shows that males and females from both tribes held common views in disagreeing with the cultural conflicts from hosting ETAs while agreeing with the enjoyment of a new lifestyle with modern facilities. Both tribes agreed with issue of traditional food being abandoned. Karen males and females, however, demonstrated similar perceptions by

disagreeing with safety and crowding issues. Hmong males and females, on the other hand, held similar perceptions by agreeing in regard to safety issues.

#### **6.3.4 Intra-tribal gender differences in perceptions of the Karen and Hmong not working with ETAs**

Table 6.8 also demonstrates the differences in perceptions between genders. Only two issues held significant differences between Karen males and females which were:

- I've become better known because of tourism activities owned by ETAs. More females indicated that they strongly agreed (29%) than did the males (7%)
- In all, 10% of Karen males strongly agreed that they had forgotten traditional ceremonies and culture after the arrival of ETAs, while none of the females strongly agreed.

Karen females held significant differences in perception from the Karen males that they had become better known. This difference in their perception represented the largest effect ( $r=0.52$ ) among all the differences in their perceptions regarding socio-cultural impacts.

In the case of the Hmong, Table 6.8 reveals the issue concerning significant differences between Hmong males and females presented below.

- I do not feel welcome in tourism businesses owned by ETAs. More females agreed with this (31%) than did the males (9%).
- I've become better known because of tourism activities owned by ETAs. This statement also was rated strongly agree more by the females (19%) while only 7% of males strongly felt the same.
- The issue of crowding was the only item that the females felt less concern resulting in 27% of the females strongly disagreeing with this problem while only 10% of the males shared this same low level of concern.

Only small to medium effect sizes were found for the significant differences in perceptions of Hmong males and females. However, the issue of not being welcomed in areas of tourism businesses owned by ETAs showed the largest effect size ( $r=0.37$ ) among all.

**Table 6.9 Similarities in inter-tribal perceptions of socio-cultural impacts between genders of Karen and Hmong not working with ETAs (figures in bold indicate significant differences)**

Variables	KM VS HM	Mean scores	KF VS HF	Mean scores
Perceived socio-cultural impacts	Sig.	5=strongly agree	Sig.	5=strongly agree
I've become better known because of tourism activities owned by ETAs	.667	3.54:3.71	<b>.001</b>	4.57:4.10
I've abandoned traditional food and prefer to eat like outsiders	.846	3.52:3.57	<b>.011</b>	3.98:3.48
I live life more easily and conveniently with more modern facilities to support my new lifestyle influenced by ETAs in the area	.093	3.54:3.10	<b>&lt;.001</b>	3.71:3.00
I do not feel welcome in tourism business areas owned by ETAs	.950	2.82:2.81	<b>.001</b>	3.08:3.59
Hosting ETAs creates cultural conflicts for me	.312	2.72:2.50	.315	2.41:2.26
I forget traditional music, ceremonies and culture after the arrival of ETAs	.443	2.50:2.21	.295	1.80:2.09
I do not feel as safe as before since more ETAs opened their businesses here	<b>.030</b>	2.60:3.07	<b>.004</b>	2.86:3.43
I feel crowded and find it difficult to participate in traditional events because too many tourists have been brought into the area by ETAs	.922	2.04:2.14	<b>.025</b>	1.90:1.74

### **6.3.5 Inter-tribal gender similarities in perceptions of the Karen and Hmong not working with ETAs**

Karen males and females demonstrate similar perceptions by disagreeing with most of the negative impacts listed in Table 6.9. Females from both tribes only hold two common views in regard to cultural conflicts and tradition and culture being forgotten.

### **6.3.6 Inter-tribal gender differences in perceptions of the Karen and Hmong not working with ETAs**

Table 6.9 reveals one significant difference in perceptions between Karen and Hmong males regarding the safety issue, a greater concern being shown by the Hmong. Karen and Hmong females held a number of significant differences. For example, the results show that Karen females agreed more than the Hmong females regarding the statement of them becoming better known because of tourism activities owned by ETAs and living more easily with modern facilities. While Hmong females tended to be more concerned than the Karen females in terms of a sense of belonging by not being welcomed in the tourism businesses areas owned by ETAs and safety issues.

Again gender did not seem to be as significant as different ethnic backgrounds in differentiating their perceptions. Karen and Hmong females tended to perceive socio-cultural impacts differently contributing to the significant differences in their perceptions as a whole. However, the results only showed a medium effect size for differences in the Karen and Hmong female

perceptions. Living easier and more conveniently with modern technologies was the largest difference ( $r=0.34$ ) among all.

In conclusion, the results suggest that both the Karen and Hmong not working with ETAs held common views on most of the socio-cultural impacts. After investigating significant differences, the results revealed that a different in ethnic group was the key aspect behind the differences in their perceptions. Table 6.10 helps summarise similarities and differences in perceptions of this group.

**Table 6.10 Similarities and differences in perceptions of socio-cultural impacts between Karen and Hmong not working with ETAs**

Variables	K:H	Karen M:F	Hmong M:F	KM:HM	KF:HF
<b>Perceived socio-cultural impacts</b>					
I live life more easily, with modern facilities which support my new lifestyles influenced by ETAs in the area	D 1				D 1.2
I've become better known because of the tourism activities owned by ETAs		D 1.2	D 2.2		D 1.2
I feel crowded and find it difficult to participate in traditional events because of too many tourists have been brought into the area by ETAs			D 2.1		D 1.2
I do not feel welcome to go to tourism businesses owned by ETAs	D 2		D 2.2		D 2.2
I do not feel as safe as before since more ETAs opened their businesses and work in my community	D 2			D 1.2	D 2.2
I've abandoned traditional food and prefer to eat like outsiders					D 1.2
I forget traditional music, ceremonies and culture after the arrival of ETAs		D 1.1			
Hosting ETAs creates cultural conflicts for me					

\*D indicates significant difference, 1=Karen agree more, 2=Hmong agree more, 1.1=Karen male agrees more, 1.2=Karen female agree more, 2.1=Hmong male agrees more, 2.2=Hmong female agrees more

Having revealed the similarities and differences between different tribes, the following tables will present comparisons within the tribal group of those working and those not working with ETAs.

#### **6.4 Comparison between the Karen working and Karen not working with ETAs**

This section presents the similarities and differences in perceptions of the Karen working and Karen not working with ETAs in terms of socio-cultural impacts, resulting from the arrival of ETAs, they perceived upon themselves. It starts with the similarities of their perceptions, and followed by their differences. The results from the Mann-Whitney U test and mean scores are presented. See Appendix 8, Table 27 for the results in percentages.



#### 6.4.1 Similarities in perceptions regarding socio-cultural impacts of the Karen working and Karen not working with ETAs

**Table 6.11 Similarities in perceptions of socio-cultural impacts between Karen working and Karen not working with ETAs**

Variables	Mean Rank of agree and strongly agree			Mean Score 5=strongly agree	
	Karen working	Karen not working	Sig.	Karen working	Karen not working
I've abandoned traditional food and prefer to eat like outsiders	103.61	97.46	.417	3.75	3.52
I do not feel as safe as before since more ETAs opened their businesses and work here	106.28	94.84	.123	2.73	3.28
Hosting ETAs creates cultural conflicts for me	95.94	104.97	.214	2.56	2.36
I feel crowded and find it difficult to participate in traditional events because too many tourists have been brought into the area by ETAs	103.22	97.83	.428	1.97	1.91

Table 6.11 shows the similarities in perceptions between Karen working with ETAs and Karen not working with ETAs by agreeing with the issue of their traditional food being abandoned and that they do not feel as safe as before, while disagreeing with the other two issues. The questionnaire results regarding cultural conflicts (mean  $\leq 2.56$ ) and problem of crowding (mean  $< 2$ ) were supported the interviews with the Karen working and not working with ETAs.

*“I don’t think there is any cultural conflict (referring to cultural conflict between tribal people and ETAs) I understand they have their own culture and we have our own culture, but I don’t see it as a conflict.”*

Tan (from Karen tribe)

*“I don’t mind them (ETAs) here. They don’t make me feel crowded; they are welcomed here. I was happy when they came and participated in our traditional events” (smile)*

Wa (from Karen Tribe)

At the same time, the other group of Karen also felt delighted to have more ETAs due to the hope that ETAs could provide more job opportunities for their tribal people.

(Big laugh) *“I enjoy having them here and joining our traditional events... I’d like them to come in more and have more tourism businesses here too, so other highlanders can have job opportunities like me.”*

Rongroj (from Karen tribe)

Therefore, the results from the large scale questionnaire confirmed the interviews results that they did not perceive any cultural conflicts resulting from hosting ETAs in their community as interview data showed the Karen working and not working with ETAs welcomed and were happy to have more ETAs come in and settle in their community.

Having reviewed their similarities, the following table presents what they perceived differently in terms of socio-cultural impacts occurring to themselves.

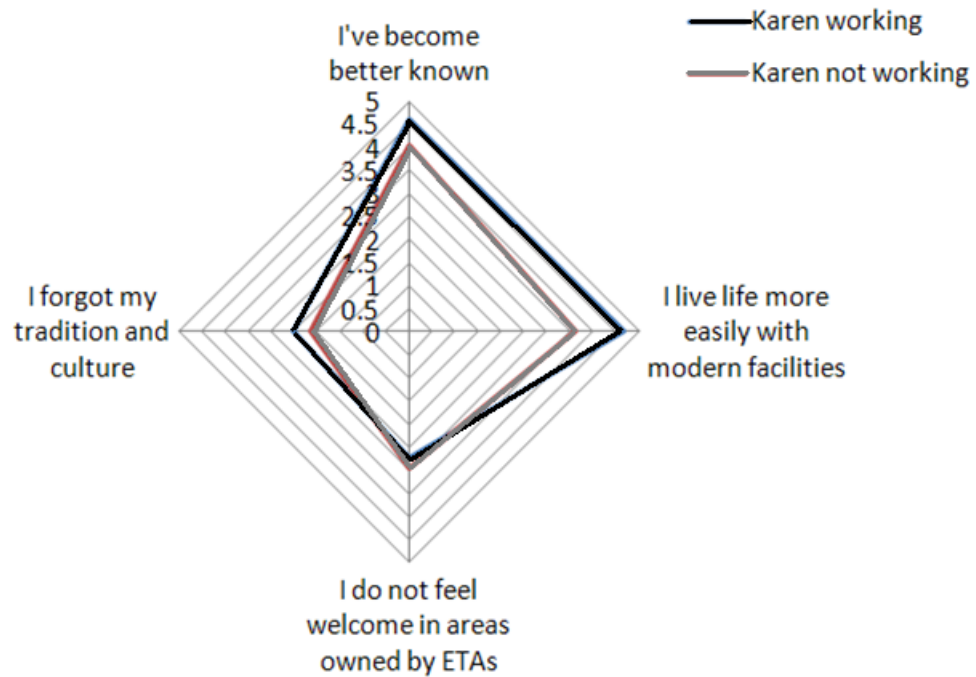
#### 6.4.2 Differences in perceptions regarding socio-cultural impacts of the Karen working and Karen not working with ETAs

**Table 6.12 Differences in perceptions of socio-cultural impacts between Karen working and Karen not working with ETAs (figures in bold indicate significant differences)**

Variables	Mean Rank of agree and strongly agree			Mean Score 5=strongly agree	
	Karen working	Karen not working	Sig.	Karen working	Karen not working
I've become better known because of tourism activities owned by ETAs	118.97	82.39	<b>&lt;.001</b>	4.59	4.06
I live life more easily and conveniently with more modern facilities to comfort my new lifestyle influenced by ETAs in the area	131.29	70.32	<b>&lt;.001</b>	4.69	3.62
I do not feel welcome in tourism business areas owned by ETAs	92.97	107.88	<b>.050</b>	2.72	2.95
I forgot traditional music, ceremonies and culture after the incoming of ETAs	113.10	88.15	<b>&lt;.001</b>	2.52	2.15

The results suggested that generally, both sample groups of Karen held similar perceptions. However, differences have been demonstrated in the extent of their agreement. The following presents the results with their significant differences and Figure 6.3 demonstrates the differences in their mean scores.

**Figure 6.3 Differences in perceived socio-cultural impacts: comparison of means for Karen working and Karen not working with ETAs (5=strongly agree)**



### **Increased popularity of tribal people**

Although both groups agreed that they had become better known because of the activities of ETAs, the mean scores showed small differences (4.59 VS 4.06) between Karen working with ETAs and Karen not working regarding being better known because of tourism activities owned by ETAs, yet, a Mann-Whitney U test showed a significant (p-value <.001) difference in their level of agreement.

### **Higher standard of living and convenient lifestyle**

All subjects working with ETAs agreed that their lives had been made easier with the use of more modern technologies than in the past such as washing machines, colour TV, electric cookers, cell phones, motorcycles, and cars with four-wheel drive (examples revealed during interview). Equally, only 20% of those Karen not working with ETAs disagreed that their lives were easier giving credit to ETAs for their improved conditions.

### **Sense of welcome and belonging**

The issue of not being welcomed in the areas of tourism business owned by ETAs showed a significance (p-value <.050) with the mean score of < 3 for both groups. However, the

frequencies revealed that the 54% of Karen people working with ETAs disagreed with the statement and 21% neither agreed nor disagreed. However, 39% of the other group of Karen people working with ETAs disagreed that they were not being welcomed by ETAs and 32% neither agreed nor disagreed. According to the participants from the interview, the reason behind this result may be that those Karen people not working with ETAs felt neither that they were being rejected nor being welcomed by ETAs.

### **Loss of local culture**

The Mann-Whitney U test indicated a significant (p-value <.001) difference between the two groups towards the issue that tribal people had forgotten traditional ceremonies and culture after the arrival of ETAs. However, according to the mean scores, both groups of Karen disagreed with the statement (mean <3). The results suggested that the arrival of ETAs into the area was not of itself a key factor in creating an impact on the loss of local culture and tradition.

In summary, based on the results presented in the above tables, it was noteworthy that both sets of Karen favoured the arrival of ETAs as demonstrated by their positive perceptions towards them.

The effect sizes eliminated those aspects that showed small differences between the two groups of Karen and highlighted their differences in the perception that they had an easier lifestyle with modern technologies as the predictors with a bigger effect size ( $r=0.56$ ) for the significant differences in perceptions of Karen working and those Karen not working with ETAs.

The following table shows the results from the Mann-Whitney U test for similarities and significant differences between Karen working with ETAs and those not working by gender.

**Table 6.13 Similarities and differences in perceptions based on Karen working and Karen not working with ETAs towards socio-cultural impacts by gender (figures in bold indicate significant differences)**

Variables	Karen working M VS F	Mean scores	Karen not working M VS F	Mean scores
Perceived socio-cultural impacts	Sig.	5=strongly agree	Sig.	5=strongly agree
I live life more easily and conveniently, with more modern facilities to comfort my new lifestyle influenced by ETAs in the area	.562	4.71:4.66	.428	3.54:3.71
I've become better known because of tourism activities owned by ETAs	.535	4.63:4.54	<b>&lt;.001</b>	3.54:4.57
I've abandoned traditional food and prefer to eat like outsiders	.069	3.88:4.14	.065	3.52:3.98
I do not feel as safe as before since more ETAs opened their businesses and work in my community	<b>.007</b>	3.33:2.70	.216	2.60:2.86
I do not feel welcome to go to tourism businesses owned by ETAs	.117	2.82:2.62	.104	2.82:3.08
I forgot traditional music, ceremonies and culture after the incoming of ETAs	.894	2.51:2.52	<b>.007</b>	2.50:1.80
Hosting ETAs creates cultural conflicts for me	.419	2.45:2.50	.113	2.72:2.41
I feel crowded and find it difficult to participate in traditional events because too many tourists have been brought into the area by ETAs	<b>&lt;.001</b>	1.78:2.34	.446	2.04:1.90

#### **6.4.3 Intra-tribal gender similarities in perceptions of the Karen working and Karen not working with ETAs**

The results showed that Karen males and females working with ETAs held similar perceptions in disagreeing with the issue of a sense of belonging (mean 2.82 and 2.62, respectively) and cultural conflicts (mean 2.45 and 2.50, respectively) while tending to agree with issues of abandoning traditional food and enjoying the modern facilities influenced by ETAs. Similar perceptions were also held by Karen males and females not working with ETAs.

#### **6.4.4 Intra-tribal gender differences in perceptions of the Karen working and Karen not working with ETAs**

Table 6.13 also shows only two significant differences in perceptions between Karen males and females working with ETAs. The females demonstrated less concern about safety issues than did the males. The males tended to disagree more with the crowding issue. The effect sizes showed significant differences in their perceptions by indicating the crowding issue as the largest differences ( $r=0.37$ ) between their perceptions.

On the other hand, the results from the group of Karen, not working with ETAs demonstrated that the males agreed more than the females regarding the loss of traditional ceremonies and

culture after the arrival of ETAs. While 29% of the females strongly agreed more than the males (7%) that they had become well recognised because of tourism activities owned by ETAs. The effect size highlights this issue as the predictor with the biggest significant differences ( $r=0.52$ ) in perceptions of Karen males and females not working with ETAs.

Having reviewed intra-tribal gender similarities and differences of the Karen working and not working with ETAs, the next section presents results from the Mann-Whitney U test and mean scores in terms of similarities and differences in perceptions between the same gender of the Karen working and Karen not working with ETAs regarding perceived socio-cultural impacts. See Appendix 8, Table 28 and 29 for the results in percentages.

**Table 6.14 Similarities and differences in perceptions between same gender of Karen working and Karen not working with ETAs regarding socio-cultural impacts (figures in bold indicate significant differences)**

Variables	Karen working M VS Karen not working M	Mean scores	Karen working F VS Karen not working F	Mean scores
Perceived socio-cultural impacts	Sig.	5=strongly agree	Sig.	5=strongly agree
I live life more easily, with more modern facilities to support my new lifestyle influenced by ETAs in the area	<b>&lt;.001</b>	4.71:3.54	<b>&lt;.001</b>	4.66:3.71
I've become better known because of tourism activities owned by ETAs	<b>&lt;.001</b>	4.63:3.54	.320	4.54:4.57
I've abandoned traditional food and prefer to eat like outsiders	.397	3.88:3.52	.678	4.14:3.98
I do not feel as safe as before since more ETAs opened their businesses and work in the community	<b>.003</b>	3.33:2.60	.420	2.70:2.86
I do not feel welcome in tourism business areas owned by ETAs	.839	2.82:2.82	<b>.005</b>	2.62:3.08
I forget traditional music, ceremonies and culture after the incoming of ETAs	.372	2.51:2.50	<b>&lt;.001</b>	2.52:1.80
Hosting ETAs creates cultural conflicts for me	.103	2.45:2.72	.938	2.50:2.41
I feel crowded and find it difficult to participate in traditional events because too many tourists have been brought into the area by ETAs	.103	1.78:2.04	<b>.005</b>	2.34:1.90

#### **6.4.5 Similarities in perceptions of the Karen with the same gender between two working environments**

Table 6.14 shows five similarities between Karen males working and those not working with ETAs in terms of socio-cultural impacts. Despite the differences in working environment, Karen males shared opinions by disagreeing with some of the impacts such as the sense of belonging, cultural conflicts, forgetting traditions and culture and crowding.

On the other hand, safety issues and cultural conflicts were the impacts perceived similarly by Karen females working and not working with ETAs, and they did not consider as serious the issues caused by ETAs while becoming well recognised was with what they most strongly agreed.

#### **6.4.6 Differences in perceptions of the Karen with the same gender between two working environments**

The results indicated that Karen males working with ETAs tended to agree more with the impacts from ETAs. For example, they perceived that they lived an easier life with modern lifestyle (mean 4.71 and 3.54, respectively) and they became better known because of tourism activities owned by ETAs (mean 4.63 and 3.54, respectively).

Regarding differences between females, females working with ETAs tended to be more concerned with the impacts from ETAs than did the females not working with ETAs except in regard to the issue of a sense of belonging.

Effect sizes identified the perception that they were better known ( $r=0.59$ ) as the predictor with significant differences in perceptions of Karen males working and those not working with ETAs. While living an easier life ( $r=0.61$ ) was the predictor with the largest effect size between Karen females working and not working with ETAs.

In conclusion, in terms of significant differences based on gender, more gender based differences were perceived between those working and those not working with ETAs than between those working in a similar environment.

To this end, the results from Table 6.14 suggest that experiences from different working environments can be a significant factor in forming perceptions and can be a cause of the differences in their perceptions. Table 6.15 below summarises the similarities and differences in perceptions between the two groups of Karen.

**Table 6.15 Similarities and differences in perceptions of socio-cultural impacts between Karen working and Karen not working with ETAs**

Variables	Karen working: Karen not working	Karen working M:F	Karen not working M:F	Karen working M:Karen not working M	Karen working F:Karen not working F
Perceived socio-cultural impacts					
I do not feel as safe as before since more ETAs opened their businesses and work in my community		<b>D 1a1</b>		<b>D 1a1</b>	
Hosting ETAs creates cultural conflicts in my community					
I've abandoned traditional food and prefer to eat like outsiders					
I feel crowded and find it difficult to participate in traditional events because of too many tourists have been brought into the area by ETAs					<b>D 1a2</b>
I do not feel welcome to go to tourism businesses owned by ETAs	<b>D 1b</b>	<b>D 1a2</b>			<b>D 1b2</b>
I forgot traditional music, ceremonies and culture after the incoming of ETAs	<b>D 1a</b>		<b>D 1b1</b>		<b>D 1a2</b>
I've become better known because of tourism activities owned by ETAs	<b>D 1a</b>		<b>D 1b2</b>	<b>D 1a1</b>	
I live life more easily and conveniently, with more modern facilities to comfort my new lifestyles influenced by ETAs in the area	<b>D 1a</b>			<b>D 1a1</b>	<b>D 1a2</b>

\*D indicates significant difference, 1a=Karen working agree more, 1b=Karen not working agree more, 1a1=Karen working male agrees more, 1a2=Karen working female agrees more, 1b1=Karen not working male agrees more, 1b2=Karen not working female agrees more

Having revealed similarities and differences in perceptions between Karen working and Karen not working with ETAs, the next section presents similarities and differences in perceptions of Hmong working and not working with ETAs.

## **6.5 Comparison between the Hmong working and Hmong not working with ETAs**

### **6.5.1 Similarities in perceptions regarding socio-cultural impacts of the Hmong working and not working with ETAs**

The Mann-Whitney U test revealed no similarities between Hmong working and Hmong not working with ETAs. Table 6.16 and Figure 6.4 below present the result of significant differences in their perceptions.



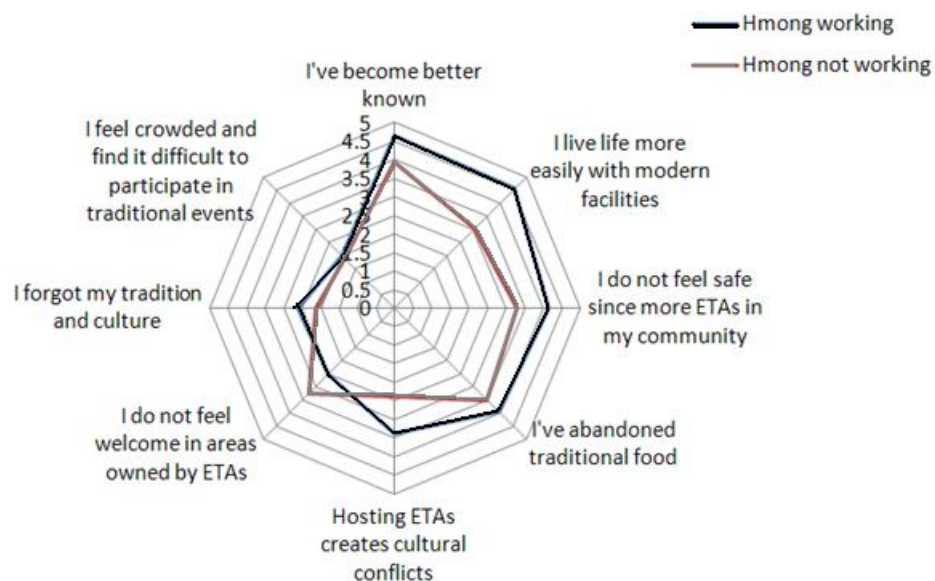
### 6.5.2 Differences in perceptions regarding socio-cultural impacts of the Hmong working and not working with ETAs

**Table 6.16 Differences in perceptions of socio-cultural impacts between Hmong working and Hmong not working with ETAs (figures in bold indicate significant differences)**

Variables	Mean Rank of agree and strongly agree			Mean Score 5=strongly agree	
	Hmong working	Hmong not working	Sig.	Hmong working	Hmong not working
I've become better known because of tourism activities owned by ETAs	127.29	76.72	<.001	4.64	3.94
I live life more easily and conveniently, with more modern facilities to comfort my new lifestyle influenced by ETAs in the area	137.98	65.60	<.001	4.56	3.04
I do not feel safe since more ETAs opened their businesses and work in my community	128.21	75.76	<.001	4.16	3.28
I've abandoned traditional food and prefer to eat like outsiders	113.33	91.24	.003	3.96	3.52
Hosting ETAs creates cultural conflicts for me	124.09	80.05	<.001	3.39	2.36
I do not feel welcome in tourism business areas owned by ETAs	82.70	123.09	<.001	2.54	3.26
I forget traditional music, ceremonies and culture after the incoming of ETAs	116.63	87.80	<.001	2.62	2.14
I feel crowded and find it difficult to participate in traditional events because too many tourists have been brought into the area by ETAs	111.62	93.01	.006	2.00	1.91

The results demonstrate that the two groups of Hmong perceived the impacts listed on Table 6.16 differently as demonstrated in Figure 6.4. See Appendix 8, Table 30 for the results in percentages.

**Figure 6.4 Differences in perceived socio-cultural impacts: comparison of means for Hmong working and Hmong not working with ETAs (5=strongly agree)**



### **Increased popularity of tribal people**

Both groups of Hmong agreed that they had become better known because of tourism activities owned by ETAs. However, the Mann-Whitney U test demonstrated differences in the extent of their agreement by revealing that Hmong working with ETAs selected strongly agree (76%) with the statement (mean 4.64) more than did those not working with ETAs (26%) (mean 3.94).

### **Higher standard of living and convenient lifestyle**

Hmong people working with ETAs agreed that their lives had become easier with modern facilities influenced by ETAs in the area (mean 4.56) while the other group of Hmong thought otherwise (mean 3.04).

### **Safety issues**

Safety issues were more a concern for 95% of Hmong working with ETAs while only 50% of the other group of Hmong shared the same concern. The mean scores were 4.16 and 3.28, respectively.

### **Change in tribal way of eating**

Although both those working and not working agreed that they had abandoned traditional food and preferred to eat like outsiders (mean 3.96 and 3.52, respectively), Hmong working with ETAs agreed more than the other group (27% and 15%, respectively) and the Mann Whitney U test identified differences in the extent of their agreement.

### **Cultural conflict**

Hmong working with ETAs agreed that hosting ETAs created cultural conflicts in their community (mean 3.39) while Hmong not working with ETAs thought otherwise (mean 2.36).

### **Loss of tribal tradition and culture**

Although the Mann-Whitney U test revealed differences in perceptions of the two groups of Hmong working and not working with ETAs (p-value <.001) according to the mean scores (mean 2.62 and 2.14, respectively), the majority of both groups disagreed with the statement about tribal people forgetting their tradition and culture after the incoming of ETAs.

### **Sense of belonging**

The perceptions of the two groups of Hmong towards the statement that local tribal people are not welcomed in the area where tourism businesses are owned by ETAs were different. A majority, 55% of Hmong working with ETAs disagreed and 6% strongly disagreed with the statement (mean 2.54) while 48% of the other group felt that they were not being welcomed to go near the tourism areas owned by ETAs (Mean 3.26).

### **Issue of crowding**

Although both groups disagreed with the crowding issue, yet a significant difference was found between the level of “strongly disagree” and “disagree.” Frequency results showed only 12% of Hmong people working with ETAs strongly disagreed and 86% disagreed with the statement while 37% of the other group strongly disagreed and 51% agreed. It is interesting that though they agreed on certain issues, it did not mean they had the same degree of perceptions towards issues, as identified by the Mann-Whitney U test.

Calculations of effect size eliminated those issues with small differences between Hmong working and not working with ETAs. It identified that the perception regarding living easier and more conveniently with modern technologies was the predictor with great significant differences ( $r=0.64$ ).

Having compared similarities and differences between the work groups within the Hmong ethnic group, the following tables show the results from the Mann-Whitney U test for similarities and differences between males and females within those working with ETAs, as well as between those who did not. Mean scores were also presented for a clearer understanding, however, the results in percentages can be found in Appendix 8 Table 19 and 24.

**Table 6.17 Similarities and differences in intra-tribal perceptions of socio-cultural impacts of Hmong working and Hmong not working with ETAs by gender (figures in bold indicate significant differences)**

Variables	Hmong working M VS F	Mean scores	Hmong not working M VS F	Mean scores
Perceived socio-cultural impacts	Sig.	5=strongly agree	Sig.	5=strongly agree
I've become better known because of tourism activities owned by ETAs	.354	4.64: 4.65	<b>.027</b>	3.71: 4.10
I live life more easily and conveniently, with more modern facilities to comfort my new lifestyle influenced by ETAs in the area	.080	4.67: 4.50	.691	3.10: 3.00
I do not feel as safe as before since more ETAs opened their businesses in my community	.698	4.06: 4.22	.070	3.07: 3.43
I've abandoned traditional food and prefer to eat like outsiders	.087	3.75: 4.07	.772	3.57: 3.48
Hosting ETAs creates cultural conflicts for me	.074	3.08: 3.56	.204	2.50: 2.26
I do not feel welcome in tourism business areas owned by ETAs	.254	2.64: 2.49	<b>&lt;.001</b>	2.81: 3.59
I forget traditional music, ceremonies and culture after the incoming of ETAs	.552	2.72: 2.56	.445	2.21: 2.09
I feel crowded and find it difficult to participate in traditional events because too many tourists have been brought into the area by ETAs	.967	2.00: 2.00	<b>.019</b>	2.14: 1.74

### **6.5.3 Intra-tribal gender similarities in perceptions of the Hmong working and not working with ETAs**

Both males and females from the Hmong tribe working with ETAs demonstrated similar perceptions in all socio-cultural issues listed in Table 6.17. The results showed that they agreed with most of the issues except for the issues of sense of belonging, forget tradition and culture, and crowding.

Male and female Hmong not working with ETAs had similar perceptions of most of the issues by disagreeing with issues of cultural conflicts and forgetting tradition and culture while agreeing with the other aspects.

### **6.5.4 Intra-tribal gender differences in perceptions of the Hmong working and not working with ETAs**

No significant difference was found between male and female Hmong working with ETAs. Nevertheless, the Mann Whitney U test indicated three significant differences between males and females not working with ETAs. The females in this group agreed more than did the men with the problem of sense of belonging, and becoming better known, while disagreeing more with the crowding issue (mean <2). In this case, the effect sizes showed slight significance in

the differences of their perceptions by indicating the issue of not being welcome as the largest predictor ( $r=0.37$ ).

Having revealed the results between males and females from the same working environment, the next table presents results of similarities and differences in perceptions of the same gender but from different working environment.

**Table 6.18 Similarities and differences in perceptions of socio-cultural impacts between the same gender of Hmong working and Hmong not working with ETAs (figures in bold indicate significant differences)**

Variables	Hmong working M: Hmong not working M	Mean scores	Hmong working F: Hmong not working F	Mean scores
Perceived socio-cultural impacts	Sig.	5=strongly agree	Sig.	5=strongly agree
I've become better known because of tourism activities owned by ETAs	<b>&lt;.001</b>	4.64:3.71	<b>&lt;.001</b>	4.64:4.10
I live life more easily and conveniently, with more modern facilities to comfort my new lifestyle influenced by ETAs in the area	<b>&lt;.001</b>	4.67:3.10	<b>&lt;.001</b>	4.67:3.00
I do not feel as safe as before since more ETAs opened their businesses my community	<b>&lt;.001</b>	4.06:3.07	<b>&lt;.001</b>	4.06:3.43
I've abandoned traditional food and prefer to eat like outsiders	.476	3.75:3.57	<b>.002</b>	3.75:3.48
Hosting ETAs creates cultural conflicts for me	<b>.040</b>	3.08:2.50	<b>&lt;.001</b>	3.08:2.26
I forget traditional music, ceremonies and culture after the incoming of ETAs	<b>.023</b>	2.72:2.21	<b>.001</b>	2.72:2.09
I do not feel welcome in tourism business areas owned by ETAs	.582	2.64:2.81	<b>&lt;.001</b>	2.64:3.59
I feel crowded and find it difficult to participate in traditional events because too many tourists have been brought into the area by ETAs	.861	2.00:2.14	<b>.001</b>	2.00:1.74

### 6.5.5 Similarities in perceptions of the Hmong with the same gender between the two working environments

Hmong males working with ETAs and those not working held three views in common regarding sense of belonging, the abandonment of traditional foods and crowding issues. The females from the different working groups demonstrated no similarities in their perceptions.

### 6.5.6 Differences in perceptions of the Hmong with the same gender of Hmong between the two working environments

The differences between males working and those not working with ETAs was that, males working with ETAs agreed more regarding impacts from safety issues, cultural conflicts, becoming better known, forgetting traditions and cultures, and easier lifestyle with modern

facilities. The effect sizes showed that the issue of living more easily held the greatest significance for differences of perceptions ( $r=0.63$ ).

The results showed that females working and those not working with ETAs, perceived differently all the aspects listed in Table 6.18. However, the results suggested that the females working with ETAs perceived more strongly all the impacts attributed to ETAs, both positively and negatively except in relation to a sense of belonging (not being welcome) where they were less concerned than the female group not working for ETAs. The effect sizes identified a huge difference in perceptions of not being welcome ( $r=0.531$ ), not feeling safe ( $r=0.532$ ), and easier lifestyle with modern technologies ( $r=0.66$ ) between the Hmong females working and those not working. However, an easier live held the greatest significant difference among all.

To sum up, in the case of Hmong, as shown in Table 6.19 below, it is clear that gender is not at all an important factor in distinct differences in perceptions of Hmong while the working environment played a more important role behind their differences.

**Table 6.19 Similarity and differences in perceptions of socio-cultural impacts of Hmong working and Hmong not working with ETAs**

Variables	Hmong working: Hmong not working	Hmong working M:F	Hmong not working M:F	Hmong working M:Hmong not working M	Hmong working F: Hmong not working F
Perceived socio-cultural impacts					
I do not feel welcome in tourism business areas owned by ETAs	<b>D 2b</b>		<b>D 2b2</b>		<b>D 2b2</b>
I do not feel safe since more ETAs opened their businesses in my community	<b>D 2a</b>			<b>D 2a1</b>	<b>D 2a2</b>
I've become better known because of tourism activities owned by ETAs	<b>D 2a</b>		<b>D 2b2</b>	<b>D 2a1</b>	<b>D 2a2</b>
Hosting ETAs creates cultural conflicts for me	<b>D 2a</b>			<b>D 2a1</b>	<b>D 2a2</b>
I've abandoned traditional food and prefer to eat like outsiders	<b>D 2a</b>				<b>D 2a2</b>
I forget traditional music, ceremonies and culture after the incoming of ETAs	<b>D 2a</b>			<b>D 2a1</b>	<b>D 2a2</b>
I live life more easily and conveniently, with more modern facilities to comfort my new lifestyles influenced by ETAs in the area	<b>D 2a</b>			<b>D 2a1</b>	<b>D 2a2</b>
I feel crowded and find it difficult to participate in traditional events because of too many tourists have been brought into the area by ETAs	<b>D 2a</b>		<b>D 2b1</b>		<b>D 2a2</b>

\***D** indicates significant difference, 2a=Hmong working agree more, 2b=Hmong not working agree more, 2a1=Hmong working male agree more, 2a2=Hmong working female agree more, 2b1=Hmong not working male agree more, 2b2=Hmong not working female agree more

In conclusion, Table 6.20 below summarised the similarities and differences in perceptions of socio-cultural impacts in terms of tribal ethnic, working environment and gender differences.

**Table 6.20 Perceived socio-cultural impacts summary**

Variables	Tribal ethnic		Work environment		Gender			
	K:H	Karen not working: Hmong not working	Karen working: Karen not working	Hmong working: Hmong not working	Karen M:F	Hmong M:F	Karen not working M:F	Hmong not working M:F
Perceived socio-cultural impacts								
I've become better known because of the tourism activities owned by ETAs			<b>D 1a</b>	<b>D 2a</b>			<b>D 1.2</b>	<b>D 2.2</b>
I live life more easily, with modern facilities which supports my new lifestyles which has been influenced by ETAs in the area		<b>D 1</b>	<b>D 1a</b>	<b>D 2a</b>				
I do not feel welcome in tourism business areas owned by ETAs		<b>D 1</b>	<b>D 1b</b>	<b>D 2b</b>	<b>D 1.2</b>			<b>D 2.2</b>
I do not feel as safe as before since more ETAs opened their businesses in my community	<b>D 2</b>	<b>D 2</b>		<b>D 2a</b>	<b>D 1.1</b>			
Hosting ETAs creates cultural conflicts for me	<b>D 2</b>			<b>D 2a</b>				
I forget traditional music, ceremonies and culture after the arrival of ETAs			<b>D 1a</b>	<b>D 2a</b>			<b>D 1.1</b>	
I feel crowded and find it difficult to participate in traditional events because of too many tourists which have been brought into the area by ETAs				<b>D 2a</b>				<b>D 2.1</b>
I've abandoned traditional food and prefer to eat like outsiders				<b>D 2a</b>				

\***D** indicates significant differences, 1=Karen agree more, 2=Hmong agree more, a=working with ETAs, b=not working with ETAs, 1.1=Karen male agree more, 1.2=Karen female agree more, 2.1=Hmong male agree more, 2.2=Hmong female agree more

## 6.6 Conclusion

Having answered Objective Four of the research by identifying similarities and differences in perceptions of people from different tribal ethnics towards perceived socio-cultural impacts to themselves, the discussion can be found in Chapter 9. However, the next chapter will present the results of Objective Five by revealing similarities and differences in perceptions of the Karen and Hmong towards changes they perceive in their community.

## Chapter 7 Main Findings of Social Changes

### **7.1 Introduction**

This is the last chapter of the results of the questionnaire and it considers the similarities and differences in perceptions of the Karen and Hmong respondents toward social changes they see in their community. As in previous chapters, some quotations derived from the focus groups and interviews undertaken during the first data collection will be included. The discussion of the results is presented in Chapter 9.

This chapter addresses Objective 5 of the research by presenting the similarities and differences in perceptions between the Karen and Hmong working with ETAs toward social changes they see in their community. It is followed by a comparison of the perceptions of the Karen and Hmong not working with ETAs. Then a comparison between the Karen working with ETAs versus those not working is presented, followed by a comparison of the two groups of Hmong. Calculation of effect size will be presented to indicate the size of their significant differences in perceptions. The findings of each perception will be presented in order of highest to lowest mean scores. When interpreting the scores, higher scores imply agreement while lower mean scores indicate disagreement.

### **7.2 Comparison between the Karen and Hmong working with ETAs**

The results of the similarities in perceptions regarding social changes perceived by the Karen and Hmong working with ETAs are presented first, followed by the differences. To be noted, the Mann-Whitney U test was employed to analyse the results. Additionally, a descriptive statistics frequency test and mean scores were also used to give a simpler and clearer picture of the result. See Appendix 8 Table 33 for the results in percentages.



### 7.2.1 Similarities in perceptions of the Karen and Hmong working with ETAs regarding social changes

**Table 7.1 Similarities in perceptions of the Karen and Hmong working with ETAs regarding social changes**

Variables	Mean Rank of agree and strongly agree			Mean Score 5=strongly agree	
	Karen	Hmong	Sig.	Karen	Hmong
Perceived social changes					
The community is more developed and has adapted to a higher standard of living due to the influence of ETAs and their lifestyles	102.52	101.50	.858	4.81	4.80
There are more tourism businesses in my community today than about 10 years ago	98.41	105.41	.262	4.71	4.77
There have been some changes in the way local tribal spend their money. They have become extravagant with their money	107.07	97.18	.161	4.63	4.53
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people dress and in their dress code	102.83	101.21	.827	4.34	4.22
Tribal people work less in agriculture and more with ETAs	108.21	96.09	.105	4.28	4.17
There are higher costs of living after arrival of ETAs	102.43	101.59	.914	3.73	3.80
Many tribal people have become more prosperous	104.59	99.54	.429	3.75	3.75
Social and traditional events have changed and become pseudo-events	94.61	109.04	.056	2.95	3.24
There has been a loss of local tribal language	100.62	103.31	.729	2.13	2.22

A comparison of perceptions towards social changes from the Karen and Hmong working with ETAs reveals similarities towards the changes they perceive in their community after the arrival of ETAs. Both tribes agreed that the social changes listed in Table 7.1 have occurred with the exception that they disagreed that their tribal languages have become lost. For example, they have very similar perceptions in regard to both finance and career opportunities such as increased prosperity together with higher costs of living, decreased demands for agriculture work, and an increased demand for jobs in tourism.

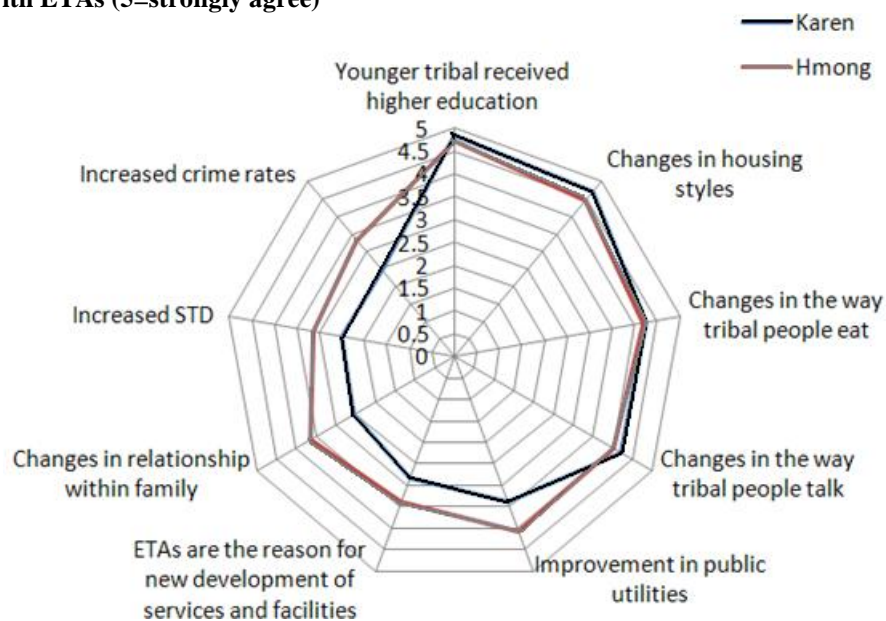
### 7.2.2 Differences in perceptions of the Karen and Hmong working with ETAs regarding social changes

**Table 7.2 Differences in perceptions of social changes of the Karen and Hmong working with ETAs (figures in bold indicate significant differences)**

Variables	Mean Rank of agree and strongly agree			Mean Score 5=strongly agree	
	Karen	Hmong	Sig.	Karen	Hmong
Perceived social changes					
Younger tribal people tend to get higher education due to the varieties of jobs with higher responsibilities offered by ETAs	110.15	94.25	<b>.007</b>	4.86	4.70
There have been some changes in housing style	114.79	89.82	<b>&lt;.000</b>	4.72	4.47
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people eat	109.74	94.63	<b>.043</b>	4.27	4.20
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people talk	109.92	94.46	<b>.031</b>	4.19	4.03
There are some improvement in public facilities after the arrival of ETAs	86.26	116.98	<b>&lt;.000</b>	3.39	4.08
ETAs are the reason for new development of services and facilities such as parks, roads, and clinics etc.	87.93	115.39	<b>&lt;.000</b>	2.84	3.38
There have been some changes in terms of family relationships	79.14	123.76	<b>&lt;.000</b>	2.53	3.62
There has been an increase in STDs in the community after the arrival of ETAs	79.98	122.96	<b>&lt;.000</b>	2.49	3.13
The crime rate has increased after the arrival of ETAs	72.32	130.25	<b>&lt;.000</b>	2.46	3.31

As shown in Table 7.2, the Mann-Whiney U test reveals some significant differences between the two tribes. The differences between mean score of their perceptions are presented in Figure 7.1.

**Figure 7.1 Differences in perceived social changes: comparison of means for the Karen and Hmong working with ETAs (5=strongly agree)**



## **Education level**

All the Karen respondents (n=99) strongly agreed that the younger generation tends to seek higher education due to the more responsible job positions offered by ETAs. About 70% of the Hmong also felt strongly about this. However, the Mann-Whitney U test has identified some differences in the figures (p-value=0.007). The mean scores show that both Karen (4.86) and Hmong (4.70) agreed that the arrival of ETAs had become a factor encouraging their children to enter higher education and think about their future. According to the interviewees, in the past, most tribal people especially those who already had their own land, would see no point in getting an education. The majority of them thought that they would end up doing what their parents were doing and continue with the same career paths. As a result, some of them only went to school to complete the basic level of education that was required by the government (six years of education). Most of them had no desire to receive any higher degree of education. Interestingly, Table 7.2 suggests the arrival of ETAs with their job offers has had an effect on the perceptions of many tribal people especially the young ones. During the preliminary interviews it became apparent that younger people see more opportunities to make a better living, and see that education can help them achieve their life goals. As a result of better jobs being offered by ETAs, more of the tribal younger generation gain higher educational qualifications than the old generation, by completing junior high and high school (see Chapter 5, Demographics Table). This issue was also mentioned by a number of participants in the first data collection:

*“...many younger ones (referring to the younger tribal people) tend to receive higher education when compared to the past... many of them (referring to the younger ones) wanting to go to school and receive some form of education...I think job opportunities given by ETAs might be the reason for it.”*

Mam (from Karen tribe)

*“...not everyone wants to stay here and do farming, I think having a certain level of education can take you somewhere....many boys and girls (referring to the younger tribal people) seem to fancy the work and other benefits offered by the ETAs”*

Pongsak (from Karen tribe)

## **Changes in way of living**

The results suggested that the Karen people working with ETAs tended to be more conscious of changes in their way of living than were the Hmong people. For example, although both groups

perceived some changes in the way tribal people eat, the figures show 61% of Karen people strongly agreed that local tribal people have changed their eating styles such as using a spoon and fork instead of bare hands, and washing their hands before eating. In addition, there have been changes in equipment for cooking, for example, using microwave ovens or gas stoves instead of their traditional tribal stove, and changes in the types of food. In contrast, only about 40% of Hmong strongly agreed with this statement. (See Appendix 8 Table 33 for percentage of response figures).

### **Improvement of public facilities**

Despite the Karen perception that ETAs were not the reason for the new establishment of public facilities, Table 7.2 shows the Karen people agreed that having ETAs run their businesses in the area helps improve the existing public facilities such as better quality of main road, better pathways, and wooden bridges replaced with concrete bridges, and transportation services, (mean 3.39) while the Hmong strongly believed this to be the case (mean 4.08) (See Appendix 8 Table 33 for percentages of the response figures). Therefore, this result from the questionnaire has confirmed what has been mentioned by the interviewees in the first stage of data collection.

*“Since the arrival of ETAs more businesses have opened in this neighbourhood, the surroundings and facilities in this area seem better developed especially the street is smoother”*

Nikom (from Hmong tribe)

*“I don’t see much of the change in personal matters but I see the changes and improvement in my community, we’ve got a better road, easy access to the clinic....”*

Pongsak (from Karen tribe)

### **Establishment of new public facilities and services**

51% of Hmong people agreed more than did the Karen (41%) that the establishment of public facilities such as parks, resting areas, tourism information centres, English road signs, sign posts, street lights, and clinics were due to the arrival of ETAs. Karen interviewees indicated that the reason for the newly developed services and facilities was the Thai government and therefore not related to tourism or ETAs.

### **Family relationships**

Of the total respondents working with ETAs from each tribe (99 Karen and 104 Hmong), 70% of the Hmong agreed that there have been some changes within their family relationships since their family members have been working for ETAs as they often leave home to go to work for ETAs. Due to their work commitment, they have often missed some of their traditional events and sometimes lost contact with their family members. On the contrary, only 30% of the Karen recognised changes in the relationships within their family. This issue was also raised during the interview:

*“Many times my family has asked me to go home for the Hmong New Year, but how can I go? I need to work. Working in a hotel is not like I can come and go whenever I want. It depends on the shift and most of the time I have to work during holidays.”*

Prasit (from Hmong tribe)

### **Increase in sexual transmitted diseases (STDs)**

In all, 47% of the Karen disagreed that there has been an increase in sexual transmitted diseases (STDs) in the community after the arrival of ETAs, while the Hmong were uncertain (59% neither agreed nor disagreed with the statement), (see Appendix 8 Table 33 for percentage of response figures).

### **Increased crime rate**

In all, 47% of the Karen and 62% of the Hmong neither agreed nor disagreed with the issue about an increase in the crime rate. Yet, the result shows 37% of Hmong agreed that the crime rate had increased after the arrival of ETAs while 36% of Karen respondents disagreed as only 16% of the Karen agreed that the crime rate had increased.

Calculating the effect size as a complement to the Mann Whitney U test indicated small to medium effect size for the significant differences in perceptions towards changes they see in their community held between the Karen and Hmong working with ETAs except for the issue of increased crime rates that held the largest effect size,  $r = 0.54$ .

Having compared perceptions between the two ethnic groups, the following table shows results from the Mann-Whitney test for similarities and significant differences between males and females within each ethnic group, as well as between the ethnic groups, where more details of

the results of the intra-tribal gender in percentages can be found in Appendix 8 Table 34 and 35, while Appendix 8 Table 36 and 37 present results of the inter-tribal gender.

**Table 7.3 Intra-tribal gender similarities and differences in perceived social changes of the Karen and Hmong working with ETAs (figures in bold indicate significant differences)**

Variables	Karen MVS F	Mean scores	Hmong MVS F	Mean scores
Perceived social changes	Sig.	5=strongly agree	Sig.	5=strongly agree
The community is more developed and has adapted to a higher standard of living due to the influence of ETAs and their lifestyles	.762	4.80:4.82	.057	4.69:4.85
There have been some changes in housing style	<b>.031</b>	4.82:4.62	<b>.013</b>	4.64:4.38
Younger tribal people received higher education due to the varieties of more responsible jobs offered by ETAs	<b>&lt;.001</b>	4.71:5.00	<b>&lt;.001</b>	4.47:4.82
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people spend their money. They have become extravagant with their money	.776	4.61:4.64	.402	4.47:4.56
There are more tourism businesses in my community than 10 years ago	<b>.001</b>	4.55:4.86	<b>&lt;.001</b>	4.53:4.90
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people talk	<b>.021</b>	4.24:4.14	.063	3.72:4.19
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people dress and in their dress code	<b>.004</b>	4.14:4.54	<b>.013</b>	4.00:4.34
Tribal people work less in agriculture and more with ETAs	.055	4.12:4.44	<b>.025</b>	3.83:4.35
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people eat	.153	4.04:4.50	<b>&lt;.001</b>	3.56:4.54
Many tribal people have become more prosperous	.875	3.82:3.68	.264	3.67:3.79
There are higher costs of living in the community	.413	3.63:3.82	.347	3.94:3.72
Having ETAs run their businesses in the area helps improve public facilities such as roads and transportation services, etc.	.243	3.22:3.56	.886	4.00:4.12
ETAs are the reason for new development of services and facilities such as parks, resting areas, and clinics, etc.	<b>&lt;.001</b>	3.24:2.44	.944	3.36:3.38
Social and traditional events have changed and become pseudo-events	.121	2.76:3.14	.053	3.53:3.09
The crime rate has increased after the arrival of ETAs	.177	2.53:2.40	.994	3.28:3.32
The STD rate has increased in the community	.205	2.37:2.62	.268	3.28:3.06
There have been some changes in terms of family relationships	<b>.049</b>	2.31:2.74	.066	3.31:3.79
There is a loss of tribal language from interacting with ETAs	.131	2.08:2.18	.549	2.03:2.32

### 7.2.3 Intra-tribal gender similarities in perceptions of the Karen and Hmong working with ETAs

Males and females from the Karen tribe demonstrate a number of similar perceptions, that the community has adapted to a higher standard of living influenced by ETAs (p-value=0.762) and changes in the way local tribal people spend their money (p-value=0.776) are the two changes that were most commonly perceived and agreed with (mean>4.5). Conversely, both male and female Karen disagreed that there have been increases in crime, increases in STDs, changes among family relationships or loss of their tribal language.

However, males and females Hmong demonstrated many similar perceptions agreeing with all the issues in Table 7.3 (mean >3), with increased crime rate being the most commonly held point of view (p-value=0.994). The results also suggest that community development and higher standards of living were the issues that both male and female Hmong agreed with the most (mean >4.5).

#### **7.2.4 Intra-tribal gender differences in perceptions of the Karen and Hmong working with ETAs**

The Karen females have different perceptions than the males in that they were in more agreement with most of the issues in Table 7.3 other than changes in the way tribal people talk, changes in housing styles and that ETAs are the reason for new development, for which Karen males were more in agreement with.

The results also show that Hmong females perceived the changes differently than Hmong males in that they agreed more with every issue in Table 7.3 except in regard to changes in housing styles, for which the males agreed with more. In terms of the differences between Hmong males and females, the results suggest that the change in the way tribal people eat is the issue that had been perceived most differently (p-value<0.001) males (5%) and females (37%) strongly agreed that eating styles have changed.

The effect sizes were calculated and indicated the largest differences ( $r = 0.4$ ) in perceptions of Karen males and females was that younger tribal people received higher education due to the varieties jobs requiring greater responsibility offered by ETAs. In the case of the Hmong, the effect size showed  $r = 0.49$  as the biggest differences between Hmong males and females regarding perception toward changes in the way Hmong people eat.

To sum up, more similarities than differences were found between the genders within each tribe. However, in regard to the differences in perception between genders, the results suggested that the females from both tribes were more conscious of social changes in their community following the arrival of ETAs than were the men.

**Table 7.4 Inter-tribal gender similarities and differences in perceived social changes of the Karen and Hmong working with ETAs (figures in bold indicate significant differences)**

Variables	KM: HM	Mean scores	KF: HF	Mean scores
Perceived social changes	Sig.	5=strongly agree	Sig.	5=strongly agree
The community is more developed and has adapted to a higher standard of living due to the influence of ETAs and their lifestyles	.762	4.80:4.69	.867	4.82:4.89
There have been some changes in housing style	.067	4.82:4.64	<b>.011</b>	4.62:4.38
Younger tribal people receive higher education due to the varieties of jobs with higher responsibilities offered by ETAs	<b>.024</b>	4.71:4.47	<b>.002</b>	5.00:4.82
There are more tourism businesses in my community than 10 years ago	.943	4.55:4.53	.540	4.86:4.90
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people spend their money. They have become extravagant with their money	.776	4.61:4.47	.402	4.64:4.56
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people dress and in their dress code	.178	4.14:4.00	.124	4.54:4.34
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people talk	<b>.005</b>	4.24:3.72	.802	4.14:4.19
Tribal people work less in agriculture and more with ETAs	.176	4.12:3.83	.103	4.44:4.35
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people eat	<b>.006</b>	4.04:3.56	.393	4.50:4.54
Many tribal people have become more prosperous	.170	3.82:3.67	.954	3.68:3.79
There are higher costs of living in the community	<b>.003</b>	3.22:4.00	<b>.003</b>	3.56:4.12
Public facilities have improved	<b>.003</b>	3.22:4.00	<b>.003</b>	3.56:4.12
ETAs are the reason for the development of services and facilities	.562	3.24:3.36	<b>&lt;.001</b>	2.44:3.38
Social and traditional events have changed and become pseudo-events	<b>.003</b>	2.76:3.53	.946	3.14:3.09
The crime rate has increased after the incoming of ETAs	<b>&lt;.000</b>	2.53:3.28	<b>&lt;.000</b>	2.40:3.32
The STD rate has increased in the community	<b>&lt;.000</b>	2.37:3.28	<b>&lt;.000</b>	2.62:3.06
There have been some changes in terms of family relationships	<b>.001</b>	2.31:3.31	<b>&lt;.000</b>	2.74:3.79
Interacting with ETAs leads to a loss of local tribal language	.538	2.08:2.03	.863	2.18:2.32

### **7.2.5 Inter-tribal gender similarities in perceptions of the Karen and Hmong working with ETAs**

Table 7.4 shows that males from both tribes are very aware of changes in housing styles and both groups have almost identical perceptions of the extent of the increases in tourism businesses.

The results suggest that Karen and Hmong females held some views in common in that they agreed that they have perceived most of the social changes such as more tourism businesses after the arrival of ETAs and changes in the way tribal people eat (mean >4.5) and talk (mean >4). The loss of tribal language is the only issue with which the females from both tribes disagreed (mean <2.5).



### **7.2.6 Inter-tribal gender differences in perceptions of the Karen and Hmong working with ETAs**

In terms of the differences in their degree of agreement, the males from the two tribes agreed on most of the changes except for the issues of changes in social and traditional events, increases in crime rate, increased STDs, and changes in family relationships, with which Karen males were less inclined to agree.

A change in relationships within families was the issue that Karen and Hmong males perceived most differently (mean 2.31 and 3.31, respectively). Overall, Hmong males tended to agree more with the changes except for the higher education the youth received and changes in the way tribal people talk and eat. The effect size showed most of their significant differences did not hold large effect sizes in their perceptions as they were all below the 0.5 criterion for a large effect.

Karen and Hmong females demonstrated different perceptions in relation to most of the changes summarised in Table 7.4 in that Hmong females tended to agree more with most of the changes listed except issues of higher education and changes in housing styles. The effect size indicated that most of their differences held medium effect sizes except the issue of increased crime rate that showed a fairly large effect size ( $r=0.68$ ).

Table 7.5 below summarises the similarities and differences between the working group of the Karen and Hmong as well as the comparison of perceptions between inter-tribal and intra-tribal gender.

**Table 7.5 Similarities and differences in perceptions of the Karen and Hmong working with ETAs towards social changes**

Variables	K:H	Karen M:F	Hmong M:F	KM:H M	KF:HF
Perceived social changes					
ETAs are the reason for establishment of services and facilities	<b>D2</b>	<b>D1</b>			<b>D2.2</b>
Public facilities have improved	<b>D2</b>			<b>D2.1</b>	<b>D2.2</b>
The community is more developed and has adapted to a higher standard of living due to the influence of ETAs and their lifestyles					
Many tribal people have become more prosperous					
Younger tribal people tend to get higher education due to the varieties of jobs with higher responsibilities offered by ETAs	<b>D1</b>	<b>D1.2</b>	<b>D2.2</b>	<b>D1.1</b>	<b>D1.2</b>
The crime rate has increased after the incoming of ETAs	<b>D2</b>			<b>D2.1</b>	<b>D2.2</b>
The STD rate has increased in the community	<b>D2</b>			<b>D2.1</b>	<b>D2.2</b>
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people dress in the community and in their dress code		<b>D1.2</b>	<b>D2.2</b>		
There have been some changes in housing style	<b>D1</b>	<b>D1.1</b>	<b>D2.1</b>		<b>D1.2</b>
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people eat	<b>D1</b>		<b>D2.2</b>	<b>D1.1</b>	
There are higher costs of living in the community					
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people spend their money					
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people talk	<b>D1</b>	<b>D1.1</b>		<b>D1.1</b>	
There is a loss of local tribal language					
There are more tourism businesses in my community after the arrival of ETAs		<b>D1.1</b>	<b>D2.2</b>		
Tribal people work less in agriculture and work with ETAs			<b>D2.2</b>		
There have been some changes in terms of family relationships	<b>D2</b>	<b>D1.2</b>		<b>D2.1</b>	<b>D2.2</b>
Social and traditional events have changed and become pseudo-events				<b>D2.1</b>	

\***D** indicates significant difference, 1=Karen agree more, 2=Hmong agree more, 1.1=Karen male agrees more, 1.2=Karen female agree more, 2.1=Hmong male agrees more, 2.2=Hmong female agrees more

Having reviewed the similarities and differences in perceptions towards social changes between the Karen and Hmong working with ETAs, the next section will present the results from those Karen and Hmong not working with ETAs.

### 7.3 Comparison between the Karen and Hmong not working with ETAs

#### 7.3.1 Similarities in perceptions of the Karen and Hmong not working with ETAs regarding social changes

**Table 7.6 Similarities in perceptions of the Karen and Hmong not working with ETAs regarding social changes**

Variables	Mean Rank of agree and strongly agree			Mean Score 5=strongly agree	
	Karen	Hmong	Sig.	Karen	Hmong
Perceived social changes					
There have been some changes in the way local tribal spend their money. They have become extravagant with their money	106.78	95.16	.113	4.41	4.38
There have been some changes in housing style	98.33	103.70	.463	4.29	4.45
There are more tourism businesses in my community than 10 years ago	98.78	103.24	.541	3.91	3.99
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people talk	105.19	96.76	.266	3.93	3.84
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people eat	107.75	94.18	.076	3.80	3.58
There have been some changes in terms of family relationships	93.58	108.49	.052	3.63	3.97
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people dress and in their dress code	96.97	105.07	.297	3.43	3.64
Tribal people work less in agriculture and more with ETAs	97.82	104.22	.419	3.22	3.37
There are higher costs of living	103.61	98.36	.498	3.25	3.13
ETAs are the reason for new development of services and facilities	100.74	101.26	.946	2.54	2.54
Social and traditional events have changed and become pseudo-events	97.10	104.94	.253	2.04	2.19
There is a loss of local tribal language	94.45	107.62	.083	1.78	2.15

The Mann-Whitney U test was employed to find out the significant differences in perceptions of the Karen and Hmong not working with ETAs. Table 7.6 reveals a marked similarity in the perceptions of the Karen and Hmong not working with ETAs towards social changes in the community. The similarities in their perceptions show that both tribes tended to agree with most of the changes. Changes in the way tribal people spend their money was the issue that both tribal agreed with the most while loss of tribal language was the issue with which they most disagreed. However, the Mann-Whitney U test also pointed some significant differences in their perceptions as presented in Table 7.7 and Figure 7.2 below.

### 7.3.2 Differences in perceptions of the Karen and Hmong not working with ETAs regarding social changes

**Table 7.7 Differences in perceptions of the Karen and Hmong not working with ETAs regarding social changes (figures in bold indicate significant differences)**

Variables	Mean Rank of agree and strongly agree			Mean Score 5=strongly agree	
	Karen	Hmong	Sig.	Karen	Hmong
Perceived social changes					
Younger tribal people tend to get higher education due to the varieties of jobs with higher responsibilities offered by ETAs	94.66	107.40	.039	4.68	4.81
The community is more developed and has adapted to a higher standard of living due to the influence of ETAs and their lifestyles	111.63	90.26	.006	3.91	3.49
Public facilities have improved	87.78	114.35	.001	3.12	3.70
Many tribal people have become more prosperous	93.37	108.70	.049	3.06	3.40
The crime rate has increased after the incoming of ETAs	88.29	113.84	.001	2.66	3.11
The STD rate has increased in the community	78.50	123.72	<.000	2.40	3.13

**Figure 7.2 Differences in perceived social changes: comparison of means for the Karen and Hmong not working with ETAs (5=strongly agree)**

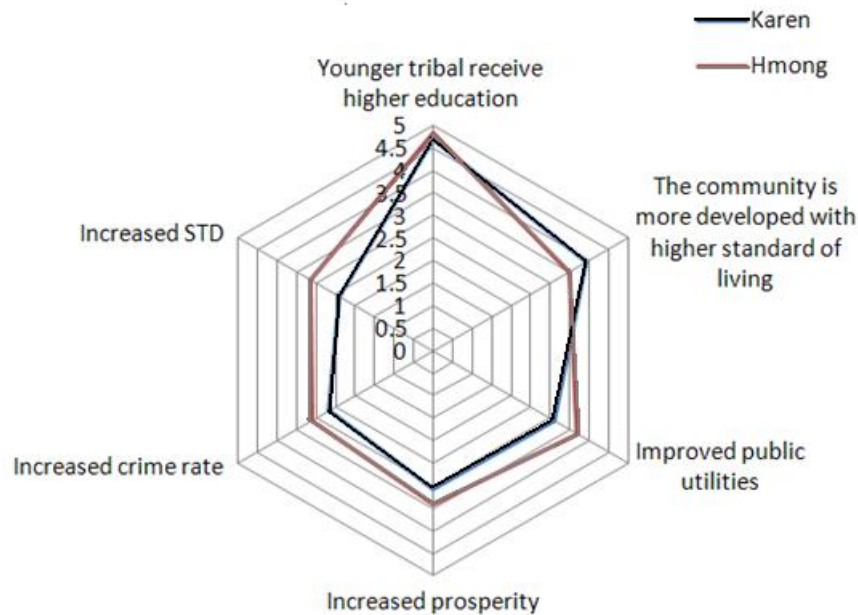


Table 7.7 and Figure 7.2 summarise the six significant differences in perceptions between the Karen and Hmong not working with ETAs regarding the social changes they see in their community.

#### **Education levels**

Table 7.7 shows similar mean scores between the two tribes agreeing with the higher education the young tribal people received. Yet, the Mann-Whitney U demonstrated significant differences (p-value=0.039) in levels of their agreement, as Hmong respondents tended to agree

more with this proposition than did the Karen. (See Appendix 8 Table 38 for percentage of responses).

### **Increased higher standard of living**

The Karen and Hmong not working with ETAs perceived that the community was more developed and that tribal people had a higher standard of living resulting from the influence of ETAs. The mean scores (Table 7.7 and Figure 7.2) suggest that both groups agreed that standards of living and development had increased in their community (mean >3), yet, the test showed a significant difference in their perceptions in terms of the levels of agreement. The frequency results showed 42% of the Karen agreed and 32% strongly agreed while 39% of the Hmong agreed and 19% strongly agreed.

### **Improvement of public facilities**

Of the total respondents not working with ETAs from each tribe (101 Karen and 100 Hmong), 64% of the Hmong agreed that having ETAs running their businesses in the area helped improve public facilities such as road and transportation services, etc. while only 36% of the Karen agreed with this.

### **Increased prosperity**

In all, 12% of Karen people strongly disagreed and only 4% strongly agreed with the statement about the increased prosperity of tribal people. On the contrary, only one Hmong strongly disagreed and 14% strongly agreed. Otherwise, the distributions of responses from Karen and Hmong towards this issue were similar.

### **Increased crime rate**

The Mann-Whitney U test identified significant differences (p-value=0.001) as 38% of Karen people disagreed and another 10% strongly disagreed with the statement about an increase in crime rate after the arrival of ETAs while 23% of Hmong people disagreed and only 3% strongly disagreed with the statement.

### Increases in STDs

An increase in STDs after the arrival of ETAs was another issue that Karen people (60%) disagreed with while only 23% of Hmong disagreed with the statement.

A calculation of effect size showed that their significant differences in perceptions were small to medium sizes, while increased STDs held the biggest difference ( $r=0.41$ ).

Having compared perceptions between the two ethnic groups not working with ETAs, the following tables show results from the Mann-Whitney test for similarities and significant differences in perceptions towards social changes between males and females within each ethnic group, as well as between the ethnic groups, where more details of the results of the intra-tribal gender in percentages can be found in Appendix 8 Table 39 and 40, while Appendix 8 Table 41 and 42 present results of the inter-tribal gender.

**Table 7.8 Intra-tribal gender similarities and differences in perceived social changes of the Karen and Hmong not working with ETAs (figures in bold indicate significant differences)**

Variables	Karen M:F	Mean scores	Hmong M:F	Mean scores
Perceived social changes	Sig.	5=Strongly agree	Sig.	5=Strongly agree
Younger tribal people received higher education due to the varieties of jobs with higher responsibilities offered by ETAs	.946	4.68:4.69	.992	4.81:4.81
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people spend their money	.579	4.34:4.47	.453	4.43:4.34
There have been some changes in housing style	.593	4.24:4.33	<b>.031</b>	4.57:4.36
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people dress and their dress code	.186	3.60:3.25	<b>&lt;.000</b>	4.19:3.24
The community is more developed and has adapted to a higher standard of living due to the influence of ETAs and their lifestyles	.253	3.98:3.84	.376	3.57:3.43
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people talk	.994	3.88:3.98	.823	3.79:3.88
There are more tourism businesses in my community than 10 years ago	.898	3.88:3.94	.953	4.00:3.98
There have been some changes in terms of family relationships	.133	3.82:3.45	.055	3.74:4.14
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people eat	<b>.036</b>	3.52:4.08	.337	3.48:3.66
Public facilities have improved	.520	3.22:3.02	.213	3.76:3.66
There are higher costs of living	.189	3.10:3.39	.306	3.26:3.03
Tribal people work less in agriculture and more with ETAs	.102	3.00:3.43	.737	3.40:3.34
Tribal people have become more prosperous	.125	2.84:3.27	.161	3.57:3.28
ETAs are the reason for newly developed of services and facilities	.189	2.68:2.41	.273	2.43:2.62
The crime rate has increased after the arrival of ETAs	.690	2.62:2.71	.354	3.02:3.17
The STD rate has increased in the community	<b>.047</b>	2.56:2.24	<b>.027</b>	2.93:3.28
Social and traditional events have changed and become pseudo-events	.667	2.12:1.96	.883	2.33:2.09
There is a loss of local tribal language	.108	2.00:1.57	.420	2.24:2.09

### **7.3.3 Intra-tribal gender similarities in perceptions of the Karen and Hmong not working with ETAs**

Few significant differences were found in perceptions between males and females from Karen and Hmong tribes. The results suggest that they have similar perceptions of the social changes in their community. That younger members of the tribe tended to get a higher education was the most obvious change that males and females from both tribes noticed.

Karen males and females agreed in terms of most of the changes that they perceived to have occurred after the arrival of ETAs. However, both groups were less inclined to agree that ETAs were the reason for new development (mean <3), or that their arrival has led to changes in social and traditional events (mean <2.5), loss of tribal language (mean <2), or increased crime rate (mean <3). Hmong males and females also demonstrated similar perceptions as did the Karen except for the issue of increased crime rate which they tended to agree with more than did the Karen (mean >3).

### **7.3.4 Intra-tribal gender differences in perceptions of the Karen and Hmong not working with ETAs**

Table 7.8 shows two significant differences between Karen males and females. Given their differences, the mean scores suggest that overall they think alike but due to the different levels of their agreement has caused significant differences in their perceptions. For example, Karen females agreed more than the males towards the changes in the way tribal people eat (mean 4.08) and disagreed more with the issue of increased STDs (mean 2.24).

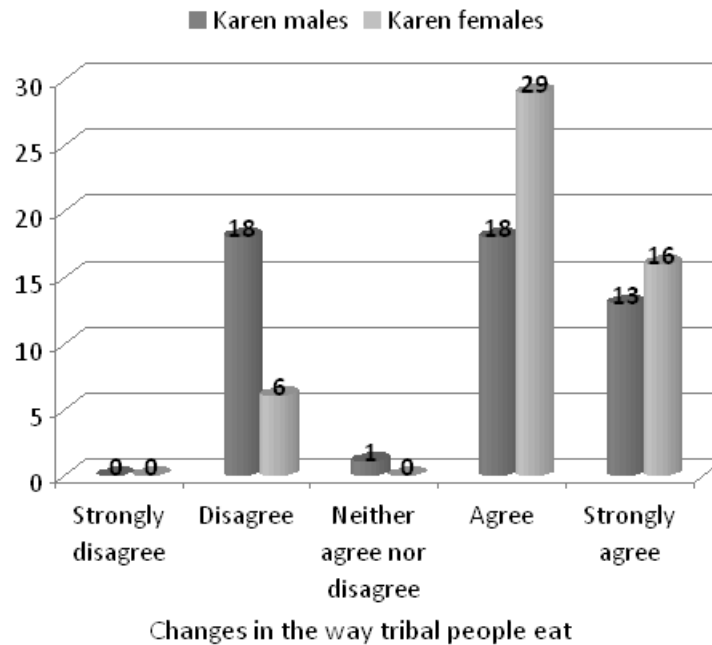
Only small to medium effect sizes were found for significant differences in perceptions of Karen males and females. However, the issue of change in tribal way of eating showed the largest effect size ( $r=0.28$ ) between the two.

In the case of the Hmong, the results revealed that males see more changes in terms of dress code and housing styles (mean 4.57) while the females agreed more with the increased STDs in their community (mean 3.28). The differences between Hmong males and females represented small to medium effect sizes. Changes in the way tribal people dress showed the largest effect size ( $r=0.39$ ) among all.

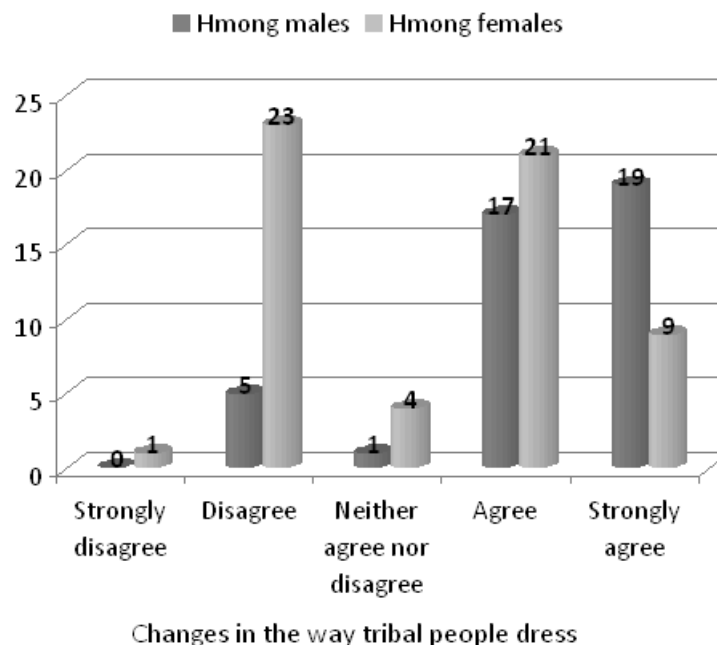
The figures below show the issues with highest significant differences in perceptions between genders within each ethnic group. The changes in the way tribal people eat held the highest significant difference between Karen males and females; 29, out of 51, of the Karen females agreed with the changes, while 18, out of 50, of the men shared the same view. The issue of

changes in the way tribal people dress held the highest significant difference between Hmong males and females, in which 23, out of 58, of the females disagreed with the change while only 5 out of 42 males held the same opinion.

**Figure 7.3 Differences in perceived changes in eating style between Karen males and females**



**Figure 7.4 Differences in perceived changes in dress style between Hmong males and females**



Having revealed similarities and differences between males and females within each tribe, the following section presents similarities and differences of the same gender between tribes.



**Table 7.9 Inter-tribal gender similarities and differences of the Karen and Hmong not working for ETAs in perceived social changes (figures in bold indicate significant differences)**

Variables	KM: HM	Mean scores	KF: HF	Mean scores
Perceived social changes	Sig.	5=Strongly agree	Sig.	5=Strongly agree
Younger tribal people get higher education due to the varieties of jobs with higher responsibilities offered by ETAs	.161	4.68:4.81	.136	4.69:4.81
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people spend their money	.702	4.34:4.43	.074	4.47:4.34
There have been some changes in housing styles	.197	4.24:4.57	.970	4.33:4.36
There are more tourism businesses in my community than 10 years ago	.667	3.88:4.00	.633	3.94:3.98
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people talk	.434	3.88:3.79	.419	3.98:3.88
The community is more developed and has adapted to a higher standard of living due to the influence of ETAs and their lifestyles	.126	3.98:3.57	<b>.025</b>	3.84:3.43
There have been some changes in terms of family relationships	.665	3.82:3.74	<b>.003</b>	3.45:4.14
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people eat	.735	3.52:3.48	<b>.022</b>	4.08:3.66
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people dress and in their dress code	<b>.035</b>	3.60:4.19	.925	3.25:3.24
Public facilities have improved	<b>.010</b>	3.22:3.76	<b>.015</b>	3.02:3.66
There are higher costs of living in the community	.469	3.10:3.26	.105	3.39:3.03
Tribal people work less in agriculture and more with ETAs	.114	3.00:3.40	.578	3.43:3.34
Many tribal people have become more prosperous	<b>.008</b>	2.84:3.57	.943	3.27:3.28
There are establishment of services and facilities	.229	2.68:2.43	.235	2.41:2.62
The crime rate has increased after the arrival of ETAs	<b>.042</b>	2.62:3.02	<b>.015</b>	2.71:3.17
The STD rate has increased	.117	2.56:2.93	<b>&lt;.000</b>	2.24:3.28
Social and traditional events have changed and become pseudo-events	.604	2.12:2.33	.237	1.96:2.09
There is a loss of local tribal language	.381	2.00:2.24	.088	1.57:2.09

### **7.3.5 Inter-tribal gender similarities in perceptions of the Karen and Hmong not working with ETAs**

Karen males and Hmong males perceived similar changes in their communities and agreed with most of the changes except in relation to the issues of the influence of ETAs on new developments, increased STDs (mean <3), changes in social and traditional events and loss of local language (mean <2.5) with which they disagreed.

The females from the two tribes also demonstrated similar perceptions by agreeing with most of the changes that have occurred in their community. Despite the changes they perceived, the results revealed they disagreed with the issues of newly establishment of services and facilities, reduced social and traditional events in their community and loss of local language.

### **7.3.6 Inter-tribal gender differences in perceptions of the Karen and Hmong not working with ETAs**

Table 7.9 shows only four significant differences in perceptions between Karen and Hmong males, i.e., changes in tribal dress, improvements in public facilities, tribal people have become richer and increased crime rates, changes which Hmong men were more in agreement with. The differences between the men represented small to medium effects as the effect sizes were below 0.3. That many tribal people have become more prosperous was the largest difference ( $r=0.27$ ) among all.

The results showed that Karen and Hmong females have different perceptions of a number of social changes. Hmong females noticed more changes in terms of improved public facilities, increased crime rates, increased STDs, and changes in family relationships. However, Karen females, agreed more with the changes in their community, higher standards of living, and in the ways tribal people eat. The largest differences between the females was regarding increased STDs with the effect size,  $r=0.62$ .

To sum up, the results from the Mann-Whitney U test suggest that gender does not play a major role in determining the differences in perceptions of Karen and Hmong not working with ETAs towards social changes. According to the results, despite the differences in gender and ethnic backgrounds, these two groups of hill tribe people not working with ETAs tended to see similar changes in their communities.

Table 7.10 below summarises the similarities and differences between the non working group of Karen and Hmong as well as the comparison of perceptions between inter-tribal and intra-tribal gender towards social changes.

**Table 7.10 Similarities and differences in perceptions of the Karen and Hmong not working with ETAs towards social changes**

Variables	K:H	Karen M:F	Hmong M:F	KM: HM	KF:HF
Perceived social changes					
ETAs are the reason for new establishment of services and facilities					
Public facilities have improved	<b>D2</b>			<b>D1.2</b>	<b>D2.2</b>
The community is more developed and has adapted to a higher standard of living due to the influence of ETAs and their lifestyles	<b>D1</b>				<b>D1.2</b>
Many tribal people have become more prosperous	<b>D2</b>			<b>D2.1</b>	
Younger tribal people get higher education due to the varieties of jobs with higher responsibilities offered by ETAs	<b>D2</b>				
The crime rate has increased after the arrival of ETAs	<b>D2</b>			<b>D2.1</b>	<b>D2.2</b>
The STD rate has increased in the community	<b>D2</b>	<b>Db1</b>	<b>Db2</b>		<b>D2.2</b>
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people dress in the community and in their dress code			<b>Db1</b>	<b>D2.1</b>	
There have been some changes in housing style			<b>Db1</b>		
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people eat		<b>Db2</b>			<b>D1.2</b>
There are higher costs of living in the community					
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people spend their money					
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people talk					
There has been a loss of local tribal language					
There are more tourism businesses in my community after the arrival of ETAs					
Tribal people work less in agriculture and more with ETAs					
There have been some changes in terms of family relationships					<b>D2.2</b>
Social and traditional events have changed and become pseudo-events					

\***D** indicates significant difference, 1=Karen agree more, 2=Hmong agree more, 1.1=Karen male agrees more, 1.2=Karen female agree more, 2.1=Hmong male agrees more, 2.2=Hmong female agrees more

#### **7.4 Comparison between the Karen working and Karen not working with ETAs**

This section presents the similarities and differences in perceptions of the Karen working and Karen not working with ETAs in terms of social changes they perceived as happening in their community after the arrival of ETAs. It starts with the similarities of their perceptions, and followed by their differences. The results from the Mann-Whitney U test and mean scores are presented. See Appendix 8 Table 43 for the results in percentages.

### 7.4.1 Similarities in perceptions of the Karen working and Karen not working with ETAs regarding social changes

**Table 7.11 Similarities in perceptions towards social changes between the Karen working with ETAs and the Karen not working with ETAs**

Variables	Mean Rank of agree and strongly agree			Mean Score 5=strongly agree	
	Karen working	Karen not working	Sig.	Karen working	Karen not working
There have been some changes in the way tribal people spend their money	103.68	97.38	.368	4.63	4.41
There have been some changes in the way tribal people talk	105.33	95.77	.204	4.19	3.93
The crime rate has increased after the arrival of ETAs	96.22	104.70	.270	2.46	2.66
The STD rate has increased in the community	103.89	97.18	.369	2.49	2.40
There has been a loss of local tribal language	106.74	94.38	.101	1.78	2.15

Only four common viewpoints were held between these two groups of Karen. The results suggest that current experience, surrounding society and working environment plays a greater role in influencing how Karen perceive changes than does their history and background.

The viewpoints they held in common were that they disagreed that there was an increased crime rate (mean <3), increased prevalence of STDs and a loss of local language (mean <2.5) after the arrival of ETAs.

Though they disagreed with the issue of the loss of their tribal language, changes in the way the tribe talks nowadays is noticeable, and both groups agreed that there were changes in the way local tribal people talk (mean >3.5) and the way their people spent their money (mean >4). These topics also emerged during the interviews undertaken prior to the survey as evidenced by the excerpts below.

*“I’ve noticed some changes in the way we talk now....sometimes we use some Thai slang and English,- that we heard from talking with them (ETAs), in our conversation.”*

Rongroj (from Karen tribe)

*“.....there are changes in how we talk from interacting with them (ETAs), but I see it as beneficial for me to improve my Thai language skills.”*

Tan (from Karen tribe)

*“Since I have become a resort manager here, yes I can earn more which is good, but I do have to spend more as well...not only spend on myself but I need to send money to buy stuff such as tractor, motorcycle, and colour TV, etc., for my family to live more conveniently; otherwise, our neighbours will gossip about us that we are not doing any better since I left”*

Rungroj (from Karen tribe)

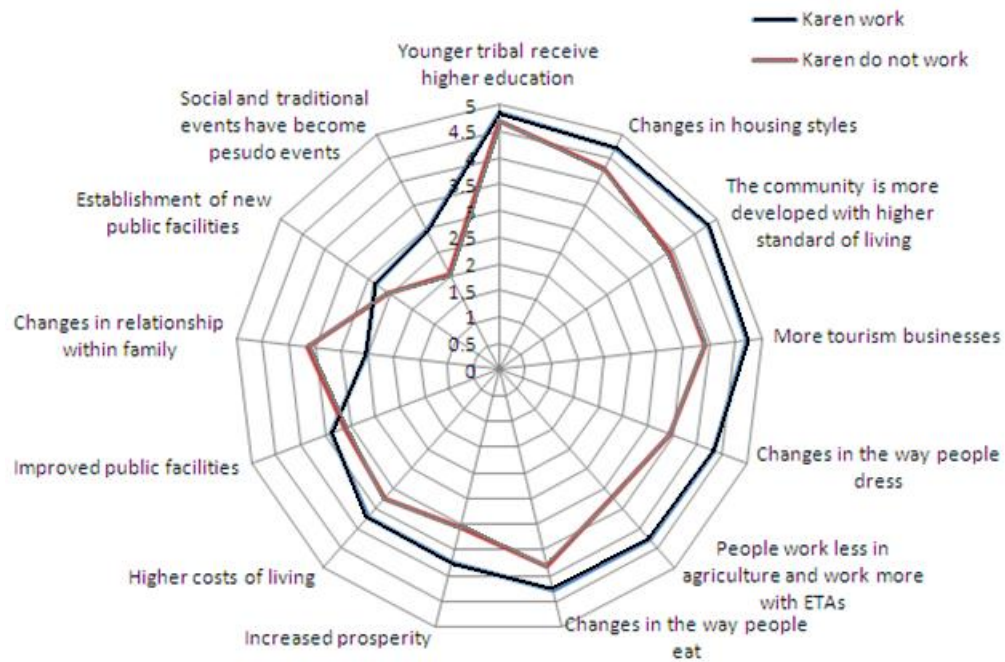
#### **7.4.2 Differences in perceptions of the Karen working and Karen not working with ETAs regarding social changes**

A number of significant differences in perceptions of the Karen working and Karen not working with ETAs generated by the Mann-Whitney U test are presented in Table 7.12 below. Moreover, Figure 7.5 shows mean scores of the results with significant differences in perceptions between the two groups of Karen. To be noted, the results in percentages can be found in Appendix 8 Table 43.

**Table 7.12 Differences in perceptions towards social changes between the Karen working with ETAs and Karen not working with ETAs (figures in bold indicate significant differences)**

Variables	Mean Rank of agree and strongly agree			Mean Score 5=strongly agree	
	Karen working	Karen not working	Sig.	Karen working	Karen not working
Perceived social changes					
Younger tribal people get higher education due to the varieties of jobs with higher responsibilities offered by ETAs	109.36	91.82	.003	4.86	4.68
There have been some changes in housing style	112.06	89.17	.001	4.72	4.29
The community is more developed and has adapted to a higher standard of living due to the influence of ETAs and their lifestyles	127.90	73.64	<.001	4.81	3.91
There are more tourism businesses in my community than 10 years ago	129.72	71.86	<.001	4.71	3.91
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people dress and their dress code	119.05	82.32	<.001	4.34	3.43
Tribal people work less in agriculture and more with ETAs	123.59	77.87	<.001	4.28	3.22
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people eat	115.65	85.65	<.001	4.27	3.80
Many tribal people have become more prosperous	117.43	83.91	<.001	3.75	3.06
There are higher costs of living in the community	112.67	88.57	.002	3.73	3.25
Public facilities have improved	108.51	92.65	.039	3.39	3.12
There have been some changes in terms of family relationships	78.64	121.93	<.001	2.53	3.63
There are newly establishment of services and facilities after the arrival of ETAs and their businesses	108.12	93.03	.044	2.84	2.54
Social and traditional events have changed and become pseudo-events	122.60	78.84	<.001	2.95	2.04

**Figure 7.5 Differences in perceived social changes: comparison of means for Karen working and not working with ETAs (5=strongly agree)**



**Changes in levels of education**

Both groups of Karen agreed that younger tribal people tended to seek and receive higher education due to the varieties of jobs offered by ETAs (mean >4). However, the frequencies figures show differences between agree and strongly agree. On the levels of agree, 14% of Karen people who work with ETAs agree and 85% strongly agree with the statement. On the other hand, 32% of Karen people who do not work with ETAs agreed with the statement while 69% strongly agreed.

**Changes in housing styles**

Both groups agreed regarding some changes in housing styles, but this issue tended to be more recognisable to the Karen who work with ETAs (72% strongly agreed) than the Karen who do not work with ETAs (52% strongly agreed).

**Increased higher standards of living**

Although the mean scores in Tables 7.11 and 7.12 indicated that both Karen groups agreed that due to the influence of ETAs, their community is more developed and has adapted to a higher standard of living. The frequency results revealed that 80% of Karen who work with ETAs strongly agreed that as a result of the arrival of ETAs, their community has become more developed and they have a higher standard of living while only 35% of the other group felt

strongly about this. The frequencies clearly show that the Karen who work with ETAs favour the arrival of ETAs more than those who did not have any direct contact with the ETAs.

### **More tourism businesses**

Although, both groups had noticed more tourism businesses opening in their community, the Karen who work with ETAs were more aware of this (mean 4.71) than were those who do not work with ETAs (mean 3.91).

### **Changes in tribal dress**

These two groups of Karen were significantly different in their perceptions about changes in the way tribal people dress in their community. About half of the Karen who work with ETAs agreed and another 45% of them strongly agreed that dress styles have changed, while 43% of Karen who do not work with ETAs disagreed.

### **Changes in demand of agriculture jobs**

A total of 50% of Karen people who work with ETAs strongly agreed and 38% agreed that after the arrival of ETAs, tribal people worked less in agriculture and more with ETAs while 35% of those who do not work with ETAs disagreed with the statement.

### **Changes in ways of eating**

Both groups agreed (mean >3) that they see some changes in the way tribal people eat. Yet the figures showed a difference in extent of their agreements. In all, 60% of Karen who work with ETAs strongly agreed, while only 30% of the other group felt strongly about it. On the other hand, almost half of the Karen who do not work with ETAs agreed while only 20% of those who work with ETAs agreed.

### **Increased prosperity**

Almost 80% of Karen people who work with ETAs noticed that tribal people have become richer, while only 45% of those who do not work with ETAs held the same view.

### **Higher costs of living**

Both groups agreed that there were higher costs of living after the arrival of ETAs, but this issue tended to be more recognisable to the Karen who work with ETAs (34% strongly agreed) whereas only 12% of the Karen who do not work with ETAs strongly agreed.

### **New establishment of public facilities and services**

Neither group of Karen considered that the presence of ETAs was the reason for the newly establishment of services and facilities. Yet, the Mann-Whitney U test indicated significant differences ( $p$ -value=0.044) in the levels of their disagreement in that Karen who do not work with ETAs tended to disagree more than those who work with ETAs (see Appendix 43 for percentages of the responses).

### **Improvement of public facilities and services**

Although neither group agreed that ETAs were the reason for the new developments in their community, yet they agreed that having ETAs run their businesses in the area helps improve public facilities. The Mann-Whitney U indicated the differences in the level of their agreement for which those who work with ETAs agreed more that this was the case.

### **Changes in family relationships**

Only 31% of Karen people who work with ETAs agreed that there have been some changes in terms of relationships within family, while 70% of Karen people who do not work with ETAs agreed with the statement.

### **Changes in social and traditional events**

A total of 87% of Karen people who do not work with ETAs disagreed that social and traditional events in their community have changed while 47% of the Karen who work with ETAs agreed that these have changed and have become more like a pseudo-events.

The effect sizes eliminated those aspects that showed small differences between the two groups of Karen and highlighted their differences in perceptions with the result that the item, more tourism businesses and activities in their community after the arrival of ETAs, had the largest effect size ( $r=0.54$ ) and the second largest effect size was regarding their perception that their community was more developed and has adapted to a higher standard of living ( $r=0.52$ ).

To this end, although both Karen have noticed changes in their ways of living influenced by ETAs, according to the interviews, they did not perceive these as negative changes.



Having reviewed similarities and differences in perceptions of the Karen who work with ETAs and those Karen who do not work with ETAs, the next section reviews the gender related differences among the Karen.

The following Table 7.13, shows the results from the Mann-Whitney test for significant differences in perceptions towards social changes between males and females within the two groups of Karen. See Appendix 8 Table 44 and 45 for the results in percentages.

**Table 7.13 Intra-tribal gender similarities and differences of the Karen working and the Karen not working for ETAs in perceived social changes (figures in bold indicate significant differences)**

Variables	Karen working M VS F	Mean scores	Karen not working M VS F	Mean scores
Perceived social changes	Sig.	5=strongly agree	Sig.	5=strongly agree
There have been some changes in housing styles	<b>.031</b>	4.82:4.62	.593	4.24:4.33
The community is more developed and has adapted to a higher standard of living due to the influence of ETAs and their lifestyles	.762	4.80:4.82	.253	3.98:3.84
Younger tribal people get higher education due to the varieties of jobs with higher responsibilities offered by ETAs	<b>&lt;.000</b>	4.71:5.00	.946	4.68:4.69
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people spend their money	.776	4.61:4.64	.579	4.34:4.47
There are more tourism businesses in my community than 10 years ago	<b>.001</b>	4.55:4.86	.898	3.88:3.94
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people talk	<b>.021</b>	4.24:4.14	.994	3.88:3.98
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people dress and in their dress code	<b>.004</b>	4.14:4.54	.186	3.60:3.25
Tribal people work less in agriculture and more with ETAs	.055	4.12:4.44	.102	3.00:3.43
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people eat	.153	4.04:4.50	<b>.036</b>	3.52:4.08
Many tribal people have become more prosperous	.875	3.82:3.68	.125	2.84:3.27
There are higher costs of living in the community	.413	3.63:3.82	.189	3.10:3.39
Public facilities have improved	.243	3.22:3.56	.520	3.22:3.02
ETAs are the reasons for newly establishment of services and facilities	<b>&lt;.000</b>	3.24:2.44	.189	2.68:2.41
Social and traditional events have changed and become pseudo-events	.121	2.76:3.14	.667	2.12:1.96
The crime rate has increased after the arrival of ETAs	.177	2.53:2.40	.690	2.62:2.71
The STD rate has increased in the community	.205	2.37:2.62	<b>.047</b>	2.56:2.24
There have been some changes in terms of family relationships	<b>.049</b>	2.31:2.74	.133	3.82:3.45
There has been a loss of local tribal language	.131	2.08:2.18	.108	2.00:1.57

#### **7.4.3 Intra-tribal gender similarities in perceptions of the Karen working and the Karen not working with ETAs**

Males and females from the Karen who work with ETAs demonstrated similar perceptions for more than half of the issues. That the community was more developed and has adapted to a higher standard of living which was influenced by ETAs and changes in housing style were the major changes widely perceived. The issues of the increased crime rate and STDs, and loss of tribal language are perceived similarly by both genders who disagreed that these changes have occurred.

Karen males and females who do not work with ETAs also had similar perceptions agreeing with most of the changes occurring after the arrival of ETAs except for issues of increased crime rate, change in social and traditional events and deterioration of tribal language.

#### **7.4.4 Intra-tribal gender differences in perceptions of the Karen working and the Karen not working with ETAs**

The results showed seven issues that Karen males and female who work with ETAs perceived differently. Karen females differed from Karen males by agreeing to a greater extent with all of the issues listed in Table 7.13 except the issues of new establishments from ETAs, changes in tribal language and changes in housing styles with which males were in more agreement.

The results showed only two significant differences between Karen males and females who do not work with ETAs. Karen females disagreed more with the issue of increases in STDs and tended to agree more than the males in respect to the way tribal people eat. The following table presents the similarities and differences in perceptions of the same gender of the Karen working and the Karen not working for ETAs in perceived social changes, percentages of the results are shown in Appendix 8 Table 44 and 45.

**Table 7.14: Similarities and differences in perceptions of the same gender of the Karen working and the Karen not working for ETAs in perceived social changes (figures in bold indicate significant differences)**

Variables	Karen working M VS Karen not working M	Mean scores	Karen working F VS Karen not working F	Mean scores
Perceived social changes	Sig.	5=strongly agree	Sig.	5=strongly agree
There have been some changes in housing styles	<b>.005</b>	4.82:4.24	.066	4.62:4.33
The community is more developed and has adapted to a higher standard of living due to the influence of ETAs and their lifestyles	<b>&lt;.001</b>	4.80:3.98	<b>&lt;.001</b>	4.82:3.84
Younger tribal people get higher education due to the varieties of jobs with higher responsibilities offered by ETAs	.712	4.71:4.68	<b>&lt;.001</b>	5.00:4.69
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people spend their money	.435	4.61:4.34	.624	4.64:4.47
There are more tourism businesses in my community than 10 years ago	<b>&lt;.001</b>	4.55:3.88	<b>&lt;.001</b>	4.86:3.94
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people talk	.085	4.24:3.88	.981	4.14:3.98
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people dress and in their dress code	.095	4.14:3.60	<b>&lt;.001</b>	4.54:3.25
Tribal people work less in agriculture and more with ETAs	<b>&lt;.001</b>	4.12:3.00	<b>&lt;.001</b>	4.44:3.43
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people eat	<b>.013</b>	4.04:3.52	<b>.001</b>	4.50:4.08
Many tribal people have become more prosperous	<b>&lt;.001</b>	3.82:2.84	<b>.007</b>	3.68:3.27
Public facilities have improved	.470	3.22:3.22	<b>.026</b>	3.56:3.02
There are newly establishment of services and facilities	<b>.004</b>	3.24:2.68	.884	2.44:2.41
Social and traditional events have changed and become pseudo-events	<b>.017</b>	2.76:2.12	<b>&lt;.001</b>	3.14:1.96
The crime rate has increased after the arrival of ETAs	.994	2.53:2.62	.132	2.40:2.71
The STD rate has increased in the community	.347	2.37:2.56	<b>.009</b>	2.62:2.24
There have been some changes in terms of family relationships	<b>&lt;.001</b>	2.31:3.82	<b>.014</b>	2.74:3.45
There has been a loss of local tribal language	.651	2.08:2.00	<b>.003</b>	2.18:1.57

#### **7.4.5 Similarities in perceptions of the Karen with the same gender between the two working environments**

Karen males who work and do not work with ETAs held some common views of social changes by agreeing with the higher education level younger members of the tribe receive, changes in the daily lifestyle behaviours such as use of language, eating and spending money. The males from different working environments had similar perceptions in terms of increased crime rates, increased STDs and loss of tribal language with which they disagreed.

Similarly, Karen females who work and do not work with ETAs had similar perceptions of a few issues agreeing with changes in the daily lives of tribal people and disagreeing with the new developments being attributed to the arrival of ETAs and increased crime rates.

#### **7.4.6 Differences in perceptions of the Karen with the same gender between the two working environments**

Table 7.14 shows differences in the perceptions of respondents of the same gender drawn from the different working groups, the Karen, working with ETAs tended to perceive more changes in society than those not working with ETAs. For example, both males and females working with ETAs strongly agreed more that there have been changes in the careers tribal people choose following the arrival of ETAs, and that tribal people work less in agriculture and work more with ETAs. However, the change in family relationships was the only issue that had been noticed and was of concern to both genders who do not work with ETAs.

In the case of Karen males working and Karen males not working, the calculation of effect size showed that changes in family relationships was the only issue that represented a large effect size ( $r=0.53$ ). On the other hand, more issues were revealed with greatly significant differences between the Karen females working and the Karen females not working with ETAs. The increased tourism businesses held the largest difference ( $r=0.74$ ), the community is more developed with a higher standard of living ( $r=0.62$ ) and tribal traditional events have become pseudo-events ( $r=0.59$ ) were the second and third issues that held large effect sizes between the Karen females.

In conclusion, this data suggests that gender does not seem to be an influencing factor behind the differences in their perceptions of changes in their community especially for those not working with ETAs. Conversely, different working environments did play an important role in determining their perceptions of change. Table 7.15 below summarises the similarities and differences in perceptions of the Karen working and Karen not working with ETAs in terms of social changes in their community.

**Table 7.15 Similarities and differences in perceptions of the Karen working and Karen not working with ETAs towards social changes**

Variables	Karen working: Karen not working	Karen working M:F	Karen not working M:F	Karen working M:Karen not working M	Karen working F:Karen not working F
Perceived social changes					
ETAs are the reason for newly establishment of service and facilities	<b>D1a</b>	<b>D1a1</b>		<b>D1a1</b>	
Public facilities have improved	<b>D1a</b>				<b>D1a2</b>
The community is more developed and has adapted to a higher standard of living due to the influence of ETAs and their lifestyles	<b>D1a</b>			<b>D1a1</b>	<b>D1a2</b>
Many tribal people have become more prosperous	<b>D1a</b>			<b>D1a1</b>	<b>D1a2</b>
Younger tribal people get higher education due to the varieties of jobs with higher responsibilities offered by ETAs	<b>D1a</b>	<b>D1a2</b>			<b>D1a2</b>
There are more tourism businesses in my community after the arrival of ETAs	<b>D1a</b>	<b>D1a2</b>		<b>D1a1</b>	<b>D1a2</b>
Tribal people work less in agriculture and more with ETAs	<b>D1a</b>			<b>D1a1</b>	<b>D1a2</b>
Social and traditional events have changed and become pseudo-events	<b>D1a</b>			<b>D1a1</b>	<b>D1a2</b>
There have been some changes in terms of family relationships	<b>D1b</b>	<b>D1a2</b>		<b>D1b1</b>	<b>D1b2</b>
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people dress and their dress code	<b>D1a</b>	<b>D1a2</b>			<b>D1a2</b>
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people eat	<b>D1a</b>	<b>D1a2</b>	<b>D1b2</b>		
There have been some changes in housing style	<b>D1a</b>	<b>D1a1</b>		<b>D1a1</b>	<b>D1a2</b>
There are higher costs of living in the community	<b>D1a</b>			<b>D1a1</b>	<b>D1a2</b>
There has been a loss of local tribal language					<b>D1a2</b>
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people talk		<b>D1a1</b>			
The STD rate has increased in the community			<b>D1b1</b>		<b>D1a2</b>
The crime rate has increased after the arrival of ETAs					
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people spend their money					

\***D** indicates significant difference, 1=Karen, 1a=Karen working agree more, 1b=Karen not working agree more, 1a1=Karen working males agree more, 1a2=Karen working females agree more, 1b1=Karen not working males agree more, 1b2=Karen not working females agree more

To this end, this section has presented similarities and differences in perceptions of the Karen working with ETAs and those Karen not working with ETAs, as well as the similarities and differences between different working environments of the same genders and different genders. The next section will identify similarities and differences in perceptions of the two groups of Hmong working and not working with ETAs towards social changes they perceive in their community.

## 7.5 Comparison between the Hmong working and Hmong not working

**Table 7.16 Similarities in perceptions of social changes between the Hmong working and Hmong not working with ETAs**

Variables	Mean Rank of agree and strongly agree			Mean Score 5=strongly agree	
	Hmong working	Hmong not working	Sig.	Hmong working	Hmong not working
Perceived social changes					
Younger tribal people get higher education due to the varieties of jobs with higher responsibilities offered by ETAs	97.10	108.12	.074	4.70	4.81
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people spend their money	108.09	96.68	.117	4.53	4.38
There have been some changes in housing style	100.41	104.68	.557	4.47	4.45
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people talk	105.58	99.30	.381	4.03	3.84
There have been some changes in terms of family relationships	95.83	109.44	.082	3.62	3.97
The crime rate has increased after the arrival of ETAs	109.38	95.34	.064	3.31	3.11
The STD rate has increased in the community	104.54	100.38	.584	3.13	3.13
There has been a loss of local tribal language	103.81	101.14	.733	2.22	2.15

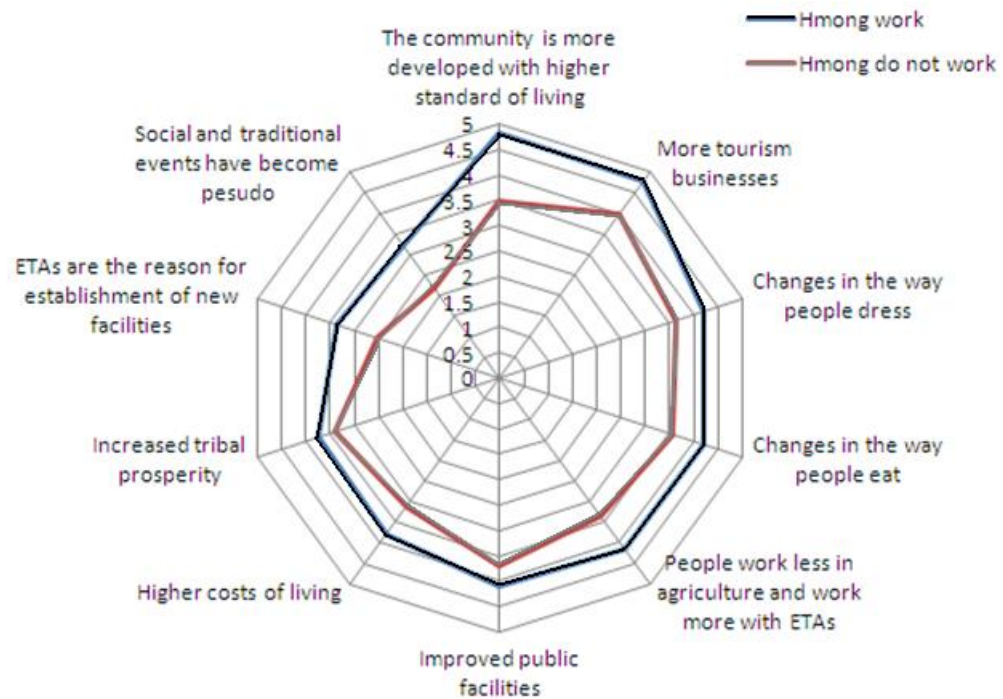
### 7.5.1 Similarities in perceptions of the Hmong working and not working with ETAs regarding social changes

A comparison of the two samples show similarities in perceptions in that both groups agreed with all the changes in their community except the issue of loss of local language with which they disagreed. The increase in the higher educational attainment of younger tribal members was the change that both groups of Hmong noticed most. However, the results in percentages of this group can be found in Appendix 8 Table 46.

**Table 7.17 Differences in perceptions towards social changes between the Hmong working with ETAs and Hmong not working with ETAs**

Variables	Mean Rank of agree and strongly agree			Mean Score 5=strongly agree	
	Hmong working	Hmong not working	Sig.	Hmong working	Hmong not working
Perceived social changes					
The community is more developed and has adapted to a higher standard of living	137.14	66.47	<.001	4.80	3.49
There are more tourism businesses in my community after the arrival of ETAs	132.78	71.00	<.001	4.77	3.99
There have been some changes in the way tribal people dress and in their dress code	116.30	88.15	<.001	4.22	3.64
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people eat	119.62	84.70	<.001	4.20	3.58
Tribal people work less in agriculture and more with ETAs	122.57	81.62	<.001	4.17	3.37
Public facilities have improved	116.04	88.42	<.001	4.08	3.70
There are higher costs of living in the community	118.17	86.20	<.001	3.80	3.13
Many tribal people have become more prosperous	110.76	93.91	.024	3.75	3.40
ETAs are the reason for newly establishment of services and facilities	123.84	80.31	<.001	3.38	2.54
Social and traditional events have changed and become pseudo-events	126.67	77.36	<.001	3.24	2.19

**Figure 7.6 Differences in perceived social changes: comparison of means for Hmong working and Hmong not working with ETAs (5=strongly agree)**



**7.5.2 Differences in perceptions of the Hmong working and not working with ETAs regarding social changes**

Table 7.17 and Figure 7.6 summarise the differences between Hmong respondents working with ETAs and those not working. The following are the issues that the two groups of Hmong perceived differently.

**Increased standard of living**

Every respondent of the Hmong working for ETAs perceived that the community was more developed and has adapted to a higher standard of living which was influenced by ETAs and their lifestyles, while only 58% of the Hmong not working for ETAs shared this view.

**Increased tourism businesses**

Again, both groups of Hmong agreed and perceived more tourism businesses in their community after the arrival of ETAs but the Mann Whitney U test showed significant differences in terms of the extent of their agreement. All Hmong working with ETAs perceived an increased number of tourism businesses (22% agreed and 81% strongly agreed) while only 80% of the Hmong not working with ETAs shared the same opinion (59% agreed and 21% strongly agreed).

### **Changes in demand of agriculture jobs**

Only 10% of Hmong working with ETAs disagreed that they perceived a decline in the demand for agriculture jobs while about 30% of the Hmong not working with ETAs disagreed and 16% neither agreed nor disagreed.

### **Changes in tribal dress**

A majority, 91% of Hmong working with ETAs, have noticed some changes in the way tribal people dress in their community while only 66% of Hmong not working with ETAs agreed that some changes had occurred.

### **Changes in their way of eating**

A majority, 93% of Hmong who work with ETAs agreed more than those who did not (66%) with regard to changes in their way of eating.

### **New establishment of public services and facilities**

Hmong people who work with ETAs believed that ETAs were the reason for new establishment of services and facilities (mean 3.38), while the other group was less certain of these developments (mean 2.54).

### **Improved public facilities**

Both groups perceived that public facilities had improved. Again, Mann Whitney U test identified the differences in their level of perceptions of their agreement, which again, the Hmong who work with ETAs tended to agree more with the issue (mean 4.08) than those who did not (mean 3.7).

### **Higher costs of living**

The Hmong working with ETAs agreed more than the Hmong not working with ETAs with the issue of increased costs of living (mean 3.80 and 3.13, respectively). The result of perceived higher costs of living was also revealed during the interviews.



*“...many products are more expensive now; before, one kilogram of vegetables cost no more than 5 baht, and now the price has gone up almost double. So, I have to increase the price of food I sell as well otherwise how can I survive?”*

Pa-Chong (from Hmong tribe)

*“Now I need to spend more to buy something that I used to get for a cheaper price.”*

Sae-Ya (from Hmong tribe)

### **Increased prosperity**

Both groups agreed that people have become richer (mean >3). However, the Hmong working with ETAs agreed more with this change (68%) than those not working with ETAs (41%).

### **Changes in social and traditional events**

In all, 82% of Hmong not working with ETAs disagreed that their social and traditional events had changed and had become like pseudo-events while those working with ETAs, 56% agreed and 6% strongly agreed that their traditional events had changed and had become more like pseudo events.

To this end, frequency analysis suggested that both groups of Hmong had noticed and agreed with many of the perceived changes, but the Mann-Whitney U test indicated significant differences in the level of their agreement making their perceptions different in terms of the level of changes they perceived. It is noteworthy that some of the results here, e.g., social and traditional events have become pseudo-events, similar to the comparison of results between the two Karen groups. The results suggest people who work with ETAs tended to have similar opinions than those who did not.

Effect sizes identified the perception that their community was more developed with a higher standard of living ( $r=0.65$ ) as the predictor with greatest significant differences in perceptions of the Hmong who work and Hmong who do not work with ETAs. Moreover, increased tourism businesses after the arrival of ETAs ( $r=0.58$ ) was the second largest predictor between them.

Having identified the most significant differences by the Mann-Whitney U test, the following table shows results from the Mann-Whitney test for significant differences in perceptions towards social changes between males and females within the Hmong group, as well as across working groups, where the frequencies results can be found in Appendix 8 Table 47 and 48.

**Table 7.18 Gender based similarities and differences in perceived social changes of the Hmong working and Hmong not working for ETAs (figures in bold indicate significant differences)**

Variables	Hmong working M:F	Mean scores	Hmong not working M:F	Mean scores
Perceived social changes	Sig.	5=strongly agree	Sig.	5=strongly agree
There have been some changes in housing style	<b>.013</b>	4.64:4.38	<b>.031</b>	4.57:4.36
The community is more developed and has adapted to a higher standard of living due to the influence of ETAs and their lifestyles	.057	4.69:4.85	.376	3.57:3.43
There are more tourism businesses in my community after the arrival of ETAs	<b>&lt;.001</b>	4.53:4.90	.953	4.00:3.98
Younger tribal people tend to get higher education due to the varieties of jobs with higher responsibilities offered by ETAs	<b>&lt;.001</b>	4.47:4.82	.992	4.81:4.81
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people spend their money	.402	4.47:4.56	.453	4.43:4.34
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people dress and their dress code	<b>.013</b>	4.00:4.34	<b>&lt;.001</b>	4.19:3.24
Public facilities have improved	.886	4.00:4.12	.213	3.76:3.66
There are higher costs of living in the community	.347	3.94:3.72	.306	3.26:3.03
Tribal people work less in agriculture and more with ETAs	<b>.025</b>	3.83:4.35	.737	3.40:3.34
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people talk	.063	3.72:4.19	.823	3.79:3.88
Many tribal people have become more prosperous	.264	3.67:3.79	.161	3.57:3.28
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people eat	<b>&lt;.001</b>	3.56:4.54	.337	3.48:3.66
There have been some changes in terms of family relationships	.066	3.31:3.79	.055	3.74:4.14
Social and traditional events have changed and become pseudo-events	.053	3.53:3.09	.883	2.33:2.09
ETAs are the reason for newly establishment of services and facilities	.944	3.36:3.38	.273	2.43:2.62
The crime rate has increased after the incoming of ETAs	.994	3.28:3.32	.354	3.02:3.17
The STD rate has increased in the community	.268	3.28:3.06	<b>.027</b>	2.93:3.28
There has been a loss of local tribal language	.549	2.03:2.32	.420	2.24:2.09

### **7.5.3 Intra-tribal gender similarities in perceptions of the Hmong working and not working with ETAs**

Both Hmong males and females had similar perceptions of all the issues listed in Table 7.18 except in regard to the loss of local language with which they both disagreed. The results also suggested that the issue of the community now having a higher standard of living was the item that both Hmong males and females who work with ETAs agreed with the most (mean >4.5). Hmong males and females who do not work with ETAs demonstrated similar perceptions by agreeing with most of the changes except for the newly establishment services and facilities resulting from the arrival of ETAs, changes in social and traditional events and loss of tribal language. The most obvious and agreeable change they perceived was that the younger tribal members received a higher level of education (mean >4.5).

#### 7.5.4 Intra-tribal gender differences in perceptions of the Hmong working and not working with ETAs

In terms of those who work with ETAs, the mean scores revealed that Hmong females agreed more with every issue in Table 7.18 than did Hmong men, except the changes in housing style. In terms of the differences between male and female Hmong, the results suggested that the changes in the way tribal people eat was the issue that was perceived most differently, although a few males (5%) strongly agreed with the change compared with one third (37%) of the females.

Hmong males and females who do not work with ETAs perceived only three issues of changes in their community differently. The Hmong females showed more concern than the males on the issue of increased STDs, whereas the males were more concerned with changes in tribal dress and housing styles.

**Table 7.19 Similarities and differences of the same gender between the Hmong working and the Hmong not working for ETAs in perceived social changes (figures in bold indicate significant differences)**

Variables	Hmong working M VS Hmong not working M	Mean scores	Hmong working F VS Hmong not working F	Mean scores
Perceived social changes	Sig.	5=strongly agree	Sig.	5=strongly agree
There have been some changes in housing styles	.812	4.64:4.57	.796	4.38:4.36
The community is more developed and has adapted to a higher standard of living due to the influence of ETAs and their lifestyles	<b>&lt;.001</b>	4.69:3.57	<b>&lt;.001</b>	4.85:3.43
There are more tourism businesses in the community than 10 years ago	<b>.001</b>	4.53:4.00	<b>&lt;.001</b>	4.90:3.98
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people spend their money	.932	4.47:4.43	.054	4.56:4.34
Younger tribal get higher education due to the varieties o jobs with more responsibilities offered by ETAs	<b>.002</b>	4.47:4.81	.849	4.82:4.81
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people dress and in their dress code	.210	4.00:4.19	<b>&lt;.001</b>	4.34:3.24
Public facilities have improved	.174	4.00:3.76	<b>&lt;.001</b>	4.00:3.66
There are higher costs of living in the community	<b>.018</b>	3.94:3.26	<b>.001</b>	3.94:3.03
Tribal people work less in agriculture and more with ETAs	.080	3.83:3.40	<b>&lt;.001</b>	4.35:3.34
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people talk	.747	3.72:3.79	.176	4.19:3.88
Many tribal people have become more prosperous	.949	3.67:3.57	<b>.002</b>	3.79:3.28
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people eat	.699	3.56:3.48	<b>&lt;.001</b>	4.54:3.66
Social and traditional events have changed and become pseudo-events	<b>&lt;.001</b>	3.53:2.33	<b>&lt;.001</b>	3.09:2.09
ETAs are the reason for newly establishment of services and facilities	<b>.001</b>	3.36:2.43	<b>&lt;.001</b>	3.36:2.62
There have been some changes in terms of family relationships	.172	3.31:3.74	.154	3.79:4.14
The crime rate has increased after the arrival of ETAs	.119	3.28:3.02	.361	3.32:3.17
The STD rate has increased in the community	<b>.045</b>	3.28:2.93	.288	3.06:3.28
There has been a loss of local tribal language	.577	2.03:2.24	.377	2.03:2.09

### **7.5.5 Similarities in perceptions of the Hmong with same gender between the two working environments**

The Hmong males working and not working with ETAs held a number of common viewpoints towards changes in their community after the arrival of ETAs. These included perceived changes in daily life, including tribal language, tribal dress, eating customs and particularly in relation to the ways in which money is spent (mean 4.47 and 4.43, respectively). Overall, they agreed (mean >3) with all the changes listed in Table 6.15, except in regard to the loss of tribal language from hosting ETAs (mean <2.5).

As with the males, Hmong females who work and do not work with ETAs held comparable opinions of the social changes in their community. They also agreed with all the issues listed in Table 7.19 except the loss of tribal language. The younger tribal members receiving higher education was the most obvious change in the eyes of the Hmong females who both work and do not work with ETAs (mean 4.82 and 4.81).

### **7.5.6 Differences in perceptions of the Hmong with same gender between the two working environments**

Data in Table 7.19 demonstrate that Hmong males who work with ETAs became more aware of the changes in their community than the males who do not work with ETAs, for example, they noticed more tourism businesses in their community, saw changes in terms of the social and traditional events and recognised some developments in their community and the increased standard of living. However, the change in the higher education level the younger members received was recognised more by those who do not work with ETAs. The effect sizes represented medium effects for the significant differences between Hmong males who work and who do not work with ETAs with the biggest difference related to their perception towards the community being more developed with a higher standard of living ( $r=0.47$ ).

The results indicated that it was the Hmong females who work with ETAs who noticed and agreed more with changes in their community both positive and negative such as the prosperity of tribal people, development of the community to achieve a higher standard of living, improved public facilities, and increased higher education. The negative changes they perceived were: the change in their career pattern, such as decline in agriculture work, changes in social and traditional events, higher costs of living, and changes in their daily lives such as the way they dressed and ate. The biggest difference in their perceptions was the issue about their community being more developed with a higher standard of living with an effect size of  $r=0.76$ . Increased tourism businesses in the community was the issue with the second biggest difference ( $r=0.69$ ).

In conclusion, the results suggested that it is the Hmong females who work and do not work with ETAs that showed significant differences in their perceptions towards changes in their community. Hence, the results from Mann-Whitney U test indicated that again, gender did not play a particularly important role in determining the differences in perceptions of social changes of the two groups of Hmong. This result matches the results revealed by the Karen. The table below summarises the similarities and differences in perceptions of each sub group of Hmong towards social changes they see in their community.

**Table 7.20 Similarities and differences in perceptions of the Hmong working and Hmong not working with ETAs towards social changes**

Variables	Hmong working: Hmong not working	Hmong working M:F	Hmong not working M:F	Hmong working M: Hmong not working M	Hmong working F: Hmong not working F
Perceived social changes					
Many tribal people have become more prosperous	D2a				D2a2
The community is more developed and has adapted to a higher standard of living due to the influence of ETA and their lifestyles	D2a			D2a1	D2a2
ETAs are the reason for newly establishment of services and facilities	D2a			D2a1	D2a2
Public facilities have improved	D2a				D2a2
Younger tribal get higher education due to the varieties of jobs with more responsibilities offered by ETAs		D2a2		D2b1	
There are more tourism businesses in my community than 10 years ago	D2a	D2a2			
Tribal people work less in agriculture and more with ETAs	D2a	D2a2			D2a2
There have been some changes in terms of family relationships					
Social and traditional events have changed and become pseudo events	D2a			D2a1	D2a2
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people dress and in their dress code	D2a	D2a2	D2b1		D2a2
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people eat	D2a	D2a2			D2a2
There have been some changes in housing style		D2a1	D2b1		
The STD rate has increased in the community			D2b2	D2a1	
There are higher costs of living in the community	D2a			D2a1	D2a2
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people spend their money					
The crime rate has increased after the arrival of ETAs					
There has been a loss of local tribal language					
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people talk					

\*D indicates significant difference, 2=Hmong, 2a=Hmong working agree more, 2b=Hmong not working agree more, 2a1=Hmong working males agree more, 2a2=Hmong working females agree more, 2b1=Hmong not working males agree more, 2b2=Hmong not working females agree more

This chapter has presented the similarities and differences in perceptions of the Karen and Hmong regarding perceived social changes in Doi Inthanon as a result from the arrival of ETAs. Table 7.21 below summarises the tribal, working environment and gender similarities and differences in perceptions of changes Karen and Hmong respondents perceive in their community.

**Table 7.21 Perceived social changes summary**

Variables: perceived changes	Tribal ethnic		Work environment		Gender			
	Karen working and Hmong working	Karen not working: Hmong not working	Karen working : Karen not working	Hmong workin: Hmong not working	Karen M:F	Hmong M:F	Karen not working M:F	Hmong not working M:F
Many tribal people have become more prosperous		<b>D2</b>	<b>D1a</b>	<b>D2a</b>				
The community is more developed and has adapted to a higher standard of living due to the influence of ETAs and their lifestyles		<b>D1</b>	<b>D1a</b>	<b>D2a</b>				
ETAs are the reason for newly establishment of services and facilities	<b>D2</b>		<b>D1a</b>	<b>D2a</b>	<b>D1.1</b>			
Public facilities have improved	<b>D2</b>	<b>D2</b>	<b>D1a</b>	<b>D2a</b>				
Younger tribal get higher education due to the varieties o jobs with more responsibilities offered by ETAs	<b>D1</b>	<b>D2</b>	<b>D1a</b>		<b>D1.2</b>	<b>D2.2</b>		
There are more tourism businesses in my community than 10 years ago			<b>D1a</b>	<b>D2a</b>	<b>D1.1</b>	<b>D2.2</b>		
Tribal people work less in agriculture and more with ETAs			<b>D1a</b>	<b>D2a</b>		<b>D2.2</b>		
There have been some changes in terms of family relationships	<b>D2</b>		<b>D1b</b>		<b>D1.2</b>			
Social and traditional events have changed and become pseudo events			<b>D1a</b>	<b>D2a</b>				
The STD rate has increased in the community	<b>D2</b>	<b>D2</b>					<b>D1.1</b>	<b>D2.2</b>
The crime rate has increased after the arrival of ETAs	<b>D2</b>	<b>D2</b>						
There are higher costs of living in the community			<b>D1a</b>	<b>D2a</b>				
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people spend their money								
There has been a loss of local tribal language								
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people talk	<b>D1</b>				<b>D1.1</b>			
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people eat	<b>D1</b>			<b>D2a</b>		<b>D2.2</b>	<b>D1.2</b>	
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people dress and in their dress code			<b>D1a</b>	<b>D2a</b>	<b>D1.2</b>	<b>D2.2</b>		<b>D2.1</b>
There have been some changes in housing style	<b>D1</b>		<b>D1a</b>		<b>D1.1</b>	<b>D2.1</b>		<b>D2.1</b>

\*D indicates significant difference, 1=Karen agree more, 2=Hmong agree more, a=working with ETAs, b=not working with ETAs, 1.1=Karen males agree more, 1.2=Karen females agree more, 2.1=Hmong males agree more, 2.2=Hmong females agree more

## **7.6 Conclusion**

This chapter has answered Objective 5 of the research by identifying similarities and differences in perceptions of social changes by the two ethnic groups, resulting from the interaction between hill tribe people and the ETAs.

A major finding shows that different ethnic backgrounds appear to be the reason for their differences in perception, but that was not the most significant factor. The results suggested that if respondents worked in new and different working environments they tended to perceive their world and their experiences differently from their contemporaries who had not been exposed to new or different work environments. This suggests that those who share the same working environment by working together will see and interpret events and behaviours in similar ways. Conversely, the analysis suggests that gender plays a less important role in determining differences in perception. The discussion of the results of this chapter can be found in Chapter 9. The next chapter presents the discussion of the results from Chapter 5 regarding employment issues.

## Chapter 8: Discussion of Perceived Employment Impacts

### 8.1 Introduction

This study aims to give a better understanding of the perceptions of hill tribe people towards the socio-cultural impacts they perceive to be associated with the development of tourism related enterprises owned and or managed by individuals, the External Tourism Actors (ETAs) moving into their community in Doi Inthanon from other parts of Thailand. Particular attention is paid to the perceptions of the members of two tribal groups, the Karen and the Hmong, both those working for these ETAs and those who were not. As both men and women from these tribes sought work with ETAs, gender related differences were also investigated. An initial series of focus groups and semi-structured interviews were used to gather essentially qualitative information from the selected respondents concerning their societies and the impacts they perceive to arise from the arrival of ETAs and the subsequent development of tourism (these findings are presented in Chapter 5). Analysis of this qualitative data allowed ideas and topics featuring the perceptions of these respondents, which may not been reported in any of the literature then available to be included in the questionnaires in the second stage of the data collection process.

The discussion is divided into two main chapters. This chapter, Chapter 8, concerns Objectives One to Three, discusses a general view of employment related aspects, perceived conflicts and proposed solutions and resident views of impacts from employment offered by ETAs in Doi Inthanon. The chapter begins with a review of the respondent demographic profiles (8.2). It is followed by discussions regarding a range of employment related issues including reasons for and for not working with ETAs, views and experiences of tourism employment offered by ETAs, perceived conflicts and proposed solutions. Section 8.5 reviews type of employment for those not involved with ETAs. The last section (8.6) considers similarities and differences in perceptions of Karen and Hmong working with ETAs regarding impacts from employment opportunities offered by ETAs. Some relevant quotations will be presented in this chapter to support the discussions.

Rational choice theory, social exchange theory and the four drives theory will be used in this chapter as a framework for a discussion of the study findings. The four drive theory will be used to explain the motivation and behaviour of the hill tribe people working with ETAs. Moreover, although social exchange theory is linked to rational choice theory, it is based on the assumption that all human relationships can be understood in terms of an exchange of roughly equivalent values (Coleman 1990). However, these two theories are interested in answering different



questions. Rational choice theory specifically focuses on understanding what choice of action is rational for different people and how this rational choice is used to guide their decision making (Frank 1990; Monterrubio-Cordero 2008). Social exchange theory is commonly used within a tourism framework (Monterrubio-Cordero 2008) in assessing an individual's perceptions. In this case, rational choice theory will be applied to interpret respondents' decisions and actions in relation to their choice of career. Rational choice theory proposes that people examine the environment, weigh possible courses of action, and choose what they view as the most expedient path to achieve their goals (Coleman 1990). Moreover, social exchange theory will be adopted to explain perceptions of residents, that is to say why respondents favour or not favour ETAs based on their social and cultural benefits.

A number of previous studies, discussed in the literature review, have examined resident and employee perceptions of tourism impacts. This study, however, sought to compare the perceptions of two hill tribes, the Karen and Hmong who have a distinctly different history and culture, regarding the impacts they perceived as resulting from the arrival of ETAs.

To be noted, for both the quantitative and qualitative components of the study, Karen and Hmong samples were selected from the following categories:

**Group 1:** Hill tribe people who have direct contact from working with ETAs, their main income being derived from ETAs.

**Group 2:** Hill tribe people who have no direct contact with ETAs and only encounter the ETAs and tourists, in passing.

The two categories of each ethnic tribe were selected so as to achieve views from different groups of respondents and to allow comparisons to be made and tested for significant differences in the perceptions of the respondents.

## **8.2 Respondent demographic profile**

The findings pointed out that the average age of the Karen and Hmong respondents working with ETAs was 35 years, while those respondents from both tribes not working with ETAs were older on average, 46. Therefore, it is feasible to conclude that those hill tribe people who work with ETAs tended to be younger than those who do not work with ETAs. This is consistent with the case study of rural Grenada that younger people tend to fancy tourism sector more than farming (International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) 2010). IFAD 2010 explained that the younger generation view agriculture as an unsatisfactory employment choice of career unless their families have their own lands that they need to take control over.

In all, the respondents from both tribes who work with ETAs tended to receive more income than those who not working with ETAs. As the results shown that approximately 13% of Karen working with ETAs had a monthly income of less than \$120, while 75% of those not working with ETAs had a monthly income less than \$120. Similarly, approximately, 16% of Hmong working with ETAs had a monthly income less than \$120, while 66% of those not working with ETAs had a monthly income less than \$120.

Moreover, the data suggested that only 8% of Karen working with ETAs received no education while 42% of those not working with ETAs received no formal education. In the same way, only 8% of Hmong working with ETAs received no education while 30% of the other group received no education. It is obvious that both Karen and Hmong working with ETAs tended to have a higher education when compared to those not working with ETAs. This notion is supported by Kusluvan (2003) who pointed the findings from Greece (Airey and Frontistis 1997), Arizona (Cothran and Combrink 1999) and Trinidad and Tobago (Lewis and Airey 2001), that people of the younger age are interested and enquiring to gain knowledge on employment in the tourism industry. Kusluvan (2003) also mentioned that many of the students surveyed in the previous studies shown an interest in pursuing further education and training in order to enter the hospitality and tourism sector.

In summary, it can be concluded that the Karen and Hmong demographic profiles were similar. The respondents from both tribes working with ETAs were on average 7-9 years younger than those not working with ETAs. These people from both tribes also have a better education and received higher income when compared with those not working for ETAs. It was demonstrated that the perceptions of impacts regarding employment, culture and social changes of Karen and Hmong were similar and indeed many parallels may be drawn between them. These are discussed below.

### **8.3 Employment in Doi Inthanon**

Tourism businesses run by ETAs in the study area (Doi Inthanon) included accommodation units, travel companies, tour businesses, entertainment providers, museums, spas, souvenir shops and catering outlets. Accommodation businesses such as homestays, camping and resorts were the most frequent types of tourism related employment for both Karen and Hmong in Doi Inthanon (see Chapter 5, Table 5.2).

For those not employed by ETAs the principal types of employment were in agriculture, the most common, in family or their own businesses such as a small grocery store, food shops,

flower shops, as government office employees, in handicrafts, or freelance (see Chapter 5, Figure 5.9 and Table 5.4).

#### **8.4 Reasons for Karen and Hmong working and not working with ETAs**

This section looks at reasons given by tribal people for working and not working with ETAs and determined during the first stage of data collection. The section will be divided into two subsections, the first section reviews the reasons given by Karen and Hmong for working with ETAs, followed by a discussion of gender related similarities and differences. The second section considers the reasons given by Karen and Hmong for not working with ETAs and again includes gender related similarities and differences.

##### **Reasons for working with ETAs**

##### **Reasons given by respondents from the two tribes for working with ETAs**

Previous studies (Pizam 1982; Sindiga 1994; Choy 1995; Wood 1997; Marshall 1999; Szivas and Riley 1999; Hjalager and Andersen 2001; Riley *et al.* 2002; Szivas *et al.* 2003; Tribe and Lewis 2003; Lucas 2004; Walmsley 2004; Wright and Pollert 2006; Vaugeois and Rollins 2007) have examined perceptions of working in the tourism industry. Their studies found that people generally viewed certain aspects of working in the tourism industry unfavourably (e.g., stressful jobs, lack of family life due to the nature of work, long working hours, fatiguing and unstable jobs, low social status, low career development opportunities, disappointing and unjust promotions, low income and poor well-being, unqualified managers, poor attitudes and negative behaviour of managers towards employees, incompetent co-workers, poor attitudes and negative behaviour of fellow workers, and poor physical working conditions for staff) and concluded that these factors accounted for negative attitudes towards tourism careers (Jiang and Tribe 2009). These factors may result in negative influences and demotivate individuals from working in the industry (Parsons and Care 1991). However, this study of Karen and Hmong showed that they currently overlook the negative issues of tourism employment and still choose to work for ETAs due to reasons they perceived as rational wherein the benefits they obtained from their actions outweighed the costs.

Doxey's Irridex Model (1975) proposes that the length of time residents are involved in the tourism industry can influence their perceptions and may lead to an escalation in negative perceptions of residents towards tourism and tourists. However, in this study, the statements did not reflect any sign of negativism or irritation. In fact, the evidence suggests that they were quite willing to work for ETAs. Research conducted by Long *et al.* (1990) explained that initially attitudes of residents are more or less favourable towards tourism but would often change over

time and become less favourable which resulting in more negative attitudes. Examples of favourable attitudes were recorded during the interviews:

*“There is no problem working here, we understand each other (Ying and her ETA co-workers), I’m “HAPPY” (stated in English) working here, ....I learn other cultures and what they (ETAs) are like and adapt myself to it.... I listen to them, whatever they said, I listen.” (big smile)*

Ying (from Karen tribe)

*“...it is not great working here but it is not bad either....money is not the most important point here, what is more important to me is that I am quite satisfied with the opportunities to learn from working here, there are lots of things I’ve learnt...management skills, service mindedness, marketing strategies...one day I will be able to run my own business...”*

Pee (from Hmong tribe)

For Ying, working with ETAs was the best way for her to adapt herself and associate with people from different cultures and learn other culture. This is consistent with Szivas *et al.* (2003) and the case study of the tourism employees on Vancouver Island, Canada by Vaugeois and Rollins (2007) who reported that an opportunity to interact and deal with people was one of the most commonly mentioned motives among those who entered tourism jobs. A study by Lundberg *et al.* (2009) conducted in a ski resort and surrounding villages in the northwest of Sweden and the case study of student attitudes towards tourism careers in China by Jiang and Tribe (2009) also suggest that one of the significant motivations for tourism workers to work in the industry is about meeting new people.

As for Pee, the hope to run his own business depends on the skills he can obtain from working with ETAs which is a facet he values in his workplace with ETAs. Mumford (1976) describes what Pee values as ‘knowledge needs,’ his goal is to gain knowledge and skills from work. This can be explained in terms of the four drive theory by Lawrence and Norhira (2001), the drive that describes Pee’s motivation and behaviour in ETA organisations is the drive to learn, as he is driven by opportunity given to work with ETAs to learn new concepts at work and the chance to gain skills and/or knowledge as a part of his work. Moreover, Riley *et al.* (2002) and Dewhurst *et al.* (2007) affirm that a career in hospitality and tourism can benefit employee’s skills, and this development of skills can be a factor that draws people to work in this sector (Lundberg *et al.* 2009).

Motivation to work for certain organisations may be related to the job satisfaction of an individual and whether or not the individual's personal goals are met. However, Meyer and Allen (1997) and Tella (2007) reported a link between job satisfaction and motivation. Locke (1976) and A.P. and Weiss (2001) explained that if an individual assumes that their values can be met in a certain workplace they would be motivated to work for that particular organisation and would be satisfied in a position they are doing.

According to the literature concerning the factors associated with people's motivation to leave their current jobs for something else, the primary factor influencing this motivation was their satisfaction with the job and benefits as defined by them (Weiermair 2000). Moreover, several studies have shown job satisfaction as a contributor to and predictor of commitment in the workplace (Johnson and Johnson 1992; McNeese and Nazarey 2001). The informant statements reflected their happiness and satisfaction from having their goals achieved from working with ETAs, resulting in being motivated to work with ETAs. These statements are consistent with the rational choice theory that states the happiness and satisfaction that they perceived as benefits outweigh the negative views of working in the tourism industry.

Not only is a wide range of work hours offered by ETAs including full-time, part-time and seasonal employment, they also provide a chance to become more 'Thai like', become more accepted by Thai society as well as learn new skills to pursue their personal goals (see Chapter 5, Table 5.5 and 5.6). These factors emerging from the study are consistent with the rational choice theory and the fact that they perceive the benefits outweighing the costs is instrumental in their decision to work with ETAs. However, this finding regarding cultural assimilation is rarely discussed in the literature of tourism employment, which generally argues that the primary reason for host residents to work in tourism industry is to boost their economic status and to earn supplementary income for a better life (Allen *et al.* 1988; Hitchcock *et al.* 1993; Walton 1993; Sharpley 1994; Smith and Krannich 1998; Theobald 1998; Tomljenovic and Faulkner 2000; Macleod 2004; Cooper *et al.* 2008).

The findings of this study demonstrate that economic reasons, frequently mentioned in the literature, are not the primary reason to work in the tourism industry for these particular groups of hill tribe people in Doi Inthanon. They are, nevertheless, one of the factors that influence Karen and Hmong in deciding to work for ETAs. However, the two groups have clearly different reasons and place completely different values upon the economic considerations that encourage them to work for ETAs. The Karen value the opportunity to earn money to support themselves and family, while the Hmong value the chance to save money for creating their own businesses. This later finding is supported by Rajani (2002) and Sutamongkol (2007b) that the

Hmong are one of the tribes with a better economic status because of their diligence and ambition. This study found that a cash income is important for both Karen and Hmong as they perceive it as one of the reasons to work for ETAs. It is equally apparent that culture plays an important role in differentiating what they value. As has been shown in the case of these hill tribe peoples, different cultures, beliefs and historical backgrounds have led them to justify their needs for cash differently. This finding provides support for previous study results (Luria 1976; Hofstede 1980; Samovar and Porter 1991; Prensky 2001; Collins *et al.* 2002, Johnson *et al.* 2004) that the environment and culture in which people are raised affects and even determines many of their thought processes, meaning, people who grow up in different cultures tend to think differently. Earley and Randel (1997) also note that differences in judgments of self and others have to do with differences in their cultures.

In regard to the nature of their employment, Hmong people were less concerned about career progression than were Karen people and this may well be the reason why Hmong people did not agree with Karen people in regard to statements about opportunity to get a higher position in the tourism career and obtain a good resume from working with ETAs both of which are clearly important to the Karen. Hmong informants stated that:

*“... I don’t want to be their stooge because I know they won’t promote me for a higher position.”*

Sing (from Hmong tribe)

*“... I have been saving money because I don’t want to be a slave for them forever!! I want to have my own restaurant.”*

Prasit (from Hmong tribe)

This reflects what Hmong people value in life, as they are more independent, self-sufficient and therefore, by having their own business can reflect their prosperity and sense of achievement. This finding is confirmed by previous studies (Rajani 2002; Leepreecha 2006) that the main characteristics of Hmong people are hard working and independent. These results are partially supported by Granrose and Oskamp (1997) who argue that each person has a different perspective and interprets the world differently, especially those with different cultural backgrounds. LeBaron (2003) also offers a similar view by suggesting that culture plays a vital role in shaping people’s perceptions, judgments and actions.

In terms of self-improvement factors, Karen people considered a chance to learn new skills in order to do something else apart from agriculture important, while the Hmong were more

concerned about a chance to gain new skills and work experience before opening their own business. This is consistent with Hofstede's (1980) thesis that perceptions and expectations come primarily from their own socialisation, which predisposes them to view the world from a particular perspective. Again these findings reflect the rational choice theory; both tribes decided to work for ETAs due to different reasons they thought could benefit them. Individuals are seen as motivated by the wants or goals that express their preferences (Elster 1986; Hindess 1988; Elster 1989). Rational choice theory suggests that individuals anticipate the outcomes of alternative courses of action and calculate which ones will be best for them. Rational individuals choose the alternative that is likely to fulfil their purpose and give them the greatest satisfaction (Coleman 1973; Heath 1976; Carling 1992).

### **Gender related reasons for working with ETAs**

In terms of reasons for working with ETAs, males and females from the Karen and Hmong tribes have more in common with each other than they have with people of the same gender but from the other ethnic group. This is consistent with a study of Weiermair (2000) that indicated that one's cultural belonging and heritage does not only affect the way in which people experience and interpret life, but it is also likely to influence decisions regarding choices of their actions.

In conclusion, the rational choice theory helps explain Karen and Hmong decisions to work with ETAs. It is logical to assume that the choices people make in life more or less represent what they value. This finding is supported by the study of Elster (1989) concluding that people's choices are determined by self-interest and the social norms to which they subscribe.

### **Reasons for not working with ETAs**

#### **Reasons given by respondents from the two tribes for not working with ETAs**

The respondents who are not working with ETAs from both tribes did not perceive the attractions of tourism related jobs offered by ETAs, indicating that they did not value what are frequently advanced as the positive aspects of tourism employment such as to enhance their economy, image of glamour, good perks, chance to associate with different people, skills development, the opportunity to travel, using foreign languages, diverse job tasks and relative ease of entry (e.g., Allen *et al.* 1988; Sharpley 1994; Smith and Krannich 1998; Kuslivan and Kuslivan 2000; Riley *et al.* 2002; Szivas *et al.* 2003; Ijala 2010). However, Liu and Wall (2006) argued that this industry may not offer as strong an economic incentive as is sometimes believed.

The study did not find any significant differences in terms of tribal ethnicity given as reasons for not working with ETAs (see Chapter 5, Section 5.5, Page 158). Both tribal groups held similar reasons for not working with ETAs in terms of financial considerations, both felt more expenses were associated with working with ETAs, and if they deducted the extra expenses needed to perform these jobs, such as a new lifestyle and technology, their current jobs, and other non ETA related jobs, were believed to pay better. A possible explanation could be that those with their own land to practice agriculture or manage their own business were more likely to earn more profit compared to the regular income received from ETAs. Pond (1988), Tribe and Lewis (2003), Walmsley (2004), ETAG (2009), Jiang and Tribe (2009), support this finding by indicating that a large proportion of jobs in the tourism industry are poorly paid. On the other hand, as reflected from the interview:

*“Never even think about going to work with them. I don’t see a point working there. I have my own land here and make JUST ENOUGH money for my family..., I am good at farming so I can do well with my job here.”*

Sakchai (from Karen tribe)

The sense of ‘sufficiency economy’ has possibly controlled his perceptions not to leave his farming job to work for ETAs. “Sayt-Ta-Git Pho Phiang” is the Thai term for sufficiency economy, it has dual meaning of both not too much and not too little (The Nation 2006b). This attitude was confirmed by Rajani (2002) and Chiumkanokchai (2008) who believe that the main aspect of Karen life is being down to earth, and preferring to promote a sufficiency economy approach while wanting to be rich and powerful is not known as their characteristics.

They also held other reasons in terms of self-insecurity, openness and adaptation (afraid of being taken advantage of, do not want to associate with total strangers, do not want to change themselves) as revealed from some of the informants’ statements during the interviews:

*“Many of my friends asked me to go work with those ETAs, I always refuse. It is not that I don’t want to try, but I know it will be hard for me as I can’t even speak Thai properly. I don’t want them to make fun of me and take advantage of me.”*

Wa (from Karen Tribe)

*“I used to work in a Thai-Issan (North-eastern Thailand) restaurant owned by ETAs near here. But I often got cheated on my wages, and they asked me to work longer but pay the same. I have been saving and after while I left that restaurant and opened my own noodle and rice shop.”*

Pa-Chong (from Hmong tribe)



*“Before I helped my parents with farming, but since I finished school and got married, so I moved out from my parent’s house and opened my own grocery shop. I never want to work with others (ETAs). I don’t want to be their stooge because I know it will not do me any good, not to mention they will never promote me for a higher position...just because I am a TRIBAL man. So, I think it’s better to have my own business, maybe more tiring but don’t have to be a servant for others.”*

Sing (from Hmong tribe)

It is feasible that their sense of insecurity may relate to their being tribal people with little education in a remote area and little interaction with outsiders. However, their lack of education is not a major factor that stops them from working for ETAs. They perceived that although they did not have education they could still handle the tourism jobs offered by ETAs. This may be because most tourism jobs offered by ETAs to hill tribe people are low skilled jobs that need experience rather than a high degree of education. This is consistent with Sindiga (1994), Szivas and Riley (1999), Tribe and Lewis (2003), Walmsley (2004) and ETAG (2009) claiming that tourism is known as a low skill industry with a reputation for providing employment for unskilled workers and migrants. The tourism employee is often seen as “uneducated, unmotivated, untrained, unskilled and unproductive” (Pizam 1982, p.5). Riley *et al.* (2002) also offered an interesting point that the industry accommodates those with low skill levels or with nonrelevant skills making this industry easy to enter. On the other hand, Kusluvan and Kusluvan (2000), Ghodsee (2003), and Obadic (2009), argue against the previously mentioned notion that tourism jobs do not require high level qualifications. Instead, they reported the example that the law on tourism requires all hotel managers to have a university education.

The study found that Karen and Hmong people stayed with their non tourism jobs because they considered the costs of working with ETAs outweighed the benefits of keeping their current job, following the rational choice theory that people balance costs against benefits before taking any action (Sen 1987; Green and Shapiro 1996; Hedstrom and Stern 2008). This theory supports the finding that the decision for not working with ETAs was caused by the rational process of weighing costs against benefits. Weiermair (2000) also argues that the greater the individual’s benefits and satisfaction with their current job, the less they are inclined to move.

### **Gender related reasons for not working with ETAs**

The study did find significant differences related to gender given as reasons for not working with ETAs (see Chapter 5, Section 5.5, Page 159). Females from both tribes mentioned the reason that they were afraid of being taken advantage of if they worked for ETAs. This was the most obvious issue showing the females differed from the males. The males tended to mention

reasons such as they preferred to continue working on their own by depending on their own resources, and they also considered that their current jobs paid better than jobs offered by ETAs. The reasons mentioned by the males reflected their confidence and leadership, culturally important factors in the social status of the Karen and Hmong. According to Rajani (2002) social status of the Karen and Hmong tended to refer to males as being a leader and needing to play a leadership role by making all the decisions for their families and needing to stay confident for the family members to depend on. While hill tribe females preferred to be followers and took orders from the men, such as their husband, father, or older brother. Therefore, the most common reason that stopped a number of females from both tribes to work for ETAs was because they were afraid of being taken advantage of, and this could be because they normally were passive with less interaction with others when compared with males. They often depended on their husband or father to make decisions for them (Rajani 2002), so this could have reduced their level of confidence and increased their feelings of insecurity to go work with ETAs on their own.

## **8.5 Views and experiences of those who work with ETAs**

This section explores similarities and differences in views of those working with ETAs in terms of type of employment they have chosen for ETAs, degree of their involvement, perceived conflicts and proposed solutions. The structure of each section will be divided into two parts. Part one will start with a comparison of Karen and Hmong and the second section will be a comparison based on gender.

### **Types of employment offered by ETAs**

#### **Comparisons of the two tribal groups regarding types of employment**

The two tribes show some significant differences in terms of the types of employment they have chosen when working for ETAs (see Chapter 5, Table 5.2). A relatively high number of the Hmong can be found working mainly in accommodation and catering when compared with the greater diversity of jobs held by the Karen suggesting that the Karen by comparison are more knowledgeable and aware of tourism related employment opportunities than are the Hmong and consequently have been able to capture a wider range of employment opportunities.

One reason behind this could be that, the selected Karen tribe in this study had already become established as a tourist destination. According to Inthanon (2007), the level of development of tourism in the Karen community in Doi Inthanon has increased the demand for sightseeing tour guides, trekking guides and other jobs such as porters who help with the carrying of food during

the trek and help the guide to cook for tourists. Meanwhile, when compared with the Karen, the selected Hmong community is at an earlier stage of tourism development. Therefore, tourism activities such as homestays play a role as the main tourism business to attract tourists to visit and stay in the Hmong village (TAT 2009). This information was also volunteered in conversation by informants from both Karen and Hmong groups during the first episode of data collection.

*“Yeah,...there are a lot of homestays here...but only a few owned by us. Most are owned by them (ETAs).”*

Tong (from Karen tribe)

*“Many people left farming to go work for outsiders in tourism businesses...homestay is a popular job for them (Hmong) I think. ....I’ve seen many people leave farming for different jobs, most of them end up running a homestay business with them (ETAs).”*

San (from Hmong tribe)

*“...oh no,...before there were not too many tourism businesses here, mainly homestays...but now yes (emphasised)...trekking tour, adventure ride, camping a lot....Oh (sound of excitement) two weeks ago a big group of Bangkok people came....bought a homestay package. Now we offer a trekking tour as a homestay full package deal (indirectly promoting ETAs’ homestay business she works for)... they (visitors) get to sleep in the Hmong house, cook and eat with Hmong family then next day our Hmong tour guide will take them trekking...they (the Bangkok group) enjoyed it.”*

Nong (from Hmong tribe)

As a result, a majority of Hmong have chosen to work for ETAs in a homestay business as it can help promote their village by bringing in more tourists. The homestay business was also the first tourism business for the Karen and ETAs to work together in late 1990s (Sabphiboonpol 2001; Chareonchai 2002).

### **Comparisons of employment with ETAs by gender**

Significant differences were found between genders in that females from both tribes tended to work more than did males in every type of tourism job (see Chapter 5, Table 5.2). The Guardian (2003); Warren and Hackney (2000) and Patterson (2007) support the result by affirming in general, women tend to be more in touch with their feelings and their people skills and service mindedness may reflect better than males, therefore, females tended to fit better with tourism employment as being service minded is one of the most important aspects to work in the industry. A case study in Indonesia conducted by Sadli (1992) and Sinclair (1997) supports this

argument that women are particularly well suited for tourism work because they are socialised to be sensitive to the needs of others, they are reputed to be verbally better than men at language acquisition so they can learn foreign languages easier, and they are normally caring and good at routine jobs.

The finding from this research is also consistent with several studies: De Kadt (1979); Crompton and Sanderson (1990); Purcell (1997); Sinclair (1997); Ratz (2002); Ghodsee (2003); Obadic (2009) and Sanisuda (2009), demonstrating a higher demand exists for female labour in the tourism industry. Levy and Lerch (1991); McKay (1993); Leontidou (1994); Momsen (1994); Garcia-Romon *et al.* (1995); Lama (2000); Urry (2002) and Morais *et al.* (2005), agreed that tourism provides more job opportunities for females, but added that they tend to hold jobs that are an extension of their traditional home duties such as homestay providers, service activities in the accommodation sector such as housekeeping, or handicraft making while they often have fewer opportunities to work in leadership positions more often occupied by males.

Further, Burns (1993), Richter (1994), and Parrett (2004) also argue that despite the high demand for female labour, these demands are concentrated in the lower levels in occupations with few opportunities for higher positions. A study by Chant (1997) suggested that when rural women enter the work force, they are often limited to the informal economy of work. Leatherman gives the example of rural Latin America where only a few employment opportunities are available to women, and they often receive less pay than men for the same work. Leontidou (1994) agrees with Chant, that female labour often receives relatively low pay, and although a real demand for it exists, often only low skill positions are offered. However, Sinclair (1997) suggests that tourism employment in relatively large enterprises that are dominated by ETAs may reinforce prevailing gender norms as many women in West Java are responsible for managing small-scale accommodation provisions while men often work as tour guides or in tourist transportation (Wilkinson and Pratiwi 1995). In the case of Catalonia and Galicia in Spain, women are not limited to housekeeping, but also work in catering for tourists who stay on farms (Garcia-Ramon *et al.* 1995).

Lawler (1996) affirms that women in Thailand are commonly employed in positions at all occupational levels, from unskilled labourers to managers and professionals, although there would appear to be much gender typing and occupational gender segregation in the country. Siengthai and Leelakulthanit (1994) suggest that due to the changing world there tends to be more employment opportunities for women as many avenues are open to women as managers. Moreover, according to Lawler (1996), the changing status of women and their participation in the labour force is probably the most significant work-related diversity issue confronting Thailand. The rate of Thai female labour force participation is higher than East Asian in general (41%) and it is considerably higher than other Southeast Asian countries such as Malaysia,

Indonesia, The Philippines and Singapore, as these nations have less than a 35% labour force participation rate for women (World Bank 1994; Lawler 1996).

However, the differences between these perspectives might have to do with the type of employment offered in that the tourism industry tends to offer more employment opportunities for women while other industries in general, as mentioned by Leatherman (2000), prefer male labour.

### **Degree of involvement**

#### **Comparisons of the two tribal groups regarding degree of involvement with tourism jobs**

In terms of their degree of involvement with tourism jobs offered by ETAs, the Karen tended to work full time for ETAs while the Hmong mostly worked part time and seasonally. A possible reason advanced by Inthanon (2007), TAT (2009) and Tourismchiangrai (2009), is that tourism jobs have become the main source of income for many Karen people because the Karen tribal community has developed as a well known tourist destination. Conversely, the selected Hmong village was still in its early stage of tourism development; therefore, most of them were still maintaining to their traditional careers such as agriculturist (Sutamongkol 2006; Chalermrat and Narumon 2007; Lee 2007). Another possible reason may have to do with the differences in characteristics of Karen and Hmong and their cultural values. The research data indicates that Karen people in Doi Inthanon are more willingly to undertake any job opportunity that the ETAs give to them by being cooperative with those whom they are working with, despite their differences. This flexibility in regard to employment was evident during the interviews in that the Karen's sense of appreciation for the employment opportunities given by the ETAs was much stronger than that among the Hmong people who would rather be independent and were determined to build their own success. Nonetheless, the expansion of tourism development and arrival of ETAs has given the Hmong opportunities to earn a supplementary income apart from farming by working in tourism businesses as their back up job with the result that they were not entirely dependent upon ETAs.

*“I very much appreciate the job opportunity I have here. I feel very good working for him (ETA) in this resort as a manager. I feel like at least still somebody can see my potential through my tribal blood and trust me enough to give me opportunity to work here. I am really thankful for this.”*

Mam (from Karen tribe)

*“I do very much appreciate his (ETA) kindness and everything he taught me but one day when I am ready I want to quit working for him and have my own tour company; doesn't have to be too big but at least it's mine.”*

Sit (from Hmong tribe)

### **Comparisons of the degree of involvement in tourism jobs by gender**

In terms of their choice of full-time, part-time and seasonal work, the Karen females represented the majority of the full-time workers compared with the males, just as the Hmong females were the majority of part-time workers compared to Hmong males. The result was consistent with the Butler's destination life cycle model (1980) in that the Karen village was judged to be in the development stage, resulting in more full-time work opportunities while the Hmong village was in the early stage or involvement stage in the Butler's model; therefore, the Hmong tended to be partially involved and undertook part-time positions as their secondary or back up job.

### **Perceived conflicts**

#### **Comparisons of the two tribal groups regarding perceived conflicts**

The Karen and Hmong respondents had similar perceptions of one particular source of conflict; the issue of different working styles between themselves and ETAs (see Chapter 5, Table 5.10). Wright and Pollert (2006) suggested that for many workers, relationships with colleagues of different nationalities are a source of problems. According to Brett (2000) and Gatlin *et al.* (2009) everyone is different, as they have different ways in approaching people and problems. Brett (2000) also gives the example that conflict in the work place would be where one worker works best in a very structured environment while another worker works best in an unstructured environment. As a result, this may create a conflict between them if they do not learn to accept one another's working style.

Kinder and Sears (1981) and Glick and Fiske (1994), contend that cross cultural working groups may lead to unequal treatment of, or unequal opportunities for group members not belonging to the most powerful cultural ingroup. However, unfair job distribution and slow promotion were not major conflicts perceived by Karen and Hmong. Their approach was closer to that proposed by Landis *et al.* (1993) who argued that the benefits for minorities working in cross cultural work groups are equal opportunities, social justice and economic development.

Both the Karen and the Hmong perceived issues of being looked down upon, being labelled with a negative image, discrimination, not easily being accepted by ETAs and being accorded no respect in conflicts in their workplace. This was supported by Brewer (1986), McConahey

(1986), Huntington (1993), and Granrose and Oskamp (1997), who suggested that when the distinction of ingroup and outgroup membership is based on cultural groups (ethnocentrism), rather than the work group, then opinions often formed beforehand may result in discrimination against members of different cultures within a work group. Baum (2006) stated that discrimination, either implicit or explicit, is unacceptable in the industry, but he recognises that it does happen. Although both tribes see these issues as potential causes of conflict, the Hmong tended to be more concerned with these issues than did the Karen tribal people. In this study, no evidence was found regarding mistreatment from visitors to hill tribe staff although this has been reported in the study of Wright and Pollert (2006) where discrimination was reported between customers and hotel staff.

### **Comparisons of perceived conflicts by gender**

Gender was also important in regard to the perception of conflict. For example, Karen females tended to perceive “being labelled with a negative image” and “getting no respect by being teased and laughed at” more seriously than did Karen males. While Karen men perceived “slower in getting job promotion than other co-workers” and “unfair job distribution” as more serious conflicts than did the female Karen employees (see Chapter 5, Table 5.12).

Regarding the different perceptions between genders of Hmong people, “being labelled with a negative image” and “not easily being accepted by ETAs” were more serious conflicts for Hmong females while “slower in getting job promotion” and “unfair job distribution” were the conflicts of more concern to Hmong males.

Males from both tribes claimed that job promotion opportunities were few and these often went to Thai workers who had a better relationship with the boss due to their being of the same nationality. This was supported by Buripakdee (1986), Pongpajit (2000) and Jannoan (2009), who reported that favouritism can often be seen in Thai organisations.

The female participants concerns regarding their being accepted is similar to the findings of Greenglass *et al.* (1995) that an employee’s perceived acceptance by their co-workers is one of the common issues of contention in the workplace. A study by Mor Barak *et al.* (1998) suggested that women tended to report their workplace as being unfair more frequently than did men and in a similar way this study indicates that “unfairness” was of more concern to the Karen and Hmong males than it was to the females.

It was apparent that the female respondents from both tribes tended to be concerned about emotional issues related to being labelled with a negative image and being laughed at with no

respect. This appears to confirm the contention of Keyes and Goodman (2006) that women tended to be more vulnerable to social stressors in life and more concerned than men about their image and status in society.

These differences in perceived conflicts by men and women from the two tribes confirms that gender does indeed play a role, an observation that finds support in Hofstede's (1980, 1984, 1991, in Reisinger and Tuner 2003, p.24) claim that "Masculinity-Femininity is the degree to which people value work and achievement (masculinity) compared with quality of life and harmonious human relations (femininity)."

### **Proposed solutions for perceived conflicts**

#### **Comparisons of the two tribal groups regarding proposed solutions**

The feeling of being different and being unaccepted by the majority population has resulted in Karen and Hmong seeking to resolve conflicts differently (see Chapter 5, Table, 5.14). Although both tribes preferred to solve conflicts by avoiding confrontation, the Karen are more likely to try to understand and accept the conflict such as the differences in working styles, discrimination and racism, and slow career progress and try to put more effort to perform a better job in order to mitigate the conflict. The Karen say that they try to get over these issues and remind themselves that by getting a job and being able to work with ETAs is a good start. Therefore, working hard and being patient is the way they have chosen to overcome the workplace challenges. While the second most common proposed solution of the Hmong was to leave the situation. Hofstede (2001) argues that cultural values influence the way in which the natural environment is perceived. Macleod (2004) agrees with Hofstede by affirming that part of the human personality is based on the society and culture they are in and that individual personalities influence the decisions they make and how they decide to act.

#### **Comparisons of proposed solutions by gender**

The data recorded indicates that males and females from both ethnic groups prefer to solve conflicts by avoiding confrontation and performing the tasks exactly as they have been told to do without contributing any new ideas, or expressing how they really feel, as their way to solve the problem. According to Granrose and Oskamp (1997) the mechanisms of racism and unequal treatment of those who do not belong to the most dominant and powerful group results in members of the less powerful outgroup failing to contribute new ideas. Moreover, Stephan (1994) suggests that conflicts arising from sexism or racism may lead to avoidance or to excessive politeness within the workplace.



The women from both tribes and particularly the Karen were more likely to try to understand the cause of any conflict and work hard to solve it as their second proposed solution. According to Patterson (2007) women have a much more developed limbic system, which puts them more in touch with their feelings. Because of this, women are able to connect and understand others easily. Equally, Karen males chose to work hard to resolve any conflict by seeking to understand the cause. Conversely, the second most common proposed solution of Hmong males was to leave the situation, a finding consistent with the study of Brislin and Cushner (1996) that reported people who feel emotionally upset have a tendency to avoid further cross cultural situations. The finding that Karen and Hmong males responded differently is supported by Berry and Kalin's (1995) finding that people who are from different cultural backgrounds often think and act in ways they are used to and relevant to their own value and belief systems. Weiermair (2000) also agrees with Berry and Kalin by suggesting that one's cultural belonging likely to influence decisions regarding their choice of action.

### **Types of non ETA related jobs**

#### **Comparisons of the two tribal groups regarding type of non ETA related jobs**

Differences were found in terms of types of jobs Karen and Hmong not working for ETAs pursue (see Chapter 5, Section 5.3.3, Page 147). While the majority of both tribes remained working in the agricultural sector, the results indicated that the Hmong people were more business oriented with an independent entrepreneurial approach preferring to have their own business and to be their own boss compared with Karen people who would prefer working for someone else or in a company in order to receive a regular income. This observation suggests that the different cultural backgrounds of Karen and Hmong lead to their displaying different characteristics. Karen people are a more easy going type of people who prefer certainty and economic stability, while the Hmong tend to be more competitive and determined and would rather take risks to improve their prosperity. These differences lead to different perceptions and values. This finding is consistent with the study of Singer (1982), who demonstrated that differences in cultural values created differences in people's perceptions. Ritchie's earlier (1974) study also supports Singer's finding by suggesting differences in individual perceptions were caused by differences in personal values and cultural backgrounds. These findings were also confirmed in the study of Hofstede (1991), who clearly showed that cross cultural differences can influence and inspire a choice of career.

#### **Comparisons of type of non ETA related jobs employed by the Karen and Hmong**

The results from this study showed that gender does not explain many of the differences in the careers males and females from both tribes not working with ETAs have chosen. Several hill tribe studies (e.g., Cohen 1984, 1989; McKinnon and McKinnon 1986; Rajani 2002;

Leepreecha 2005; Buadang 2006; Sutamanakan 2007) suggest that males are mainly involved in jobs that require more physical strength such as carpentry, construction and mechanical work, while women are more typically involved in embroidery, but overall, the majority of both tribal men and women have agriculture jobs. On the other hand, a number of other studies, in nonhilltribe destinations, (e.g., Toker and Jome 1998; Muldoon and Reilly 2003; Macleod 2004; Ozbilgin *et al.* 2005; Williams and Subich 2006; Malach-Pines and Kaspi-Baruch 2007; Bourne and Ozbilgin 2008; Sanitsuda 2009) have demonstrated that gender related perceptions play significant roles in career processes and outcomes of individuals. Lent *et al.* (2000) also affirmed that perceptions among men and women affect the way they carve out careers and navigate their career choices. This is inconsistent with the finding, as gender did not affect the career choices of the Karen and Hmong respondents, as the majority of males and females from both tribes had a similar career type by choosing agricultural jobs. A possible reason for the findings of this research differing from other studies could be that the selected hill tribe participants in this study only had limited career choices available for them due to reasons such as restricted job opportunities, their educational qualifications, and identity (members of a racial minority).

## **8.6 Perceptions of the employment impacts from opportunities offered by ETAs**

This section explores similarities and differences in perceptions of the Karen and Hmong working with ETAs regarding impacts from employment opportunities offered by ETAs. This portion will be divided into two sections. The first section discusses ethnic tribal differences while the second section considers perceptions related to gender.

### **Ethnic tribal differences**

#### **Comparisons of tribal groups working with ETAs regarding perceived employment impacts**

**Table 8.1 A summary of similarities and differences in perceptions of the Karen and Hmong working with ETAs**

Similarities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Higher demand for female labour, more job opportunities through increased tourism businesses</li> <li>• Increased confidence after working with ETAs, and can easily work with all types of nationalities</li> <li>• Changing lifestyle to fit with co-workers (ETAs) in the workplace</li> </ul>
Differences	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Learnt new skills and improved Thai and English language skills</li> <li>• Learnt other cultures and see nontribal fashion, food and music by working with ETAs</li> <li>• Developed friendships with nontribal people from working with ETAs</li> <li>• Increased desire to promote tribal cultural products: culture, dress codes, food after working with ETAs</li> </ul>

The Karen and Hmong working with ETAs demonstrate three similar positive perceptions towards employment impacts (see Chapter 5, Section 5.8, Page 165). Firstly, the arrival of ETAs has increased demand for female labour, created job opportunities and increased tourism businesses in the community. These findings are supported by De Kadt (1979), Sheldon and Var (1984), Husbands (1989), Crompton and Sanderson (1990), Perdue *et al.* (1990), Madrigal (1993), Gilbert and Clark (1997), Walpole and Goodwin (2001), Weaver and Lawton (2001), Ratz (2003), Sekhar (2003), Kuvan and Akan (2005), Lawton (2005), Lepp (2007) and Pe´rez and Nadal (2005), who all reported that respondents engaged with tourism activity often felt tourism had created employment opportunities, especially for female labour.

Secondly, the Karen and Hmong also stated that after working with ETAs, they had more confidence to work and interact with nontribal people. Conversely, the study of Milman and Pizam (1988) of Central Florida residents reported that those residents did not gain confidence from working in tourism. Although both cases concerned the tourism industry, the hill tribe people in this study were not only interacting with tourists but had to interact with ETAs as they were working under the management of ETAs or in businesses owned by ETAs. This may have resulted in them being more familiar and adjusted to the idea of having cross cultural working contacts and might be the reason for their increased confidence to work and interact with others. However, the study on Central Florida residents only focused on those working in local tourism operations and mainly only interacted with tourists, which may have limited their chance to gain experience by working together with people from different cultures. As a result, it may have influenced them differently. It can be argued that although people work in the same type of career, they may not necessarily experience the same impacts or working experience if the organisation they are in consists of different components and cultures. Alas and Vadi (2004) support this by affirming that people in different organisational cultures may have a different understanding and perspective concerning the process of work experience. Cooper and Croyle (1984) also suggest that different components in different organisations can influence a person’s attitudes to act in a certain way. This finding shows that tribal people who work for ETAs are more forward and are more confident not only in interacting with tourists but also in working alongside nontribal people.

The third similarity is that both the Karen and Hmong tended to adapt themselves and their working styles to fit their co-workers’ style and the culture of the workplace after they started working with ETAs. The evidence also suggests that after these people had been working with ETAs, they were encouraged to present their tribal culture, resulting in them trying to promote their traditional dress, cultural events and other aspects of their unique lifestyle. It may well be that their employers’ primary business strategy was to promote cultural tourism using ethnic

tribal culture as the underlying attraction. Therefore, cultural tourism is what the ETA businesses are valued for which likely resulted in their encouragement of the hill tribe workers to present their culture. This encouragement was reflected in some of the interviews.

*“We can wear anything to work, so normally I just dress like them, but every Friday we need to wear our tribal dress to work.”*

Mam (from Karen tribe)

*“...when we stop for lunch (talking about trekking activity) I have this cassette tape with me to play the Hmong song for them (tourists)...”*

Sing (from Hmong tribe)

These statements indicate that the duties they are asked to perform are what the business values and this may result in an increased desire of tribal workers to promote their culture as it is important for the organisation they work for. McNamara (1999) explains that an organisation is a group of people deliberately managed to achieve an objective, basic goal or set of goals. While Louis (1980) and Cowings (2006) define organisational culture as the character of the organisation, which can be a set of understandings or values revealed by a large group of people among members and are openly related to the particular group, which are also passed on to new generations of the organisation. Culture encompasses the assumptions, values, norms and tangible signs of organisation members and their attitudes (McNamara 1999). This can be explained in terms of “organisational culture” that people within organisations act and make decisions not just on the facts of a case but also in response to the organisation’s culture by acting accordingly to the corporate culture and its values (Schein 2004; Seel 2005). Schein defined organisational culture as how people see things in the organisation and how each one reflects on culture (Schein 2004). The statements above reflect the first level of an organisational culture, categorised by Schein, which is the act of presenting tangible products termed “artifacts” (Schein 2004; Jonge 2006). In this case of tribal workers in tourism businesses owned by ETAs, the observable artifacts revealed by informants were the tribal dress they were told to wear to work every Friday and the certain forms of entertainment (Hmong songs) used to represent and emphasise cultural products (tribal people) to the tourists.

However, the influence of organisational culture on the forms of certain attitudes, working styles, values, and norms may give negative results for the whole organisation if employees are forced to perform - their actions and behaviour do not come from internal motivation because they are told to perform in the way expected by the organisation. However, it was beyond the scope of this research to address the impacts the organisation had upon their employees

influenced by the organisational culture. The only reflection arose from the interview was that for the time being, both Karen and Hmong working with ETAs were willing to take on the same values as ETAs and fit in with their workplace. Coleman (1990) provides a possible explanation for the action of these groups of hill tribe people in terms of rational choice theory in that they may act purposively to maximise their individual benefits.

A feature that distinguished the Karen from the Hmong was their degree of agreement in regard to the positive impacts from working with ETAs. The Karen tended to agree more with all the impacts mentioned and this increased their desire not only to promote tribal cultural products such as their traditional dress, music and other cultural aspects to tourists, but also it offered a chance to learn new skills, e.g., social interaction and management skills, improve their Thai and English, together with a chance to learn other (nontribal) cultures including traditions, beliefs, dress and music and a chance to develop friendships with nontribal people. These findings were consistent with those of Brunt and Courtney (1999), Mason and Cheyne (2000), Tomljenovic and Faulkner (2000) and Northcote and Macbeth (2005). Moreover, Liu and Var (1986) argued that tourism activities can offer residents more choices of entertainment and encourage a variety of cultural activities.

The finding that the Karen were more in favour of ETAs than the Hmong, may be due to the fact that the Karen have already been working consistently with ETAs, for a longer period than the Hmong (see Chapter 3). As a result, the Karen may have bonded with ETAs and become more familiar with them causing a sense of appreciation to develop regarding the benefits Karen people received from ETAs. Consequently, Karen people tended to be more positive about ETAs. However, a study in Ghana by Teye *et al.* (2002) argued that if the employment experience was negative, this results in residents having negative perceptions towards the industry as a whole. Social exchange theory appears capable of explaining both these sets of observations.

### **Gender related differences**

Gender had little effect in terms of perceptions of the impacts arising from employment by ETAs. The only difference perceived by males and females from both tribes was increased self-confidence resulting from their working with ETAs (see Chapter 5, Table 5.17). Females tended to place higher values on this factor. Bouquet (1984, 1987), Chapman (1986), Broegger (1990), Castelberg-Koulma (1991), Ireland (1993), and Garcia-Ramon *et al.* (1995), support the finding and suggest that females can gain confidence and prestige from their ability to make a financial contribution to household resources, as well as from their contact with visitors and organisations

who are nonlocal. No differences related to gender were found in perceptions of either tribe not working with ETAs.

## **8.7 Conclusion**

The values the Karen and Hmong held regarding being accepted into the mainstream and learning skills to open their own business, has resulted in them deciding to go work with ETAs, in accordance with rational choice theory. However, the issues of insecurity, such as fear of being taken advantage of; being afraid to open themselves up and change, and being afraid to be treated poorly by being looked down upon, were also a serious concern especially for the group of Karen in Doi Inthanon. For the Hmong, their distinct characteristic was reflected in their desire to be independent. To this end, the Karen and Hmong reasons for working and not working with ETAs reflect their goals and the factors that they value as important to achieve. Therefore, from the data obtained from this study, it can be concluded that, inter-tribal differences are greater than intra-tribal differences.

The next chapter is the second half of the discussion which will be looking at similarities and differences in perceptions of the Karen and Hmong working with ETAs and those not working with ETAs in terms of the socio-cultural impacts they have on themselves and changes they see in their community as a result of the arrival of ETAs.

## Chapter 9 Discussion of Perceived Socio-Cultural Impacts

### 9.1 Introduction

This chapter concerns Objective 4 and 5 and discusses the Karen and Hmong respondents' perceptions of socio-cultural impacts in terms of changes in their lifestyle, the development of their tribal community, the negative cultural impacts and their perceptions of the disruptions to their lives, brought about by the arrival of ETAs and the introduction of tourism into their communities. The discussion revolves around those Karen and Hmong working for the ETAs and those who were not as well as between genders. Relevant quotations from the focus groups and interviews from the first stage data collection together with the literature will also be presented to support the discussion of this chapter. Statistical findings, from the second stage data collection, regarding this discussion were presented in Chapter 7-8.

The chapter begins with section 9.2, a discussion of changes in the hill tribe lifestyles. The following section (9.3) discusses development of hill tribe communities and section 9.4 discusses impacts on tribal culture and identity. Section 9.5 discusses disruptions to hill tribe communities while the last section presents a conclusion of the chapter. An evaluation and a consideration of the limitations of the study and finally suggestions for further research can be found in the next chapter.

These findings are discussed in terms of social exchange theory, the theoretical framework for this study that explains why Karen and Hmong residents perceive socio-cultural impacts from ETAs positively or negatively. The theory seeks to explain people's perceptions in terms of evaluating costs and benefits (Ap 1992) and proposes that residents will favour and perceive tourism positively if they can acquire benefits without incurring unacceptable costs (Ap 1992; King *et al.* 1993). This theory is often applied in terms of economic exchanges (Miller 2005; Terzidou *et al.* 2008), however it will be used in this research as to focus primarily on social and cultural impacts. Other theories useful in explaining and understanding the findings are Doxey's Irridex model, Butler's destination lifecycle, social identity theory, acculturation theory and the four drive theory.

Perceptions of the impacts resulting from the activities of ETAs can be expected to differ depending on which group of residents is being considered. As in the previous chapter, discussion of the findings will be presented in terms of: ethnic tribal differences, different working environments and gender.

## 9.2 Changes in lifestyles

Changes in the way tribal people spend their money, talk, dress, and modifications to their housing style, what they eat and their relationships within the family were mentioned during the first stage of data collection and are changes that have been observed by the majority of the respondents.

The section will be divided into three main subsections. The first section considers ethnic tribal differences, highlighting how cultural differences affect Karen and Hmong perceptions by comparing their similarities and differences, divided into the Karen and Hmong working with ETAs and followed by another comparison subsection of the Karen and Hmong not working with ETAs. The second section highlights the perceptions from two groups - those with ETA related jobs and those with non ETA jobs, to see the influence of different working environments upon their perceptions. The third section considers gender related perceptions.

### Ethnic tribal differences

#### **Comparison of the tribal groups who work with ETAs regarding changes in lifestyles**

**Table 9.1 Summary of similarities and differences in perceptions of the Karen and Hmong working with ETAs**

Similarities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Changes in the way local tribal people spend their money</li><li>• Changes in the way local tribal people dress</li></ul>
Differences	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Changes in local tribal people's housing style</li><li>• Changes in the way local tribal people eat</li><li>• Changes in the way local tribal people talk</li><li>• Changes in terms of family relationships</li></ul>

The issues listed in Table 9.1 are the changes upon themselves perceived by people with different ethnic cultures, i.e., Karen and Hmong respondents working with ETAs. The study identified similarities in the perceptions of the Karen and Hmong respondents in terms of changes in tribal lifestyles, which they see as having been influenced by the ETAs bringing tourism into their community (see Chapter 6, Table 6.1 and 6.2). Both tribes noticed the changes in their lifestyle, and believe they result from adapting their behaviour to be more 'ETA-like'. Some of their daily behaviour such as the way they spend money and dress have changed to become more like the ETAs. Prasertsin (1984) suggests that as an aspect of their nature, people need to confront new changes and adapt themselves in order to survive. Kim (1988) affirms that the interaction from working together between two cultures is a significant importance of migrants' adaptation. In this case, although the ETAs are newcomers to this area, attracted by the opportunity to pursue work in Doi Inthanon, they are ethnic Thais while the Karen and Hmong are a minority. Therefore, although they have been living in Doi Inthanon for a longer



period than the ETAs, they are considered as migrants by the Thai people (see Chapter 3, overview of Doi Inthanon). To be noted, in this case, ETAs are considered as visitors and newcomers as they have moved to Doi Inthanon gradually since the late 1990s, when compared to the Karen and Hmong. As Prasertsin (1984) and Kim (1988) mention, changes commonly occur as a result from interaction between two or more parties of different cultural backgrounds. Kim (1988) and Zimbardo and Leippe (1991) also suggest that changes take place within visitors as a cumulative result of prolonged interaction within the shared society, and these visitors often face changes and adaptation experiences during their stay in the host destination. Lazarus (1993) points out that changing behaviour may depend upon the goals of the person. In this context Karen and Hmong have changed their lifestyles due to their desire to fit in with the mainstream Thai (ETAs) culture, which in comparison to these ethnic tribal groups, is the country's politically and economically dominant group with more life opportunities and who sometimes discriminate against the minority hill tribes (Sutamongkol 2007; Chiumkanokchai 2008).

The findings regarding changes in lifestyle therefore support research by Duffy *et al.* (2004) who suggested that the hill tribe people had transformed and adapted themselves to blend in with the majority of Thai nationals. This transformation may have possibly been influenced not only by the interaction with ETAs they work with but could have also been influenced by the higher education that the younger hill tribe generation receive. However, this could be a subject to future research.

Berry *et al.* (1991; 1993) offer an interesting view that working together in a multicultural group can lead to changes in an individual's behaviour. The process of change often happens to the less powerful group who seek to change themselves to accord to the group with more power, who are more dominant (Berry *et al.* 1991; 1993; Kazal 1995; Brandel 2008). Berry's study was supported by the finding of this research that the changes in lifestyle of the Karen and Hmong that result from their working with ETAs may be interpreted as the less powerful hill tribes seeking to accord with the ETA's a group they perceive as being more powerful. However, Michaud (1997) argues that not everyone who benefits from tourism is willing to abandon their customary rights and way of life in exchange for more personal benefits such as a cash income or being accepted by the majority. However, this research found no evidence, from those who benefit directly by working with ETAs in either tribe that supports Michaud's study. The common responses from both tribes were that they appreciated the perceived benefits from ETAs and agree with the changes in their lifestyle, but they do not perceive these changes as negative impacts. This is consistent with the notion offered by Hogg (1998) and Warren (1998) who suggested that the involvement of different people in tourism can result in social changes.

The characteristic of these changes can be seen in terms of social benefits including adaptation and learning and adopting change to create new social values (Dees 1998).

Interestingly, this finding suggested that, despite their cultural differences, the Karen and Hmong working with ETAs tend to change and adapt themselves to be more like ETAs, and in their eyes the changes on them are more visible than the changes ETAs have. This information was obtained from the participants:

*“...sometimes they are nice to us and seem to care about our way of living,.... but I don't think they would adapt to us, why would they low-grade themselves,...its more like we are wanting to be more like them.”*

Nong (from Hmong tribe)

*“I feel that I am more and more like them (ETAs)...I want to be part of them...I don't know why, but I don't mind them (smile)”*

Ying (from Karen tribe)

*“...even though, I have adapted to be more like them (positive tone), but I am still a tribal man in their eyes (sigh)”*

Pee (from Hmong Tribe)

These statements reflect the willingness of both tribes to change themselves. Supaap (1993) explains that some people want to be accepted by those they regard as friends or whom they interact with. They might be acting out by imitating the way their friends dress, talk and act in order to show that they are one of them. This is relevant to the finding of the Karen and Hmong working with ETAs that in their desire to be accepted by a bigger society, they tended to change towards ETAs to upgrade themselves, at the same time, it was less likely that ETAs would try to change themselves to fit with the hill tribe group, regarded as having a lower status in society. This can be explained in terms of social identity theory; the desire for positive self-evaluation is a primary motivation for the group to exaggerate the similarities among its members (ingroup) and to exaggerate its differences from other groups (outgroups) (Abrams and Hogg 1990; Hogg and Grieve 1999). Therefore, these hill tribe respondents who are a low status group may push for change to be in the higher status group of ETAs.

Further support for these findings can be found in the tourism impact literature (Greenwood 1972; Cohen 1988; Smith 1989; Urry 1991; Hall 2000; Smith 2003; Cooper *et al.* 2008) suggesting that one culture and identity may be assimilated into the more dominant or pervasive

culture, in this situation, the ETAs. It is often the case that local residents tend to copy behavioural patterns of newcomers from developed countries/societies or from people who come from a higher class of society. This could be by learning new languages, eating nonlocal foods, wearing non-traditional fashion, and using the same form of entertainment as they have seen when interacting with a group of outsiders (Gordon 1964; Supaap 1993). Gudykunst and Kim (2003) offer an interesting view that this personal change is necessary to be a part of the increasing intercultural world and be able to accept other cultures and in resolving conflicting views.

Srisantikol (1993) explains that two factors, internal and external, create changes in societies and cultures. These findings show that both factors affect the changes in Karen and Hmong lifestyle. The internal factors include the intention/desire of these respondents to change to become accepted by Thai society in some sense to become more modern while, external factors, namely the ETAs working environment is also a cause of change creating opportunities to modify their lifestyle by ‘cultural borrowing’ from another culture or civilization coming in from their immediate outside community (Srisantikol 1993), in this case, the ETAs.

The changes in the way the Karen and Hmong spend their money was one of the most commonly observed changes perceived. A possible explanation could be that historically, both tribes, particularly the Karen, lived a subsistence lifestyle as ‘slash and burn’ agriculturalists and had little money to spend outside their community. The development of tourism both within their villages and in the major cities of Thailand has given them opportunities to earn either a supplementary income or to leave agriculture altogether and to access goods and services that were not previously available to them (Leepreecha 2005; Buadang 2006). This issue arose during the interviews that changes had been made in the way they spend their money. In the following interview excerpts, one respondent reveals that he received more income from working with ETAs but he ended up losing more by spending money extravagantly.

*“Since I have become a resort manager here, yes I can earn more which is good, but I have to spend more as well...I need to buy stuff such as a tractor, motorcycle, colour TV, etc. for my family to live life more conveniently otherwise our neighbours will gossip about us that we are not doing any better since I left to work for them (ETAs)”*

Rungroj (from Karen tribe)

Another respondent explained that he spent more money to gain respect and good image and in order to fulfil his desires to live in the urban environment with the higher class of people for whom he works for.

*“I do realise that I spent more money than before.....when I go back to see my family I often buy stuff for them and sometimes I take my co-workers (ETAs) out and treat them to Moo-Kra-Ta (one type of Thai food) or drinks. Sometimes I did not want to,...but how can I not spend anything? People will either think that I am too stingy or have no money! (laugh)”*

Nikom (from Hmong tribe)

Demonstrating their ‘new’ lifestyle has become typical of those people working with ETAs as an indirect way of telling their neighbours that one or more family members, this could be a daughter, son, husband or wife, who left farming for work in other industries, such as tourism, is doing well. Lazarus (1993) suggests that as a result of their interaction with ETAs, individuals often seek respect from others, self-respect, recognition, affiliation, acceptance and being part of something or somewhere. Mathieson and Wall (2006) also describe this situation where entering the tourism job market may contribute to an increased family income, allowing families to buy products that were previously beyond their buying ability. The changes in lifestyle may also lead to demands for better housing, high-technologies and eventually it leads to the desire for more than material possessions, such as the need for respect from others.

Changes in the way the Karen and Hmong working with ETAs dress is another common issue and was also recorded by Dearden (1991), who noted that the increased exposure to tourism leads hill tribe people to abandon their traditional forms of dress, for example, wearing a T-shirt is taken as a visible sign of modernity. A similar response has been observed among young Sherpas in Nepal (Coppock 1978 and Macleod 2004) who observed that nonlocal, tourists/visitors had introduced radically different ways of behaviour and also new ideas and attitudes towards a new lifestyle of clothing, music, food and cooking. Similar findings can be found in the studies of Dogan (1989); Ap and Crompton (1998); Brunt and Courtney (1999) and Alhasanat (2008), who all show that hosts may copy the behaviour of visitors whom they interact with. Wolf (1982) also suggests that societies are not isolated or self-maintaining systems and that cultural set of practices are continually changing. Zimbardo and Leippe (1991) and Macleod (2004) affirm that the contact and interaction of people from different cultures can result in socio-cultural change.

In regard to some changes in lifestyles, such as the way in which tribal people eat, talk and their housing style, the study shows that these changes seem to be more obvious to the Karen than the Hmong. Several informants from both tribes mentioned how the ETAs had introduced a completely new type of cuisine (Moo Kra-Ta) that is trendy and popular among Thais especially in Bangkok, that was previously unknown to the local tribe people. According to the interviews,

the interviewees are aware of these changes in themselves but they do not perceive it as a negative change. This could be explained in terms of social exchange theory. Husbands (1989); Madrigal (1993); Lankford and Howard (1994) provide support for this finding that residents benefiting from tourism have a higher tendency to support tourism and mention the more positive impacts.

### Comparison of the tribal groups not working with ETAs regarding changes in lifestyles

**Table 9.2 Summary of similarities and differences in perceptions of the Karen and Hmong not working with ETAs**

Similarities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Changes in the way local tribal people spend their money.</li> <li>• Changes in housing style</li> <li>• Changes in the way local tribal people talk</li> <li>• Changes in the way local tribal people eat</li> <li>• Changes in terms of family relationships</li> <li>• Changes in the way local tribal people dress</li> </ul>
Differences	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• No differences were found in perceptions of Karen and Hmong not working with ETAs</li> </ul>

For those not working with ETAs, the study found that respondents from both tribes also admitted to the changes happening upon themselves regarding adapting their lifestyles to become more Thai like as reflected in their behaviour in the communities such as the way they spend money, changes in housing style, communication style, meals eaten, dress and family relationships. These findings differ from those of Brunt and Courtney (1999) which suggest that people having less contact with tourism evaluate impacts differently from those who are in more contact with the industry. Korca (1996) and Andereck *et al.* (2005) suggest that the level of involvement of residents and tourism can be a factor that affects residents' perceptions. Whilst this group has no direct contact with ETAs, they still have been influenced to change by the hill tribe people working with ETAs and because they are part of the tribal community which is itself part of the attraction for visitors to Doi Inthanon. Kim (1988) explains that cross-cultural adaptation and changes occur naturally and necessarily regardless of the intentions of individuals as long as they are in a multicultural environment. Kim (1988) also states that people cannot ignore the demands of the new way of life and that all individuals in a changing and changed cultural environment share common adaptation experiences.

Acculturation theory helps to explain this finding, which states that the more cultural differences that exist between interactants, the more likely adaptations are to occur (Berry 1974; Cai and Rodriguez 1996; Granrose and Oskamp 1997; Richerson and Henrich 2009). Previous studies, such as McKean (1976) in Bali, Boissevain (1979) in Malta; Hermans (1981) on the Costa Brava; and Cohen (2002) in Thailand, found that tourism can be a factor of change. Nash (1996) also agrees by affirming that changes that happen either in society or culture are largely

due to interactions between different individuals and groups. The extent and degree of change depends on the degree and type of interaction between groups (Macleod 2004).

However, the Bangkok Post (2007) argues that tourism has at least for the time being reduced the speed of change in tribal community by encouraging the preservation of various customs such as tribal dress, ceremonies, and crafts that had begun to disappear as the hill tribes came into contact with the outside world. This statement is supported by several studies such as Rajani (2002); Mckerron (2003); Williams (2009) who believe that hill tribe people in Thailand continue, to a great extent, to retain their original culture and lifestyle in their day to day life with very little change overtime. Some tourist destinations face rapid change while others deal with slow change (Murphy 1985). Regarding the Thai hill tribe people studied by Rajani (2002); Mckerron (2003); the Bangkok Post (2007); and Williams (2009), tourism has been responsible for the preservation of traditions and may experience a slower process of change that may take time to see. However, tourism may not be the only factor slowing the process of change. Srisantikol and Buatoun (1991) point out that a slow process of change may be due to a poor environment and living conditions causing a lower degree of change and a slower rate of change of people in that area.

Harvey (1990) and Chaney (2002) state that change occurs in every society eventually; however, the degree of change depends on whether members of a society will accept that change or not and how far they are willing to change (Supaap 1993). Nevertheless, culture and society does not change quickly over a year or two; it often takes time but it does happen (Freitag 1990; Robbins 1998; Robbins 1999; Kelleher and Levenson 2004), which is consistent to the findings that these Karen and Hmong respondents admitted and agreed that some changes had occurred in their lifestyles such as the way they spend money, the most obvious change they perceived occurring to themselves. However, different tourist destinations take different lengths of time for changes to occur and become visible depending on the readiness and acceptance of people in the tourist destination (Srisantikol 1993).

Kim (1988) on the other hand, suggests that the degree and speed of change depends on cultural and racial background, personality attributes and preparedness for change. Sim (2003) suggests that social and cultural change is not a one-time event, but it happens when there is continuous reinforcement of the new culture. On the other hand, Berry (1984); UNESCO (1985); Kymlicka (1995) offer a different point of view that minority groups do not always change themselves to fit with the majority who are more dominant. Berry (1984) also suggests that in some cases, resistance by either or both the dominant and nondominant cultural groups results in continuing cultural diversity. However, what was reflected in this study was this group of hill tribe

respondents preferred to change themselves to fit with the mainstream rather than oppose the influence of the ETAs.

### **Different working environments**

#### **Comparison of the views of those working with ETAs and those not working with ETAs regarding changes in lifestyles**

**Table 9.3 Summary of intertribal similarities and differences in perceptions of those working with ETAs and who not working with ETAs**

Karen working and Karen not working with ETAs	Hmong working and Hmong not working with ETAs
<p>Similarities</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Changes in the way local tribal people spend their money</li> <li>• Changes in the way local tribal people talk</li> </ul> <p>Differences</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Changes in housing styles</li> <li>• Changes in the way tribal people dress</li> <li>• Changes in the way tribal people eat</li> <li>• Changes in terms of family relationships</li> </ul>	<p>Similarities</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Changes in the way local tribal people spend their money</li> <li>• Changes in housing style</li> <li>• Changes in the way local tribal people talk</li> <li>• Changes in terms of family relationships</li> </ul> <p>Differences</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Changes in the way local tribal dress</li> <li>• Changes in the way local tribal eat</li> </ul>

Being engaged in different working environments is reflected in differences in perceptions in regard to changes in lifestyles. Louis (1980, p. 229) states that working in the same organisation is the process by which “an individual comes to appreciate the values and expected behaviours for participating as an organisational member.” Participants in the working environment with people from different cultures (ETAs) have a higher tendency to be influenced to become more like the outsiders. Both western and Thai scholars such as Kim (1988); Tanavichai (1991); Zimbardo and Leippe (1991) McWhinney (1992) all affirm that changes can happen everywhere with anyone, but that not everyone will be affected by the same degree of change. This notion is also reflected in the finding as those working with ETAs were also affected by the changes but to a lesser degree of change when compared with those working with ETAs.

For example, most of the traditional clothes were only worn by some of those staying in the village and working in agriculture, while those working with ETAs abandoned their traditional clothing and dressed like ETAs in order to blend in the society with whom they were interacting. Below are some examples of the statements made by both men and women not working with ETAs.

*“I wear tribal clothes sometimes, but not the full tribal dress, basically mix and match....it’s quite difficult to find the real tribal dress now and it has become really*

*expensive. So, I don't just wear it everyday. I save it for important ceremonies like weddings, Hmong New Year's...*

Chang (from Hmong tribe)

*"I like my tribal costumes, I wear it sometimes,...when attending Pgaganyaw (Karen) ceremony or feeding the spirits you will see I wear it,... but not when I go down town (Central Chiang Mai)"*

Sakchai (from Karen tribe)

Here are some examples from those working with ETAs:

*"I have my Kareng (Karen) traditional clothes but I don't wear them unless others want to see then I will go put it on just for show. Apart from that, I don't wear it to work, how can I get a respect from others by wearing that?"*

Rongroj (from Karen tribe)

*".....when I go out after work with my co-workers (ETAs) I wear the same style as them...I want to blend in..... (shy laugh)"*

Mam (from Karen tribe)

*"I have to wear my uniform at work, and after work I just get changed and put on something nice and easy...."*

Ae (from Karen tribe)

Hood and Koberg (1994) explain the reason these respondents change the way they dress is because people often learn the culture within their working environment and adjust to it.

Moreover, diet is another issue, and the participants working with ETAs tended to adapt to the way Thai people eat. This is consistent with several studies in Thailand (Cohen 1995, 1996, 2001; Smith 1989; Gray 1998; Peggy *et al.* 2002; Macleod 2004). Dearden (1991) suggests that the arrival of nonlocal and the interaction between host and guests can play a key role in changing tribal societies and their lifestyles to be like the rest of the mainstream. He also reports that the demand for consumer goods such as soft drinks, food and snacks that were originally brought into a village by outsiders for outsiders, soon become consumables for the natives. This topic was raised during the interviews:



*“.....nothing to do with forgetting what our food is like (boiled vegetables, fried vegetables and meat), but it’s more like wanting to eat like them (ETAs) and not wanting to eat like tribal people...I remembered certain instances where my neighbour invited me to go have Moo Kra-Ta<sup>3</sup> with them just because it’s now a popular dish among Thais.”*

Tan (from Karen tribe)

Changes in the careers tribal people choose is more apparent to individuals from both tribes working with ETAs, whilst changes in family structure are more obvious to those not working with ETAs. This change in family structure is one of the negative impacts of tourism employment mentioned by several scholars (Jud 1975; Walmsley *et al.* 1983; Chesney-Lind and Lind 1986). The finding from this group of hill tribe respondents provides support for previous studies such as those of Frey (1976) and Rothman (1978) who suggest that tourism employment often effects changes in traditional family life, with less time being spent with the family. Moreover, Brougham and Butler (1981) and Huang and Stewart (1996) also affirm that tourism employment not only caused a decline in traditional forms of socialising but also altered rural residents’ relationships to one another. A Thai case study conducted by Sanitsuda (1993) points out that rural family structure is changing first, as more families are split up with youth leaving home at an early age and secondly, evenings are spent watching urban, middle class television soap operas replacing the informal village gatherings to discuss village affairs. However, the group of Karen and Hmong working with ETAs showed the opposite perception by tending to consider it less serious, consistent with the studies of Lin and Loeb (1977); Pizam (1982); and Stokowski (1996) that did not find any evidence of changes in family structure. A possible reason for the differences could be that perhaps those not working with ETAs still held on to the idea of the extended family, consisting of parents, children and other close relatives living in close proximity, or of the nuclear family consisting of parents and their children. Therefore, the idea of single parent families or families where one or both partners or the children go to work somewhere else maybe new to those who still live in a typical tribal family.

To this end, the data suggest that different working environments only affect a few issues relating to the changes in lifestyles of the Karen and Hmong. Most participants, both those working with ETAs and not working with ETAs, tended to be aware of changes in their lifestyles, but perceived the degree of changes differently. These changes may not only be caused by ETAs or tourism but also by the expansion of modernisation into this remote area via

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<sup>3</sup> Moo Kra-Ta is a trendy menu of pork slices stir fried with some spicy sauce and vegetables on a hot plate. It is not a traditional Thai dish. It was adapted from Korea. It has become a fashionable eating-out style, more common in major cities, usually for a big group of people to sit around the table and cook and eat together.

the media. Possibly, this could be influenced by the arrival of and interaction with outsiders. This is supported by Supaap (1993) who demonstrated that both the media and the degree of interactions with others can be the determinants of change in perception. A study of Macleod (2004) in Cuba offered similar findings that local residents in Vueltas, Cuba, have been introduced to the industrialised products not only from the media but through the interaction with Western Europeans via a form of tourism. Therefore, according to Macleod, tourism can bring in the globalisation process including modernisation. As a result, the residents have been given a chance to adapt to new lifestyles such as youth culture, music, fashion, clothing, and the recreational use of alcohol and drugs (Robinson 1990; Macleod 2004). This can be explained in terms of demonstration effects such as the behaviour of individuals influenced by observing the actions of others and their daily life (Greenwood 1972; Murphy 1985) and changes resulting from imitating the outsiders (Davidson 1989).

However, the results from the two hill tribe groups is consistent with Robinson (1999); Bartos (2002) and Domenico *et al.* (2003) in that even though people have the same cultural background, socialising and involvement in different societies can lead to different views creating conflicts within their own society. Smith (2002) suggests that the creation of intragenerational conflicts can become problematic, especially in traditional societies where the younger generations might aspire to Western style or global living, whereas older generations are keen to protect their traditional lifestyles.

Having discussed similarities and differences in perceptions regarding changes in tribal lifestyles of those with different working environments, the next section will discuss it in terms of gender related differences.

## Gender related differences

**Table 9.4 Summary of similarities and differences in perceptions of different genders of those working with ETAs and not working with ETAs**

Working with ETAs	Karen			Hmong
	Male: Female	S	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Changes in the way local tribal people spend their money</li> <li>• Changes in the way local tribal people eat</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Changes in the way local tribal people spend their money</li> <li>• Changes in the way local tribal people talk</li> </ul>
	D	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Changes in housing style</li> <li>• Changes in the way local tribal people talk</li> <li>• Changes in the way local tribal people dress</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Changes in housing style</li> <li>• Changes in the way local tribal people eat</li> <li>• Changes in the way local tribal people dress</li> </ul>	
Not working with ETAs	Male: Female	S	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Changes in the way local tribal people spend their money</li> <li>• Changes in the way local tribal people talk</li> <li>• Changes in terms of family relationships</li> <li>• Changes in the way local tribal people eat</li> <li>• Changes in housing style</li> <li>• Changes in the way local tribal people dress</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Changes in the way local tribal people spend their money</li> <li>• Changes in the way local tribal people talk</li> <li>• Changes in terms of family relationships</li> <li>• Changes in the way local tribal people eat</li> </ul>
		D	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• No differences in perceptions of Karen males and females not working with ETAs</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Changes in housing style</li> <li>• changes in the way local tribal people dress</li> </ul>

\*S=Similarities, D=Differences

The differences in perceptions regarding changes in lifestyles not only occur between different countries or cultures. Gender frequently underlies differences in the perceptions of lifestyle changes indicating that men and women often have different physical and psychological needs (Eagly 1987; Patterson 2007). The findings show that males and females from both tribes working with ETAs tended to differ in perceptions of changes in lifestyles. Karen males and females have different perceptions of changes in housing styles, and the way tribal people talk and dress. Hmong males and females also had different perceptions in terms of housing style and in the ways tribal people eat and dress (see Chapter 7, Table 7.3).

Interestingly, no significant differences were found in the perceptions between Karen males and females not working with ETAs, while changes in housing style and the way tribal people dress were the issues that Hmong males and females perceived differently. The studies of Hofstede (1980) and Gefen and Straub (1997) indicate that women and men differ in their perceptions. Patterson (2007) also points out that in western culture, male and female perceptions may reflect how each gender is raised, as well reflecting the various pressures placed on males and females.

This would also be true in Thai hill tribe families. Male children in Karen and Hmong families normally will be taught to be like their father, acting as a leader in the family, making decisions for the family and bringing home food and money. Daughters, on the other hand, will be taught how to take care of the family members and perform all the household duties (Rajani 2002). Therefore, it can be concluded that these tribal males and females were taught in different disciplines when they were growing up reflecting their different ways of thinking.

Patterson (2007) also gives an example that for many females, clothing can become a major focal point in their daily life. Not only does their clothing have to fit within a certain style, many women are concerned with how their clothing accentuates or hides certain features. Moreover, they are also concerned with their peers' clothing and how they look in relation to them. This is also true of Thai hill tribe society, in that females tended to be more concerned about their appearance than were the males.

*"I like wearing modern fashionable clothing, ... I.....want to look pretty too"*

Mam (from Karen tribe)

*"I..... get changed and put on something nice..."*

Ae (from Karen tribe)

The findings of these hill tribe respondents also reflected that changes in housing style tended to be more obvious to the males from both tribes while the females tended to be more aware of the changes in the way they dress. These differing concerns regarding appearance is a reflection of inherent gender related differences in male and female perceptions regarding many aspects of life (Sabbatini 1997; Geary 1998; Ten Have *et al.* 2002; BBC 2005; Patterson 2007), and is reflected in their different degrees of concern regarding changes in lifestyles.

### **9.3 Development of the hill tribe communities**

This section discusses the issue of development in the hill tribe communities perceived by the respondents, determined by: increase in standard of living, increase in modern technologies such as cell phones, colour TV, gas stove, electric rice cookers, kettles, fans, tractors, etc., resulting in an easier and more convenient lifestyle, the establishment of new infrastructure, that were not there before, after the expansion of ETAs such as parks, resting areas, tourist information centres, English road signs, guideposts, street lights, clinics, etc., improvements in existing public facilities such as higher quality main roads and streets and alleys, improved

pathways, (wooden bridges replaced with concrete bridges for example) and higher costs of living. The following sections discuss the similarities and differences in their perceptions regarding these issues in relation to the supporting literature.

Section one will discuss ethnic tribal differences presented in the order of those working with ETAs followed by those not working with ETAs. The next section looks at the influence of different working environments upon the perceptions of those with ETA related jobs and those with non ETA jobs. The third and final section considers gender related perceptions.

**Ethnic tribal differences**

**Comparison of tribal groups working with ETAs regarding development of the hill tribe communities**

**Table 9.5 Summary of similarities and differences in perceptions of the Karen and Hmong working with ETAs**

Similarities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Community is more developed and has adapted to a higher standard of living</li> <li>• More modern technologies which have been introduced by ETAs in the area resulting in a more convenient way of life</li> <li>• Increases in costs of living</li> </ul>
Differences	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ETAs are the reason for some improvements in public facilities</li> <li>• ETAs are the reason for establishing new infrastructure</li> </ul>

Both Karen and Hmong respondents perceived that there have been developments in their community. For example, the findings from all participants revealed that they have noticed higher standards of living which result in improvements in their quality of life, even though most of the economic benefits go to the ETAs. The following statements are relevant to their perceptions regarding development in their communities:

*“The money they pay us is a tiny bit of what they can benefit from doing their business..., but it is not all bad I suppose, I get to see new things with a bigger vision of how life outside the community is like,...community is now quite developed (positive tone)... if there was no ETAs I would probably know only about farming and not something else.”*

Somran (from Karen tribe)

*“...I don’t see any damages in my community...I don’t know what people are fussing about, I quite like how it turns out to be more developed, more buildings more light, more colours more sound more entertainment...how can we just stay behind the mountain<sup>4</sup>?”*

Sae-Ya (from Hmong tribe)

*“Why do you think there are any impacts (referring to the negative impacts) here? I see a better standard of living in the community but I don’t see any bad impacts,...who does not like to be in a developed area! Of course we all do!!”*

Tong (from Karen tribe)

This is supported by both western and Thai case studies; Walton (1993); Michaud (1997); Cohen (2001); Macleod (2004) who reported that whilst most of the benefits often go to outside entrepreneurs, host residents are still aware of the better quality of life they receive from the industry. Both tribes agreed regarding the benefits of the development such as leading an easier lifestyle with modern facilities and higher standards of living. This is consistent with several case studies in Thailand by Cohen (2001); McKinnon and Bhruksasri (2002) and Sutamongkol (2007) who suggest that younger tribal people have a more comfortable life with all the newly advanced technologies such as cell phones, motorbikes, four wheel drive vehicles, tractors and all the amenities that provide them with more comfort such as rice cookers, kettles, fans, and tractors. These and other related developments are partly due to the introduction of the modern lifestyles penetrating these remote areas, and serves as one of the factors leading to this modernisation perceived as resulting from a higher degree of interaction with outsiders. A case study in Crete by Andriotis (2003) suggests a similar finding that local residents have the opportunity to access the benefits of globalisation because of the introduction of commercial tourism.

The one negative issue that both tribes have noticed is the higher costs of living, as evidenced in the following quotations:

*“I used to pay 10 baht<sup>5</sup> to ride on a saleng<sup>6</sup> from here down the hill. Now it costs 15 baht for locals and 30 baht for tourists....but then, if there were no ETA businesses here, I don’t think there would be any public transport up here.”*

Pongsak (from Karen tribe)

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<sup>4</sup> Stay behind the mountain is the way of expressing being under developed in the undeveloped area.

<sup>5</sup> 50 baht was equivalent to 1 GBP at the time of the study.

<sup>6</sup> A saleng is a type of public vehicle to pick up and drop off people.

*“Now I need to spend more to buy something that I used to get for a cheaper price.....”*

Sae-Ya (from Hmong tribe)

It is widely recorded in the literature: De Kadt (1979); Cook (1982); Tyrrell and Paulding (1984); Walton (1993); Lankford *et al.* (1997); Macleod (2004); Mathieson and Wall (2006) and Klein (2007) that tourism can stimulate the economic status of the host destination and create more job opportunities for local people, but it can also cause higher costs of living in the area where tourism takes place. This notion is consistent with the findings of this study that hill tribe people working with ETAs perceive that more job opportunities have developed, but more expenditure have been created as well, due to higher costs of living.

In terms of their differences, the establishment of new services and facilities in tourism destinations has been addressed by a number of scholars: Milman and Pizam (1988); Ap (1990); Inskip (1991); Ap and Crompton (1998); Tomljenovic and Faulkner (2000); Haley *et al.* (2005); and Northcote and Macbeth (2005). In Doi Inthanon, Hmong respondents perceived that several infrastructures such as a health clinics, clean water supply facilities, solar cells, street lighting, resting areas, road signs, guideposts, improved access to certain villages, car parks and tourist information centres, resulted from the arrival of ETAs. Fewer Karen were prepared to acknowledge these changes were a result of the influx of ETAs. Instead, they argued during the interviews and face to face questionnaire that this infrastructure resulted from the actions of the Thai government, not ETAs.

*“...I don't know for sure whose money it was, but I think it's them (ETAs). No one would care about resting areas, guideposts, street lights,... just them, because their businesses are here.”*

Nikom (from Hmong tribe)

*“I think the government has done a lot for us, all the facilities here are from the actions of the government....I don't think all these are within the power and money of ETAs; maybe they are one of the reasons to get the government to put action into the development project here”*

Mam (from Karen tribe)

The answer from Mam has demonstrated that the Thai government has put efforts into promoting every part of Thailand as tourism destinations. Therefore, developing hill tribe communities to the standard where tourism can be developed easily can help attract more ETAs to the area.

On the other hand, the idea that the arrival of ETAs has resulted in an improvement of the existing services and facilities such as better quality of main road, improved pathways, wooden bridges being replaced by concrete bridges, better electricity poles, etc., was a perception shared by both tribes but to different degrees, the Karen tended to be less in agreement than the Hmong.

*“Yeah, I think they do it, not for us, but for their own businesses,...better roads lead to their resort, better lighting in some areas.... that’s why I said I don’t mind them here because my community can also benefit from it.”*

Tong (from Karen tribe)

*“Since the arrival of ETAs, more businesses have opened in this neighbourhood the surrounding and facilities in this area have been improved especially the street is smoother”*

Nikom (from Hmong tribe)

*“I think ETAs spent their money to improve a lot of things here.....mainly because they want to give their customers an easy access to their business and enhance the quality of customers' stay with good experience and comfort while they are there...so big improvements have been made in facilities here.”*

Nong (from Hmong tribe)

The Karen and Hmong perceive this situation differs from the situations described by Cook (1982) and Klein (2007) who believe that in areas where major tourism industry takes place, a significant social problem develops that many tourism workers have to face poor working and living conditions due to the degradation of public facilities from overuse. This may be a reflection of the relatively modest degree of tourism development currently occurring as compared to the locations where Cook (1982) and Klein (2007) were studying. Their positive perceptions regarding the improvement of public facilities as a result of the arrival of ETAs confirms the social exchange theory that currently neither tribe opposes the ETAs or any of their tourism activities for that matter as these tribal people gain benefits from it. Therefore, it may be that their poor living conditions in the past causes them to positively perceive the arrival of ETAs which they believe could result in a better quality of life in a more developed community. Similar findings towards the improvement of public facilities were also revealed in other studies by Ap (1990); Lankford and Howard (1994); Ap and Crompton (1998); Tomljenovic and Faulkner (2000); Teye *et al.* (2002); Andereck *et al.* (2005); Gu and Wong (2006).



**Comparison of tribal groups not working with ETAs regarding development of the hill tribe communities**

**Table 9.6 Summary of similarities and differences in perceptions of the Karen and Hmong not working with ETAs**

Similarities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Higher costs of living</li> <li>• ETAs are the reason for establishing new infrastructure</li> </ul>
Differences	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Community is more developed and has adapted to a higher standard of living</li> <li>• More modern technologies influenced by ETAs in the area result in a more convenient lifestyle</li> <li>• ETAs are the reason for some improvements in public facilities</li> </ul>

The findings suggest that ethnic grouping does not account for many of the differences in perceptions between the Karen and Hmong not working with ETAs. They tended to think in a similar way regarding the issues of development in their communities. However, the differences in their perceptions are reflected in the differences in degree of their agreement.

In terms of their similarities, the only negative view they held regarding community development resulting from the arrival of ETAs was the increase in the cost of living, common to both tribes.

*“...many products are more expensive now, before, one kilogram of vegetables cost no more than 5 baht, but now the price has gone up almost double....”*

Pa-Chong (from Hmong tribe)

Increases in the cost of living have been recorded in several tourism impact studies both internationally (e.g., Stevens 1993; Robinson 1994; Shackley 1995; Mulligan 1999; Andriotis 2003; Alhasanat 2008) and in Thailand (e.g., Hitchcock *et al.* 1993; Bartsch 2000; Cohen 2002; Buadang 2004; Leepreecha 2005; Toyota 2005; Sutamongkol 2007). The Thai case studies have identified that tourism creates higher costs of living for the host community in terms of price of the land, rice, food, services, etc.

Neither the Karen nor Hmong respondents not working for ETAs supported the idea that the arrival of ETAs has resulted in new infrastructure in their communities. The finding of these hill tribe respondents was consistent with a study of Leepreecha (2005) who stated that the government has invested a lot of money in infrastructure; therefore, more facilities are developed especially road construction in hill tribe areas, which has benefited tourism. He gave

examples of remote villages of the Karen Long Neck tribe in Ban Phiang Din Village in Mae Hong Son and the Mlabri in Huai Yuak Village in Nan. However, he explained that, in the past, one of the reasons for road construction to reach hill tribe communities was based on the national security purposes for sending troops to defeat Communist bases and take control over the jungle area. Presently, as has occurred in many remote areas, infrastructure is created for the purpose of tourism (Leepreecha 2005).

The differences detected are only differences in the degree of agreement. Both tribal groups not working with ETAs perceived community benefits as resulting from the arrival of ETAs, i.e., the community is more developed and enjoys improved public facilities, and as a result, tribal people have adapted to higher standards of living, complete with modern facilities. These issues have been noticed by both the Karen and Hmong, but they differ in that the Karen tended to agree more with the benefits. Kornblum (2007) states that social change can be either more development or decline, and these findings suggest that these subsets of hill tribe people perceived that ETAs tended to influence positive change rather than decline.

Having discussed similarities and differences in terms of the development of their communities perceived by people with different ethnic backgrounds, the following section will discuss the similarities and differences hold by those with different working environments.

### **Different working environments**

#### **Comparison of the views of those working with ETAs and those not working with ETAs regarding development of the hill tribe communities**

**Table 9.7 Summary of similarities and differences in perceptions of the tribal people working with ETAs and those not working with ETAs**

Karen working and Karen not working with ETAs	Hmong working and Hmong not working with ETAs
<p>Similarities</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• No similarities between these groups</li> </ul> <p>Differences</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ETAs are the reason for some improvements in public facilities</li> <li>• ETAs are the reason for establishing new infrastructure</li> <li>• Community is more developed and has adapted to a higher standard of living</li> <li>• More modern facilities have been influenced by ETAs in the area resulting in a more convenient lifestyle</li> <li>• Higher costs of living</li> </ul>	<p>Similarities</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• No similarities between these groups</li> </ul> <p>Differences</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Community is more developed and has adapted to a higher standard of living</li> <li>• More modern facilities have been influenced by ETAs in the area resulting in a more convenient lifestyle</li> <li>• ETAs are the reason for some improvements in public facilities</li> <li>• ETAs are the reason for establishing new infrastructure</li> <li>• Higher costs of living</li> </ul>

Different working environments appear to effect the perceptions of the selected Karen and Hmong in terms of the development of hill tribe communities resulting from the arrival of ETAs. Mitchell (1978) explains that perceptions are the processes that shape and produce what people actually experience. The research demonstrated that those not working with ETAs also perceived a higher standard of living, modern facilities, and improvement of public facilities positively, and higher costs of living negatively, but tended to agree less than those working with ETAs on every aspect. This could be due to the different working environments that influenced the different levels of their evaluation. In terms of tourism development perceptions, several scholars (e.g., Pizam 1978; Thomason *et al.* 1979; Brougham and Butler 1981; Murphy 1983; Tyrrell and Spaulding 1984; Husbands 1989; Ap and Crompton 1993; Lawson *et al.* 1998; Ryan and Montgomery 1994; Mathieson and Wall 2006; Cooper *et al.* 2008) have found different perceptions regarding development from tourism held by hosts in the community. People who are involved more with tourism may notice more of the development in the community where tourism takes place.

### Gender related differences

**Table 9.8 Summary of gender related similarities and differences in perceptions of those working with ETAs and not working with ETAs**

Working with ETAs	Karen			Hmong
	Male: Female	S	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Community is more developed and has adapted to a higher standard of living</li> <li>More modern facilities influenced by ETAs in the area result in a more convenient lifestyle</li> <li>Higher costs of living</li> <li>ETAs are the reason for some improvements in public facilities</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Community is more developed and has adapted to a higher standard of living</li> <li>More modern facilities influenced by ETAs in the area result in a more convenient lifestyle</li> <li>Higher costs of living</li> <li>ETAs are the reason for some improvements in public facilities</li> </ul>
	D	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>ETAs are the reason for establishing new infrastructure</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>No differences</li> </ul>	
Not working with ETAs	Male: Female	S	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Community is more developed and has adapted to a higher standard of living</li> <li>More modern facilities influenced by ETAs in the area result in a more convenient way to live</li> <li>ETAs are the reason for some improvements in public facilities</li> <li>Higher costs of living</li> <li>ETAs are the reason for some improvements in public facilities</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Community is more developed and has adapted to a higher standard of living</li> <li>More modern facilities influenced by ETAs in the area result in a more convenient lifestyle</li> <li>ETAs are the reason for some improvements in public facilities</li> <li>Higher costs of living</li> <li>ETAs are the reason for some improvements in public facilities</li> </ul>
		D	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>No differences</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>No differences</li> </ul>

\*S=Similarities, D=Differences

This section discusses similarities and differences in perceptions based on gender differences between those working and those not working with ETAs.

Some researchers have found that males and females do not benefit equally as a result of tourism development in their communities. Therefore, they often have different perceptions regarding tourism impacts (De Kadt 1979; Reynoso Valle and de Regt 1979; Smaoui 1979; Hong 1985; Monk and Alexander 1986; Enloe 1989; Smith 1989; Henderson *et al.* 1990; Inskip 1991; Levy and Lerch 1991). In contrast, this study revealed that the finding of perceived community development suggested only slight differences between Karen men and women working with ETAs, which was that the women tended to disagree more with the notion that ETAs were the reason for the establishment of new infrastructure. Overall, Karen males and females thought alike regarding these issues. Equally, there no significant differences were found among Hmong males and females in their perceptions of community development arising from the arrival of ETAs. This is consistent with the findings of Harvey *et al.* (1995) who suggested that the most common perceptions between males and females of the benefits from tourism to their local community were that tourism is a means for the development of their area. While differences related by gender did not account for any differences in the perceptions for those not working with ETAs it is still important to address the similarities in their perceptions.

The results show males and females from both tribes shared common views about the development of their communities resulting from the arrival of ETAs such as higher standards of living with more modern facilities, improvement of public services and facilities. The higher cost of living was the only issue of concern. On the contrary, the study of Harvey *et al.* (1995) suggested that females in Idaho tended to perceive that their community could develop itself without the help of tourism and often felt more negatively towards tourism than the males, in terms of allowing non-residents to develop tourism attractions in their community which lacked recreational opportunities for local residents.

Having discussed the Karen and Hmong perceptions regarding the development of their communities as a result from the arrival of ETAs, the following section focuses on the perceived cultural impacts.

#### **9.4 Cultural impacts**

The section discusses the cultural impacts perceived by the tribal respondents working and not working with ETAs. The issues of cultural impacts perceived by the respondents in Doi Inthanon were: increase in the popularity of hill tribe tourism, desire to lose tribal identity, loss

of tribal language, forgetting traditional products, pseudo events, a desire to promote tribal cultural products, and cultural conflicts.

The following section will review the similarities and differences of their perceptions regarding these issues in relation to the supporting literature.

**Ethnic tribal differences**

**Comparison of tribal groups working with ETAs regarding cultural impacts**

**Table 9.9 Summary of similarities and differences in perceptions of the Karen and Hmong working with ETAs**

Similarities:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increase in hill tribe popularity</li> <li>• Being made fun of results in desire to lose tribal identity</li> <li>• There is loss of local tribal language</li> <li>• Forgetting traditional music, dress, ceremonies and culture</li> <li>• Social and traditional events have become pseudo events</li> </ul>
Differences:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Desire to promote and preserve tribe cultural products: culture, language, dress code, food</li> <li>• There are cultural conflicts from hosting ETAs</li> </ul>

In terms of their similarities, both tribes have noticed that they are becoming better known and being more recognised by non-tribal people. Sanitsuda (1993); Buadang (2004) and Sutamongkol (2006) affirm that due to the expansion of tourism in several tribe destinations, has brought hill tribe people closer to the rest of the world and given them a chance to be known more by tourists.

A number of studies, Murguia (1975); Ap (1990); Srisantikol (1993); Khan and Ata (1994); Ap and Crompton (1998); Brunt and Courtney (1999); Tomljenovic and Faulkner (2000); Valentine (2001); Williams and Lawson (2001); Teye *et al.* (2002); Carter and Beeton (2004); Thanasarn (2005); Andereck *et al.* (2005); Fredline *et al.* (2005), mention both the loss of residents' identity and demonstration effects which are also reflected in this finding that tribal people were starting to leave their tribal characteristics behind and act more like non-tribal people which are of those ETAs as well as tourists.

A study of William (2009) explains that many minorities ultimately form hybrid or transnational identities, which allow them to operate and be accepted in two or more cultures, which facilitates a sense of belonging and the adaptation process to a new country and culture. Though, there is a consistency between this study and previous studies regarding the cultural assimilation and loss of identity, nonetheless, these previous studies did not mention the reasons of being mocked and being made fun of as the reason behind the desire to lose their identity.

This research found these Karen and Hmong working with ETAs feel ashamed of being tribal and of their accents therefore they have the desire to be non-tribal, at least when they are in public among Thais. Macauley (1977) explains that individual's speech and accent reflect his position in society. However, Mathieson and Wall (2006) argue that tourism is an industry that brings people closer to one another, and that it creates understanding between people from different backgrounds and cultures especially providing opportunities for cultural exchange between hosts and guests. In addition, it develops mutual understanding and sympathy for others with different cultures and values (UNEP 2002). However, these findings are inconsistent as results from both interviews and questionnaires with the selected tribal members, demonstrated they often have low personal self-esteem and sometimes they may hide their true self to disguise the negative image that other societies have for them from being in a minority group. A study by Tajfel (1981) demonstrates that people hold various collective identities on the basis of demographic factors and personal social networks. For example, most people identify themselves as members of a certain nationality, race, religion, social class etc. membership within a minority group among bigger majority group is necessary but not sufficient enough to hold a strong group identity. Moreover, as Cross (1991) points out some smaller ethnic groups have learnt to value bigger groups and to devalue their own race. The following statements reflect their perceptions that they value the dominant Thai society more than their own culture and race.

*"I have my Kareng (Karen) traditional clothes... but I don't wear them unless others want to see then I will go put it on just for show. Apart from that, I don't wear it to work, how can I get a respect from others by wearing that?"*

Rongroj (from Karen tribe)

*"Sometimes I got scared I don't feel like speaking in public and I don't want the Thai to know I am a Kareng (Karen) I try to act like them... one of my friends got beaten up by some strangers because he is a Kareng and has an accent when he speaks Thai."*

Tan (from Karen tribe)

*"...in public I don't want to show my Hmong identity....by not speaking in Hmong dialect, because often they (non-tribal people) will stare at me and give me a disparaging look and judge me before hand...which is the last thing I need right now... I want to be accepted by their society...when I work here I try to act less like Hmong and act more like them..."*

Nikom (from Hmong tribe)

The anxiety over revealing their tribal identity (in the forms of language use, dress) was upsetting for these tribal people. However, it might have to do with their self-conscious awareness, that their ancestors were not originally from Thailand and were just immigrants who moved into Thailand and have been labelled with negative images (see Chapter 3 for more detail), therefore the feeling of being a minority and left out from the mainstream may result in hidden their real identity and cultural assimilation in order to gain some sense of belonging and acceptance. It is noteworthy to point out that discrimination and racism are the issues that the selected hill tribe respondents from both tribes were experiencing from working with ETAs (see Chapter 5, Section 5.6 for relevant quotations). Tajfel (1982) and Turner *et al.* (1987) assert that the denigration and discrimination of others in outgroups (hill tribe people) is pervasive, implicit and easily triggered. This problem has an effect on their desire to be accepted by the Thais, therefore, they often hide their identity by acting Thai like. Ashforth and Mael (1989) explain that under the influence of social identity, individuals may display motives and behaviour that conflict with their real personal identities. Kim and Gudykunst (1988) affirm that the minority's culture often displaced by the dominant group's culture in a process of assimilation. In this case, ETAs are a dominant group as they belong to a bigger and higher class of society compared to hill tribe people.

While Ryan (1991) and Prentice and Hudson (1993) include the problem of the loss of local language after residents come into contact with outsiders, on the contrary, this study shown that both tribes disagreed that they are losing their tribal language. The informants revealed that they have learnt Thai and try to speak more like Thai when they talk to Thai people in order to be accepted by Thai society, but their tribal language has not been lost, they still speak their own language with tribal friends and families.

*"... I do speak Thai but does not mean I have to forget my own language.....I talk in my language with my people"*

Ying (from Karen tribe)

*"No no (strong argument) we don't forget how to speak Hmong that easily...we speak Thai at work,...with them, but in our heart we know that it is not our language, but Hmong is"*

Sae Ya (from Hmong tribe)

This finding is consistent with a study of Brougham and Butler (1981) that the loss of local dialect and language may not always happen every time there is a cross-cultural contact.

Neither tribe agreed that they have forgotten their traditional music, dress, ceremonies and culture from working with ETAs. This suggests that even though, tribal people have to share their community and interact with ETAs, and their clients either by direct or indirect contact, and this may influence their way of life, they are themselves convinced that this will not make them forget about their own traditions, music ceremonies and culture that they have been taught while they were growing up, which contradicts the assertions of De Kadt (1979); Murphy (1985); Dogan (1989); Greenwood (1989); King *et al.* (1993); Fladmark (1994); Craik (1997); Mathieson and Wall (2006).

To conclude this, from the statements above reflect on the acculturation strategies proposed by Berry (1997), the findings demonstrated that even though they do not wish to show their cultural identity and rather assimilate to ETAs' culture, which defined as the assimilation strategy, but the point where they mentioned about not forgetting their language and traditions implies them in terms of integration where some degree of their tribal cultural integrity is maintained (the evidences are that they still talk in their own language with their own people, participate in their traditional events when they have chance), while at the same time they seek to involve as an integral part of the ETAs society. Berry *et al.* (1989) conclude that individual's attitudes towards four alternatives, assimilation, integration, separation and marginalisation, constitute an individual's acculturation strategy.

Another issue raised, they noticed that their social and traditional events have changed and become pseudo events. A possible reason could be that after have been working with ETAs by involving themselves in the tourism business, they become more used to present their culture, traditional events etc. to tourists as part of their jobs. As a result from having seen too many times their traditional events being sold as a tourism product, they tended to start seeing it as for purpose of tourism. This is consistent with a study of Harrison (1992).

In terms of their differences, Karen respondents tended to be keener on promoting their cultural products given the encouragement of ETAs. Several scholars (e.g., Liu and Var 1986; Inskeep 1991; Ap and Crompton 1998; Tomljenovic and Faulkner 2000; Williams and Lawson 2001; Teye *et al.* 2002; Fredline *et al.* 2005; Northcote and Macbeth 2005) suggest that the income from working in tourism, which could be from selling their cultural products, such as crafts, clothes, textile and wooden handmade etc. has been considered as a point where local people realise they can earn money from tourism which could result in an opportunities to retain their cultural products. This could be explained in terms of social exchange theory that the rewards Karen evaluate from promoting their culture as a tourism product outweighs the costs of losing the real meaning of their culture.



The cultural conflicts resulting from the arrival of ETAs is perceived differently by the Karen and Hmong working with ETAs. Both tribes did not notice any cultural conflict between them and ETAs, especially to the Karen, this issue was less obvious to them. A possible explanation is the Karen people have been exposed themselves to outsiders longer than the Hmong people, and that could have influenced perception of the Karen to understand and be more familiar with other cultures. Moreover, the characteristic of Karen could be another reason, as Karen people are more easy going and this may help them to better adapt to different cultures. A number of Thai hill tribe case studies e.g., Buadang (2006), Sutamongkol (2007a), Naruemon and Poonpreecha (2008) support this finding by suggesting that many Karen people tend to accept the differences between their cultures and others and some Karen groups have assimilated Thai culture rather than opposed it. This finding contradicts the assertions of Krippendorf (1987); Kariel and Kariel (1989) and Sharpley (1994) that interaction of host and guest often result in conflict. On the other hand, these studies indicate that cultural conflicts from the interaction with ETAs seem to be more apparent to Hmong a finding that contradicts social exchange theory that posits that people who benefit from tourism likely to perceive more positive view toward tourism. But as King *et al.* (1993) point out those people with personal benefits from tourism are not only seeing positive impacts but are also more likely than others to report negative impacts.

### **Comparison of tribal groups not working with ETAs regarding cultural impacts**

**Table 9.10 Summary of similarities and differences in perceptions of Karen and Hmong not working with ETAs**

Similarities:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increase in hill tribe popularity</li> <li>• There are cultural conflicts from hosting ETAs</li> <li>• Being made fun of result in desire to lose tribal identity</li> <li>• There is lost of local tribal language</li> <li>• Forgetting traditional music, dress, ceremonies and culture</li> <li>• Social and traditional events have become pseudo events</li> </ul>
Differences:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• No differences</li> </ul>

The same issues of cultural impacts have been examined for similarities and differences between Karen and Hmong not working with ETAs. This demonstrated that there were no differences in perceptions of cultural impacts between Karen and Hmong not working with ETAs. The only impact they agreed with was that they realise that their popularity is increasing however, they disagreed with the following impacts: cultural conflicts, desire to lose their identity, loss of tribal language, a loss of traditions and culture, that traditional events have become pseudo events. These findings of not losing their language and culture being perceived by those not involved in tourism are supported not only by other hill tribe studies by Thai researchers (Rajani 2002; Laungaramsri 2003; Leepreecha 2004) but also by Keyes (1990)

Delang (2003), McKinnon (2003), which found that although hill tribe people in general have been living in many different locations and have moved around, they have still managed to preserve their way of life, culture and language over centuries.

Having discussed similarities and differences in terms of the cultural impacts perceived by people with different ethnic backgrounds, the following section will discuss the similarities and differences in their perceptions hold by those with different working environments.

### **Different working environments**

#### **Comparison of the views of those working and those not working with ETAs regarding cultural impacts**

**Table 9.11 Summary of similarities and differences in perceptions of the Karen and Hmong working and not working with ETAs**

Karen working and Karen not working with ETAs	Hmong working and Hmong not working with ETAs
<p>Similarities</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• There is loss of local tribal language</li> </ul> <p>Differences</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• There are cultural conflicts from hosting ETAs</li> <li>• Being made fun of result in desire to lose tribal identity</li> <li>• Increase in hill tribe popularity</li> <li>• Forgetting traditional music, dress, ceremonies and culture</li> <li>• Social and traditional events have become pseudo events</li> </ul>	<p>Similarities</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• There is loss of local tribal language</li> </ul> <p>Differences</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• There are cultural conflicts from hosting ETAs</li> <li>• Being made fun of result in desire to lose tribal identity</li> <li>• Increase in hill tribe popularity</li> <li>• Forgetting traditional music, dress, ceremonies and culture</li> <li>• Social and traditional events have become pseudo event</li> </ul>

Again there is evidence that the experience of different working environments can influence individuals' perceptions in this instance of cultural impacts. The only similar perception is the issue of lose of local tribal language which different working environment has no influence on their perception, as they all disagreed with this issue. Apart from the language issue, people working with ETAs thought differently from those not working with ETAs by tending to agree more with the cultural impacts from ETAs such as increased tribal popularity, the loss of tribal traditions and cultures, desire to lose their identity, and the development of pseudo events. Macleod (2004) suggests that people who have more direct contact with tourism are introduced to different ideas regarding their culture, identity and community and might influence them to change their beliefs or see things differently from those who experience different environment.

Harrison (1992) has highlighted that cultural and traditional events often become tourism products and often lose their own value. Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983); Cohen (1996, 2001); Thanasarn (2004) also agree with Harrison by affirming that the more accessible tribal people become the more they have to suffer from losing their culture and its meaning. Thanasarn (2004) also points out that tourism has caused changes and the loss of local values. This finding is consistent with previous studies, Karen and Hmong working with ETAs also agreed more than those not working with ETAs that after have been working with ETAs it has become more obvious to them that their tribal events have changed and become pseudo events. It could be that by being in the different working environments, in this case is the tourism environment and non tourism environment, the group that is in the tourism environment tended to become more used to their jobs by cooperating with ETAs to sell and present their culture, traditional events etc. as tourism products to the tourists, this finding is supported by the studies of McKinnon and Bhruksasri (1983) and Cohen (1988). Interestingly, Ayaz (2008) explains that any groups or societies that started responding to new cultural and social demands and dimensions with modern trends often have some degree of changes in them resulting in different set of perceptions.

### Gender related differences

**Table 9.12 Summary of similarities and differences in perceptions of different genders of those working and not working with ETAs**

Working with ETAs	Karen			Hmong
	Male: Female	S:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increase in hill tribe popularity</li> <li>• Being made fun of result in desire to lose tribal identity</li> <li>• Social and traditional events have changed and become pseudo events</li> <li>• There are cultural conflicts from hosting ETAs</li> <li>• Forgetting traditional music, dress, ceremonies and culture</li> <li>• There is a lost of tribe language</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increase in hill tribe popularity</li> <li>• Being made fun of result in desire to lose tribal identity</li> <li>• Social and traditional events have changed and become pseudo events</li> <li>• There are cultural conflicts from hosting ETAs</li> <li>• Forgetting traditional music, dress, ceremonies and culture</li> <li>• There is a lost of tribe language</li> </ul>
D:		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• No differences</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• No differences</li> </ul>	
Not working with ETAs	Male: Female	S:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• There are cultural conflicts from hosting ETAs</li> <li>• Social and traditional events have changed and become pseudo events</li> <li>• There is a lost of tribe language</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• There are cultural conflicts from hosting ETAs</li> <li>• Social and traditional events have changed and become pseudo events</li> <li>• There is a lost of tribe language</li> <li>• Forgetting traditional music, dress, ceremonies and culture</li> </ul>
		D:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increase in hill tribe popularity</li> <li>• Forgetting traditional music, dress, ceremonies and culture</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increase in hill tribe popularity</li> </ul>

S=Similarities, D=Differences

This section discusses the similarities and differences in respondents' perceptions based on gender differences. Shrestha (2000) affirms that gender tends to reflect perceptions and the role in society. If a society has more gender egalitarian behaviour, their attitudes and perceptions would differ from societies that are rigidly gendered. This notion is contradicted to the findings from this study, because, although Hmong males tend to predominate Hmong society, and all the decision making will be done by the men, whereas there is an equal role and decision making in the Karen (Rajani 2002), but as shown in Table 9.12, despite gender differences of these respondents and the roles in society, once they are working with ETAs they tend to have similar perceptions relating to the impacts on their culture.

While, there are only few differences in perceptions of males and females from both tribes not working with ETAs, females from both tribes agreed more than the males in terms of an increase in hill tribe popularity (see Chapter 6, Table 6.8) this could be due to a high demand for female labour in the tourism industry, women tend to be involved more in the business, allowing them to interact more with ETAs and tourists consequently it is easier for them to notice that they are being more recognised by others.

Therefore it emerges that gender is not a good variable to predict the cultural impacts from ETAs perceived by the selected participants. Again this contrasts to several studies (e.g., Kinnaird and Hall 1994; Shackley 1994; Swain 1995; Wilkinson and Pratiwi 1995; Aitchison 2001; Swain *et al.* 2007) who propose that gender can be a predictor to evaluate perceived social and cultural impacts.

## **9.5 Disruptions in the life of hill tribe people**

This section considers the factors that were perceived to disrupt the lives of hill tribe people, perceived by the hill tribe respondents. The issues of disruption include: crowding, lacking a sense of being welcome, safety, increased crime rate and STD. These similarities and differences are reviewed in relation to ethnic tribal differences, different working environments, and gender.

### Ethnic tribal differences

#### **Comparison of tribal groups working with ETAs regarding disruptions in the life of hill tribe people**

**Table 9.13 Summary of similarities and differences in perceptions of the Karen and Hmong working with ETAs**

Similarities:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Feeling crowded and difficult to participate in traditional events</li><li>• Do not feel welcome in tourism business area owned by ETAs</li></ul>
Differences:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Do not feel safe as before due to more number of ETAs</li><li>• Increase in crime rate</li><li>• Increase in STD</li></ul>

A large number of previous tourism impact literature mention the issues of prostitution, traffic congestion, litter, noise, morality, openness to sexual behaviour, vandalism and drug abuse, (e.g., Rothman 1978; Belisle and Hoy 1980; Sheldon and Var 1984; Perdue *et al.* 1987; Cohen 1988; Doan 1989; Ross 1992; Swain 1995; Burns and Holden 1995; Haralambopoulos and Pizam 1996; Tosun 1998). However, these issues have not been mentioned by any of the selected tribal respondents. This could be that the focus of this research is looking at hill tribe people and their interaction with ETAs who are there to work, which might have eliminated or gave less chance for the issues occurred in other tourism impacts studies to happen in the case of the interaction between these hill tribe people and the ETAs. Nevertheless, the issues of crowding, sense of belonging/being welcomed and safety were referred to by the Karen and Hmong who working with ETAs.

Ethnic differences tend to influence perceptions in regard to the lives of tribal people being disrupted for both those working and those not working with ETAs. There are differences in the perceptions of Karen and Hmong as the Karen tended to agree less with most of the disruptions of life such as feeling less safe, increased crime rates, and increased STD compared to the Hmong. However, the Karen did not perceive issues of crowding, lacking sense of belonging, increased crime rates and STD as problems and even welcome the arrival of ETAs, this finding is at variance with some previous studies that these particular disruptions (in other tourism studies known as social negative impacts) were what concerned their respondents (Sheldon and Var 1984; Liu and Var 1986; Liu *et al.* 1987; Ap 1990; Ross 1992; Ap and Crompton 1998; Brunt and Courtney 1999; Mason and Cheyne 2000; Tomljenovic and Faulkner 2000; Williams and Lawson 2001; Gursoy *et al.* 2002; Teye *et al.* 2002; Andereck *et al.* 2005; Fredline *et al.* 2005; Haley *et al.* 2005; Northcote and Macbeth 2005). The studies of Gudykunst and Kim (2003) and Kim (2008) report that outgroups, in this case the hill tribe people, become more open towards dominant group (ETAs), more adaptive and better understanding of their roles in a

social setting such as the workplace. In this case, ETAs tend to stay in the community for a longer term than tourists who just come and go, therefore the interaction between hill tribe people and ETAs in tourism workplaces facilitate hill tribe people to be able to socialise and spend time together with ETAs which allow hill tribe people to feel more familiar and create a bonding with ETAs rather than feeling crowded with strangers. Lawrence (2007) asserts that one's drive to bond with the wider community is common in a human psychology.

Despite the increase in number of tourism activities and ETAs, the findings found the Karen residents still welcome ETAs and have not so far attempted to limit the growth of tourism and show no sign of an irritation, at least for the time being, which confirms the euphoria stage in the Doxey Irridex model.

(Big laugh) *"ETAs don't make me feel crowded, I enjoy having them here.... I'd like them to come in more and have more tourism businesses here, so other highlanders can have job opportunities like me"*

Rongroj (from Karen tribe)

*"No disease here at least not that I know of..and even so, I don't think it'd be from them (ETAs)..I've heard about prostitution but not from the business owned by ETAs here...., if there are any diseases it is likely to come from some tribal girls who go down town (Chiang Mai city) and become a prostitute there."*

Mam (from Karen tribe)

As reflected from Rongroj and Mam statements, it is interesting to see that ETAs seem to be overly protected by the Karen. A possible explanation could be that Karen people have been open themselves to ETAs (see Chapter 3, Doi Inthanon overview) which could have created a strong bond between them and made them feel somewhat closer to ETAs. As a result, they feel the urge to step up and to defend ETAs who they work for/ with. This action can be explained in terms the four drives theory that describes the motivations to acquire, bond, comprehend, and defend as fundamental to human psychology which lead to employee's behaviour of in the organisation (Lawrence and Norhira 2001; Emelander 2009).

On the other hand, the finding of Hmong shows that despite their early stage of tourism development, as their community only became more involved with tourism in 2005 which is more recent when compared to the Karen (see Chapter 3, Doi Inthanon overview) the Hmong respondents' have already reached the stage where they are concerned about the negative impacts from tourism.

*“I noticed that there are more crimes (referring to assault, harassment) now since they (ETAs) are here, I don’t know whether it’s tourist or them (ETAs) but I don’t think it’s tourists, why would they want to hurt us!”*

Sae-Ya (from Hmong tribe)

*“When there are more tourism businesses, there will be more people from other areas,…… Before, around mid-night after I finish selling flower in the night market, I can walk home alone feeling nothing but now not even mid-night yet I cannot go home alone, I feel it’s more dangerous nowadays, so my husband comes to pick me up.”*

Mai (from Hmong tribe)

*“...Not that it has happened to me, but somehow I feel so unsafe...”*

Pai (from Hmong tribe)

The Hmong tended to be more concerned with disruptions of life, feeling unsafe, increased crime rates and increased STD, which challenges Doxey’s Irridex model and Butler’s destination lifecycle theory – that tourism is welcomed when the destination is in the early stage of involvement in tourism development which often leads to the euphoria attitude categorised by Doxey (1975). The finding from this study helps confirm with other scholars that these models are unidirectional conceptual models (Ap and Crompton 1993) and not all areas will experience the stages of the cycle and fall into the same pattern of attitude (Tosun 2002).

**Comparison of tribal groups not working with ETAs regarding disruptions in the life of hill tribe people**

**Table 9.14 Summary of similarities and differences in perceptions of the Karen and Hmong not working with ETAs**

Similarities:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Feeling crowded and difficult to participate in traditional events</li> </ul>
Differences:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Do not feel welcome in tourism business area owned by ETAs</li> <li>• Do not feel safe as before due to more number of ETAs</li> <li>• Increase in crime rate</li> <li>• Increase in STD</li> </ul>

Crowding, losing their ability to use public facilities or traditional events in the way they had enjoyed, lacking sense of welcome/belonging, safety and increased STD were common issues that disrupted the lives of local residents and were reported in previous literature such as Pizam *et al.* (1982); Tyrrell and Spaulding (1984); Altman (1992); McCool and Martin (1994); Lankford and Williams (1997); Mason (2003); Andereck (2005); Mathieson and Wall (2006).

Overall, both Karen and Hmong not working for ETAs did not agree that their lives are disrupted in this way as much as those working with ETAs, except for the issue of a loss of a sense of belonging in not feeling welcomed which is more of a concern especially the Hmong. This finding regarding lacking sense of belonging by not feeling welcomed in the tourism area is supported by the findings of Sheldon and Var (1984); Liu and Var (1986); Liu *et al.* (1987). However, it is inconsistent with Spreight (1968) and Chavis and McMillan (1986) who affirm that community plays an important role in connecting people together and providing them a sense of belonging. In spite of this, the results reflected from interviews with the Hmong people that deep down they do label themselves as minority group who belong to the lowest class of society in the eyes of Thai people.

*“...they don’t care for us...what can we do, we are only tribal people with no money, no education, stay behind the mountain...cannot compare to them (ETAs)”*

Chop (from Hmong tribe)

*“...but we are still tribe people in their eyes (sigh)”*

Pee (from Hmong Tribe)

*“they don’t want us there (referring to tourism business area owned by ETAs) to ruin their luxury image”*

Mai (from Hmong tribe)

Since hill tribe people are minority tribes living among Thais, what is reflected from the interviews is that they feel like they are being disparaged and disdained by the Thais. Social identity theory explains that social identification of each ethnic group depends on social categorisation and social comparison as used by the terms ingroup and outgroup (Abrams and Hogg 1990; Hogg and Grieve 1999; Ward *et al.* 2001). Therefore, as these hill tribe people are minority of the Thais and considered to be outgroup among ETAs in Doi Inthanon, they tend to be identified as a lower social status which could be the reason in them feeling not welcome and lacking sense of belonging in the area own by ETAs.



Different working environments

**Comparison of the views of those working and not working with ETAs regarding disruptions in the life of hill tribe people**

**Table 9.15 Summary of similarities and differences in the perceptions of the Karen and Hmong working and not working with ETAs**

Karen working and Karen not working with ETAs	Hmong working and Hmong not working with ETAs
<p>Similarities</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increase in crime rate</li> <li>• Increase in STD</li> <li>• Do not feel safe as before due to more number of ETAs</li> <li>• Feeling crowded and difficult to participate in traditional events</li> </ul> <p>Differences</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Do not feel welcome in tourism business area owned by ETAs</li> </ul>	<p>Similarities</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increase in crime rate</li> <li>• Increase in STD</li> </ul> <p>Differences</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Do not feel welcome in tourism business area owned by ETAs</li> <li>• Do not feel safe as before due to more number of ETAs</li> <li>• Feeling crowded and difficult to participate in traditional events</li> </ul>

Different working environments do not play a significant role in the respondents' view about disruptions to their lives. The study found that among the Karen working and the Karen not working with ETAs tended to share common views regarding disruptions to their lives by disagreeing with most of the issues, increased crime rate, STD, crowding. A case study of resident's perceptions towards tourism impacts in Mediterranean coastline shows a similar finding that occupation plays the least differences in attitude toward social negative impacts from tourism (Korca 1996).

The common difference both tribes hold between those working and those not working with ETAs is the issue of not being welcome in/near the tourism area, which reflects a problem of a sense of belonging. This issue tends to be more obvious to those who do not have any direct contact with ETAs or the tourism area than people who share the same working environment with ETAs in the tourism areas. This is consistent to a case study in rural communities in Australia by Bachleitner and Zin (1999) that the more involvement residents have with tourism industry the more favourable (in this case is feeling welcomed by ETAs) they will be. Moreover, Karan and Bladen (1982) support this finding by suggesting that the familiarity of respondents with each area can be a principal reason for differences in perceptions.

The Hmong who are closer to ETAs by working with them tend to place more concern on safety and crowding issues than the Hmong who do not. Korca (1996) suggests that perceived negative impact of tourism will increase when there is an increase in interaction between host and guests.

Pizam (1978) points out that those residents who work in the industry have less favourable perceptions towards tourism. On the other hand, a study by Perdue *et al.* (1990) found no differences in perceptions between those participants who have more direct contact with tourism and those who do not involve in tourism in terms of negative view. Keogh (1990) suggests that at the proposal stage of a small-scale development, those who are involved more with tourism in the development area have the strongest feelings about tourism, these residents may evaluate the benefits more highly because of the increased opportunities for employment.

### Gender related differences

**Table 9.16 Summary of similarities and differences in perceptions of different genders of those working with ETAs and not working with ETAs**

Working with ETAs	Karen			Hmong
	Male: Female	S:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increase in crime rate</li> <li>• Increase in STD</li> <li>• Do not feel welcome in tourism business area owned by ETAs</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increase in crime rate</li> <li>• Increase in STD</li> <li>• Do not feel welcome in tourism business area owned by ETAs</li> <li>• Do not feel safe as before due to more number of ETAs</li> <li>• Feeling crowded and difficult to participate in traditional events</li> </ul>
D:		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Do not feel safe as before due to more number of ETAs</li> <li>• Feeling crowded and difficult to participate in traditional events</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• There are no differences</li> </ul>	
Not working with ETAs	Male: Female	S:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increase in crime rate</li> <li>• Do not feel safe as before due to more number of ETAs</li> <li>• Do not feel welcome in tourism business area owned by ETAs</li> <li>• Feeling crowded and difficult to participate in traditional events</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increase in crime rate</li> <li>• Do not feel safe as before due to more number of ETAs</li> </ul>
		D:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increase in STD</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increase in STD</li> <li>• Do not feel welcome in tourism business area owned by ETAs</li> <li>• Feeling crowded and difficult to participate in traditional events</li> </ul>

This section discusses the similarities and differences in respondents' perceptions of their lives disruptions based on gender differences as shown in Table 9.16.

Those with the most differences in perceptions of disruptions of life are the males and females Hmong who not working with ETAs. Although, they both agreed with the issues of not being welcome and increased STD, the females tended to be more in agreement with this than the males. This finding is different from what would be expected based on social exchange theory

as the results of this study show that they have more positive impacts from ETAs than males in terms of job opportunities, yet they tended to agree more that they experience disruptions in their lives. This is consistent with several studies such as a case of Samos by Haralambopoulos and Pizam (1996); a case of OTOP tourism village in Thailand by Huttasin (2008) and a case study by Lockwood and Tovar (2008) on social impacts of tourism in Australian region. These studies have suggested that females were more likely than males to perceive negative social impacts in their community. On the other hand, Osti *et al.* (2009) argue that in their case study of the small rural community of Folgaria, Italy, females and males do not always see the impacts of tourism completely differently. Moreover, a case study in Idaho by Harvey *et al.* (1995) shows that females and males only have some small differences in their perceptions of impacts of tourism development, but for the most part, they share more similar perceptions of tourism in their communities. Harvey *et al.* (1995) also point out that the issues such as increase in crime and vandalism and their feeling less safe, increased traffic problems, crowding etc. are of equal concern to females and males.

## **9.6 Conclusion**

This chapter has discussed the findings in regards to socio-cultural impacts perceived upon themselves and social changes occurred in Doi Inthanon, developed at the first and second stage of data collection. This concludes the discussion on the Karen and Hmong respondents' perceptions of impacts regarding changes to their lifestyle, development of their tribal community, negative cultural impacts and their perceptions of disruptions to their lives brought about by the arrival of ETAs and the introduction of tourism into their communities.

Social exchange theory was the main theoretical framework for assisting the discussion of this chapter. However, the theories of, social identity, acculturation, the four drives theory Irridex and Butler's destination lifecycle model were also relevant in interpreting the research findings. In terms of the overall aim and objectives of the research this chapter has addressed Objective 4, the perceptions of Karen and Hmong of the direct socio-cultural impacts on themselves which result from their working and not working with ETAs, and Objective 5, the social changes following the arrival of ETAs perceived by both Karen and Hmong working with ETAs and those not working with ETAs. The results indicated certain common perceptions as well as some differences in each theme between, different ethnic tribal groups, those with direct contact from working with ETAs and those with no direct contact from working in non-tourism related sectors, and those of different gender. All in all, the overall perceptions of these groups of hill tribe people towards the arrival of ETAs are considered to be towards the positive view despite their cultural differences which the result from these Karen and Hmong in Doi Inthanon has

contradicted with the previous study by Robinson and Nemetz (1988) who suggest that dissimilarities in cultural value between two or more group of people, may result in a high possibility of negative perceptions of each other. However, the result of study is partially consistent with the social exchange theory that they tend to favour ETAs when what they value (being part of the mainstream) outweigh the costs (a chance of losing their tribal value from having to hide their tribal identity when interacting with ETAs). The next chapter presents an overall conclusion and evaluation of the research.

## Chapter 10 Conclusion and Evaluation

### 10.1 Introduction

This chapter begins by demonstrating that the individual objectives and the overall aim of the research have been met and is followed by an evaluation of the theories used to underlie this research. The reliability, validity and limitations of the study are all considered and implications for the development of hill tribe tourism policies and management discussed. The chapter concludes with a series of recommendations for future research.

### 10.2 Aim and objectives of the study

The aim of the study is to compare the perceptions of the Karen and Hmong hill tribe peoples of their employment with, and the socio-cultural impacts arising from, the arrival in their communities of External Tourism Actors (ETAs).

In order to achieve this overall aim a series of objectives were identified, these were:

1. To identify and compare the nature of the involvement between the Karen and Hmong hill tribe people in the tourism employment opportunities offered by ETAs
2. To examine and critically compare the reasons given by the Karen and Hmong respondents for working or for not working with ETAs
3. To explore and compare the perspectives of those Karen and Hmong working with ETAs regarding their work experiences, including their perceived conflicts and proposed solutions.
4. To analyse and compare the changes in their lifestyles perceived by the Karen and Hmong working with ETAs and those who did not following the arrival of ETAs into their communities.
5. To compare and critically review the influence that the arrival of ETAs has had upon the development of the tribal communities and the associated cultural and social impacts perceived by both Karen and Hmong people working and those not working with ETAs.

The following sections will demonstrate that the research objectives have been met.

### **10.3 Findings summary**

#### **A comparison of the nature of the involvement between the Karen and Hmong hill tribe people in the tourism employment opportunities offered by ETAs**

The research demonstrated that accommodation/catering sector units were the most common types of employment undertaken by both the Karen and Hmong. However, Karen people have a greater diversity of jobs as they were also employed in the tour business (tour guides and porters), entertainment sector (traditional dancers and cultural show performers) as well as working in other tourism related jobs such as museum tour guides, masseurs/spa staff and souvenir shopkeepers, whilst Hmong people mainly worked in the accommodation and catering sectors.

What emerged from this study was that the Karen captured a wider range of employment opportunities, because in part their community was a more established tourist destination presenting a wider range of opportunities and also because they were more knowledgeable and aware of tourism related employment opportunities which generally they welcomed. By contrast the selected Hmong community was at an earlier stage of tourism development and the majority of the Hmong tended to work for ETAs in homestay businesses, the establishment of which is a necessary first step in attracting tourists to visit hill tribe villages (TAT 2009). The results also demonstrated that the Karen tended to work full time for ETAs while the Hmong mostly worked part time and seasonally. This again reflects both the relative maturity of tourism in the Karen community and their preparedness to fully engage while the Hmong currently have fewer opportunities and appear to be less committed to full time long term careers working for ETAs.

#### **A comparison of the reasons given by the Karen and Hmong respondents for working and for not working with ETAs**

Different reasons were given by the Karen and Hmong for seeking work from ETAs. For the Karen respondents, in addition to the financial advantages the chance to be involved in wider society was an important motivation whilst the Hmong valued the opportunity to acquire new skills while working with ETAs to help them when they ran their own businesses in future. This intention by the Hmong to one day open their own business was reflected in their attitude toward the income they earned from ETAs. The Hmong intended to save this for opening their own business whilst the Karen proposed to use the money to support their families. These differences demonstrate that the different cultures, beliefs and historical backgrounds of these hill tribe peoples, have led them to view their employment and careers differently. As many

authors have noted the environment and culture in which people are raised affects and even determines many of their thought processes (Hofstede 1980; Samovar and Porter 1991; Prensky 2001; Collins *et al.* 2002; Johnson *et al.* 2004). In this instance one factor that distinguishes the Hmong from the Karen is that the Hmong lived in China for many centuries and have been influenced by Chinese values and customs which is manifest in their desire for greater independence and control over their lives.

Both tribal groups held similar reasons for not working with ETAs these included financial considerations, as both groups felt that more expenses were associated with working with ETAs, and that being part of society at large comes with higher costs. Another was the perception that their current work had given them all the necessary skills and proficiencies. However, self-insecurity and a fear of being taken advantage of if they worked for ETAs, were the common concerns of the two tribes. Therefore, a majority of both tribes who were not working with ETAs, especially those with their own land, remained in the agriculture sector.

Although, no significant differences were found in their reasons for not working with ETAs, their career preferences differentiated them. The Karen appear to prioritise and value certainty in life without being too ambitious resulting in their preferring to look for work in stable sectors such as government or other secure employment rather than taking the risk of having their own business. On the other hand, the Hmong preferred to be their own boss and run their own business. This may be reflected in their personal characteristics such as being hard working, ambitious, independent and entrepreneurial. Therefore, as noted above it may well be that influences from their Chinese legacy influence what Hmong people value in life and that running their own business reflects their achievements.

### **A comparison of the perspectives of those Karen and Hmong working with ETAs regarding their work experiences, including their perceived conflicts and proposed solutions**

The Karen and Hmong agreed that the different working styles they encountered created conflicts between them and the ETAs. These included being labelled with a negative image and receiving no respect in the workplace. Not being easily accepted by co-workers (ETAs) tended to be the cause of conflict of particular concern to the Hmong.

Both tribes preferred to address conflicts by avoiding confrontation; however, the Karen were more likely to try to understand and accept the conflict. Therefore, working hard and being

patient were the strategies they chose to overcome conflict in the workplace, while the second most common solution proposed by the Hmong was to leave the situation.

The Karen and Hmong shared a similar awareness of a number of employment related issues, these included; the higher demand for female labour in the emerging tourism industry, their increased confidence that they could more easily work with different nationalities, how they had changed to fit in with their co-workers (ETAs) in the workplace and how they could earn more money from working with ETAs while at the same time they were conscious of the increased costs associated with employment with ETAs.

However, they did differ in the degree of their agreement, generally the Karen tended to agree more in regard to their bonding and developing friendships with the Thais they worked with, to their having an increased understanding of other cultures, the new skills acquired, and their increased appreciation of their own culture through sharing and exchanging their cultures. This greater appreciation of their acquisition of skills and cultural understanding reflects both their length of exposure to the tourism industry and to their established cultural legacy (Hofstede 2001; Macleod 2004).

### **A comparison of the Karen and Hmong perceptions of the impacts arising from the arrival of ETAs**

Undoubtedly, the development of tourism activities in their tribal villages has affected the lives of the tribal people. This was examined from the perspectives of both tribal groups, those working and not working with ETAs and from the perspectives of both men and women, recognising that historically both tribes can be considered as being patriarchal societies. Lifestyles are one expression of the socio-cultural characteristics of a community and as such are inseparable from the development of the community and the associated cultural impacts and social disruption. The results of the perceptions of the respondents are summarised below (see Table 1-4 in Appendix 48).

### **The influence of cultural differences on tribal people's perceptions**

#### ***Lifestyle:***

- The Karen tended to be more aware of the changes in their housing, dietary habits, and speaking styles such as accent and use of vocabulary.



- The Hmong tended to be less aware of these changes other than their being aware of changes in family relationships.

***Community development:***

- The Karen were more aware of the higher standard of living in their community and increased use of modern technologies.
- The Hmong were more in favour of ETAs as they believed ETAs were the reason for the improvement in their existing public facilities and reasons for newly established facilities.

***Cultural impacts:***

- Neither the Karen nor the Hmong perceived any of the cultural impacts discussed although the Hmong tended to be more aware of the cultural conflicts resulting from their sharing their community with ETAs.

***Social disruptions:***

- The Hmong tended to be more aware of most of the social disruptions, lacking a sense of belonging by not feeling welcomed, feeling unsafe and the increased rates of crime and STD.
- The Karen tended to be less aware of these issues and rather disagreed that ETAs caused increased crime and STD rates in their community.

The reasons for their differences in perceptions that emerged from this study are due to their distinct cultural characteristics. The Karen people have been living in Thailand for a longer period than the Hmong (Rajani 2002). Therefore, it can be argued that the Karen would be expected to be more assimilated into Thai society affecting how they perceive the world and evaluate what is important to them. As such the Karen value the importance of being part of wider society and are more in support of mainstream Thai culture, however, this does not apply in the case of the Hmong. The Hmong are known for being more independent and due to their poor relations with Thai society in the past (see Chapter 3) they have become more introverted and isolated from the Thai people and consequently may not have the same positive attitude towards ETAs as do the Karen.

In conclusion, cultural differences influence people's perceptions. Therefore the different values people hold or the different cultures they have grown up with can influence how they perceive the world.

## **The influence of different working environment on people's perceptions**

### ***Lifestyles:***

- Respondents working with ETAs were more aware of the changes in their style of dress, housing and dietary habits.
- Respondents not working with ETAs were more aware of changes in family relationships.

### ***Community development:***

- Respondents working with ETAs were more aware of the higher standards of living, increased use of modern technologies, higher cost of living, and that the presence of ETAs helped improve existing public facilities and were the reason for new facilities.
- Respondents not working with ETAs disagreed that ETAs were the reason for the improvement of existing public facilities and establishment of new facilities.

### ***Cultural impacts:***

- Respondents working with ETAs were more aware that their tribes were better known, that they were losing tribal identity and forgetting their tribal traditions and culture, together with an awareness that their traditions had become pseudo events.
- Respondents not working with ETAs were less aware of these impacts

### ***Social disruptions:***

- Respondents working with ETAs tended to be more in favour of ETAs as they tended to disagree with perceived social disruptions such as crowding, the feeling of not being welcome and increased rates of both crime and STDs.
- Respondents not working with ETAs tended to be more concerned about their lacking a sense of belonging and their not being welcomed in the areas where the businesses were owned by ETAs were located.

The reasons for their differences were due in part to their involvement with ETAs. People who experience a multicultural working environment (ETAs) are more likely to be influenced to become more like the major cultural group, in this case Thai, because of this direct contact. Whereas, those not working with ETAs only had indirect contact with other cultures, resulting in a lesser degree of change (Kim 1988; McWhinney 1992; Macleod 2004). Therefore, only having indirect contact with ETAs may result in their being less willing to adapt. This was reflected in the Karen tribe, who traditionally value the nuclear family, and among whom acceptance of single parent families or families where one or both partners or the children go to

work outside the community maybe common to those who have direct contact with ETAs but may be new and unwelcome to those still living in a typical tribal family.

Moreover, having less interaction may also reflect the attitude they had towards ETAs. Those not working with ETAs tended to be in less favour of ETAs being less inclined to acknowledge the benefits while emphasising more the negative aspects of the activities of the ETAs (Ap 1992).

In conclusion it was clear that people who were involved more with ETAs and had direct contact or had been involved for a longer period of time had different perceptions and attitudes than those with less contact.

### **The influence of gender differences on people's perceptions**

#### ***Lifestyle:***

- Females were more aware of changes in terms of dress styles, dietary habits, and relationship within families.
- Males were more aware of changes in housing styles.

#### ***Community development:***

- Males and females had similar perceptions regarding the development of their community.

#### ***Cultural impacts:***

- Males and females from both tribes had similar perceptions of the cultural impacts. Only two significant differences in their degree of their agreement emerged, females were more aware of their tribe becoming better known and disagreed less that they were forgetting their tribal traditions and culture.

#### ***Social disruptions:***

- Males and females only differed in their degree of agreement; females tended to agree more that their community had become more crowded, that they were not welcomed by ETAs and that STD rates in their community had increased.

The reasons for the differences in perceptions of males and females reflect the fact that traditionally males and females from these two tribes differed in their responsibilities; as a result, they focused on different aspects of their lives, especially in terms of lifestyle. This is consistent with Hofstede (1988); Gefen and Straub (1997); and Patterson (2007). For example, domestic

responsibilities such as preparing food, weaving and making clothes for their family members were female responsibilities. These were major focal point of their lives; therefore, it can be expected that their perceptions with respect to dress, dietary habits etc. would differ from the males of their tribe. Housing may reflect the status of the owner, and because of their patriarchal society (Rajani 2002), males may be more aware of their housing style and that of their neighbours as they wanted to feel that they were as or more successful than those around them. Therefore, gender roles and what males and females value in life, affect how their perceptions differ from one another.

However, because modernisation and globalisation processes have started to penetrate into hill tribe communities, gender roles have begun to change as feminism has emerged to play a more influential role in society leading to demands for equal opportunities regardless of the traditional patriarchal societies. In the hill tribe traditional social structure (see Chapter 3), men are socialised to develop instrumental behaviours and women are socialised to develop expressive behaviours (Scanzoni and Scanzoni 1988), as reflected in the way that men had more direct access to economic opportunity and more independence while women were always dependent on their husbands for social and economic aspects. As a result, women tended to have a more limited vision of the world because of their confinement to the domestic sphere. Today, equality of opportunity has become more pronounced in hill tribe society. Females have some degree of independence and have started to participate in paid employment in the public sphere and are no longer restricted to only household duties. Therefore, having the same opportunities as the males to interact with the world, females may have experienced impacts to a similar degree as have the men, and their perceptions may prove to be similar to the males.

#### **10.4 Evaluation of the theories used**

Rational choice theory explains the respondents' decision making and why certain groups chose to act in the way they did while other groups have chosen alternative ways. Hill tribe people make their employment decisions based on the evaluation of benefits they are acquiring. As Coleman (1994) stated, not only economic exchanges influence social action, non-economic exchanges can also determine people's choice of action. The theory fits well in terms of hill tribe people and their reasons for working or not working for ETAs. This study found that Karen and Hmong value benefits such as being part of a bigger society, being accepted by the ETAs, opportunities to acquire new skills while working with ETAs. While, for those who not working with ETAs, perceived costs, such as lack of freedom and fear of being taken advantages of, outweigh the benefits which results in them making a different career choice. Therefore, the findings support rational choice theory suggesting that decisions to work or not to

work with ETAs were based upon the respondents' evaluation of whether or not it can meet their personal needs.

Social identity theory was not a theory initially selected for this study. However, some of the findings such as racism, discrimination in the workplace, and self-identify emerged from this study as relevant and are supported by social identity theory. The study found that as a result of the arrival of ETAs, who are considered to be a mainstream in Thai society, some of the Karen and Hmong who are the member of an outgroup avoid adapting to the ingroup (ETAs) while others try to eliminate the differences between them and the ETAs and develop a sense of membership and belonging in the ingroup (e.g., by changing their behaviour and lifestyle in order to gain acceptance from the ingroup) as an affirmation of self esteem. Tajfel (1981) and Holah (2009) explain that people tend to use group membership as a source of positive self esteem. Moreover, as reflected in this study, those working with ETAs tend to have a higher tendency in wanting to be identified as part of the ingroup than those who did not interact with the ETAs. However, not every Karen and Hmong respondent in the ETA working environment showed the same enthusiasm for ETAs; it depended on individual personalities and values. It may well be that Karen value more sense of belonging in the mainstream plus their characteristics of being open minded reflected in their higher desire to be identified as part of the mainstream. Whereas, Hmong tend to concern more about self awareness and to protect themselves from being taken advantages of, especially by the Thai, therefore they rather not open themselves to the mainstream as much as the Karen do.

Wetherall (1997) supports this by affirming that cross-cultural research has also shown that not all cultures share the same tendency to favour ingroups. This argument supports the finding that, although these two tribes have the same working environment they do not hold exactly the same attitudes, as the Karen value ETAs group membership more than do the Hmong. The Karen tend to be more positive about the ingroup, which was reflected in their higher tendency to be part of the ingroup and to take part in group actions to reinforce a sense of group identity while tending to reflect less of their own identity. While the Hmong who are more independent tend to reflect less of the ingroup's identity. Such finding can be concluded that the strength of tribal identity perceived by its member can be a factor that influences how they want to identify themselves.

Butler's lifecycle model assumes that the lifecycle of tourist destinations follow a specific pattern that can be divided into different stages (Butler 1980). He explains that throughout the process, there will be changes in the number and characteristics of visitors as well as the development of the tourism industry and its impacts. As reflected through the theory, the overall residents' perceptions showed that the lifecycle of the destination only followed a certain

pattern, that proposed by Butler. The similarities are that throughout the process there is an increase in the number of visitors and development of tourism. However, the research also highlights some differences between the hill tribe location and the lifecycle model. This hill tribe location did not follow all the steps of this lifecycle as a decline in the number of tourists and tourism development due to an economic crisis was observed during 1997 to 1998 during the first years of the location becoming involved with ETAs. However, the Karen community continued to grow while the Hmong community withdrew from involvement with ETAs and only started to become involved in tourism again in 2005, again via ETAs (see Chapter 3). However, declines have occurred occasionally throughout the process of tourism development in the area but mainly due to external reasons such as the Asian economic crisis in 1997, disease outbreaks, i.e., bird flu in 2004, swine flu in 2009, and natural disasters, i.e., the tsunami in 2004, cyclone Nargis in 2008, and most recently, ongoing political unrest from 2007-2010 (the November 2008 closure of all flights at Bangkok airports, on and off protests in Bangkok and Chiang Mai area in 2009-2010, and the April 2010 blockade of the Bangkok central business area). However, these reasons did not put an end to hill tribe tourism in Doi Inthanon as it continued to grow. Therefore, this research has demonstrated that the simplistic adoption of Butler's lifecycle model does not always fit well with every location, but the pattern of the lifecycle rather depends on the nature of each tourist destination and its own specific factors, a perspective supported by Haywood (1986); Cooper and Jackson (1989); Getz (1992) and Agarwal (1997).

Doxey's Irridex model that addresses residents' perceptions and community's attitudes at different stages of tourism development is one that has been used by many researchers (Long *et al.* 1990; Mason and Cheyne 2000; and Harrill 2004). This model offers a reflection of resident perceptions of tourism and puts forward useful assessment criteria for exploring community attitudes. Although the theory explains why people perceive the way they do at different stages of tourism development, it did not fit particularly well in relation to the hill tribes of Doi Inthanon. This research proved that the arrival of ETAs led to perceptions by the hill tribe respondents of the socio-cultural impacts they perceive upon themselves and the changes they perceive in their community. However, the direction of their perceptions differed from that proposed by the Irridex model.

The Irridex model proposes that the presence of visitors creates tension for locals and as this tension increases with increases in the presence of visitors and that as a result, the locals' attitudes toward them become increasingly negative (Doxey 1975; Glasson *et al.* 1995). The study found the Karen who have more contact with employers and thereby with tourists visiting their community show a greater level of support for ETAs when compared to Hmong who have

less engagement. The Karen respondents were in favour of ETAs despite the fact that ETAs have established their community as a mature hill tribe tourism destination with a robust tourism infrastructure and increasing numbers of tourists. By contrast, although the Hmong community was at an early involvement stage, the study found Hmong people have a higher level of concern due to the arrival of ETAs in their area. Therefore, the results of this study have contradicted the Irridex model. The attitudes of the Karen and Hmong did not follow through the stages from euphoria to antagonism proposed by Doxey, but rather move in quite the opposite direction. This could be explained in terms of social exchange theory that since the Hmong community was only experiencing an early stage of tourism development, they may not receive as much benefits as the Karen community, resulting in the Hmong viewing ETAs with less favour. However, further research could determine the attitudes of the Hmong in Doi Inthanon once their community has become well established.

Therefore, Butler's lifecycle model and Doxey's Irridex model were not found to be sufficiently robust or sophisticated to be the sole basis for explaining the perceptions of tribal respondents of the impacts arising from the arrival of ETAs. In contrast, the social exchange theory evaluates perceptions of respondents associating costs and benefits, which in this case, was mainly a distinction between those whose incomes derived from ETAs and those whose incomes did not derive from ETAs. The theory explains in terms of the relationships between hill tribe people's perceptions and tourism impacts, based mostly on their social impacts. In this research, the theory explains the hill tribe perceptions in terms of an evaluation of expected social benefits and costs gained from interacting with ETAs. The social exchange theory has supported the themes (changes in lifestyles, development of community, impacts on culture and identity, disruptions of life) that emerged from this study. Hill tribe people who are interacting more with ETAs perceived that they benefited from their interaction and tended to favour ETAs, by agreeing more with the positive impacts, than did those interacting less with ETAs. However, the theory did not support another finding that they also noticed more negative impacts as well.

The findings of this research relate to the notion of ingroup and outgroup and how the outgroup (hill tribe people) assimilate into the mainstream (ETAs). Acculturation theory was applied to identify the degree of acculturation of the minority group after the arrival of ETAs. This theory does not offer one exact strategy to explain how the Karen and Hmong working and not working with ETAs adapt themselves to the mainstream. However, it does consider the behaviour and attitudes of hill tribe respondents having different degrees of interaction with ETAs in terms of the acculturation strategies adopted. Therefore, a combination of assimilation and integration strategies explain hill tribe behaviours as the influence of ETAs had an effect on Karen and Hmong desire to leave their tribal cultural identity behind as a result of interacting

with the mainstream. However, simultaneously they still valued the meaning of tribal traditional events and willingly participated when they had the chance. In addition, they kept their tribal language alive by using it with their family and tribal friends when not in the presence of non tribal residents.

Moreover, the findings indicated that working together in the same organisation as ETAs hill tribe people were motivated not only to acquire new skills they were also motivated to support and bond with their co-workers (ETAs) and had a tendency to defend them regarding some of the negative impacts that occurred in their community. The four drive theory is limited in that it takes only four factors into account in explaining employee behaviour in an organisation. However, these four drives were identified in and supported by the findings sufficiently to use as a framework to explain how the Karen and Hmong behaved in their particular ways in the multicultural workplace consisting of a minority (hill tribe people) and a majority (ETAs) population.

### **10.5 Research reliability and validity**

The methods used in this study have been carefully reviewed to establish validity and reliability in order to enhance data quality and utilisation of the research. Each step used to form the questionnaire was tested and approved before moving on to the next step.

According to Field (2006) the first step to establish the reliability and validity of the research was to set out the purpose, objectives, and research questions of the proposed research. The sample frame, size and process used to select the participants were determined, (see Chapter 4, Section 4.7 and 4.13). Then the questionnaire items were created with respect to the aim and objectives of the research. In this step, some of the primary data collected from the first data collection were included.

After formulating the questionnaire, the researcher consulted and received feedback from her research supervisors, considered experts in this research area. The discussion covered issues such as whether or not the questionnaire addressed the issue of what it intended to measure, whether it was appropriate for the target sample, and whether the questions were clear enough to understand to collect all the information needed to address the aim and objectives of the research. These issues were addressed in order to establish validity.

According to Norland (1990) reliability indicates the accuracy or precision of the measuring instrument; its role is to identify random error, unforeseen barriers or any difficulties in



measurement. After refining the questionnaire, reliability was tested by carrying out a number of pilot tests with respondents who were not included in the sample to confirm that this questionnaire could consistently measure what it sought to measure. Further details are provided in Chapter 4, Section 4.13.3.

The reliability of the data from content analysis was tested twice at different points of time. The first time, the set of data was tested in Chiang Mai right after it reached the saturation point. The coding was done again later in a quieter and more appropriate environment when the researcher returned to Bangkok. The key words and categories from the first were confirmed. Therefore, a different coder, who understood this process and had performed it before was invited to code the same set of the data using the same technique of content analysis. On this occasion the coding was also similar to the coding performed by the researcher. Therefore, the reliability from the content analysis of the data from the first stage of data collection is believed to provide a trustworthy basis and considered to be sufficiently reliable to be included in the questionnaire.

The data collected from the final version of the questionnaire was analysed using SPSS version 15 to provide results from the reliability Coefficient (Alpha) and Cronbach's Alpha test. According to Field (2006) reliability Coefficient Alpha of 0.70 or higher is considered acceptable reliability. The results of reliability of this research were Cronbach's Alpha of 0.837. Having reviewed the steps performed to develop a reliable and valid questionnaire to enhance the quality of research and its findings, next section presents limitations of the findings.

## **10.6 Limitations**

This study aimed to investigate the perceptions of the impacts of tourism held by people in a tribal community. As it is difficult to assess the actual impacts from arrival of ETAs, this study focuses on the perceived impacts of ETAs by Karen and Hmong at Doi Inthanon. The limitations of methodology and data collection process of this study have been mentioned in Chapter 4 (methodology chapter). However, several of further limitations need to be acknowledged. The limitations derived from this research process were:

1. The population frame for this research was limited to the Karen and Hmong in Doi Inthanon, resulting in the exclusion of those Karen and Hmong who are living in other part of Chiang Mai. Although, the findings of this study regarding the perceptions of selected Karen and Hmong cannot be generalised for the entire tribal population of Karen and Hmong in Thailand, they do enhance the understanding of this group in Doi Inthanon.

2. The number and choice of research participants was another limitation of this research. Practical considerations of the context restricted the choice of data collection methods to snowball sampling which may have biased the results in terms of which respondents were selected when compared to a rigorously enforced random survey.
3. The process of conducting this research has been challenging and time consuming, and as there was little secondary research regarding hill tribe people' perceptions of the impacts from ETAs available, primary research was essential although it was then only possible to relate the primary data findings to residents' perceptions of tourism impacts in general as opposed to referring specifically to other studies of the effects upon perceptions of employment with external tourism agents.

### **10.7 Implications of the research findings for tourism managers and policy makers**

This section discusses the implications of the findings from this research. The implications can be divided into three main levels, first, the national level, second the local community level, and third, the organisational level.

#### National level

According to Cooper *et al.* (2008) the socio-cultural impact of tourism development can be seen through a variety of aspects, namely, arts, crafts, tradition, culture, value and behaviour of individuals as well as collective groups. A number of previous tourism impact studies, discussed in the literature review, have attempted to address the impacts resulting from the host and tourist interaction. The findings of this research indicate that the quality of tribal life increased the standard of living, the use of modern technologies, culture and employment based effects, and social disruption of the Karen and Hmong on Doi Inthanon. Therefore, they have undoubtedly been affected by the development of hill tribe tourism not only from the influx of tourists but also from the interaction with ETAs. Thus, both local and central government officials, who play roles in developing and promoting hill tribe tourism, should not only pay attention to the impacts from tourists but should also monitor the impacts from the interaction of hosts and ETAs. The potential impacts from this type of interaction must be recognised by all relevant stakeholders, ranging from local to national levels. Specific approaches should be developed to fit within a certain tribal group to manage hill tribe tourism in order to maximise the benefits while trying to minimise the negative impacts.

This finding is specific to the Karen and Hmong on Doi Inthanon, nevertheless, attention should be paid not only to this area but also to many of the hill tribe communities throughout Thailand where tourism takes place. This study highlights some differences in perceptions regarding impacts from ETAs between the two different tribes in Thailand. One conclusion drawn from this study is that policies and management strategies that work well for one tribe may not work as effectively with other tribes. It is therefore recommended that tourism policy makers be aware that although hill tribe people are considered as a minority group, different tribes do have their own values and characteristics, and therefore, it is important to develop approaches that fit the characteristics of each tribe rather than applying a “one size fits all” approach.

This research is of further value to both local and central government sectors as well as tourism planners who are developing and promoting hill tribe tourism. Evidence exists regarding the social impacts resulting from the arrival of ETAs such as crowding, lacking a sense of belonging, and increased crime rates, which were observed in this study. Although these issues had not yet become a serious concern of the Karen and Hmong, it is clear the tourism authorities and planners need to address them before they become critical issues. Sustainable tourism development approaches should be applied not only at Doi Inthanon but also to other hill tribe locations as well. For example, a carrying capacity approach should be adopted by limiting the number of ETAs and tourism businesses.

#### Community level

The findings suggest that the majority of the Karen and Hmong tend to favour the job opportunities offered by the ETAs, mainly due to the guarantee of a regular income, a chance to interact more closely with their Thai counterparts, and opportunity to learn new skills. However, the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) 2002 and Cooper *et al.* (2008) point out that if the demand for tourism jobs is too high without enough job opportunities for everyone then there will be growing social tension among local people as they may compete for the job opportunities. Therefore, the local authorities need to step in and involve the local hill tribe people in other types of employment and not only concentrate on the tourism sector in order to maintain the harmony. The local authorities can play a role in supporting and sponsoring these hill tribe people by offering them land to farm and then buy their products to sell in a bigger market. Doing so will guarantee a regular income for hill tribe people. Moreover, the local authorities may also get involved with the community by providing them a range of training programmes, such as a type of farming that is not harmful to the land, offering them special courses to maintain their traditional textile, arts and crafts techniques where they can use these skills to support themselves.

Understanding local attitudes and the factors that influence host's perceptions are important to achieve the goal of support for tourism development (Allen *et al.* 1993; King *et al.* 1993; Fredline and Faulkner 2000). The comparison of the perceptions between those residents with different ethnic tribes, working environments and genders can facilitate both local and national Thai tourism planners to understand values and characteristics of different groups of people and factors that influence their perceptions. For example, the finding of this research points out that the Karen are more willingly to interact with the Thais while the Hmong prefer to be independent. Therefore, the local government and tourism planners may encourage the Karen and ETAs to work together while giving support to Hmong to develop their own tourism businesses.

The study found issues of discrimination and perceived loss of belonging as a result of the common conflicts between the ETAs and the hill tribe people. It is possibly due to the lack of understanding of one another. Therefore, in order to alleviate the conflicts among the Thais and the hill tribe people, a community committee should be established that involves members from both ETAs and hill tribe groups. The community meeting then should be held regularly where the members can discuss, resolve conflicts and make consensual decisions together regarding current community issues. Doing so will help break the boundaries between the Thais and the hill tribe people bringing them closer to one another. Working together will also generate intercultural understanding and mutual agreement regarding an approach to development and management of the Doi Inthanon environment. Moreover, since both parties are taking part in developing the area, this can increase their sense of belonging.

#### Organisational level

An organisation that recruits people from different cultures to work together will result in a cross-cultural work group (Tung 1993). Within this cross-cultural work group, conflicts are likely to occur due to a clash of individual's values and goals (Bacal 1998). Therefore, the organisation should form a committee within the workplace which involves a mixture of people from different cultures, in this case, Thais and hill tribe people, to monitor and address potential conflicts among co-workers. Several issues should be addressed such as different working styles. A possible solution to this problem could be offering training for all staff. Moreover, the committee should monitor the actions of each department in order to maintain fairness within the organisation and alleviate the issues such as unfair job distribution, career progression and benefits distribution.

There is evidence that interaction through the form of employment between majority and minority groups, in this case, between Thais and the hill tribe people, can result in a number of socio-cultural impacts upon the minority. Therefore, considering the implications for the cross-cultural contact within the workplace is important. The findings of this research can be used by those multi-cultural organisations in the hope that appropriate policies might be developed to help to alleviate potential cultural conflicts between hill tribe people and ETAs.

The study shows that discrimination and a lack of cross cultural understanding are common issues in the workplace perceived by the hill tribe people. The findings of this research can be used by those working at the management level of the organisation to alleviate tensions between the Thais and their hill tribe co-workers and also resolve the ongoing conflicts between them. One possible approach could be that the organisation takes responsibility for organising social gatherings on a regular basis such as a sport day or a family day where everyone can bring their family members to attend a special lunch or a tour within the organisation to enhance a better understanding among all co-workers and promote a greater sense of acceptance and belonging.

### **10.8 Recommendations for future research**

From this study five suggestions for future research are proposed:

1. This research has revealed that tourism impacts not only arise from the interaction between tourists and residents as it has clearly demonstrated that employment by ETAs affects perceptions of actual or real impacts. However, other influencing factors were identified such as media, globalisation and special events that can create tourism impacts for the host destination and the role and relative importance of these is little understood and requires more detailed investigation.
2. This research was carried out to investigate how people from different ethnic backgrounds and cultures differ in terms of perceptions and attitudes and actions. The findings confirm that people from different backgrounds often behave and think differently. Nonetheless, the research has also demonstrated that different working environments play an important role in determining people's perceptions. However, the results can only be generalised cautiously as applying to the Karen and Hmong tribes since it was based on the perceptions of Karen and Hmong from Doi Inthanon, Chiang Mai, Thailand. Therefore, future studies should consider a research based on different locations or different groups of respondents and compare different point of views such as perceptions of people who are in the same job but differ in the length of their working experience, or to compare perception based on the ages of the subjects, it is

presumable that younger hill tribe people (adolescents and youth) might embrace the ways of outsiders more deeply than older hill tribe members (adults and elderly) that may wish not to adapt as much. Different levels of education can be another aspect that may have an influence on hill tribe people perceptions and their choice of actions.

3. This study has focused on residents' perceptions towards impacts from ETAs. A future research could/ should look at ETAs' perceptions of impacts from their interaction with hosts, including what they perceive as most important in social contact with host and how culture differences have affected them.
4. This research has applied a range of theories to explain the findings emerged from this hill tribe group. It might be interesting for a future research to consider whether or not the theoretical frameworks developed in and by western societies can be adopted and applied in other Asian contexts.
5. This research applied a mixed methods approach by using a sequential process starting with qualitative methods in the first phase to help develop quantitative measures and instruments to gather primary data in the second phase. Further qualitative research could be undertaken to explain some of the quantitative findings from this study.

## **10.9 Conclusion**

This chapter has demonstrated that the individual objectives and the overall aim of the research have been met. An evaluation of the theories applied in this research has been presented as have the reliability validity and limitations of the study. The implications of the research findings for policies and management of hill tribe tourism in Thailand have been addressed and recommendations for further research proposed.

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# APPENDICS

# Appendices

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## Appendix 1 Focus groups protocol

Brief introduction:

Thank you very much for attending the focus group today. I am a PhD student at Bournemouth University in the United Kingdom and I am writing a thesis as part of my research. The purpose of this research is to investigate hill tribe people perceptions of impacts resulting from ETAs.

The process of this focus group will be informal. The aim of our activity today is to get everyone to speak out and share your view and experiences. The questions will revolve around your view of impacts resulting from hosting ETAs/ interacting with ETAs in Doi Inthanon. Sometime I will be asking you to talk through specific experiences in your life, so I can understand the sense of how issues and concerns are connected in your perceptions. Then we can talk and discuss about that with the group. So please relax and you can speak your mind and express yourself freely. The information derive from this will be kept confidential. I would be grateful if you could also keep each other's answer in confidential manner. Is that OK with everyone?

This will only take about 45 minutes more or less. Is that OK with everyone? And is it OK if I record our activity today?

Do you have any questions before we begin?



**Set A: For those who work with ETAs**

**Questions regarding impacts from ETAs**

1. Are you familiar with the term tourism impact?
2. When you hear people say tourism impact, what comes to your mind?
3. When you see ETAs here, what come to your mind?
4. Are there a lot of ETAs here?
5. How do you feel about the arrival of ETAs in Doi Inthanon?
6. Tell me the good thing you receive personally from having ETAs here?
7. What about bad things?
8. Now, let's think about changes you have seen happening in your community resulting from the ETAs?

**Questions regarding employment view:**

9. What kind of job do you do?
10. Tell me what made you come work for them?
11. After you have been working with ETAs, do you think that it has somehow impacted upon you?
12. Are there any problems when working with ETAs?
13. How do you solve those problems?
14. What do you like most about working with ETAs?
15. What do you dislike most about working with ETAs?

**Set B: For those who do not work with ETAs**

**Questions regarding impacts from ETAs**

1. Are you familiar with the term tourism impact?
2. When you hear people say tourism impact, what comes to your mind?
3. When you see ETAs here, what come to your mind?
4. Are there a lot of ETAs here?
5. How do you feel about the arrival of ETAs in Doi Inthanon?
6. Tell me the good thing you receive personally from having ETAs here?
7. What about bad things?
8. Now, let's think about changes you have seen happening in your community resulting from the ETAs?

**Questions regarding employment view:**

9. What kind of job do you do?
10. Tell me what made you do not go work for ETAs?

## Appendix 2 Themes emerged from the focus groups

The results from the four focus groups with the selected hill tribe people revealed some concerns about sociocultural impacts with reference to quality of life which includes their perceptions on safety issue and impact of welfare such as development of facilities, improvement in condition of community. Also, perceptions towards changes in their way of living, issues such as cost of living, lifestyle, value of belief, change in original career path, and demographic structure were also mentioned. The following are the points mentioned by the focus groups participants.

### **Common issues mentioned in the focus groups.**

#### **Negative view**

- Higher cost of living in the area
- Feeling less safe after the arrival of ETAs
- Abandoning tribal food and eat more like ETAs
- Leaving family behind to go live on their own
- Failed to keep in touch with tribal friends
- Spending money more extravagantly
- More expenditures
- Losing tribal identity

#### **Positive view**

- Becoming better known after the arrival of ETAs
- Changing in communicating style; use of Thai urban words, accent
- Becoming more 'Thai like'
- ETAs is the reason for improvement of public facilities
- ETAs is the reason for establishment of new facilities that were not there before
- Living easier lives with modern technologies
- More job opportunities offer by ETAs, tribal people are not only limited to agriculture career
- Increasing in tourism businesses in the area
- Younger tribal generation received higher education due to more varieties of higher job positions

- Higher standard of living
- Increased more awareness of urban fashionable clothes
- Increased more awareness of choices of food
- Increased more awareness of different cultures
- Better housing style, more solid and more urbanise
- Developed friendships with non tribal people
- Gaining more confidence to associate and work with different nationalities

### **Reasons for working with ETAs**

#### Economic factors

- Quick money (no need to wait for harvest season)
- Regular income (no need to depend on result of their agriculture, they can get a consistent wages)
- Extra cash from tips

#### Self-improvement factors

- Chance to see modern lifestyles, urban things
- Chance to do something else apart from agriculture
- Chance to use knowledge learn from school e.g., use of language Thai, English.
- Chance to gain and practice new skills before opening own business

#### Employment factors

- Opportunity to get a higher position in career
- Good resume from the work experience with Thai and foreigners

#### Self-esteem factors

- Chance to associate with non tribal people and be in a bigger society
- Chance to adapt and become more Thai like in order to get accepted by the Thai
- Chance to pursue dream jobs

### **Problems and conflicts from working with ETAs**

- Being looked down upon
- Being labelled for negative image, being judged before hand
- Not being accepted by ETAs
- Get no respect from ETAs, often being teased, being laughed at because of being tribal people and funny accent
- Unfair job distribution
- Slower in career progressing compared to the Thai
- Different working styles

### **Proposed solutions**

- Try to be open-minded by considering both negative and positive impacts, then accept some of the negative impacts if the benefits outweigh the costs.
- Try to work harder than others to prove themselves to ETAs
- Avoid confrontation with ETAs but complain to anyone who would listen
- Leave the situation that involves any contact with ETAs

### **Types of ETA related job employed by the Karen and Hmong**

- Bartender/ waiter/ waitress/ porter/ chef/ restaurant supervisor
- Housekeeper/homestay runner/resort, guest house general manager/receptionist
- Tour guide/porter/travel agent
- Traditional dancer/ singer/ performer
- Masseur/spa staff
- Souvenir shopkeeper

### **Reasons for not working with ETAs**

- Lacking self-esteem and insecurity e.g. no/ or not enough education, being tribal person
- Language limitations e.g. cannot read or write Thai, cannot speak Thai properly
- More freedom back home/ do not need to follow order
- Already have their own land/businesses to make a living out of
- No one hooks them up with the ETAs job

## Appendix 3 Focus groups participants' profile

Table 1 Karen participants working with ETAs

Name	Gender	Age	ETA related job
Ying	Female	18	a food server
Rongroj	Male	23	a guest house manager
Mam	Female	27	a resort manager
Ae	Female	34	a housekeeper/farmer
Somran	Male	34	a porter/farmer
Tong	Male	42	a homestay manager/ trekking guide

Table 2 Karen participants not working with ETAs

Name	Gender	Age	Non ETA related job
Wa	Female	20	a farmer/hair dresser
Tan	Male	28	a biology researcher
San	Male	32	a farmer
Sakchai	Male	36	a farmer/buys and sells second hand products
Somsak	Male	40	a farmer
Tai	Female	43	a farmer

Table 3 Hmong participants working with ETAs

Name	Gender	Age	ETA related job
Pai	Female	19	a food server
Pee	Male	24	a campground supervisor
Sae-Ya	Male	25	a singer
Sit	Male	27	a tour guide
Nikom	Male	29	a hotel sous chef
Nong	Female	31	a homestay manager

Table 4 Hmong participants not working with ETAs

Name	Gender	Age	Non ETA related job
Ja	Female	24	a farmer
Chop	Male	34	a farmer/freelance e.g. maid, carpenter, gardener
Mai	Female	39	a flower seller
Change	Male	40	a farmer
Pa-Chong	Female	45	food vendor/owner
Sing	Male	48	a grocery shop owner

## Appendix 4 Interview protocol

### **Brief introduction:**

Hi, thank you for attending the interview<sup>7</sup>. I am a PhD student at Bournemouth University in the United Kingdom and I am writing a thesis as part of my research.

The purpose of this in-depth interview<sup>8</sup> is to investigate your view of the impact from ETAs in Doi Inthanon. You will be asked about your personal experience and your view of the community after the arrival of ETAs. This might involve me asking you to talk me through the specific experiences, and please do not be afraid if I try to ascertain your reasoning in certain areas. This interview will take about 30-45 minutes. Is that ok with you?

Do you mind if I record the interview? Please be informed that your information and answers will be kept confidential.

Any questions you want to ask before we begin?

---

<sup>7</sup> Most of the interviewees were approached by the researcher after having done the focus group with him/her and has given permission for the researcher to conduct an interview with on one on one basis

<sup>8</sup> The following questions were used to guide the interview, however, the interview with each informant was more of a conversation. The interview questions based on 3 main issues: 1) Personal detail: name, age, and ethnicity. 2) Career: current occupation, role and responsibility, reason for choosing the job, conflict and proposed solution. 3)ETAs and its impacts: personal impacts, community impacts.

Name.....  
 Ethnic group.....  
 Job.....

**Part 1: Questions for all respondents**

- Perceived impacts resulting from ETAs

<b>Types of questions</b>	<b>Interview questions</b>	<b>Purpose of the questions</b>
Introductory questions	When you see ETAs here, what come to your mind?  When you hear people say tourism impact, what comes to your mind?	These questions get the informant to start focusing on the topic being research
Mini tour	What have been good to you personally about the arrival of ETAs here?  Now, let's think about what have been bad to you personally about the arrival of ETAs here?	To find out <i>the impacts from hosting ETAs</i> that affects them personally  <b>(Answers from this question will be used to design choices for the questionnaire question regarding to social exchange theory about costs and benefits)</b>
Contrast question	In what ways do you think your community is now different from the past when there were no ETAs  (cont.) and do you consider that change as positive or negative?	To find out <i>the changes they perceive as happening in their community from the arrival of ETAs?</i>  <b>(Answers from this will help generate questionnaire questions about changes they see in their community)</b>
Mini tour	What is the most recent development you have seen in your community?  Do you think the development of your community has to do with the ETAs?	To find out the <i>level of community development after the arrival of ETAs</i>  To find out how much favour they have for ETAs in their community.

**Part 2 Set A: Questions for local people who work in tourism with ETAs**

- Employment view

<b>Types of questions</b>	<b>Interview questions</b>	<b>Purpose of the questions</b>
Grand tour	Can you describe a typical day in your life?	To find out what is their <i>role</i> and <i>responsibilities</i> for their job  <b>(Answers from this question will be used to formulate choices in the questionnaire regarding the question about types of tourism job they do for ETAs)</b>
	Could you tell me to what extent do you involve in tourism business with ETAs?	To find out <i>level of their involvement with ETAs</i> in tourism businesses in their village.  <b>(Answers from this question will set choices for questionnaire in order to find out degree of their involvement in the village e.g. part time, seasonal, full time etc.)</b>
Direct and factual:	Can you remember the recent conflict you had personally with the ETAs?  Are there any conflicts that you have with the ETAs and still cannot be solved?	To find out what <i>they perceived as conflict between them and ETAs who they work with</i>  <b>(Answers from this question can be used in the questionnaire to provide choices of conflicts they have from the interaction)</b>
	How the conflict being solved?	To find <i>out their proposed solution</i>  <b>(Results from this will provide some new idea that might not be in existing literature e.g. which group usually give in)</b>
Grand tour	Could you tell me why did you choose to work with ETAs in this extent?	To find out what <i>motivates</i> them to work with ETAs  <b>(Answers from this question will set choices for questionnaire in order to find out what they value as important factor to work for ETAs)</b>
Direct and factual:	Can you remember a particular event when you found that working with ETAs brings benefit to you personally?  Can you remember a particular event when you found that working with ETAs brings negative impacts to you personally?	To find out the <i>positive impacts</i> from working with ETAs  To find out the <i>negative impacts</i> from working with ETAs



Hypothetical	How would you imagine yourself without the ETAs?	To find out how <i>importance of ETAs</i> to them
Ending question	Do you have anything else you want to add or ask?	

**Part 2 Set B: Questions for local people who do not work with ETAs**

<b>Types of questions</b>	<b>Interview questions</b>	<b>Purpose of the questions</b>
Grand tour	Can you describe a typical day in your life?	To find out what is their <i>role</i> and <i>responsibilities</i> for their job  <b>(Answers from this question will be used to formulate choices in the questionnaire regarding the type of job)</b>
Grand tour	Could you tell me why did you choose not to work with ETAs?	To find out what <i>demotivates</i> them to work with ETAs  <b>(Answers from this question will set choices for questionnaire in order to find out their reasons for not working with ETAs)</b>
Ending question	Do you have anything else you want to add or ask?	

## Appendix 5 Themes emerged from the interviews

### **A summary of key issues emerged during the interviews with the Karen and Hmong**

The results from the interviews have confirmed the findings from the focus groups. Some of the results from the different informants shown some similarities and some were in such obvious differences. The following are the key issues that were commonly mentioned by the Karen and Hmong informants.

#### **Common view of the interview informants**

- ETAs is perceived by the informants as an agent to help support and develop tribal community through the form of tourism
- The term tourism impact is perceived by the informants as more of a positive impact
- Community development, higher standard of living and becoming more 'Thai like' are the common positive views regarding the arrival of ETAs.
- Increased tourism businesses and hill tribal people being better known are commonly mentioned by the informants regarding the different between past and present.
- Most of the informants mentioned they have changed toward Thai such as in terms of eating, dressing, housing, speaking after having a higher degree of interaction with ETAs, but they do not view these issues as negative impacts.
- Local people can benefit from job opportunities offered by ETAs but it also stimulates changes in the local original career path.
- Another common concern was that ETAs creating higher costs of living in the community, as increased in price of food such as a bowl of noodle soup, transportation, and grocery, is a common negative view.

#### **Common views of the Karen and Hmong informants working with ETAs**

- Majority of the informants work in an accommodation sector. Karen people tend to involve more with ETAs when compared to Hmong.
- Most informants from both tribes feel that they are being disparaged and disdained by the Thai and that lead to conflict between them and ETAs. Most of the conflicts often being ignore by ETAs and the Karen and Hmong rather avoid confrontation.
- Interview informants show different value towards money earn from ETAs as they tend to have different important things in life from one another. From the interviews with the selected Karen and Hmong, as presented in the particular order mentioned by the informants, every interview with Karen people mentioned about wanting to gain new experience, earn money to support family, and cash for paying debt and regular pay is more stable income than farming. While more than half of Hmong concern about earning supplementary income and save up this money to open their own business, earning a regular pay, gaining work experience.

Interestingly, both tribes mentioned a chance to socialise with the outsiders through the form of tourism employment with ETAs. Therefore, what is reflected from the result

from the interviews revealed that potential job opportunities and supplementary income were not always viewed as the most important reasons for working with ETAs.

- Results from the interviews with both the Karen and Hmong who working with ETAs show that hard working, being patient, good behaviour and enthusiastic in learning new things and interacting with people from different backgrounds contribute to the success of adaptation and the improvement of Karen and Hmong situation in the bigger society.
- ETAs creating more job opportunities for the Karen and Hmong
- Traditionally, hill tribe people tend to think of themselves as devalued and underdeveloped. This is reflected to the result of this research as most interviewees mentioned about their appreciation and grateful for the job opportunities, that allowed them to work in the bigger industry as tourism, not only agriculture, they have been offered by ETAs.
- Most participants who work with ETAs have the same opinion that the more ETAs open their tourism businesses in the area the better public facilities local tribal people get such as better condition of roads, clean water, electricity and public health center etc.
- Participants who work with ETAs all agreed on benefits they receive from the arrival of ETAs such as high technologies and convenient lifestyles have become part of tribal' way of lives which was influenced by the ETAs in their community.
- The informants from both tribes revealed that the only impact they have on language is that they can speak more Thai like, but they do not perceive it as a negative impact.
- Some interviewees mentioned they receive more income while the other group said their income do not increase from working with ETAs and even lose more from spending money extravagantly in order to fulfill their desires to live in the urban environment with higher class of people who they work for.

#### **Common views of the Karen and Hmong informants not working with ETAs**

- Change in value of belief, tradition and culture were the issues of their concerns. Some see less negative impact on their culture while some likely to see more. Traditional group of the Karen and Hmong tend to be more worried about their children working with ETAs as it is difficult for them to educate their children about their belief and even more difficult to convince their children to participate in their traditional ceremony.
- Some informants from both tribes who do not work with ETAs revealed a stronger negative attitude of working with ETAs. For example, the expression of 'being slave for ETAs' was mentioned by some of the Hmong informants.
- The results from the interviews with those who are not working with ETAs have shown emotional about problems and conflict and sense of unhappiness over issues such as: lack of respect for local people and safety issues.
- Resident interviews suggested that by letting too many ETAs work in the community is seen to cause the crime generation. In the interview question on 'social issue and its degree of change' most participants from both tribes claim that because more people from outside come live in this area, due to their job offers, has made the local feel less safe.

## Appendix 6 Interview informants' profiles

Table 5 Karen interview informants

<b>Name</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Occupation</b>	<b>Selected from:</b>
Ying	Female	18	a waitress	ETA job-related focus group participant
Rongroj	Male	23	a guest house manager	"
Mam	Female	27	a resort manager	"
Tong	Male	42	a homestay manager/trekking guide	"
Wa	Female	20	a farmer/ hair dresser	Non ETA job-related focus group participant
Tan	Male	20	a biology researcher	"
San	Male	32	a farmer	"
Sakchai	Male	36	a farmer/ buy and sell second hand products	"
Tai	Female	43	a farmer	"
Pongsak	Male	33	a village headman/homestay manager/farmer	Did not participate in any focus groups but willing to complete the interview

Table 6 Hmong interview informants

<b>Name</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Occupation</b>	<b>Selected from:</b>
Pee	Male	24	a camp ground supervisor	ETA job-related focus group participant
Sae-Ya	Male	25	a singer	"
Sit	Male	27	a tour guide	"
Nikom	Male	29	a hotel sous chef	"
Nong	Female	31	a homestay manager	"
Ja	Female	24	a farmer	Non ETA job-related focus group participant
Mai	Female	39	a flower seller	"
Chang	Male	40	a farmer	"
Pa-Chong	Female	45	food vendor/owner	"
Sing	Male	48	a grocery shop owner	"



**Section A: For people working in tourism with ETAs**

**1. What kind of job do you do?**

- .....Bartender
- .....Cook/ Chef
- .....Homestay runner
- .....Hotel Receptionist
- .....Housekeeper
- .....Performer (traditional dancer/singer)
- .....Other.....
- .....Porter
- .....Resort/ Guest House/Hotel General Manager
- .....Restaurant Supervisor/ Manager
- .....Tour guide
- .....Travel Agent
- .....Waiter/ Waitress

**2. Are you a full-time worker?** .....Yes .....No,  
please specify.....

Please listen to the following statements and indicate the level of importance you give towards these factors that influenced you to work with ETAs by ticking the appropriate box

**3.Reasons for working with ETAs**

	Very Important	Important	Neutral	Not Important	Not at all Important
<b><u>Economic factors</u></b>	5	4	3	2	1
Chance to earn quick money (R) <sup>9</sup>					
Chance to earn stable income (R)					
It pays good wages (L) <sup>10</sup>					
Chance to earn foreign currency from tips (L)					
Chance to earn money to support family (R)					
Chance to save up money for opening my own business (R)					
<b><u>Self-improvement factors</u></b>	5	4	3	2	1
Chance to see new things and more modern lifestyle (L) (R)					
Chance to work with others to improve new skills from doing something new apart from agriculture (R)					
Chance to use the skills and knowledge learned from school (R)					
Chance to gain and practise new skills before I have my own business in the future (R)					
<b><u>Employment factors</u></b>	5	4	3	2	1
The work is easy and desirable (L)					
Many part-time job offer available during seasonal period (L)					
Opportunity to get a higher position in career (R)					
<b><u>Self-esteem factors</u></b>	5	4	3	2	1
Chance to be in a bigger society and associate with different people, e.g. Thai and westerner (R)					
Chance to be accepted by Thai (R)					
Chance to pursue my dream job (R)					
Chance to gain sense of achievement (L)					

**4 Experience from working with ETAs**

**4.1 Conflicts from working with ETAs**

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
	5	4	3	2	1

<sup>9</sup> (R) indicates results derived from the first data collection

<sup>10</sup> (L) indicates that the statement is taken from previous literature

Being looked down upon (R)					
Being labeled with a negative image (R)					
Not easily being accepted by ETAs and other coworkers (R)					
Get no respect within the workplace by being teased and laughed at because of being tribal people (L) (R)					
Unfair job distribution (L) (R)					
Slower in getting promotion than co-worker who is Thai (R)					
Different working style, not familiar with their working system (L) (R)					

#### 4.2. Proposed solution

What do you usually do to solve conflict with ETAs?

.....Quite the job

.....Avoid confrontation by accepting and tolerate with the problems

.....Fight back by working harder to prove ETAs wrong

.....Other.....

#### 4.3 Impacts from working with ETAs

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
	5	4	3	2	1
Increased higher demand for female labour (L)					
I've developed friendships with non-tribal people from working with ETAs (R)					
I've learnt other cultures and seen nontribal fashion, food and music by working with ETAs (L) (R)					
I've more confidence after working with ETAs, and can easily work with all nationalities (L) (R)					
I've learnt new skills and improved my Thai and English language skills (R)					
I want to promote and preserve my cultural products, e.g., culture, dress codes, and food (L)					
After working with ETAs, I have a better appreciation of my culture (L)					
My colleagues always make fun of me being a tribal person which makes me want to lose my identity (R)					
I've changed to be more Thai like (L) (R)					
I've lost my belief in my traditional culture after working with ETAs because I have to deal with them as tourist attractions (L)					
I earn more income from ETAs but also incur more expenditures (R)					
I've failed to keep up my relationships with my family (R)					
I've failed to keep up my relationships with my friends (R)					

**Section B: For people who are not involved in tourism with ETAs**

**1. What kind of job do you do?**

- .....Agriculture
- .....Business-owner
- .....Embroiderer/artisan
- .....Government office employee
- .....Salesperson/street vendor
- .....Other, please specify.....

**2. Would you give me your reasons for not working with ETAs?**

- a.) .....
- b.) .....
- c.) .....



**Part 2: For all respondents**

**1. Socio-cultural impacts upon individual**

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
	5	4	3	2	1
I've become better known because of the tourism activities owned by ETAs (L) (R)					
I live more easily and conveniently with modern technologies, which supports my new lifestyle influenced by ETAs in the area (L) (R)					
I've abandoned traditional food and prefer to eat like outsiders (L) (R)					
Hosting ETAs creates cultural conflicts for me (L) (R)					
I forget traditional lifestyle, ceremonies and culture after the arrival of ETAs (L)					
I do not feel welcome in tourism business areas owned by ETAs (L)					
I feel crowded and find it difficult to participate in traditional events because too many tourists have been brought into the area by ETAs (L)					
I do not feel as safe as before since more ETAs opened their businesses in my community (R)					

**2. Social changes in community**

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
	5	4	3	2	1
My community has adapted to a higher standard of living which was influenced by ETAs and their lifestyles (R)					
Arrival of ETAs helps improve public facilities (L) (R)					
Arrival of ETAs is a reason for establishment of public facilities that were not here before (L) (R)					
Younger generation achieve higher education due to more varieties of higher job positions (R)					
Local people have become more prosperous (L) (R)					
There are more tourism businesses in my community today than about 10 years ago (R)					
There is a declined in agriculture job since people work more for ETAs (L) (R)					
By having many ETAs and their businesses create higher cost of living in the area where I live (L) (R)					
Social and traditional events have changed and become pseudo-events (L)					
Interacting with ETAs leads to a lose of local language (L) (R)					
There is an increase in crime rate in my community (L) (R)					
There is an increase in STD because of more interaction with outsiders (L)					
There have been some changes in the way local people dress and the dress code (L) (R)					
There have been some changes in the way local people eat (L) (R)					
There have been some changes in the way local people spend their money (R)					
There have been some changes in the way local people talk (L) (R)					

There have been some changes in terms of family relationships (R)					
There have been some changes in housing style (L) (R)					

## Appendix 8 Frequencies result from SPSS

Table 7 Reasons for working with ETAs by Karen and Hmong

	Not at all important	Not important	Neutral	Important	Very important	Total
Ethnic of respondent	K:H	K:H	K:H	K:H	K:H	K:H
Chance to earn quick money	0:0	47:13	0:8	37:34	15:36	99:104
Chance to earn stable income	0:0	27:44	2:2	33:18	37:77	99:104
It pays better wages than agriculture	0:0	15:20	5:1	72:53	7:30	99:104
Chance to earn foreign currency from tips	2:0	17:13	17:1	35:45	28:45	99:104
Chance to earn money to support family	0:6	15:38	1:5	19:53	64:2	99:104
Chance to save money for opening own business	15:0	70:20	5:7	8:54	1:23	99:104
Chance to see new things and modern lifestyle	0:0	29:38	2:4	19:46	49:16	99:104
Chance to learn new skills and do something else apart from agriculture	0:2	29:56	0:5	15:22	55:19	99:104
Chance to use skills and knowledge learned from school	51:90	37:6	9:6	2:2	0:0	99:104
Chance to practice new skills before open own business	63:43	30:43	5:6	1:3	0:9	99:104
ETA jobs is desirable because it's easy	0:5	26:30	21:15	52:46	0:8	99:104
Many part-time jobs offer during seasonal period	0:2	2:0	0:13	50:37	47:52	99:104
Opportunity to get a higher position in career	0:2	25:56	48:29	24:11	2:6	99:104
Chance to get good resume from experience of working with Thai and foreigners	0:0	13:36	11:4	40:41	35:23	99:104
Chance to be in a bigger society to associate with people from different culture	5:9	20:39	4:5	28:20	42:31	99:104
Chance to become more Thai like in order to get accepted by Thai society	0:3	21:33	12:9	38:12	28:47	99:104
Chance to pursue dream job	26:43	52:39	18:10	3:9	0:3	99:104
Chance to gain sense of achievement	9:14	42:54	44:30	4:6	0:0	99:104

Table 8 Reasons for working with ETAs by Karen males and females

	Not at all important	Not important	Neutral	Important	Very important	Total
Ethnic of respondent	K:H	K:H	K:H	K:H	K:H	K:H
Chance to earn quick money	0:0	22:25	0:0	17:20	10:5	49:50
Chance to earn stable income	0:0	15:12	2:0	15:18	17:20	49:50
It pays better wages than agriculture	0:0	4:11	1:4	37:35	7:0	49:50
Chance to earn foreign currency from tips	2:0	7:10	11:6	18:17	11:17	49:50
Chance to earn money to support family	0:0	15:0	0:1	10:9	24:40	49:50
Chance to save money for opening own business	9:6	33:37	5:0	2:6	0:1	49:50
Chance to see new things and modern lifestyle	0:0	13:16	2:0	3:16	31:18	49:50
Chance to learn new skills and do something else apart from agriculture	0:0	14:15	0:0	4:11	31:24	49:50
Chance to use skills and knowledge learned from school	29:22	9:28	9:0	2:0	0:0	49:50
Chance to practice new skills before open own business	19:44	25:5	5:0	0:1	0:0	49:50
ETA jobs is desirable because it's easy	0:0	12:14	11:10	26:26	0:0	49:50
Many part-time jobs offer during seasonal period	0:0	2:0	0:0	24:26	23:24	49:50
Opportunity to get a higher position in career	0:0	12:13	25:23	12:12	0:2	49:50
Chance to get good resume from experience of working with Thai and foreigners	0:0	5:8	11:0	18:22	15:20	49:50
Chance to be in a bigger society to associate with people from different culture	1:4	9:11	4:0	23:5	12:30	49:50
Chance to become more Thai like in order to get accepted by Thai society	0:0	14:7	5:7	26:12	4:24	49:50
Chance to pursue dream job	18:8	18:34	11:7	2:1	0:0	49:50
Chance to gain sense of achievement	8:1	10:32	27:17	4:0	0:0	49:50

Table 9 Reasons for working with ETAs by Hmong males and females

	Not at all important	Not important	Neutral	Important	Very important	Total
Hmong males : Hmong females	M:F	M:F	M:F	M:F	M:F	M:F
Chance to earn quick money	0:0	11:2	2:6	13:34	10:26	36:68
Chance to earn stable income	0:0	18:26	0:2	9:9	9:31	36:68
It pays better wages than agriculture	0:0	10:10	1:0	16:37	9:21	36:68
Chance to earn foreign currency from tips	0:0	4:9	1:0	17:28	14:31	36:68
Chance to earn money to support family	0:6	24:14	0:5	12:41	0:2	36:68
Chance to save money for opening own business	0:0	12:8	6:1	16:38	2:21	36:68
Chance to see new things and modern lifestyle	0:0	21:17	1:3	8:38	6:10	36:68
Chance to learn new skills and do something else apart from agriculture	0:2	23:33	4:1	3:19	6:13	36:68
Chance to use skills and knowledge learned from school	35:55	1:5	0:6	0:2	0:0	36:68
Chance to practice new skills before open own business	14:29	16:27	4:2	1:2	1:8	36:68
ETA jobs is desirable because it's easy	1:4	10:20	10:5	13:33	2:6	36:68
Many part-time jobs offer during seasonal period	0:2	0:0	4:9	12:25	20:32	36:68
Opportunity to get a higher position in career	0:2	15:41	17:12	4:7	0:6	36:68
Chance to get good resume from experience of working with Thai and foreigners	0:0	8:28	4:0	20:21	4:19	36:68
Chance to be in a bigger society to associate with people from different culture	3:6	7:32	5:0	13:7	8:23	36:68
Chance to become more Thai like in order to get accepted by Thai society	3:0	7:26	5:4	6:6	15:32	36:68
Chance to pursue dream job	13:30	11:28	6:4	4:5	2:1	36:68
Chance to gain sense of achievement	6:8	16:38	12:18	2:4	0:0	36:68

Table 10 Reasons for working with ETAs by Karen males and Hmong males

	Not at all important	Not important	Neutral	Important	Very important	Total
Karen males : Hmong males	K:H	K:H	K:H	K:H	K:H	K:H
Chance to earn quick money	0:0	22:11	0:2	17:13	10:10	49:36
Chance to earn stable income	0:0	15:18	2:0	15:9	17:9	49:36
It pays better wages than agriculture	0:0	4:10	1:1	37:16	7:9	49:36
Chance to earn foreign currency from tips	2:0	7:4	11:1	18:17	11:14	49:36
Chance to earn money to support family	0:0	15:24	0:0	10:12	24:0	49:36
Chance to save money for opening own business	9:0	33:12	5:6	2:16	0:2	49:36
Chance to see new things and modern lifestyle	0:0	13:21	2:1	3:8	31:6	49:36
Chance to learn new skills and do something else apart from agriculture	0:0	14:23	0:4	4:3	31:6	49:36
Chance to use skills and knowledge learned from school	29:35	9:1	9:0	2:0	0:0	49:36
Chance to practice new skills before open own business	19:14	25:16	5:4	0:1	0:1	49:36
ETA jobs is desirable because it's easy	0:1	12:10	11:10	26:13	0:2	49:36
Many part-time jobs offer during seasonal period	0:0	2:0	0:4	24:12	23:20	49:36
Opportunity to get a higher position in career	0:0	12:15	25:17	12:4	0:0	49:36
Chance to get good resume from experience of working with Thai and foreigners	0:0	5:8	11:4	18:20	15:4	49:36
Chance to be in a bigger society to associate with people from different culture	1:3	9:7	4:5	23:13	12:8	49:36
Chance to become more Thai like in order to get accepted by Thai society	0:3	14:7	5:5	26:6	4:15	49:36
Chance to pursue dream job	18:13	18:11	11:6	2:4	0:2	49:36
Chance to gain sense of achievement	8:6	10:16	27:12	4:2	0:0	49:36

Table 11 Reasons for working with ETAs by Karen females and Hmong females

	Not at all important	Not important	Neutral	Important	Very important	Total
Karen females : Hmong females	K:H	K:H	K:H	K:H	K:H	K:H
Chance to earn quick money	0:0	25:2	0:6	20:34	5:26	50:68
Chance to earn stable income	0:0	12:26	0:2	18:9	20:31	50:68
It pays better wages than agriculture	0:0	11:10	4:0	35:37	0:21	50:68
Chance to earn foreign currency from tips	0:0	10:9	6:0	17:28	17:31	50:68
Chance to earn money to support family	0:6	0:14	1:5	9:41	40:2	50:68
Chance to save money for opening own business	6:0	37:8	0:1	6:38	1:21	50:68
Chance to see new things and modern lifestyle	0:0	16:17	0:3	16:38	18:10	50:68
Chance to learn new skills and do something else apart from agriculture	0:2	15:33	0:1	11:19	24:13	50:68
Chance to use skills and knowledge learned from school	22:55	28:5	0:6	0:2	0:0	50:68
Chance to practice new skills before open own business	44:29	5:27	0:2	1:2	0:8	50:68
ETA jobs is desirable because it's easy	0:4	14:20	10:5	26:33	0:6	50:68
Many part-time jobs offer during seasonal period	0:2	0:0	0:9	26:25	24:32	50:68
Opportunity to get a higher position in career	0:2	13:41	23:12	12:7	2:6	50:68
Chance to get good resume from experience of working with Thai and foreigners	0:0	8:28	0:0	22:21	20:19	50:68
Chance to be in a bigger society to associate with people from different culture	4:6	11:32	0:0	5:7	30:23	50:68
Chance to become more Thai like in order to get accepted by Thai society	0:0	7:26	7:4	12:6	24:32	50:68
Chance to pursue dream job	8:30	34:28	7:4	1:5	0:1	50:68
Chance to gain sense of achievement	1:8	32:38	17:18	0:4	0:0	50:68

Table 12 Perceptions of Karen and Hmong of impacts arising from working with ETAs

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
Ethnic of resident	K:H	K:H	K:H	K:H	K:H	K:H
ETAs provide more job opportunities	0:0	10:4	12:29	30:59	47:12	99:104
ETAs has resulted in a greater demand of female labour	0:0	0:0	0:10	49:41	50:53	99:104
I've developed friendships with non-tribal people from working with ETAs	0:0	1:15	4:7	53:56	41:26	99:104
I've learned other's culture and see non-tribal fashion, food and music from working with ETAs	0:0	3:12	0:2	57:72	39:18	99:104
I've more confidence after working with ETAs	0:0	0:0	0:0	25:39	74:65	99:104
I've learned new skills and improved my Thai and English language skills	0:0	0:0	4:4	21:55	74:45	99:104
Working with ETAs helps promote and preserve our cultural products	0:1	12:45	6:3	48:35	33:20	99:104
After have been working with ETAs, I've better appreciation of my culture	0:0	8:22	22:34	30:40	39:8	99:104
My colleagues always make fun of me being tribal people which make me want to lose my identity	0:1	77:71	1:7	21:20	0:2	99:104
I've changed myself to be more Thai like	0:0	37:11	1:4	28:71	33:18	99:104
I've lost my belief in my traditions and monuments because I've deal with it as tourist attractions	58:37	36:56	4:4	1:7	0:0	99:104
I earn more income from working with ETAs but there are more expenditure	0:0	5:4	0:0	44:59	50:41	99:104
I failed in keeping up relationship with family	24:0	75:82	0:1	0:21	0:0	99:104
I failed to keep in touch with my tribal friends	32:30	67:67	0:0	0:7	0:0	99:104



Table 13 Perceptions of Karen males and females of impacts arising from working with ETAs

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
Karen male and female	M:F	M:F	M:F	M:F	M:F	
ETAs provide more job opportunities	0:0	1:9	12:0	18:12	18:29	49:50
ETAs has resulted in a greater demand of female labour	0:0	0:0	0:0	32:17	17:33	49:50
I've developed friendships with non-tribal people from working with ETAs	0:0	0:1	4:0	31:22	14:27	49:50
I've learned other's culture and see non-tribal fashion, food and music from working with ETAs	0:0	3:0	0:0	36:21	10:29	49:50
I've more confidence after working with ETAs	0:0	0:0	0:0	22:3	27:47	49:50
I've learned new skills and improved my Thai and English language skills	0:0	0:0	4:0	11:10	34:40	49:50
Working with ETAs helps promote and preserve our cultural products	0:0	1:11	2:4	30:18	16:17	49:50
After have been working with ETAs, I've better appreciation of my culture	0:0	2:6	7:15	23:7	17:12	49:50
My colleagues always make fun of me being tribal people which make me want to lose my identity	0:0	35:42	1:0	13:8	0:0	49:50
I've changed myself to be more Thai like	0:0	17:20	0:1	13:15	19:14	49:50
I've lost my belief in my traditions and monuments because I've deal with it as tourist attractions	23:35	21:15	4:0	1:0	0:0	49:50
I earn more income from working with ETAs but there are more expenditure	0:0	3:2	0:0	19:25	27:23	49:50
I failed in keeping up relationship with family	20:4	29:46	0:0	0:0	0:0	49:50
I failed to keep in touch with my tribal friends	26:6	23:44	0:0	0:0	0:0	49:50

Table 14 Perceptions of Hmong males and females of impacts arising from working with ETAs

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
Hmong male and female	M:F	M:F	M:F	M:F	M:F	
ETAs provide more job opportunities	0:0	3:1	14:15	14:45	5:7	36:68
ETAs has resulted in a greater demand of female labour	0:0	0:0	0:0	19:22	7:46	36:68
I've developed friendships with non-tribal people from working with ETAs	0:0	4:11	4:3	19:37	9:17	36:68
I've learned other's culture and see non-tribal fashion, food and music from working with ETAs	0:0	5:7	0:2	20:52	11:7	36:68
I've more confidence after working with ETAs	0:0	0:0	0:0	20:19	16:49	36:68
I've learned new skills and improved my Thai and English language skills	0:0	0:0	4:0	18:37	14:31	36:68
Working with ETAs helps promote and preserve our cultural products	0:1	13:32	2:1	17:18	4:16	36:68
After have been working with ETAs, I've better appreciation of my culture	0:0	10:12	11:23	14:26	1:7	36:68
My colleagues always make fun of me being tribal people which make me want to lose my identity	0:1	29:45	0:7	7:13	0:2	36:68
I've changed myself to be more Thai like	0:0	8:3	0:4	20:51	8:10	36:68
I've lost my belief in my traditions and monuments because I've deal with it as tourist attractions	12:25	19:37	4:0	1:6	0:0	36:68
I earn more income from working with ETAs but there are more expenditure	0:0	3:1	0:0	22:37	11:30	36:68
I failed in keeping up relationship with family	0:0	28:54	0:1	8:13	0:0	36:68
I failed to keep in touch with my tribal friends	10:20	24:43	0:0	2:5	0:0	36:68

Table 15 Perceptions of Karen males and Hmong males of impacts arising from working with ETAs

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
Karen male and Hmong male	K:H	K:H	K:H	K:H	K:H	
ETAs provide more job opportunities	0:0	1:3	12:14	18:14	18:5	49:36
ETAs has resulted in a greater demand of female labour	0:0	0:0	0:10	32:19	17:7	49:36
I've developed friendships with non-tribal people from working with ETAs	0:0	0:4	4:4	31:19	14:9	49:36
I've learned other's culture and see non-tribal fashion, food and music from working with ETAs	0:0	3:5	0:0	36:20	10:11	49:36
I've more confidence after working with ETAs	0:0	0:0	0:0	22:20	27:16	49:36
I've learned new skills and improved my Thai and English language skills	0:0	0:0	4:4	11:18	34:14	49:36
Working with ETAs helps promote and preserve our cultural products	0:0	1:13	2:2	30:17	16:4	49:36
After have been working with ETAs, I've better appreciation of my culture	0:0	2:10	7:11	23:14	17:1	49:36
My colleagues always make fun of me being tribal people which make me want to lose my identity	0:0	35:29	1:0	13:7	0:0	49:36
I've changed myself to be more Thai like	0:0	17:8	0:0	13:20	19:8	49:36
I've lost my belief in my traditions and monuments because I've deal with it as tourist attractions	23:12	21:19	4:4	1:1	0:0	49:36
I earn more income from working with ETAs but there are more expenditure	0:0	3:3	0:0	19:22	27:11	49:36
I failed in keeping up relationship with family	20:0	29:28	0:0	0:8	0:0	49:36
I failed to keep in touch with my tribal friends	26:10	23:24	0:0	0:2	0:0	49:36

Table 16 Perceptions of Karen females and Hmong females of impacts arising from working with ETAs

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
Karen female and Hmong female	K:H	K:H	K:H	K:H	K:H	
ETAs provide more job opportunities	0:0	9:1	0:15	12:45	29:7	50:68
ETAs has resulted in a greater demand of female labour	0:0	0:0	0:0	17:22	33:46	50:68
I've developed friendships with non-tribal people from working with ETAs	0:0	1:11	0:3	22:37	27:17	50:68
I've learned other's culture and see non-tribal fashion, food and music from working with ETAs	0:0	0:7	0:2	21:52	29:7	50:68
I've more confidence after working with ETAs	0:0	0:0	0:0	3:19	47:49	50:68
I've learned new skills and improved my Thai and English language skills	0:0	0:0	0:0	10:37	40:31	50:68
Working with ETAs helps promote and preserve our cultural products	0:1	11:32	4:1	18:18	17:16	50:68
After have been working with ETAs, I've better appreciation of my culture	0:0	6:12	15:23	7:26	22:7	50:68
My colleagues always make fun of me being tribal people which make me want to lose my identity	0:1	42:45	0:7	8:13	0:2	50:68
I've changed myself to be more Thai like	0:0	20:3	1:4	15:51	14:10	50:68
I've lost my belief in my traditions and monuments because I've deal with it as tourist attractions	35:25	15:37	0:0	0:6	0:0	50:68
I earn more income from working with ETAs but there are more expenditure	0:0	2:1	0:0	25:37	23:30	50:68
I failed in keeping up relationship with family	4:0	46:54	0:1	0:13	0:0	50:68
I failed to keep in touch with my tribal friends	6:20	44:43	0:0	0:5	0:0	50:68

Table 17 Perceptions of Karen and Hmong of socio-cultural impacts upon themselves from incoming of ETAs

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
Ethnic respondents	K:H	K:H	K:H	K:H	K:H	K:H
I do not feel welcomed in the tourism businesses owned by ETAs	0:6	54:55	21:24	22:19	2:0	99:104
I do not feel as safe as before since more ETAs open their businesses and work here	0:0	54:4	0:5	35:65	10:30	99:104
I've become better known because of the tourism activities owned by ETAs	0:0	7:3	0:3	20:22	72:76	99:104
Hosting ETAs creates cultural conflicts for me	11:0	60:44	5:3	16:29	7:28	99:104
I've abandoned traditional foods and prefer to eat like outsiders	0:0	9:13	9:5	53:59	28:27	99:104
I forget traditional ceremonies and culture after the arrival of ETAs	0:0	76:71	3:4	12:27	8:2	99:104
I live life more easily, which support my new lifestyles which have been influenced by ETAs in the area	0:0	0:0	0:1	31:44	68:59	99:104
I feel crowded and difficult to participate in traditional events because of too many tourists have been brought into the area by ETAs	17:12	68:68	5:0	9:6	0:0	99:104

Table 18 Perceptions of Karen males and females of socio-cultural impacts upon themselves from incoming of ETAs

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
Karen males and Karen females	M:F	M:F	M:F	M:F	M:F	
I do not feel welcomed in the tourism businesses owned by ETAs	0:0	20:34	20:1	7:15	2:0	49:50
I do not feel as safe as before since more ETAs open their businesses and work here	0:0	21:33	0:0	19:16	9:1	49:50
I've become better known because of the tourism activities owned by ETAs	0:0	3:4	0:0	9:11	37:35	49:50
Hosting ETAs creates cultural conflicts for me	10:1	24:36	2:3	9:7	4:3	49:50
I've abandoned traditional foods and	0:0	5:4	5:4	30:23	9:19	49:50

prefer to eat like outsiders						
I forget traditional ceremonies and culture after the arrival of ETAs	0:0	38:38	1:2	6:6	4:4	49:50
I live life more easily, which support my new lifestyles which have been influenced by ETAs in the area	0:0	0:0	0:0	14:17	35:33	49:50
I feel crowded and difficult to participate in traditional events because of too many tourists have been brought into the area by ETAs	13:4	35:33	0:5	1:8	0:0	49:50

Table 19 Perceptions of Hmong males and females of socio-cultural impacts upon themselves from incoming of ETAs

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
Hmong males and Hmong females	M:F	M:F	M:F	M:F	M:F	
I do not feel welcomed in the tourism businesses owned by ETAs	0:6	18:37	13:11	5:14	0:0	36:68
I do not feel as safe as before since more ETAs open their businesses and work here	0:0	4:0	1:4	20:45	11:19	36:68
I've become better known because of the tourism activities owned by ETAs	0:0	2:1	2:1	3:19	29:47	36:68
Hosting ETAs creates cultural conflicts for me	0:0	18:26	3:0	9:20	6:22	36:68
I've abandoned traditional foods and prefer to eat like outsiders	0:0	6:7	5:0	17:42	8:19	36:68
I forget traditional ceremonies and culture after the arrival of ETAs	0:0	24:47	0:4	10:17	2:0	36:68
I live life more easily, which support my new lifestyles which have been influenced by ETAs in the area	0:0	0:0	1:0	10:34	25:34	36:68
I feel crowded and difficult to participate in traditional events because of too many tourists have been brought into the area by ETAs	4:8	30:56	0:0	2:4	0:0	36:68

Table 20 Perceptions of Karen males and Hmong males of socio-cultural impacts upon themselves from incoming of ETAs

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
Karen males and Hmong males	K:H	K:H	K:H	K:H	K:H	

I do not feel welcomed in the tourism businesses owned by ETAs	0:0	20:18	20:13	7:5	2:0	49:36
I do not feel as safe as before since more ETAs open their businesses and work here	0:0	21:4	0:1	19:20	9:11	49:36
I've become better known because of the tourism activities owned by ETAs	0:0	3:2	0:2	9:3	37:29	49:36
Hosting ETAs creates cultural conflicts for me	10:0	24:18	2:3	9:9	4:6	49:36
I've abandoned traditional foods and prefer to eat like outsiders	0:0	5:6	5:5	30:17	9:8	49:36
I forget traditional ceremonies and culture after the arrival of ETAs	0:0	38:24	1:0	6:10	4:2	49:36
I live life more easily, which support my new lifestyles which have been influenced by ETAs in the area	0:0	0:0	0:1	14:10	35:25	49:36
I feel crowded and difficult to participate in traditional events because of too many tourists have been brought into the area by ETAs	13:4	35:30	0:0	1:2	0:0	49:36

Table 21 Perceptions of Karen females and Hmong females of socio-cultural impacts upon themselves from incoming of ETAs

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
Karen females and Hmong females	K:H	K:H	K:H	K:H	K:H	
I do not feel welcomed in the tourism businesses owned by ETAs	0:6	34:37	1:11	15:14	0:0	50:68
I do not feel as safe as before since more ETAs open their businesses and work here	0:0	33:0	0:4	16:45	1:19	50:68
I've become better known because of the tourism activities owned by ETAs	0:0	4:1	0:1	11:19	35:47	50:68
Hosting ETAs creates cultural conflicts for me	1:0	36:26	3:0	7:20	3:22	50:68
I've abandoned traditional foods and prefer to eat like outsiders	0:0	4:7	4:0	23:42	19:19	50:68
I forget traditional ceremonies and culture after the arrival of ETAs	0:0	38:47	2:4	6:17	4:0	50:68
I live life more easily, which support my new lifestyles which have been influenced by ETAs in the area	0:0	0:0	0:0	17:34	33:34	50:68

I feel crowded and difficult to participate in traditional events because of too many tourists have been brought into the area by ETAs	4:8	33:56	5:0	8:4	0:0	50:68
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Table 22 Perceptions of socio-cultural impacts from incoming of ETAs perceived by Karen and Hmong who do not work with ETAs

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
Ethnic respondents	K:H	K:H	K:H	K:H	K:H	
I do not feel welcomed in the tourism businesses owned by ETAs	0:4	39:22	32:26	26:40	4:8	101:100
I do not feel as safe as before since more ETAs open their businesses and work here	4:4	54:19	15:27	21:45	7:5	101:100
I've become better known because of the tourism activities owned by ETAs	0:0	15:5	0:22	50:47	36:26	101:100
Hosting ETAs creates cultural conflicts for me	5:16	58:49	14:19	24:15	0:1	101:100
I've abandoned traditional foods and prefer to eat like outsiders	4:2	22:26	0:5	44:52	31:15	101:100
I forget traditional ceremonies and culture after the arrival of ETAs	22:26	65:52	1:5	3:16	10:1	101:100
I live life more easily, which support my new lifestyles which have been influenced by ETAs in the area	0:5	19:39	20:13	42:33	20:10	101:100
I feel crowded and difficult to participate in traditional events because of too many tourists have been brought into the area by ETAs	22:37	66:51	8:3	4:2	1:7	101:100

Table 23 Perceptions of socio-cultural impacts from incoming of ETAs perceived by Karen males and females who do not work with ETAs

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
Karen males and females	M:F	M:F	M:F	M:F	M:F	
I do not feel welcomed in the tourism businesses owned by ETAs	0:0	25:14	11:21	12:14	2:2	50:51
I do not feel as safe as before since more ETAs open their businesses and work here	0:4	33:21	7:8	7:14	3:4	50:51
I've become better known because of the tourism activities owned by ETAs	0:0	15:0	0:0	28:22	7:29	50:51



Hosting ETAs creates cultural conflicts for me	2:3	26:32	6:8	16:8	0:0	50:51
I've abandoned traditional foods and prefer to eat like outsiders	4:0	12:10	0:0	22:22	12:19	50:51
I forget traditional ceremonies and culture after the arrival of ETAs	8:14	30:35	1:0	1:2	10:0	50:51
I live life more easily, which support my new lifestyles which have been influenced by ETAs in the area	0:0	13:6	12:8	10:32	15:5	50:51
I feel crowded and difficult to participate in traditional events because of too many tourists have been brought into the area by ETAs	11:11	30:36	6:2	2:2	1:0	50:51

Table 24 Perceptions of socio-cultural impacts from incoming of ETAs perceived by Hmong males and females who do not work with ETAs

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
Hmong males and females	M:F	M:F	M:F	M:F	M:F	
I do not feel welcomed in the tourism businesses owned by ETAs	3:1	17:5	10:16	9:31	3:5	42:58
I do not feel as safe as before since more ETAs open their businesses and work here	2:2	15:4	8:19	12:33	5:0	42:58
I've become better known because of the tourism activities owned by ETAs	0:0	4:1	11:11	20:27	7:19	42:58
Hosting ETAs creates cultural conflicts for me	5:11	20:29	8:11	9:6	0:1	42:58
I've abandoned traditional foods and prefer to eat like outsiders	0:2	11:15	2:3	23:29	6:9	42:58
I forget traditional ceremonies and culture after the arrival of ETAs	9:17	23:29	3:2	6:10	1:0	42:58
I live life more easily, which support my new lifestyles which have been influenced by ETAs in the area	4:1	14:25	4:9	14:19	6:4	42:58
I feel crowded and difficult to participate in traditional events because of too many tourists have been brought into the area by ETAs	10:27	25:26	2:1	1:1	4:3	42:58

Table 25 Perceptions of socio-cultural impacts from incoming of ETAs perceived by Karen males and Hmong males who do not work with ETAs

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
Karen males and Hmong males	K:H	K:H	K:H	K:H	K:H	
I do not feel welcomed in the tourism businesses owned by ETAs	0:3	25:17	11:10	12:9	2:3	50:42
I do not feel as safe as before since more ETAs open their businesses and work here	0:2	33:15	7:8	7:12	3:5	50:42
I've become better known because of the tourism activities owned by ETAs	0:0	15:4	0:11	28:20	7:7	50:42
Hosting ETAs creates cultural conflicts for me	2:5	26:20	6:8	16:9	0:0	50:42
I've abandoned traditional foods and prefer to eat like outsiders	4:0	12:11	0:2	22:23	12:6	50:42
I forget traditional ceremonies and culture after the arrival of ETAs	8:9	30:23	1:3	1:6	10:1	50:42
I live life more easily, which support my new lifestyles which have been influenced by ETAs in the area	0:4	13:14	12:4	10:14	15:6	50:42
I feel crowded and difficult to participate in traditional events because of too many tourists have been brought into the area by ETAs	11:10	30:25	6:2	2:1	1:4	50:42

Table 26 Perceptions of socio-cultural impacts from incoming of ETAs perceived by Karen females and Hmong females who do not work with ETAs

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
Karen females and Hmong females	K:H	K:H	K:H	K:H	K:H	
I do not feel welcomed in the tourism businesses owned by ETAs	0:1	14:5	21:16	14:31	2:5	51:58
I do not feel as safe as before since more ETAs open their businesses and work here	4:2	21:4	8:19	14:33	4:0	51:58
I've become better known because of the tourism activities owned by ETAs	0:0	0:1	0:11	22:27	29:19	51:58

Hosting ETAs creates cultural conflicts for me	3:11	32:29	8:11	8:6	0:1	51:58
I've abandoned traditional foods and prefer to eat like outsiders	0:2	10:15	0:3	22:29	19:9	51:58
I forget traditional ceremonies and culture after the arrival of ETAs	14:17	35:29	0:2	2:10	0:0	51:58
I live life more easily, which support my new lifestyles which have been influenced by ETAs in the area	0:1	6:25	8:9	32:19	5:4	51:58
I feel crowded and difficult to participate in traditional events because of too many tourists have been brought into the area by ETAs	11:27	36:26	2:1	2:1	0:3	51:58

Table 27 Perceptions of socio-cultural impacts from incoming of ETAs perceived by Karen who work and Karen who do not work with ETAs

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
Karen work and Karen do not work	KW:KNW	KW:KNW	KW:KNW	KW:KNW	KW:KNW	
I do not feel welcomed in the tourism businesses owned by ETAs	0:0	54:39	21:32	22:26	2:4	99:101
I do not feel as safe as before since more ETAs open their businesses and work here	0:4	54:54	0:15	35:21	10:7	99:101
I've become better known because of the tourism activities owned by ETAs	0:0	7:15	0:0	20:50	72:36	99:101
Hosting ETAs creates cultural conflicts for me	11:5	60:58	5:14	16:24	7:0	99:101
I've abandoned traditional foods and prefer to eat like outsiders	0:4	9:22	9:0	53:44	28:31	99:101
I forget traditional ceremonies and culture after the arrival of ETAs	0:22	76:65	3:1	12:3	8:10	99:101
I live life more easily, which support my new lifestyles which have been influenced by ETAs in the area	0:0	0:19	0:20	31:42	68:20	99:101
I feel crowded and difficult to	17:22	68:66	5:8	9:4	0:1	99:101

participate in traditional events because of too many tourists have been brought into the area by ETAs						
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Table 28 Perceptions of socio-cultural impacts from incoming of ETAs perceived by Karen who work males and Karen who do not work males

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
Karen work males: Karen do not work males	Wm:NWm	Wm:NWm	Wm:NWm	Wm:NWm	Wm:NWm	
I do not feel welcomed in the tourism businesses owned by ETAs	0:0	20:25	20:11	7:12	2:2	49:50
I do not feel as safe as before since more ETAs open their businesses and work here	0:0	21:33	0:7	19:7	9:3	49:50
I've become better known because of the tourism activities owned by ETAs	0:0	3:15	0:0	9:28	37:7	49:50
Hosting ETAs creates cultural conflicts for me	10:2	24:26	2:6	9:16	4:0	49:50
I've abandoned traditional foods and prefer to eat like outsiders	0:4	5:12	5:0	30:22	9:12	49:50
I forget traditional ceremonies and culture after the arrival of ETAs	0:8	38:30	1:1	6:1	4:10	49:50
I live life more easily, which support my new lifestyles which have been influenced by ETAs in the area	0:0	0:13	0:12	14:10	35:15	49:50
I feel crowded and difficult to participate in traditional events because of too many tourists have been brought into the area by ETAs	13:11	35:30	0:6	1:2	0:1	49:50

Table 29 Perceptions of socio-cultural impacts from incoming of ETAs perceived by Karen who work females and Karen who do not work females

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total

Karen work females: Karen do not work females	Wf:NWf	Wf:NWf	Wf:NWf	Wf:NWf	Wf:NWf	
I do not feel welcomed in the tourism businesses owned by ETAs	0:0	34:14	1:21	15:14	0:2	50:51
I do not feel as safe as before since more ETAs open their businesses and work here	0:4	33:21	0:8	16:14	1:4	50:51
I've become better known because of the tourism activities owned by ETAs	0:0	4:0	0:0	11:22	35:29	50:51
Hosting ETAs creates cultural conflicts for me	1:3	36:32	3:8	7:8	3:0	50:51
I've abandoned traditional foods and prefer to eat like outsiders	0:0	4:10	4:0	23:22	19:19	50:51
I forget traditional ceremonies and culture after the arrival of ETAs	0:14	38:35	2:0	6:2	4:0	50:51
I live life more easily, which support my new lifestyles which have been influenced by ETAs in the area	0:0	0:6	0:8	17:32	33:5	50:51
I feel crowded and difficult to participate in traditional events because of too many tourists have been brought into the area by ETAs	4:11	33:36	5:2	8:2	0:0	50:51

Table 30 Perceptions of socio-cultural impacts from incoming of ETAs perceived by Hmong who work and Hmong who do not work with ETAs

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
Hmong work and Hmong do not work	HW:HN W	HW:HNW	HW:HNW	HW:HNW	HW:HNW	
I do not feel welcomed in the tourism businesses owned by ETAs	6:4	55:22	24:26	19:40	0:8	104:100
I do not feel as safe as before since more ETAs open their businesses and work here	0:4	4:19	5:27	65:45	30:5	104:100
I've become better known because of the tourism activities owned by ETAs	0:0	3:5	3:22	22:47	76:26	104:100

Hosting ETAs creates cultural conflicts for me	0:16	44:49	3:19	29:15	28:1	104:100
I've abandoned traditional foods and prefer to eat like outsiders	0:2	13:26	5:5	59:52	27:15	104:100
I forget traditional ceremonies and culture after the arrival of ETAs	0:26	71:52	4:5	27:16	2:1	104:100
I live life more easily, which support my new lifestyles which have been influenced by ETAs in the area	0:5	0:39	1:13	44:33	59:10	104:100
I feel crowded and difficult to participate in traditional events because of too many tourists have been brought into the area by ETAs	12:37	86:51	0:3	6:2	0:7	104:100

Table 31 Perceptions of socio-cultural impacts from incoming of ETAs perceived by Hmong who work males and Hmong who do not work males

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
Hmong work males: Hmong do not work males	Wm:NWm	Wm:NWm	Wm:NWm	Wm:NWm	Wm:NWm	
I do not feel welcomed in the tourism businesses owned by ETAs	0:3	18:17	13:10	5:9	0:3	36:42
I do not feel as safe as before since more ETAs open their businesses and work here	0:2	4:15	1:8	20:12	11:5	36:42
I've become better known because of the tourism activities owned by ETAs	0:0	2:4	2:11	3:20	29:7	36:42
Hosting ETAs creates cultural conflicts for me	0:5	18:20	3:8	9:9	6:0	36:42
I've abandoned traditional foods and prefer to eat like outsiders	0:0	6:11	5:2	17:23	8:6	36:42
I forget traditional ceremonies and culture after the arrival of ETAs	0:9	24:23	0:3	10:6	2:1	36:42
I live life more easily, which support my new lifestyles which have been influenced by ETAs in the area	0:4	0:14	1:4	10:14	25:6	36:42
I feel crowded and difficult to participate in traditional events because of too many tourists have been brought into the area by ETAs	4:10	30:25	0:2	2:1	0:4	36:42

Table 32 Perceptions of socio-cultural impacts from incoming of ETAs perceived by Hmong who work females and Hmong who do not work females

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
Hmong work females: Hmong do not work females	Wf:NWf	Wf:NWf	Wf:NWf	Wf:NWf	Wf:NWf	
I do not feel welcomed in the tourism businesses owned by ETAs	6:1	37:5	11:16	14:31	0:5	68:58
I do not feel as safe as before since more ETAs open their businesses and work here	0:2	0:4	4:19	45:33	19:0	68:58
I've become better known because of the tourism activities owned by ETAs	0:0	1:1	1:11	19:27	47:19	68:58
Hosting ETAs creates cultural conflicts for me	0:11	26:29	0:11	20:6	22:1	68:58
I've abandoned traditional foods and prefer to eat like outsiders	0:2	7:15	0:3	42:29	19:9	68:58
I forget traditional ceremonies and culture after the arrival of ETAs	0:17	47:29	4:2	17:10	0:0	68:58
I live life more easily, which support my new lifestyles which have been influenced by ETAs in the area	0:1	0:25	0:9	34:19	34:4	68:58
I feel crowded and difficult to participate in traditional events because of too many tourists have been brought into the area by ETAs	8:27	56:26	0:1	4:1	0:3	68:58

Table 33 Perceptions of social changes from arrival of ETAs perceived by Karen and Hmong who work with ETAs

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
Karen and Hmong	K:H	K:H	K:H	K:H	K:H	
There are higher costs of living after arrival of ETAs	0:0	27:16	7:13	31:51	34:24	99:104
There is a lost of local tribe language	38:40	41:35	0:1	9:22	11:6	99:104

ETAs is the reason for new development of services and facilities such as parks, roads, clinics etc.	5:0	47:26	6:19	41:53	0:6	99:104
There are some improvement in public utilities after arrival of ETAs	16:2	5:0	10:8	60:72	8:22	99:104
There is an increased crime rate after the arrival of ETAs	11:0	36:5	47:62	5:37	0:0	99:104
Many tribal people have become more prosperous	0:0	8:1	11:28	78:71	2:4	99:104
Tribal people work less in agriculture and more with ETAs	0:0	11:9	0:2	38:55	50:38	99:104
There are more tourism businesses in my community today than about 10 years ago	0:0	0:0	0:1	29:22	70:81	99:104
Younger tribal generation tend to get higher education due to varieties of higher job offered by ETAs	0:0	0:0	0:0	14:31	85:73	99:104
There has been an increase in STD in the community after the arrival of ETAs	10:6	47:7	27:59	13:31	2:1	99:104
Social and traditional events have changed and become pseudo events	10:6	33:31	9:5	46:56	1:6	99:104
The community is more developed and has adapted to a higher standard of living due to the influence of ETAs and their lifestyles	0:0	0:0	0:0	19:21	80:83	99:104
There have been some changes in terms of relationship within family	23:2	44:29	1:7	19:34	12:32	99:104
There have been some changes in the way local tribal talk	0:0	10:10	0:0	50:71	39:23	99:104
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people dress and in their dress code	0:0	5:13	0:0	50:42	44:49	99:104
There have been some changes in the way local tribal eat	0:0	17:10	0:1	21:51	61:42	99:104
There have been some changes in the way local tribal spend	0:0	0:0	0:0	37:49	62:55	99:104



their money. They have become extravagant with their money						
There have been some changes in housing style	0:0	0:0	0:0	28:55	71:49	99:104

Table 34 Perceptions of social changes from arrival of ETAs perceived by Karen males and females who work with ETAs

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
Karen males and females	M:F	M:F	M:F	M:F	M:F	
There are higher costs of living after arrival of ETAs	0:0	14:13	5:2	15:16	15:19	49:50
There is a lost of local tribe language	25:13	13:28	0:0	4:5	7:4	49:50
ETAs is the reason for new development of services and facilities such as parks, roads, clinics etc.	1:4	14:33	6:0	28:13	0:0	49:50
There are some improvement in public utilities after arrival of ETAs	12:4	0:5	6:4	27:33	4:4	49:50
There is an increased crime rate after the arrival of ETAs	10:1	8:28	26:21	5:0	0:0	49:50
Many tribal people have become more prosperous	0:0	0:8	9:2	40:38	0:2	49:50
Tribal people work less in agriculture and more with ETAs	0:0	7:4	0:0	22:16	20:30	49:50
There are more tourism businesses in my community today than about 10 years ago	0:0	0:0	0:0	22:7	27:43	49:50
Younger tribal generation tend to get higher education due to varieties of higher job offered by ETAs	0:0	0:0	0:0	14:0	35:50	49:50
There has been an increase in STD in the community after the arrival of ETAs	10:0	19:28	12:15	8:5	0:2	49:50
Social and traditional events have changed and become pseudo events	10:0	15:18	1:8	23:23	0:1	49:50
The community is more	0:0	0:0	0:0	10:9	39:41	49:50

developed and has adapted to a higher standard of living due to the influence of ETAs and their lifestyles						
There have been some changes in terms of relationship within family	17:6	17:27	1:0	11:8	3:9	49:50
There have been some changes in the way local tribal talk	0:0	8:2	0:0	13:37	28:11	49:50
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people dress and in their dress code	0:0	4:1	0:0	30:20	15:29	49:50
There have been some changes in the way local tribal eat	0:0	13:4	0:0	8:13	28:33	49:50
There have been some changes in the way local tribal spend their money. They have become extravagant with their money	0:0	0:0	0:0	19:18	30:32	49:50
There have been some changes in housing style	0:0	0:0	0:0	9:19	40:31	49:50

Table 35 Perceptions of social changes from arrival of ETAs perceived by Hmong males and females who work with ETAs

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
Hmong males and females	M:F	M:F	M:F	M:F	M:F	
There are higher costs of living after arrival of ETAs	0:0	3:13	5:8	19:32	9:15	36:68
There is a lost of local tribe language	13:27	16:19	0:1	7:15	0:6	36:68
ETAs is the reason for new development of services and facilities such as parks, roads, clinics etc.	0:0	11:15	3:16	20:33	2:4	36:68
There are some improvement in public utilities after arrival of ETAs	2:0	0:0	1:7	26:46	7:15	36:68
There is an increased crime rate after the arrival of ETAs	0:0	5:0	16:46	15:22	0:0	36:68
Many tribal people have become more prosperous	0:0	1:0	12:16	21:50	2:2	36:68

Tribal people work less in agriculture and more with ETAs	0:0	8:1	0:2	18:37	10:28	36:68
There are more tourism businesses in my community today than about 10 years ago	0:0	0:0	1:0	15:7	20:61	36:68
Younger tribal generation tend to get higher education due to varieties of higher job offered by ETAs	0:0	0:0	0:0	19:12	17:56	36:68
There has been an increase in STD in the community after the arrival of ETAs	0:6	3:4	20:39	13:18	0:1	36:68
Social and traditional events have changed and become pseudo events	0:6	10:21	1:4	21:35	4:2	36:68
The community is more developed and has adapted to a higher standard of living due to the influence of ETAs and their lifestyles	0:0	0:0	0:0	11:10	25:58	36:68
There have been some changes in terms of relationship within family	2:0	13:16	1:6	12:22	8:24	36:68
There have been some changes in the way local tribal talk	0:0	9:1	0:0	19:52	8:15	36:68
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people dress and in their dress code	0:0	5:8	0:0	21:21	10:39	36:68
There have been some changes in the way local tribal eat	0:0	10:0	1:0	20:31	5:37	36:68
There have been some changes in the way local tribal spend their money. They have become extravagant with their money	0:0	0:0	0:0	19:30	17:38	36:68
There have been some changes in housing style	0:0	0:0	0:0	13:42	23:26	36:68

Table 36 Perceptions of social changes from arrival of ETAs perceived by Karen males and Hmong males who work with ETAs

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
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Karen males and Hmong males	K:H	K:H	K:H	K:H	K:H	
There are higher costs of living after arrival of ETAs	0:0	14:3	5:5	15:19	15:9	49:36
There is a lost of local tribe language	25:13	13:16	0:0	4:7	7:0	49:36
ETAs is the reason for new development of services and facilities such as parks, roads, clinics etc.	1:0	14:11	6:3	28:20	0:2	49:36
There are some improvement in public utilities after arrival of ETAs	12:2	0:0	6:1	27:26	4:7	49:36
There is an increased crime rate after the arrival of ETAs	10:0	8:5	26:16	5:15	0:0	49:36
Many tribal people have become more prosperous	0:0	0:1	9:12	40:21	0:2	49:36
Tribal people work less in agriculture and more with ETAs	0:0	7:8	0:0	22:18	20:10	49:36
There are more tourism businesses in my community today than about 10 years ago	0:0	0:0	0:1	22:15	27:20	49:36
Younger tribal generation tend to get higher education due to varieties of higher job offered by ETAs	0:0	0:0	0:0	14:19	35:17	49:36
There has been an increase in STD in the community after the arrival of ETAs	10:0	19:3	12:20	8:13	0:0	49:36
Social and traditional events have changed and become pseudo events	10:0	15:10	1:1	23:21	0:4	49:36
The community is more developed and has adapted to a higher standard of living due to the influence of ETAs and their lifestyles	0:0	0:0	0:0	10:11	39:25	49:36
There have been some changes in terms of relationship within family	17:2	17:13	1:1	11:12	3:8	49:36
There have been some changes in the way local tribal talk	0:0	8:9	0:0	13:19	28:8	49:36
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people dress	0:0	4:5	0:0	30:21	15:10	49:36

and in their dress code						
There have been some changes in the way local tribal eat	0:0	13:10	0:1	8:20	28:5	49:36
There have been some changes in the way local tribal spend their money. They have become extravagant with their money	0:0	0:0	0:0	19:19	30:17	49:36
There have been some changes in housing style	0:0	0:0	0:0	9:13	40:23	49:36

Table 37 Perceptions of social changes from arrival of ETAs perceived by Karen females and Hmong females who work with ETAs

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
Karen females and Hmong females	K:H	K:H	K:H	K:H	K:H	
There are higher costs of living after arrival of ETAs	0:0	13:13	2:8	16:32	19:15	50:68
There is a lost of local tribe language	13:27	28:19	0:1	5:15	4:6	50:68
ETAs is the reason for new development of services and facilities such as parks, roads, clinics etc.	4:0	33:15	0:16	13:33	0:4	50:68
There are some improvement in public utilities after arrival of ETAs	4:0	5:0	4:7	33:46	4:15	50:68
There is an increased crime rate after the arrival of ETAs	1:0	28:0	21:46	0:22	0:0	50:68
Many tribal people have become more prosperous	0:0	8:0	2:16	38:50	2:2	50:68
Tribal people work less in agriculture and more with ETAs	0:0	4:1	0:2	16:37	30:28	50:68
There are more tourism businesses in my community today than about 10 years ago	0:0	0:0	0:0	7:7	43:61	50:68
Younger tribal generation tend to get higher education due to varieties of higher job offered by ETAs	0:0	0:0	0:0	0:12	50:56	50:68
There has been an increase in STD in the community after	0:6	28:4	15:39	5:18	2:1	50:68

the arrival of ETAs						
Social and traditional events have changed and become pseudo events	0:6	18:21	8:4	23:35	1:2	50:68
The community is more developed and has adapted to a higher standard of living due to the influence of ETAs and their lifestyles	0:0	0:0	0:0	9:10	41:58	50:68
There have been some changes in terms of relationship within family	6:0	27:16	0:6	8:22	9:24	50:68
There have been some changes in the way local tribal talk	0:0	2:1	0:0	37:52	11:15	50:68
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people dress and in their dress code	0:0	1:8	0:0	20:21	29:39	50:68
There have been some changes in the way local tribal eat	0:0	4:0	0:0	13:31	33:37	50:68
There have been some changes in the way local tribal spend their money. They have become extravagant with their money	0:0	0:0	0:0	18:30	32:38	50:68
There have been some changes in housing style	0:0	0:0	0:0	19:42	31:26	50:68

Table 38 Perceptions of social changes from arrival of ETAs perceived by Karen and Hmong who do not work with ETAs

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
Karen and Hmong	K:H	K:H	K:H	K:H	K:H	
There are higher costs of living after arrival of ETAs	1:5	35:37	15:7	38:42	12:9	101:100
There is a lost of local tribe language	46:40	45:32	0:2	6:19	4:5	101:100
ETAs is the reason for new development of services and facilities such as parks, roads, clinics etc.	10:19	54:33	13:31	20:9	4:8	101:100
There are some improvement in public utilities after arrival of ETAs	13:2	18:4	24:30	36:50	10:14	101:100

There is an increased crime rate after the arrival of ETAs	10:3	38:23	33:41	16:26	4:7	101:100
Many tribal people have become more prosperous	12:1	23:27	17:17	45:41	4:14	101:100
Tribal people work less in agriculture and more with ETAs	6:6	35:22	13:16	25:41	22:15	101:100
There are more tourism businesses in my community today than about 10 years ago	0:0	5:2	19:18	57:59	20:21	101:100
Younger tribal generation tend to get higher education due to varieties of higher job offered by ETAs	0:0	0:0	0:0	32:19	69:81	101:100
There has been an increase in STD in the community after the arrival of ETAs	8:1	60:23	19:44	13:44	1:6	101:100
Social and traditional events have changed and become pseudo events	20:15	67:67	5:5	8:10	1:3	101:100
The community is more developed and has adapted to a higher standard of living due to the influence of ETAs and their lifestyles	0:1	14:26	13:15	42:39	32:19	101:100
There have been some changes in terms of relationship within family	4:1	23:14	4:5	45:47	25:33	101:100
There have been some changes in the way local tribal talk	0:1	22:18	0:2	42:54	37:25	101:100
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people dress and in their dress code	0:1	43:28	0:5	30:38	28:28	101:100
There have been some changes in the way local tribal eat	0:2	24:21	1:11	47:49	29:17	101:100
There have been some changes in the way local tribal spend their money. They have become extravagant with their money	0:0	9:0	2:7	29:48	61:45	101:100
There have been some changes in housing style	1:1	9:1	3:5	35:38	53:55	101:100

Table 39 Perceptions of social changes from arrival of ETAs perceived by Karen males and females do not work with ETAs

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
Karen males and females	M:F	M:F	M:F	M:F	M:F	
There are higher costs of living after arrival of ETAs	1:0	19:16	7:8	20:18	3:9	50:51
There is a lost of local tribe language	20:26	22:23	0:0	4:2	4:0	50:51
ETAs is the reason for new development of services and facilities such as parks, roads, clinics etc.	2:8	28:26	8:5	8:12	4:0	50:51
There are some improvement in public utilities after arrival of ETAs	5:8	6:12	17:7	17:19	5:5	50:51
There is an increased crime rate after the arrival of ETAs	5:5	19:19	18:15	6:10	2:2	50:51
Many tribal people have become more prosperous	12:0	10:13	5:12	20:25	3:1	50:51
Tribal people work less in agriculture and more with ETAs	2:4	22:13	9:4	8:17	9:13	50:51
There are more tourism businesses in my community today than about 10 years ago	0:0	4:1	12:7	20:37	14:6	50:51
Younger tribal generation tend to get higher education due to varieties of higher job offered by ETAs	0:0	0:0	0:0	16:16	34:35	50:51
There has been an increase in STD in the community after the arrival of ETAs	4:4	24:36	13:6	8:5	1:0	50:51
Social and traditional events have changed and become pseudo events	10:10	32:35	1:4	6:2	1:0	50:51
The community is more developed and has adapted to a higher standard of living due to the influence of ETAs and their lifestyles	0:0	8:6	6:7	15:27	21:11	50:51
There have been some changes	0:4	11:12	2:2	22:23	15:10	50:51



in terms of relationship within family						
There have been some changes in the way local tribal talk	0:0	13:9	0:0	17:25	20:17	50:51
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people dress and in their dress code	0:0	18:25	0:0	16:14	16:12	50:51
There have been some changes in the way local tribal eat	0:0	18:6	1:0	18:29	13:16	50:51
There have been some changes in the way local tribal spend their money. They have become extravagant with their money	0:0	6:3	0:2	15:14	29:32	50:51
There have been some changes in housing style	1:0	7:2	0:3	13:22	29:24	50:51

Table 40 Perceptions of social changes from arrival of ETAs perceived by Hmong males and females do not work with ETAs

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
Hmong males and females	M:F	M:F	M:F	M:F	M:F	
There are higher costs of living after arrival of ETAs	2:3	15:22	2:5	16:26	7:2	42:58
There is a lost of local tribe language	14:26	18:16	0:2	6:13	4:1	42:58
ETAs is the reason for new development of services and facilities such as parks, roads, clinics etc.	12:7	12:21	10:21	4:5	4:4	42:58
There are some improvement in public utilities after arrival of ETAs	2:0	2:2	8:22	22:28	8:6	42:58
There is an increased crime rate after the arrival of ETAs	1:2	11:12	19:22	8:18	3:4	42:58
Many tribal people have become more prosperous	0:1	11:16	6:11	15:26	10:4	42:58
Tribal people work less in agriculture and more with ETAs	2:4	11:11	3:13	20:21	6:9	42:58
There are more tourism businesses in my community	0:0	0:2	9:9	24:35	9:12	42:58

today than about 10 years ago						
Younger tribal generation tend to get higher education due to varieties of higher job offered by ETAs	0:0	0:0	0:0	8:11	34:47	42:58
There has been an increase in STD in the community after the arrival of ETAs	1:0	18:5	10:34	9:17	4:2	42:58
Social and traditional events have changed and become pseudo events	10:5	21:46	1:4	7:3	3:0	42:58
The community is more developed and has adapted to a higher standard of living due to the influence of ETAs and their lifestyles	1:0	12:14	4:11	12:27	13:6	42:58
There have been some changes in terms of relationship within family	1:0	7:7	5:0	18:29	11:22	42:58
There have been some changes in the way local tribal talk	1:0	8:10	1:1	21:33	11:14	42:58
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people dress and in their dress code	0:1	5:23	1:4	17:21	19:9	42:58
There have been some changes in the way local tribal eat	0:2	11:10	7:4	17:32	7:10	42:58
There have been some changes in the way local tribal spend their money. They have become extravagant with their money	0:0	0:0	3:4	18:30	21:24	42:58
There have been some changes in housing style	1:0	0:1	2:3	10:28	20:26	42:58

Table 41 Perceptions of social changes from arrival of ETAs perceived by Karen and Hmong males who do not work with ETAs

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
Karen males and Hmong males	K:H	K:H	K:H	K:H	K:H	
There are higher costs of living after arrival of ETAs	1:2	19:15	7:2	20:16	3:7	50:42
There is a lost of local tribe language	20:14	22:18	0:0	4:6	4:4	50:42

ETAs is the reason for new development of services and facilities such as parks, roads, clinics etc.	2:12	28:12	8:10	8:4	4:4	50:42
There are some improvement in public utilities after arrival of ETAs	5:2	6:2	17:8	17:22	5:8	50:42
There is an increased crime rate after the arrival of ETAs	5:1	19:11	18:19	6:8	2:3	50:42
Many tribal people have become more prosperous	12:0	10:11	5:6	20:15	3:10	50:42
Tribal people work less in agriculture and more with ETAs	2:2	22:11	9:3	8:20	9:6	50:42
There are more tourism businesses in my community today than about 10 years ago	0:0	4:0	12:9	20:24	14:9	50:42
Younger tribal generation tend to get higher education due to varieties of higher job offered by ETAs	0:0	0:0	0:0	16:8	34:34	50:42
There has been an increase in STD in the community after the arrival of ETAs	4:1	24:18	13:10	8:9	1:4	50:42
Social and traditional events have changed and become pseudo events	10:10	32:21	1:1	6:7	1:3	50:42
The community is more developed and has adapted to a higher standard of living due to the influence of ETAs and their lifestyles	0:1	8:12	6:4	15:12	21:13	50:42
There have been some changes in terms of relationship within family	0:1	11:7	2:5	22:18	15:11	50:42
There have been some changes in the way local tribal talk	0:1	13:8	0:1	17:21	20:11	50:42
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people dress and in their dress code	0:0	18:5	0:1	16:17	16:19	50:42
There have been some changes in the way local tribal eat	0:0	18:11	1:7	18:17	13:7	50:42
There have been some changes	0:0	6:0	0:3	15:18	29:21	50:42

in the way local tribal spend their money. They have become extravagant with their money						
There have been some changes in housing style	1:1	7:0	0:2	13:10	29:29	50:42

Table 42 Perceptions of social changes from arrival of ETAs perceived by Karen and Hmong females who do not work with ETAs

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
Karen females and Hmong females	K:H	K:H	K:H	K:H	K:H	
There are higher costs of living after arrival of ETAs	0:3	16:22	8:5	18:26	9:2	51:58
There is a lost of local tribe language	26:26	23:16	0:2	2:13	0:1	51:58
ETAs is the reason for new development of services and facilities such as parks, roads, clinics etc.	8:7	26:21	5:21	12:5	0:4	51:58
There are some improvement in public utilities after arrival of ETAs	8:0	12:2	7:22	19:28	5:6	51:58
There is an increased crime rate after the arrival of ETAs	5:2	19:12	15:22	10:18	2:4	51:58
Many tribal people have become more prosperous	0:1	13:16	12:11	25:26	1:4	51:58
Tribal people work less in agriculture and more with ETAs	4:4	13:11	4:13	17:21	13:9	51:58
There are more tourism businesses in my community today than about 10 years ago	0:0	1:2	7:9	37:35	6:12	51:58
Younger tribal generation tend to get higher education due to varieties of higher job offered by ETAs	0:0	0:0	0:0	16:11	35:47	51:58
There has been an increase in STD in the community after the arrival of ETAs	4:0	36:5	6:34	5:17	0:2	51:58
Social and traditional events have changed and become pseudo events	10:5	35:46	4:4	2:3	0:0	51:58

The community is more developed and has adapted to a higher standard of living due to the influence of ETAs and their lifestyles	0:0	6:14	7:11	27:27	11:6	51:58
There have been some changes in terms of relationship within family	4:0	12:7	2:0	23:29	10:22	51:58
There have been some changes in the way local tribal talk	0:0	9:10	0:1	25:33	17:14	51:58
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people dress and in their dress code	0:1	25:23	0:4	14:21	12:9	51:58
There have been some changes in the way local tribal eat	0:2	6:10	0:4	29:32	16:10	51:58
There have been some changes in the way local tribal spend their money. They have become extravagant with their money	0:0	3:0	2:4	14:30	32:24	51:58
There have been some changes in housing style	0:0	2:1	3:3	22:28	24:26	51:58

Table 43 Perceptions of social changes from arrival of ETAs perceived by Karen work and Karen do not work with ETAs

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
Karen work and Karen do not work	KW:KNW	KW:KNW	K:KNW	KW:KNW	KW:KNW	
There are higher costs of living after arrival of ETAs	0:1	27:35	7:15	31:38	34:12	99:101
There is a lost of local tribe language	38:46	41:45	0:0	9:6	11:4	99:101
ETAs is the reason for new development of services and facilities such as parks, roads, clinics etc.	5:10	47:54	6:13	41:20	0:4	99:101
There are some improvement in public utilities after arrival of ETAs	16:13	5:18	10:24	60:36	8:10	99:101
There is an increased crime rate after the arrival of ETAs	11:10	36:38	47:33	5:16	0:4	99:101
Many tribal people have	0:12	8:23	11:17	78:45	2:4	99:101

become more prosperous						
Tribal people work less in agriculture and more with ETAs	0:6	11:35	0:13	38:25	50:22	99:101
There are more tourism businesses in my community today than about 10 years ago	0:0	0:5	0:19	29:57	70:20	99:101
Younger tribal generation tend to get higher education due to varieties of higher job offered by ETAs	0:0	0:0	0:0	14:32	85:69	99:101
There has been an increase in STD in the community after the arrival of ETAs	10:8	47:60	27:19	13:13	2:1	99:101
Social and traditional events have changed and become pseudo events	10:20	33:67	9:5	46:8	1:1	99:101
The community is more developed and has adapted to a higher standard of living due to the influence of ETAs and their lifestyles	0:0	0:14	0:13	19:42	80:32	99:101
There have been some changes in terms of relationship within family	23:4	44:23	1:4	19:45	12:25	99:101
There have been some changes in the way local tribal talk	0:0	10:22	0:0	50:42	39:37	99:101
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people dress and in their dress code	0:0	5:43	0:0	50:30	44:28	99:101
There have been some changes in the way local tribal eat	0:0	17:24	0:1	21:47	61:29	99:101
There have been some changes in the way local tribal spend their money. They have become extravagant with their money	0:0	0:9	0:2	37:29	62:61	99:101
There have been some changes in housing style	0:1	0:9	0:3	28:35	71:53	99:101

Table 44 Perceptions of social changes from arrival of ETAs perceived by Karen work males and Karen do not work males

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
Karen work males and Karen do not work males	Wm:NWm	Wm:NWm	Wm:NWm	Wm:NWm	Wm:NWm	
There are higher costs of living after arrival of ETAs	0:1	14:19	5:7	15:20	15:3	49:50
There is a lost of local tribe language	25:20	13:22	0:0	4:4	7:4	49:50
ETAs is the reason for new development of services and facilities such as parks, roads, clinics etc.	1:2	14:28	6:8	28:8	0:4	49:50
There are some improvement in public utilities after arrival of ETAs	12:5	0:6	6:17	27:17	4:5	49:50
There is an increased crime rate after the arrival of ETAs	10:5	8:19	26:18	5:6	0:2	49:50
Many tribal people have become more prosperous	0:12	0:10	9:5	40:20	0:3	49:50
Tribal people work less in agriculture and more with ETAs	0:2	7:22	0:9	22:8	20:9	49:50
There are more tourism businesses in my community today than about 10 years ago	0:0	0:4	0:12	22:20	27:14	49:50
Younger tribal generation tend to get higher education due to varieties of higher job offered by ETAs	0:0	0:0	0:0	14:16	35:34	49:50
There has been an increase in STD in the community after the arrival of ETAs	10:4	19:24	12:13	8:8	0:1	49:50
Social and traditional events have changed and become pseudo events	10:10	15:32	1:1	23:6	0:1	49:50
The community is more developed and has adapted to a higher standard of living due to the influence of ETAs	0:0	0:8	0:6	10:15	39:21	49:50

and their lifestyles						
There have been some changes in terms of relationship within family	17:0	17:11	1:2	11:22	3:15	49:50
There have been some changes in the way local tribal talk	0:0	8:13	0:0	13:17	28:20	49:50
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people dress and in their dress code	0:0	4:18	0:0	30:16	15:16	49:50
There have been some changes in the way local tribal eat	0:0	13:18	0:1	8:18	28:13	49:50
There have been some changes in the way local tribal spend their money. They have become extravagant with their money	0:0	0:6	0:0	19:15	30:29	49:50
There have been some changes in housing style	0:1	0:7	0:0	9:13	40:29	49:50

Table 45 Perceptions of social changes from arrival of ETAs perceived by Karen work females and Karen do not work females

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
Karen work females and Karen do not work females	Wf:NWf	Wf:NWf	Wf:NWf	Wf:NWf	Wf:NWf	
There are higher costs of living after arrival of ETAs	0:0	13:16	2:8	16:18	19:9	50:51
There is a lost of local tribe language	13:26	28:23	0:0	5:2	4:0	50:51
ETAs is the reason for new development of services and facilities such as parks, roads, clinics etc.	4:8	33:26	0:5	13:12	0:0	50:51
There are some improvement in public utilities after arrival of ETAs	4:8	5:12	4:7	33:19	4:5	50:51
There is an increased crime rate after the arrival of ETAs	1:5	28:19	21:15	0:10	0:2	50:51
Many tribal people have	0:0	8:13	2:12	38:25	2:1	50:51



become more prosperous						
Tribal people work less in agriculture and more with ETAs	0:4	4:13	0:4	16:17	30:13	50:51
There are more tourism businesses in my community today than about 10 years ago	0:0	0:1	0:7	7:37	43:6	50:51
Younger tribal generation tend to get higher education due to varieties of higher job offered by ETAs	0:0	0:0	0:0	0:16	50:35	50:51
There has been an increase in STD in the community after the arrival of ETAs	0:4	28:36	15:6	5:5	2:0	50:51
Social and traditional events have changed and become pseudo events	0:10	18:35	8:4	23:2	1:0	50:51
The community is more developed and has adapted to a higher standard of living due to the influence of ETAs and their lifestyles	0:0	0:6	0:7	9:27	41:11	50:51
There have been some changes in terms of relationship within family	6:4	27:12	0:2	8:23	9:10	50:51
There have been some changes in the way local tribal talk	0:0	2:9	0:0	37:25	11:17	50:51
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people dress and in their dress code	0:0	1:25	0:0	20:14	29:12	50:51
There have been some changes in the way local tribal eat	0:0	4:6	0:0	13:29	33:16	50:51
There have been some changes in the way local tribal spend their money. They have become extravagant with their money	0:0	0:3	0:2	18:14	32:32	50:51
There have been some changes in housing style	0:0	0:2	0:3	19:22	31:24	50:51

Table 46 Perceptions of social changes from arrival of ETAs perceived by Hmong work and Hmong do not work with ETAs

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
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			disagree			
Hmong work males and Hmong do not work males	HW:HNW	HW:HNW	HW:HNW	HW:HNW	HW:HNW	
There are higher costs of living after arrival of ETAs	0:5	16:37	13:7	51:42	24:9	104:100
There is a lost of local tribe language	40:40	35:34	1:2	22:19	6:5	104:100
ETAs is the reason for new development of services and facilities such as parks, roads, clinics etc.	0:19	26:33	19:31	53:9	6:8	104:100
There are some improvement in public utilities after arrival of ETAs	2:2	0:4	8:30	72:50	22:14	104:100
There is an increased crime rate after the arrival of ETAs	0:3	5:23	62:41	37:26	0:7	104:100
Many tribal people have become more prosperous	0:1	1:27	28:17	71:41	4:14	104:100
Tribal people work less in agriculture and more with ETAs	0:6	9:22	2:16	55:41	38:15	104:100
There are more tourism businesses in my community today than about 10 years ago	0:0	0:2	1:18	22:59	81:21	104:100
Younger tribal generation tend to get higher education due to varieties of higher job offered by ETAs	0:0	0:0	0:0	31:19	73:81	104:100
There has been an increase in STD in the community after the arrival of ETAs	6:1	7:23	59:44	31:26	1:6	104:100
Social and traditional events have changed and become pseudo events	6:15	31:67	5:5	56:10	6:3	104:100
The community is more developed and has adapted to a higher standard of living due to the influence of ETAs and their lifestyles	0:1	0:26	0:15	21:39	83:19	104:100
There have been some changes in terms of relationship within family	2:1	29:14	7:5	34:47	32:33	104:100

There have been some changes in the way local tribal talk	0:1	10:18	0:2	71:54	23:25	104:100
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people dress and in their dress code	0:1	13:28	0:5	4:38	49:28	104:100
There have been some changes in the way local tribal eat	0:2	10:21	1:11	51:49	42:17	104:100
There have been some changes in the way local tribal spend their money. They have become extravagant with their money	0:0	0:0	0:7	49:48	55:45	104:100
There have been some changes in housing style	0:1	0:1	0:5	55:38	49:55	104:100

Table 47 Perceptions of social changes from arrival of ETAs perceived by Hmong work males and Hmong do not work males

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
Hmong work males and Hmong do not work males	Wm:NWm	Wm:NWm	Wm:NWm	Wm:NWm	Wm:NWm	
There are higher costs of living after arrival of ETAs	0:2	3:15	5:2	19:16	9:7	36:42
There is a lost of local tribe language	13:14	16:18	0:0	7:6	0\;4	36:42
ETAs is the reason for new development of services and facilities such as parks, roads, clinics etc.	0:12	11:12	3:10	20:4	2:4	36:42
There are some improvement in public utilities after arrival of ETAs	2:2	0:2	1:8	26:22	7:8	36:42
There is an increased crime rate after the arrival of ETAs	0:1	5:11	16:19	15:8	0:3	36:42
Many tribal people have become more prosperous	0:0	1:11	12:6	21:15	2:10	36:42
Tribal people work less in agriculture and more with ETAs	0:2	8:11	0:3	18:20	10:6	36:42

There are more tourism businesses in my community today than about 10 years ago	0:0	0:0	1:9	15:24	20:9	36:42
Younger tribal generation tend to get higher education due to varieties of higher job offered by ETAs	0:0	0:0	0:0	19:8	17:34	36:42
There has been an increase in STD in the community after the arrival of ETAs	0:1	3:18	20:10	13:9	0:4	36:42
Social and traditional events have changed and become pseudo events	0:10	10:21	1:1	21:7	4:3	36:42
The community is more developed and has adapted to a higher standard of living due to the influence of ETAs and their lifestyles	0:1	0:12	0:4	11:12	25:13	36:42
There have been some changes in terms of relationship within family	2:1	13:7	1:5	12:18	8:11	36:42
There have been some changes in the way local tribal talk	0:1	9:8	0:1	19:21	8:11	36:42
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people dress and in their dress code	0:0	5:5	0:1	21:17	10:19	36:42
There have been some changes in the way local tribal eat	0:0	10:11	1:7	20:17	5:7	36:42
There have been some changes in the way local tribal spend their money. They have become extravagant with their money	0:0	0:0	0:3	19:18	17:21	36:42
There have been some changes in housing style	0:1	0:0	0:2	13:10	23:29	36:42

Table 48 Perceptions of social changes from arrival of ETAs perceived by Hmong work females and Hmong do not work females

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
Hmong work females and Hmong do not work females	Wf:NWf	Wf:NWf	Wf:NWf	Wf:NWf	Wf:NWf	
There are higher costs of living after arrival of ETAs	0:3	13:22	8:5	32:26	15:2	68:58
There is a lost of local tribe language	27:26	19:16	1:2	15:13	6:1	68:58
ETAs is the reason for new development of services and facilities such as parks, roads, clinics etc.	0:7	15:21	16:21	33:5	4:4	68:58
There are some improvement in public utilities after arrival of ETAs	0:0	0:2	7:22	46:28	15:6	68:58
There is an increased crime rate after the arrival of ETAs	0:2	0:12	46:22	22:18	0:4	68:58
Many tribal people have become more prosperous	0:1	0:16	16:11	50:26	2:4	68:58
Tribal people work less in agriculture and more with ETAs	0:4	1:11	2:13	37:21	28:9	68:58
There are more tourism businesses in my community today than about 10 years ago	0:0	0:2	0:9	7:35	61:12	68:58
Younger tribal generation tend to get higher education due to varieties of higher job offered by ETAs	0:0	0:0	0:0	12:11	56:47	68:58
There has been an increase in STD in the community after the arrival of ETAs	6:0	4:5	39:34	18:17	1:2	68:58
Social and traditional events have changed and become pseudo events	6:5	21:46	4:4	35:3	2:0	68:58
The community is more developed and has adapted to a higher standard of living due to the influence of ETAs and	0:0	0:14	0:11	10:27	58:6	68:58

their lifestyles						
There have been some changes in terms of relationship within family	0:0	16:7	6:0	22:29	24:22	68:58
There have been some changes in the way local tribal talk	0:0	1:10	0:1	52:33	15:14	68:58
There have been some changes in the way local tribal people dress and in their dress code	0:1	8:23	0:4	21:21	39:9	68:58
There have been some changes in the way local tribal eat	0:2	0:10	0:4	31:32	37:10	68:58
There have been some changes in the way local tribal spend their money. They have become extravagant with their money	0:0	0:0	0:4	30:30	38:24	68:58
There have been some changes in housing style	0:0	0:1	0:3	42:28	26:26	68:58

## Appendix 9 Summarised comparison tables

Table 49 Similarities and differences in perception regarding changes in lifestyle

	Cultural differences		Working differences		Gender based differences			
	Karen working with ETAs <sup>1</sup>	Karen not working with ETAs <sup>1</sup>	Karen working with ETAs <sup>1</sup>	Hmong working with ETAs <sup>1</sup>	Karen working males <sup>1</sup>	Hmong working males <sup>1</sup>	Karen not working males <sup>1</sup>	Hmong not working males <sup>1</sup>
	Hmong working with ETAs <sup>2</sup>	Hmong not working with ETAs <sup>2</sup>	Karen not working with ETAs <sup>2</sup>	Hmong not working with ETAs <sup>2</sup>	Karen working females <sup>2</sup>	Hmong working females <sup>2</sup>	Karen not working females <sup>2</sup>	Hmong not working females <sup>2</sup>
<i>Lifestyle Changes</i>								
Changes in pattern of spending money	Sa	Sa	Sa	Sa	Sa	Sa	Sa	Sa
Changes in dressing style	Sa	Sa	Da <sup>1</sup> Karen agree more	Da <sup>1</sup> Karen agree more	Da <sup>2</sup> Hmong agree more	Da <sup>2</sup> Hmong agree more	Sa	Da <sup>1</sup> Karen agree more
Changes in housing style	Da <sup>1</sup> Karen agree more	Sa	Da <sup>1</sup> Karen agree more	Sa	Da <sup>1</sup> Karen agree more	Da <sup>1</sup> Karen agree more	Sa	Da <sup>1</sup> Karen agree more
Changes in dietary habit	Da <sup>1</sup> Karen agree more	Sa	Da <sup>1</sup> Karen agree more	Da <sup>1</sup> Karen agree more	Sa	Da <sup>2</sup> Hmong agree more	Da <sup>2</sup> Hmong agree more	Sa
Changes in communicating style	Da <sup>1</sup> Karen agree more	Sa	Sa	Sa	Da <sup>1</sup> Karen agree more	Sa	Sa	Sa
Changes in relationship with family	Dd/a <sup>2</sup> Hmong agree more	Sa	Da <sup>2</sup> Hmong agree more	Sa	Dd/a <sup>2</sup> Hmong agree more	Sa	Sa	Sa

\*S = perceive similarly, D= perceive differently, a = agree, d = disagree, a/d= first group agree and second group disagree, d/a= first group disagree and second group agree, <sup>1</sup> and <sup>2</sup> indicates who agree more in their differences

Table 50 Similarities and differences in perception regarding community development

	Cultural differences		Working differences		Gender based differences			
	Karen working with ETAs <sup>1</sup>  Hmong working with ETAs <sup>2</sup>	Karen not working with ETAs <sup>1</sup>  Hmong not working with ETAs <sup>2</sup>	Karen working with ETAs <sup>1</sup>  Karen not working with ETAs <sup>2</sup>	Hmong working with ETAs <sup>1</sup>  Hmong not working with ETAs <sup>2</sup>	Karen working males <sup>1</sup>  Karen working females <sup>2</sup>	Hmong working males <sup>1</sup>  Hmong working females <sup>2</sup>	Karen not working males <sup>1</sup>  Karen not working females <sup>2</sup>	Hmong not working males <sup>1</sup>  Hmong not working females <sup>2</sup>
<i>Community development</i>								
Higher standard of living	Sa	Da <sup>1</sup> Karen agree more	Da <sup>1</sup> Karen agree more	Da <sup>1</sup> Karen agree more	Sa	Sa	Sa	Sa
Increased use of modern technologies	Sa	Da <sup>1</sup> Karen agree more	Da <sup>1</sup> Karen agree more	Da <sup>1</sup> Karen agree more	Sa	Sa	Sa	Sa
Higher cost of living	Sa	Sa	Da <sup>1</sup> Karen agree more	Da <sup>1</sup> Karen agree more	Sa	Sa	Sa	Sa
Improved public facilities after arrival of ETAs	Da <sup>2</sup> Hmong agree more	Da <sup>2</sup> Hmong agree more	Da <sup>1</sup> Karen agree more	Da <sup>1</sup> Karen agree more	Sa	Sa	Sa	Sa
Establishment of facilities that were not existing due to the arrival of ETAs	Da <sup>2</sup> Hmong agree more	Sd	Da/d <sup>1</sup> Karen agree more	Da/d <sup>1</sup> Karen agree more	Da/d <sup>1</sup> Karen agree more	Sa	Sd	Sd

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Table 51 Similarities and differences in perception regarding cultural impacts

	Cultural differences		Working differences		Gender based differences			
	Karen working with ETAs <sup>1</sup>	Karen not working with ETAs <sup>1</sup>	Karen working with ETAs <sup>1</sup>	Hmong working with ETAs <sup>1</sup>	Karen working males <sup>1</sup>	Hmong working males <sup>1</sup>	Karen not working males <sup>1</sup>	Hmong not working males <sup>1</sup>
	Hmong working with ETAs <sup>2</sup>	Hmong not working with ETAs <sup>2</sup>	Karen not working with ETAs <sup>2</sup>	Hmong not working with ETAs <sup>2</sup>	Karen working females <sup>2</sup>	Hmong working females <sup>2</sup>	Karen not working females <sup>2</sup>	Hmong not working females <sup>2</sup>
<i>Cultural impacts</i>								
Being better known	Sa	Sa	Da <sup>1</sup> Karen agree more	Da <sup>1</sup> Karen agree more	Sa	Sa	Da <sup>2</sup> Hmong agree more	Da <sup>2</sup> Hmong agree more
Losing tribal identity	Sa	Sd	Da/d <sup>1</sup> Karen agree more	Da/d <sup>1</sup> Karen agree more	Sa	Sa	Sd	Sd
Losing tribal language	Sd	Sd	Sd	Sd	Sd	Sd	Sd	Sd
Forgetting tribal traditions and culture	Sd	Sd	Da/d <sup>1</sup> Karen agree more	Da/d <sup>1</sup> Karen agree more	Sd	Sd	Dd <sup>1</sup> Karen agree more	Sd
Tribal traditions become pseudo events	Sa	Sd	Da/d <sup>1</sup> Karen agree more	Da/d <sup>1</sup> Karen agree more	Sa	Sa	Sd	Sd
Cultural conflict caused by ETAs	Dd <sup>2</sup> Hmong agree more	Sd	Sd	Da/d <sup>1</sup> Karen agree more	Sd	Sa	Sd	Sd

\*S = perceive similarly, D= perceive differently, a = agree, d = disagree, a/d= first group agree and second group disagree, d/a= first group disagree and second group agree, <sup>1</sup> and <sup>2</sup> indicates who agree more in their differences

Table 52 Similarities and differences in perception regarding social disruptions

	Cultural differences		Working differences		Gender based differences			
	Karen working with ETAs <sup>1</sup>	Karen not working with ETAs <sup>1</sup>	Karen working with ETAs <sup>1</sup>	Hmong working with ETAs <sup>1</sup>	Karen working males <sup>1</sup>	Hmong working males <sup>1</sup>	Karen not working males <sup>1</sup>	Hmong not working males <sup>1</sup>
	Hmong working with ETAs <sup>2</sup>	Hmong not working with ETAs <sup>2</sup>	Karen not working with ETAs <sup>2</sup>	Hmong not working with ETAs <sup>2</sup>	Karen working females <sup>2</sup>	Hmong working females <sup>2</sup>	Karen not working females <sup>2</sup>	Hmong not working females <sup>2</sup>
<i>Social disruptions</i>								
Community has become crowded	Sd	Sd	Sd	Dd <sup>1</sup> Karen agree more	Dd/a <sup>2</sup> Hmong agree more	Sd	Sd	Dd <sup>1</sup> Karen agree more
Tribal people don't feel welcome in their own community where there is an ETAs business	Sd	Da <sup>2</sup> Hmong agree more	Dd/a <sup>2</sup> Hmong agree more	Dd/a <sup>2</sup> Hmong agree more	Sd	Sd	Sa	Da <sup>2</sup> Hmong agree more
Tribal people don't feel as safe as before the arrival of ETAs	Da <sup>2</sup> Hmong agree more	Da <sup>2</sup> Hmong agree more	Sa	Da <sup>1</sup> Karen agree more	Da <sup>1</sup> Karen agree more	Sa	Sa	Sa
Increased crime rate	Dd/a <sup>2</sup> Hmong agree more	Da <sup>2</sup> Hmong agree more	Sd	Sa	Sd	Sa	Sa	Sa
Increased STDs	Dd/a <sup>2</sup> Hmong agree more	Dd/a <sup>2</sup> Hmong agree more	Sd	Sa	Sd	Sa	Dd <sup>1</sup> Karen agree more	Da <sup>2</sup> Hmong agree more

\*S = perceive similarly, D= perceive differently, a = agree, d = disagree, a/d= first group agree and second group disagree, d/a= first group disagree and second group agree, <sup>1</sup> and <sup>2</sup> indicates who agree more in their differences