

INFLUX AND IMPACT OF WESTERN SETTLEMENT IN PHUKET (2004-2014):
A CASE STUDY OF BAN SAIYUAN, TAMBON RAWAI,
AMPHOE MUENG PHUKET, CHANGWAT PHUKET

Miss Sudrudee Bamrung



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วิทยานิพนธ์นี้มีวัตถุประสงค์ที่จะศึกษาปรากฏการณ์ซึ่งชาวตะวันตกไหลบ่าเข้ามาในภูเก็ตระหว่างช่วงปี พ.ศ. ๒๕๔๗ – ๒๕๕๗ และวิเคราะห์มิติการเปลี่ยนแปลงต่าง ๆ ซึ่งเป็นผลพวงจากการไหลบ่าของชาวตะวันตกรวมทั้งมีผลกระทบต่อสังคมภูเก็ตในปัจจุบัน งานวิจัยนี้ใช้วิธีการเก็บข้อมูลเชิงคุณภาพซึ่งได้ใช้ทั้งจากการศึกษาเอกสาร และการรวบรวมข้อมูลภาคสนามที่ใช้ทั้งการสัมภาษณ์และการสังเกตลักษณะทางกายภาพของสภาพชุมชนบ้านไสยวน ตำบลราไวย์ อำเภอเมืองภูเก็ต จังหวัดภูเก็ต ในระหว่างปี พ.ศ. ๒๕๕๗ - ๒๕๕๘

ข้อค้นพบประการหนึ่งคือจำนวนที่เพิ่มขึ้นอย่างมากของชาวตะวันตกที่เข้ามาตั้งถิ่นฐานในจังหวัดภูเก็ตในช่วงปี พ.ศ. ๒๕๔๗ – ๒๕๕๗ ซึ่งเป็นข้อมูลที่ได้จากสถานกงสุลกิตติมศักดิ์ในจังหวัดภูเก็ต ผู้ตั้งถิ่นฐานชาวตะวันตกเหล่านี้ซึ่งต่างกันทั้งภูมิหลัง และ อาชีพ ได้มาตั้งถิ่นฐานในเกาะภูเก็ต โดยเฉพาะทางส่วนใต้ของเกาะ และมีข้อสังเกตว่า การลงทุนในด้านอสังหาริมทรัพย์ และ สิ่งก่อสร้างเพื่อผู้มาตั้งถิ่นฐานชาวตะวันตกเหล่านี้ก็เพิ่มขึ้นมากมาย ข้อมูลจากการศึกษาภาคสนาม ณ บ้านไสยวน ซึ่งให้เห็นว่าการไหลบ่าของชาวตะวันตกเหล่านี้นำไปสู่การเปลี่ยนแปลงอย่างรวดเร็วทั้งต่อสภาพภูมิศาสตร์ของเกาะ สภาพประชากร ความหลากหลายทางวัฒนธรรม และวิถีชีวิตของคนพื้นถิ่น

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ปีการศึกษา 2558

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SUDRUDEE BAMRUNG: INFLUX AND IMPACT OF WESTERN SETTLEMENT IN PHUKET (2004-2014): A CASE STUDY OF BAN SAIYUAN, TAMBON RAWAI, AMPHOE MUENG PHUKET, CHANGWAT PHUKET. ADVISOR: PROF. EMERITUS SIRAPORN NATHALANG, Ph.D., 198 pp.

This thesis aims at examining the phenomenon of the influx of Westerners in Phuket during 2004 – 2014 and at analyzing various aspects of change caused by these Westerners and their impact on present-day Phuket society. Data collection methods are documentary and fieldwork by conducting in-depth interviews and observation. The fieldwork was conducted from 2014 to 2016 at Ban Saiyuan, Tambon Rawai, Amphoe Mueng Phuket, Changwat Phuket.

The research findings reveal that the influx of western settlers from 2004 to 2014 is noticeably detected as it can be proved by the considerably increasing number of foreign honorary or general consulates, throughout the province. These western settlers who come from a variety of background and profession occupied many areas, especially in the southern part of Phuket. Furthermore, it can be observed that investment of housing property and building construction to accommodate these groups of foreign residents have grown drastically. Data from the fieldwork at Ban Saiyuan indicate that, the influx of the western settlers has its consequences in rapid changes in terms of physical landscape, demographic composition, cultural diversity, and local residents' ways of living.

Data analysis demonstrates that western settlers become a key component of the island's demographics. The new generation of *luk kreung farang*, children of mixed ethnic Thai and Westerner parentage is on the rise and generates more diversity in Phuket demographics. Various nationalities of western settlers produce an increase of cultural diversity in the society of Phuket by introducing diversified culture, with a high concentration of international restaurants and the emergence of Thai Pidgin English derived from the linguistic diversity among Westerners and local people. The influence of western settlement on the locals' way of life lies mainly on their livelihoods by doing new business as landlords providing houses/land for rent, some work as taxi drivers with gaining most from their foreign clients and some run small local restaurants. The physical landscape has changed from green forest into areas with a high concentration of property development projects and large residential areas. Land and property in the residential zones of Phuket have continued to increasingly fall under foreign possession. The fortress-like building styles and tall fences that some Westerners favor, and which are so different from the way the locals build, have altered surroundings, atmosphere and way of living. The change in the education sector with an increase in international school establishments is an indicator of a massive change and has resulted in a clear characteristic of Phuket's internationalization.

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CONTENTS

	Page
THAI ABSTRACT	iv
ENGLISH ABSTRACT.....	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	vi
CONTENTS.....	vii
List of Tables	x
List of Figures	xi
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Research Objectives.....	5
1.2 Major Arguments/Hypothesis.....	6
1.3 Scope of the Study	6
1.4 Research Methodology	6
1.5 Definition of terms.....	6
1.6 Literature Review	7
1.6.1 Transnationalism studies	7
1.6.2 Phuket studies.....	11
1.7 Contributions of the Study.....	14
CHAPTER 2: HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL CONTEXT OF PHUKET.....	16
2.1 Historical and social context of Phuket before 2004.....	17
2.1.1 Phuket before the Bowring Treaty (1855).....	21
2.1.2 Phuket during the tin mining boom (1855 – 1932)	28
2.1.3 Phuket during the decline of the tin mining industry (1933 – 1967)	34
2.1.4 Phuket during the transition from mining to tourism (1967 – 1986)	39
2.1.5 Phuket’s transformation into an international tourism destination	44
(1976 – 2003)	44
2.2 Development and social context of Phuket during (2004 – 2014)	51
2.2.1 The economic context	52
2.2.2 The environmental context.....	58
2.2.3 The Socio-cultural context	61

	Page
2.3 Present day Phuket environment	67
2.3.1 Geography	67
2.3.2 Administrative divisions.....	69
2.3.3 Population.....	72
2.3.4 Education, religion, healthcare services	74
2.3.5 Transportation	76
2.3.6 Economy.....	77
CHAPTER 3: FOREIGN SETTLERS IN PHUKET.....	83
3.1 The arrival of foreign settlers in Phuket before 2004	84
3.1.1 The arrival of foreign settlers in Phuket during the tin mining industry ..	85
3.1.1.1 The arrival of western settlers in Phuket during the era of the tin mining industry.....	85
3.1.1.2 The arrival of Chinese settlers in Phuket during the tin mining era	94
3.1.2 The arrival of foreign settlers in Phuket during the tourism period in pre-2004.....	100
3.2 The influx of foreign settlers after 2004	105
3.3 Key factors of influx of western settlers in Phuket.....	115
CHAPTER 4: WESTERN SETTLEMENT IN PRESENT DAY PHUKET: A CASE STUDY OF BAN SAIYUAN, TAMBON RAWAI, AMPHOE MUENG PHUKET, CHANGWAT PHUKET	123
4.1 An Overview of the western settlement as a transnational community in Phuket.....	123
4.2 Historical background of Rawai	127
4.3 Historical background of Ban Saiyuan (Moo 7).....	132
4.4 The various aspects of changes caused by the western settlement on Ban Saiyuan	132
4.4.1 Physical aspects	133
4.4.2 Economic aspects	139
4.4.3. Education.....	143

	Page
4.4.4 Activities, practices, lifestyles	145
4.4.5 The relationship between locals and western settlers at Ban Saiyuan ...	147
CHAPTER 5: AN ANALYSIS OF WESTERN SETTLEMENT'S IMPACT ON PHUKET SOCIETY	150
5.1 The Demographic Change in Phuket	150
5.2 Increase of cultural diversity	153
5.3 The Influence of western settlers on local residents' way of life	156
5.4 The Rapid growth in property development and concentration of residential areas	158
5.5 The Increase of domination and possession of western settlers	162
5.6 The Rapid change of the education sector	165
CHAPTER 6: SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION	170
6.1.1 Demographic change in Phuket	174
6.1.2 Increase of cultural diversity	174
6.1.3 Influence of western settlement on local residents' ways of life	175
6.1.4 Rapid growth in property development and concentration of residential areas	175
6.1.5 Increasing dominance and ownership by western settlers.....	176
6.1.6 Rapid changes in education	177
6.2 Discussion.....	178
6.2.1 The development of transnationalism in Phuket: from mining to tourism.....	178
6.2.2 Globalization as a key dynamic of foreign settlement in Phuket	186
6.2.3 Phuket as a second home for western retirees	188
6.3 Suggestions for further research	189
REFERENCES	191
VITA.....	198

List of Tables

	Page
Table 1: Comparison of the export values between the tin and rubber in Thailand during the years 1946 – 1957.....	37
Table 2: The Annual Statistics of Tourists to Phuket from 1988 to 2003	47
Table 3: Mean annual growth rates for visits by international tourists in the period 1975 to 1994, for various resorts or countries.	48
Table 4: The Annual Statistics of Hotels and Hotel Rooms in Phuket.....	49
Table 5: The Annual Statistics of Tourist Arrivals in Phuket from 2004 to 2014.....	52
Table 6: Phuket’s Revenue from Tourism Industry in 2004 – 2014.....	56
Table 7: Economic impacts of tourism	57
Table 8: Honorary/General Consulates in Phuket	107
Table 9: International Expatriates with Work Permits in Phuket	108
Table 10: International Retirees in Phuket.....	110
Table 11: Population number in Rawai Municipality divided into 7 villages	130
Table 12: International Schools in Phuket, Thailand.....	145
Table 13: All International Schools in Phuket, Thailand.....	166
Table 14: Thai Schools offering an English Program (EP)	167

List of Figures

	Page
Figure 1: Old French Map of Phuket in the spelling of ‘Junkseilon’ one of its	18
Figure 2: Map showing the provincial areas of Phuket divided into three districts	34
Figure 3: Tin mining on Phuket – concession areas, open-cast tin mining and floating dredgers in 1969, (p.13) (Uthoff, 1997).	40
Figure 4: Production of tin concentrate in Thailand, and the world market prices paid for tin concentrate on the tin exchange in New York, 1977-1992 (p.14) (Uthoff, 1997).	41
Figure 5: Patong, Phuket (2014)	59
Figure 6: Patong Beach, Phuket (2014)	60
Figure 7: Sino-Portuguese buildings at Soi Rommanee, Thalang Road, Phuket	64
Figure 8: Phuket Walking Street Market (Lard Yai), Thalang Road, Phuket.....	64
Figure 9: Map of the Culture Art Conservation Area, the Project of ‘The Development & Conservation of Old Commercial Quarter in Phuket Town’	65
Figure 10: Map of Phuket, Thailand	67
Figure 11: Map of Amphoe, the three districts of Phuket, Thailand	70
Figure 12: Map of Mueng Phuket District, Phuket.....	71
Figure 13: Map of Kathu District, Phuket	71
Figure 14: Map of Thalang District, Phuket	72
Figure 15: Map of Phuket’s Attractions.....	80
Figure 16: Map of Phuket showing key communities and the key settlement area of westerners before the 20 th century	89
Figure 17: Map of Phuket showing key settlement areas of Chinese communities after 1827	96
Figure 18: Map of Phuket showing density of condominiums	112
Figure 19: Muay Thai Training Camps at Soi Ta-Ied, Chalong, Phuket.....	114
Figure 20: International restaurants in Phuket	115
Figure 21: Infrastructure Pipeline Map, Phuket.....	121

Figure 22: Mapping of the key residential areas of western settlement in Phuket	126
Figure 23: Map of Tambon Rawai, Phuket.....	127
Figure 24: Boat mooring along Rawai Beach, Phuket.....	128
Figure 25: Map of Amphoe Mueng Phuket, Phuket	129
Figure 26: View point from the hill of Ban Saiyuan, Tambon Rawai, Ampheo Mueang Phuket, Phuket	134
Figure 27: Ban Saiyuan, Tambon Rawai, Phuket in 2004 vs 2003	136
Figure 28: Main street of Ban Saiyuan, Tambon Rawai, Phuket.....	137
Figure 29: Housing styles in the western settlement at Ban Saiyuan	138
Figure 30: Mapping of various nationalities of western residents at Ban Saiyuan, Phuket	139
Figure 31: International Restaurant Mapping at Ban Saiyuan, Tambon Rawai, Phuket	141
Figure 32: International restaurants on the main street of Ban Saiyuan	141
Figure 33: One of the local restaurants at Ban Saiyuan, ‘Rawai Noodle Rest’	142
Figure 34: Local restaurants along the main street of Ban Saiyuan	143
Figure 35: Bakery Shop at Ban Saiyuan, Rawai, Phuket.....	147
Figure 36: The Language School at Ban Saiyuan, Rawai, Phuket	155
Figure 37: Maps of Land Use Classifications of Phuket in 1989 and 2011	160
Figure 38: Phuket Residential Villas, Q4 2014	161
Figure 39: Land for sale at Thalang, North Phuket	162

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Through the forces of globalization and advanced technologies - mainly in transportation and communication, the flow of people through migration, tourism, trade and education is accelerating, which makes the world today more interconnected than ever before. An undeniable outcome of the dynamics of this international flow of people is the socio-cultural changes in the host countries.

The ease of travel brings more and more people from different cultural backgrounds into contact. Anan Ganjanapan (Anan Ganjanapan, 2003) notes that the fast propelling development in information technology is a fundamental factor that allows and promotes the process of globalization, a process which is also one of the causes for the recent changes in the capitalist world economy. These influencing factors speed up the hyper-mobility of people from around the world across international boundaries, which lead to the global phenomenon of transnationalism.

The settlement of foreign communities in various countries as home or a second home in a new destination has been increasing. This phenomenon of transnationalism refers to the “multiple ties, exchange interactions linking people or institutions across the borders of nation-states (p.447)” (Vertovec, 1999). This means growing numbers of people moving to other countries for settlement while still maintaining strong ties to their original home countries by returning there regularly, which is easily accomplished in this day and age.

Schiller and Fouron (Schiller & Fouron, 1999) point out that globalization and transnationalism refer to the flow of capital, ideas, and material culture across nation-states. The difference between these phenomena is that globalization refers to flow on a global scale, while transnationalism denotes flow across national boundaries.

The island of Phuket is located in the Andaman Sea, which is the part of the Indian Ocean situated south of Myanmar, west of Thailand, north of Sumatra and east

of the Andaman Islands (India). The isle is an outstanding example of the aforementioned phenomenon of transnationalism. Phuket has a long history of migration, starting with the influx of Chinese workers during the tin mining boom in the 19th century, and presently resulting in the arrival of growing numbers of visiting tourists and foreign settlers.

International migration is the key factor that propelled Phuket into a multicultural society and caused its change, notably in economic and socio-cultural aspects of society and also in the physical landscape. The change is due to the comparatively large number of foreign immigrants residing on the island, particularly since the past ten years. The new wave of migration in Phuket consists of international settlers mainly from western countries. Their reasons for coming and settling down on this small island vary.

Some people come to invest in Phuket's real estate, engage in businesses, work in hotels or in the tourism and education sector, others spend their retirement years in Phuket with its tropical climate and beautiful beaches. Their settlement as members of transnational communities with strong ties to their original home countries may influence everyday lives of local residents and cause significant change to local Phuket society, even though the foreign settlers are expected to adapt to their new location, learn Thai, and try to understand values, beliefs, and customs of their host culture.

Throughout history, Phuket has been a host to foreigners. As a port island it has accommodated sailors of various nationalities arriving by commercial ships. In addition, Phuket was always known as a melting pot comprising of local Thais, Chinese, Muslims, Indians, and Chaolay (Sea Gypsies). With its unique characteristics and geographical location, Phuket was chosen as a residence by people of various ethnic groups, noticeably by Chinese originating from the Hokkien region of China.

A clear case in point of foreign settlement on this small island in historical times is that of the Chinese who first migrated to Phuket to work in the tin mines. The colony of Chinese immigrants can be seen as a key transnational community during the mining

time. Their activities and practices have been contributing to all aspects of society in Phuket. Today, the Chinese account for almost 35% of the population of Phuket. Presently the descendants of the early Chinese settlers own much of the trade and commerce in Phuket, which include tourism, the hotel and golf course business, and large real estate projects. As Phuket has the highest percentage of ethnic Chinese in the country, Chinese cultural influence has spread significantly throughout Phuket society (Phuket History & Culture, 2014).

Tourism in Phuket has developed considerably since the 1980s (Marzuki, 2012). The isle moved rapidly onto the international tourism stage, transforming itself from a society dependent on the tin mining industry and local rubber production to a world-renowned tourist destination (Uthoff, 1997). The opening an international airport in 1976 then offered further ease of travel and encouraged easy movement of visitors to the island (Kontogeorgopoulos, 2003). This rapidly resulted in the inevitable consequence that tourism established itself as a powerful and unique force that has changed economic, social, cultural and physical features throughout the island.

Particularly over the last ten years - after having overcome the aftermath of the 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami - Phuket has experienced a tremendous boom in tourism and business. This shocking disaster put Phuket in the headlines of media from all parts of the world. Additionally, the revolution in information technology such as for instance the World Wide Web, offering easier booking opportunities, as well as an increasing number of direct flights create more, and more convenient movement of travelers to the island. International tourism in Phuket now plays a crucial role in the connection of regional and global networks. The establishments of foreign consulates in Phuket obviously reflect the large number of foreign immigrants on this small island.

The estimated number of Phuket residents has increased to over a million people of various nationalities both registered and non-registered living and working on this small island. Apart from national residents, there are international settlers mainly from western countries such as Britain, Russia, France, America, Italy, Australia, Germany, Sweden and many others. As to settlers from Asian countries, the largest group of

foreign citizens holding work permits presently residing on Phuket is from the Philippines. Chinese, Koreans, and Indians are next in line. Additionally, there are groups of laborers and low-paid workers from Myanmar, Laos, and Cambodia; they form quite an extended community in Phuket. Burmese represent the largest group among these laborer groups (Phuket Provincial Employment Office, 2013).

This situation strongly illustrates a significant change in the demographic distribution of Phuket's inhabitants and the changes taking place in a new wave of international immigration occurring in Phuket. Interestingly, they form their activities and practices or lifestyles in different interactions in society. Economically, the emergence of western settlers seems to have a big impact on Phuket society and local residents because of their habitudes and lifestyle.

As an opening for the influx of tourism, investment, and international settlers, the tourism infrastructure has been improved and better established over the past decade. The physical environment in Phuket has been rapidly developed, as can be seen by the plentiful offerings of housing estates, quality medical institutions, international schools, shopping malls, international restaurants, yacht marinas, international airport, roads, hotels and many other facilities which have appeared throughout the island. All these physical structures streamline and enhance settlement of foreign settlers, which has continued to become more abundant. This may lead to a great alteration of Phuket; the growing number of foreign settlers strongly influences the local community and the way in which the people in Phuket live in, interact with, adapt, perceive, and reshape their society and environment.

Interestingly, the area of Ban Saiyuan (บ้านไสยวน) in Tambon Rawai is very popular among the foreign settlers, particularly western settlers. The area of "Ban Saiyuan" is mostly referred to by people who know it as the "the international Soi" or "the international area", this means that in this area has changed through the movement of foreign settlers, particularly during the last ten years. The settlement of the foreign

settlers in this area conveys the changes to society and the increase of cultural diversity. These changes may lead to immense challenges for future generations.

However, in these challenges also lie great opportunities to build something new and special. The influence that western settlers have on the society of Phuket is interesting to explain. It is important to note here that many studies about transnational community that focus on migration flow or movement of people from the poor or developing countries to the developed countries like the USA, Australia and European countries. Phuket's foreign settler's crucial influence on the local community, on the other hand, is an influence directed from western settlers, with better opportunities and spending power for settlement in new locations, toward the society of Phuket.

Accordingly, it is interesting to investigate the roles of western settlers in relation to their formation of social space in this changing environment and to examine how the activities and practices of foreign settlers dwelling in Phuket have impacted the local community. Whether this impact should be considered positive and productive or whether it should be regarded as a negative effect is a theme of dispute amongst the residents of Phuket.

This thesis aims to investigate the ongoing changes in relation to economic, socio-cultural and physical impact of western settlers on Phuket's society in the last ten years by using Ban Saiyuan in Tambon Rawai as a field research study.

1.1 Research Objectives

1. To study the phenomenon of the influx of the westerners in Phuket during 2004-2014.
2. To analyze the various aspects of change caused by these westerners and its impact on present-day Phuket society.

1.2 Major Arguments/Hypothesis

During 2004 - 2014, Phuket has experienced and been affected by tremendous transnational aid, tourism, investment and migration. There has been a continuous flow of westerners of various nationalities. Through the social context of globalization, these western settlers have become a significant cause on the demographic change as well as the changes in physical, economic and socio-cultural space in present day Phuket society.

1.3 Scope of the Study

The study focuses on the era of international tourism during 2004 – 2014, which is the boom time of tourism along with the influx of foreign settlers residing in Phuket. Western settlers' impact on the society of Phuket will be investigated through various aspects of changes. Ban Saiyuan located in Tambon Rawai, Amphoe Mueng Phuket is a case study site.

1.4 Research Methodology

This research employs two primary sources of qualitative and quantitative data. Qualitative, non-statistical and documental, data was collected from academic texts, newspapers, journals and websites, while quantitative, statistical data was gathered from government sources. In addition, qualitative fieldwork by conducting observation, in-depth interviews with the local residents and informal conversations with western settlers who live in the area of Ban Saiyuan, Tambon Rawai, Amphoe Mueng Phuket, Changwat Phuket were used in this research. Ban Saiyuan was selected as a primary research site because this area is highly favored by westerners.

1.5 Definition of terms

- Foreign settlers

In this study, the term 'foreign settlers' is used to specify foreigners who have moved from other countries to live permanently on the island of Phuket starting from the mining era, including foreigners who make Phuket their second home on a semi-permanent basis under different appearances, such as business investors, entrepreneurs,

retirees, hotel or company employees with work permits, and also the foreigner who married a Thai up to the era of international tourism of Phuket. Their period of stay is more than 90 days in Phuket. Most of them still maintain strong economic, social and political ties with their home countries by moving back and forth to the country of origin regularly. All conditions of their transnational settlement and of being Phuket residents depend on their forms of living in Phuket and the home country.

-Western settlers

In this study, the term ‘western settlers’ refers to the Westerners who are originally from western countries but live in Phuket permanently, including Westerners who make Phuket their home or second home on a semi-permanent basis. They still have strong economic, social and political ties with their home countries by moving back and forth to the country of origin regularly. There are many of them living in Phuket as business investors, entrepreneurs, retirees, hotel - company employees with work permits, and include Westerners who married a Thai national. There are various forms of their stay as a resident in Phuket. Some do so by renting a house or an apartment, some buy a house in the name of their Thai spouse and some buy a condominium or lease land for a maximum of 30 years in accordance with the Thai law on property lease by foreigners. All conditions of their transnational settlement and of being Phuket resident depend on their forms of living in Phuket and the home country.

-Tourists

In this study, the term “tourists” refers to the people who visit and stay in Phuket temporarily at least for one night stay but not more than 90 days of their stay with restriction to the travel only but no intention to work or earn an income.

1.6 Literature Review

1.6.1 Transnationalism studies

The study about transnationalism as a key force of change in many contemporary societies is crucial in today’s globalized world, as the influence of globalization speeds up the hyper-mobility of people through advanced technology and

communication, particularly in the well-known world tourism destinations. With the transnational movement and relocation of various groups of international settlers to new locations, the way they form their living and social interactions in relation to lifestyles, activities and practices tends to result in changes within host culture. The profound impact of transnationalism on the host society needs to be investigated in order to enhance more understanding and recognize the coherent and predictable patterns of economic, socio-cultural and physical changes in society. This chapter reviews the available literature in order to discuss the dynamics of transnationalism as a reinforcement of alterations in societies and the theoretical framework of transnationalism.

Transnationalism is not a new concept. This term was first used in a study about the context of migration in the 1990s. Transnationalism is accelerated by globalization and both are linked. The mobility of people is steadily increasing. People move for example through leisure, work or business and education to another country, living between countries and therefore need to travel back and forth. Globalization is a dynamic force that accelerates the flow of international migration of people moving across national boundaries, it is not only the flow of population but can also be defined as the movement of goods and capital between countries and world regions. In the present day, it is easier than ever before to be connected to two or more locations across national borders via the development of communication, transport, trade and information networks.

Globalization also aids the increase of global social relations and strengthens the connections of transnational people to two or more places. Transnationalism therefore is a global phenomenon concerning the flow of international migration or movement of people in various forms to different parts of the world. Meanwhile, they still maintain a strong relationship with their original home countries. There are many scholars who have studied and defined transnationalism as follows.

Transnationalism is “the processes by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin with their country of settlement”(Schiller, Basch,

& Blanc-szanton, 1992) (p.1). Besides, transnationalism, as defined by (Basch & Blanc-Szanton, 1992) is “a process by which migrants, through their daily life activities create social fields that cross national boundaries”. Vectovec (Vertovec, 1999) states that most social scientists agree that “transnationalism broadly refers to the multiple ties, exchange interactions linking people or institutions across the borders of nation-states (p.447)”.

Alejandro Portes who is a well-known Cuban-American sociologist argues that transnationalism is composed of those people who live dual lives, that is speaking two languages, having homes in two countries and maintaining relationships through contact across national borders to their country of origin constantly and consistently. Their activities within the transnational field comprise a whole range of economic, political and social initiatives (Portes, Guarnizo, & Landolt, 1999). In addition, Faist (Faist, 2010) (p.11) argues that “transnationalism is often used both more narrowly – to refer to migrants’ durable ties across countries – and, more widely, to capture not only communities, but all sorts of social formations, such as transnationally active networks, groups and organizations”.

The theoretical framework of transnationalism of Appadurai (Appadurai, 2005), argues that globalization has produced the global cultural flows which express its relationship into five dimensions; that are, ethnoscape, technoscape, financescape, mediascape and ideoscape. These global cultural flows have created the imagine world in the aspect of people movement which is the mobility of tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles and workers.

Transnationalism therefore has various definitions but is generally focusing on connections, exchange and practices across national boundaries. It also creates connections between individuals, communities and societies across borders, and it may carry changes in the social, cultural, economic and political facets of societies of origin and host country.

Concerning the studies about transnationalism and migration in Thailand, Somchet Jongjorhor (Somchet Jongjorhor, 2011), examines the contexts of social, economic and lifestyle, including key factors of decision making in purchasing a house of the long-stay foreigners in Hua Hin District, Prachuab Kirikhan Province by using the Smart House Hua Hin Project as a study site. The findings reveal that most of the foreigners are from European countries aged 60-64 years, they are married with 1-2 children. The average income is 50,001 – 100,000 baht per month by relying mainly on their pension and retirement pay from their home country. These foreign retirees mostly will spend 4-6 months stay in Hua Hin with their families. The key decision-making factors in purchasing a house are considered from the design or style of a house, following by facilities and services of the project, the quality of a house, the project officers, location and price respectively.

Anin Puttichot (Anin Puttichot, 2010), studies transnational migratory living experiences of Lao students who move to study in the universities of Thailand. The study finds that the trans-migratory students from Laos can employ their experience in Thai society and aim to use the knowledge and education to enhance their lives in career path. Besides, the study also reveals that the difference in social backgrounds and life statuses of these students has a significant influence on the transnational migration process while living in Thailand.

In the study about transnationalism and migration in other countries beginning with the Chinese migrants in New Zealand by Raymond C.F. Chui (Chui, 2008), the author argues about the transformation of New Zealand's immigration policies and its impact on transnational practices of Chinese migrants from the past to the present. Also, transnational networks of Chinese migrants in New Zealand are discussed. The key focuses of this study are the different patterns of Chinese migration and settlement in New Zealand after the immigration reform in the 1980s and the rise of Chinese transnational networks in the recent decades. The study reveals that transnationalism is a result of the interaction between migrant practices, the economic and political context of the host and home countries, the response of workers and business people to Chinese

migration, and government policies. The economic and political conditions are the key factors which encourage migrants to move back and forth between different countries.

Ono (Ono, 2008) explores the Japanese outbound tourism in connection with long-stay tourism and international retirement migration (IRM) of Japanese retirees in Malaysia. The study investigates the way that Malaysia manages to receive the flow of foreign retirees under the program of “Malaysia My Second Home” (MM2H). This program motivates foreign retirees to live in Malaysia as a second home by providing a multiple-entry social visit pass. The study also illustrates the experience of new transnational lifestyle of Japanese retirees and long-stay tourists in Malaysia. The results show that four factors are tied with Japanese long-stay tourism and IRM; Japan face with pension finance crisis; Malaysia wants to regenerate the country’s economy by aiming to increase its revenue and foreign investment; the commercial sector aims to a new “silver” market; and Japanese are considering the strategies of a range after their retirements. The pattern of long-stay tourism for retirees is suggested as a lifestyle with an approach to have a better quality of life and in a means of financial sustainability of life after retirement.

1.6.2 Phuket studies

Studies in various fields have investigated Phuket in several aspects which are related to its history, economy, tourism, culture and environment.

To begin with the studies of Phuket history, Mackay (Mackay, 2013) investigates the history of Phuket and the surrounding regions ranging from its prehistoric period to the modern times of international tourism. This study provides a thorough history of Phuket during the era of mining industry and its transformation of Phuket’s production landscape from tin to tourism. Yanaphat Sakunboonpanich (Yanaphat Sakunboonpanich, 2011) studies the history of modern city of Phuket from 1957 to 2007 in an economic and sociological context, by focusing mainly on the urbanization and physical changes of Phuket. The study reveals that before 1957, Phuket relied mainly on tin production until the tin price went down, caused by many factors at that time. Economic activities gradually transformed into rubber planting and

coastal fishing as a key support. From 1980, Phuket has moved seriously into tourism business with the turning of land-use in response to the tourism activities.

In terms of the economy, Suree Liangsangtong (Suree Liangsangtong, 1981) analyzes Phuket's economy during the period between 1853 and 1932. By focusing on economic expansion of Phuket during this time, the study shows that the economic expansion had direct effects on incomes of the government and private enterprises. The economic growth of Phuket had a massive effect on the society of Phuket in all aspects.

Puengthip Kiattisahakul (Puengthip Kiattisahakul, 1991) studies the role of Chinese and Westerners in the tin mining industry in Phuket from the mid of 19th mid of 20th century. These two groups of people played vital roles in moving the industry into a modern direction by employing key production factors of labor, capital and modern mining techniques. The study finds that the Chinese played a key role and took control in the beginning of the mining operation until the Westerners came and established the factory in Phuket, after which the role of the Chinese started to decline. From 1891 to 1906, Westerners started to invest in mining operations in Phuket more noticeably, and they were successful in using modern technology in mining operation and extended their mining business to nearby areas as Ranong, Takua Pa, Trang and Phang-nga.

In addition, Naunghathai Intakhantee (Naunghathai Intakhantee, 2011) studies the changing dynamics of the local capitalist groups in Phuket in the last forty years starting from the transformation of the main economic activity of Phuket from mining to tourism. The study reveals that most of the local business groups in Phuket started to turn their business into industrial agriculture and trade, such as car dealerships and beer distributors. These businesses are important to contribute to their financial stability up to the present day. Many local business groups have invested in the hotel business, but they could not compete with the foreign well-known hotel chains. So, Phuket's local capitalists have increasingly corporate with the large chain companies as they own large areas of land and property in Phuket, which can be seen as a key factor in their business competitiveness.

Besides, Marzuki (Marzuki, 2012) explores and identifies economic impacts of tourism development to the island and local people. The study reveals that development of tourism industry in Phuket has delivered more benefits than costs to the people of Phuket.

As for the aspect of culture and tourism, Preeyachanan Saisakares (Preeyachanan Saisakares, 2004) examines the western and Chinese influences on the architecture of Phuket Old Town by studying the conflict between the history and the definition of the architecture. The Chinese Hokkien shop houses were used a case study. The finding shows that these shop houses were built during the reign of King Rama V. They were influenced by a British colonial architecture style found in Penang, but the name given to this style of architecture is the so-called “Sino-Portuguese” style. The use of the word “Sino-Portuguese” could make people misunderstand the history of the architecture of Phuket Old Town. Suthi Wongmongkondate (Suthi Wongmongkondate, 2011) studies the cultural landscape of the Old Phuket Town, by aiming at its Sino-Portuguese architecture, Baba-Peranakan culture, and Chinese beliefs and art.

Punya Tepsing (Punya Tepsing, 2013) investigates the artistic identity of Sino-Portuguese buildings in order to create a tourist atmosphere and to point out the problems that may occur when transforming these buildings into a tourist attraction. The study reveals that there are many factors of the Sino-Portuguese buildings to promote tourism: the buildings visibly reflect a Chinese style, which is actually a blend of unique Chinese and European styles. The problems in transforming the buildings into tourist attraction is getting little attention from the state agencies supposed to promote it, no quick response on maintenance requests, and some of the owners of the buildings refuse to cooperate in the project.

Regarding the studies on Phuket’s environment, (Narunat Payakka, 2012) studies historical land use and land cover changes in Phuket during 1989 – 2011, the study reveals that forests and agricultural areas have decreased, and have been covered by a massive expansion of urban areas all over the island of Phuket, especially along the coast lines of the west coast.

From the previous studies as exemplified above, it can be seen that studies about foreign settlement and the transnational community focusing on Phuket in the era of international tourism has not yet been conducted. Therefore, this thesis aims to study the current phenomenon of the settlement of Westerners and its impact on the society of Phuket which will contribute to the wider and the deeper understanding of contemporary and continually changing Phuket.

1.7 Contributions of the Study

The significance of this study is shown in the fact that Phuket is a site where the existence of a high movement flow of international settler supplements to the phenomenon of transnationalism. A study on this occurrence in Phuket can reflect and highly contribute to the study of similar phenomena found elsewhere, especially in tourism destinations in Thailand. The findings will reveal how impact of which factors of transnationalism causes change in the economic, socio-cultural and physical fabric of Phuket society.

Preliminary conclusions made from the current situation and prominent community characteristics require more knowledge in order to enhance the understanding of the cross-cultural dynamics of society. This will lead to key contributions to assist not only the community of Phuket, but also other communities in Thailand in developing and understanding the dynamics of transnationalism.

International settlers and their communities present an important mechanism for international circulation of their activities and practices, which may have an impact on local people's daily lives. This will make both groups aware of recent changes that need to be understood. It can be concluded from trends in Phuket and some other parts of Thailand that an increasing number of international settlers will lead to more and more changing aspects in Thai culture and society. Therefore, an in-depth study on this impact is vitally needed. Otherwise, we may never be able to follow and understand changes currently occurring in Thailand. By the same token, the contribution of such a

study will also be crucially important as it will pave the way for interpreting changing Thai society and culture.

As mentioned before, societies around the globe are now more interconnected than they have ever been before; this causes society and culture to be always on the path of change, experiencing an increase of social complexity in many aspects. These new social phenomena are prominent characteristics of societies which require an increased knowledge of economic and socio-cultural matters, to enable and enhance understanding of the challenges posed by the enriched dynamics of society.

Therefore, the key contributions of this study are to help people understand and discern coherent and predictable patterns of economic, social, cultural and physical change, gain a deep understanding of cultural dynamics that would ideally impact their daily lives, and to learn about and adapt to those changes in order to develop and promote their society in a better way. In addition, the study aims to assist in decreasing cultural misunderstanding and conflict, and may increase the ability of people to communicate interculturally within society.

This case study is to provide information about the changes in the area during the last decade under the context of transnationalism. It will provide more understanding and knowledge and to discern the coherent and predictable patterns of economic, socio-cultural and physical changes in the society. The eventual information provided in this study may help in the discussion on both the negative and the positive effects and outcomes of the changes.

CHAPTER 2: HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL CONTEXT OF PHUKET

Phuket has a unique geography and a long history which has been connected to foreigners since in the past especially during the Ayutthaya period (1350 – 1767). People have flooded to the island, mainly attracted by the two key industries that are tin mining and tourism business. Phuket therefore has been playing a role as an important economic city since then, until the present day with the new role for the tourism industry and as a well-known, world class destination among tourists from around the world. The flow of foreigners to the island and their settlements has shaped Phuket's society into a remarkable direction which has resulted in the change of various aspects of Phuket society which considered as an important social phenomenon.

The impact and social changes occurring from the settlement of foreigners in Phuket need to be investigated in order to gain a new body of knowledge on the diverging aspects of demographic change and spatial dynamics in present day Phuket, and to enhance the understanding of its subtleties. However, deeper understanding of the development of historical and social contexts of the society is essential in the study of social phenomena, since these contexts are an important element in the formation of those observable facts. From the tsunami disaster 2004 onwards, the tourism development in Phuket has been growing overwhelmingly; the physical setting of the island has greatly altered from green forests, rice fields and rubber plantations into various types of resorts, hotels, condominiums, housing areas and other property spreading all over the island.

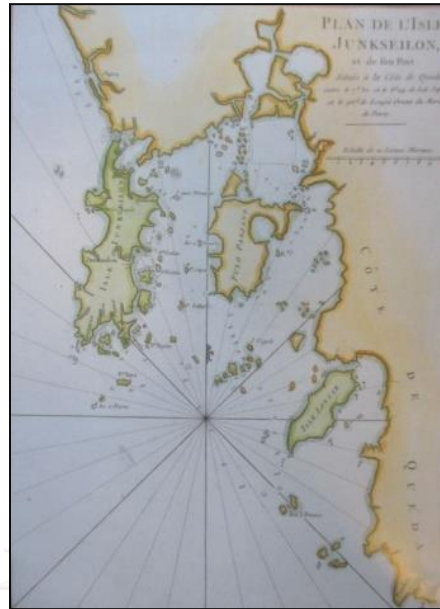
In order to thoroughly consider the influx of foreign settlers, including factors how their settlements influence the island, this chapter will illustrate in three main parts of the significant defining periods in Phuket's history: Historical and social contexts of Phuket before 2004, Development and social context of Phuket during 2004 – 2014; and Present-day Phuket circumstances.

2.1 Historical and social context of Phuket before 2004

Phuket was known with various names among westerners; for instance, Jonsalam or Oedjangh Sangh or Junk Ceylon from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century (Dhiravat Na Pombejra, 2002). In Figure 1, shows the old French map of Phuket indicating the name “Junkseilon” which was also one of several spellings of Phuket’s former name dating back to the late seventeenth century during a dynamic period of French on the island (Warren, 2009). However, the most well-known one was “Junk Ceylon”.

The island was located between the latitudes of 6 N and 8 N which is the position of Phuket today. Many geologists believe that Phuket once was attached to Thailand’s mainland but later the cape gradually eroded by natural forces and finally separated it from the mainland. Phuket today is clearly an island connected by the Sarasin Bridge with the isthmus of southern Thailand. Gerini (Gerini, 1986) assumed that the name “Junk Ceylon” possibly derived from “Ujong Salang” which was a Malay word for “Salang Cape” or “C’halang island”. These oldest known expressions for Phuket changed to Junk Ceylon and later changed to “Thalang” amongst the locals, which was also the name of the island in the past appearing in various derivations since the Ayutthaya period, and is still now a town in the northern district of Phuket.

Figure 1: Old French Map of Phuket in the spelling of ‘Junkseilon’ one of its former names



Source: (Warren, 2009) (p.14)

The current name “Phuket” is derived from the Malay word “Bukit” meaning “hill”. This name perhaps referred to the hilly central and the southern parts of the island which are covered by jungles. In the middle of the 19th century, an abundance of large tin deposits was discovered in Kathu district; consequently, this part of the island became the most densely populated area and the new port town of the service of tin mines. This town was formerly known as “Bukit”, but was gradually renamed “Phuket” later in the late 19th century and in the early 20th century under the reorganizations conducted by the Siamese administration (Mackay, 2013).

The island of Thalang formerly consisted of two big communities – Puket and Thalang. These two towns were separated areas and bordered by Bang Khu Kod canal (Wisanthanee Pothisunthorn. Editor, 1989). Puket was a small town located in the southern part of the island which is an area of present-day Phuket city and its capital was Tha Rua. This sub-district was under the supervision of the Thalang district. Thalang district with its capital Thalang was situated in the northern region of the island (Morson, 1993). Since the town of Phuket was founded later in a bountiful area with plenty of tin ore, for this reason, the small-size town of Phuket became economically

important and gradually grew due to its natural reserves of tin as one of the key forces that shaped its.

Accordingly, in 1853, Phuket was promoted to a peer status with Thalang, encouraging more people from Thalang and also from neighboring communities moving to the town. In 1861, the town's status was elevated as higher than that of Thalang due to the growth of its economy and population and its large deposits of tin. Later, during the reign of King Rama V in 1892, having changed the country's administration to Monthon system, Phuket was created as Monthon Phuket, and included the control areas of Thalang, Ranong, Krabi, Takua-Pah, Phang Nga, Satun and Trang. In 1933, Phuket was given a provincial status, and was administered by the Interior Ministry through an appointed governor supervised by the Ministry (Naunghathai Intakhantee, 2011; Suree Liangsangtong, 1981).

Phuket in the past was visited by various seafaring men and traders both from eastern and western countries, which obviously put Phuket always on the grounds that foreign influences have been subjected throughout the ages. As the position of the island was on the sea route between India and China, as Gerini (Gerini, 1986) commented that:

“By reason of its position on the old sea route to Further India that crossed the Bay of Bengal further to the north, and then skirted the West coast of the Malay Peninsula for its whole length down to the Straits, Junkceylon could certainly not escape becoming well known to the early navigators, at least by existence, if not by name” (p. 22).

The island of “Junk Ceylon” at that time turned out to become very well known to seafarers and merchants. In addition, the island also offered perfect safe harbors and stopovers for sheltering those traders and navigators from monsoon rains as described by Captain Alexander Hamilton during his visit the island between 1700 – 1719:

“The north end of Junkceylon lies within a mile of the continent, but the south end is above three leagues from it. Between the island and the continent is a good harbor for shipping in the south-west monsoons, and on the west side of the island Puton [Patong, อ่าวปะตอง] bay is a safe harbor for shipping in the north-east winds. The islands afford good masts for shipping, and abundance of tin, but few people to dig for it...(p.45)” (Gerini, 1986).

Through the historical context of Phuket before transforming into a holiday island, as mentioned previously, the island has apparently always been regarded as an important city in economic and social aspects. Phuket had always been associated with foreigners by playing a role as a host, and possessed a key economic force in the tin trade. Phuket was therefore regarded as a major tin-producing center, it drew thousands of Chinese laborers to the island and they eventually settled down on the island. Their settlement created massive changes throughout the society in the latter time.

However, a great many factors, both internal and external, have caused massive changes in various aspects of society, predominantly in social and economic aspects from tin mining to the tourism industry. Therefore, apart from the period of tin mining which had initially one of the major forces in shaping Phuket society in the historical time, tourism industry later became of vital importance and a leading cause for the island’s economic development. Tourism in Phuket started in the 1970s, and today it is the island’s biggest industry attracting over ten million tourists visiting the island annually. The rapid growth in tourism development has turned Phuket into a popular destination in Thailand and developed it into a world-class destination which is very well-known among domestic and international visitors; this will be illustrated in the next session.

A number of significant occurrences in the history of Phuket are in need to be comprehended clearly. Location, geographical structure and natural resources are all factors that form a powerful attraction, and have created changes in Phuket. In the next section the social dynamics in the development of Phuket society over various eras will be described, in order to gain in-depth understanding of social phenomena occurring on

the island. In a historical and social context, it is useful to distinguish five separate periods in pre-2004 Phuket. Phuket before the Bowring Treaty (1855); Phuket during the tin mining boom (1855 – 1932); Phuket during the decline of the tin mining industry (1933 – 1967); Phuket in the transition from mining to tourism (1967 – 1986) and Phuket during its transformation into an international tourism destination (1976 – 2003).

2.1.1 Phuket before the Bowring Treaty (1855)

Before the expansion of Phuket's economy in 1855, Phuket was found to have very few people living on the island. It was inhabited by local Thai Buddhists, Thai Muslims and Sea Gypsies or Chao Lay (people of the sea). The Chao Lay lived as nomads and earned their lives from the sea or the coastal areas around the island (Suliman Narumon Wongsuphap, 2001). Captain Germaine, a French ship's master who worked for the East India Company and visited the island during the French governorship in 1687, he mentioned in his report to the company that the island (Jongcelan) had few inhabitants with around six thousand people, and that the nearby areas were thinly populated (Dhiravat Na Pombejra, 2002).

Almost a hundred years later, in 1784, Captain James Forrest, an English naval captain visited Phuket and estimated population on the island at around 12,000 inhabitants. However, Gerini (Gerini, 1986) rated the total inhabitants of the whole island before the invasions of Burmese in 1785 at around 15,000 to 20,000 Siamese and Chinese. Interestingly, the locals were relatively tolerant towards foreigners and the differences among them. Religious freedom and relaxed sexual mores were the rule. This was because of the island during this period was a residence for many other foreigners such as Malays, Mons, Chinese, Tamils, Bengalis, Arabs, Persians and Europeans living and visiting for trade (Mackay, 2013). The Englishman Thomas Bowrey, who visited Phuket in the 1680s, describes the locals as friendly. About the island itself, he writes:

“a very mountainous and woody country, not one tenth part of it made use of more than by the wild elephants and tigers. The best, and indeed all the fruit this

country affordeth is cocnutt, pantan, samcau and betelee areca, save the wild calabashes that grow in the woods, an excellent food for the wild monkeys (p.92)” (cited in (Dhiravat Na Pombejra, 2002).

Efforts on agriculture can be found only very rarely, because the geographical conditions were unfavorable with few flatlands to work on. However, Phuket’s geography and its climate were ideal for some tropical fruits such as rambutan, mangosteen, durian, coconut, and pepper which promptly appeared in a few areas on the island. These fruit trees were mostly cultivated just for private consumption, not for trading. However, in the latter period of Praya Rassadanupradit (Khaw Sim Bee Na Ranong) who was the high commissioner of Phuket, some crops such as spices and pepper could be grown profitably (Mills, 1966). Since then, spices and pepper were cultivated widely in Phuket and people could sell these crops for a very good price to neighboring areas like Malaya (Suliman Narumon Wongsuphap, 2001). In the meantime, the lack of land for agriculture and rice farming caused a problem as rice production was not enough to feed the people on the island for the whole year, Phuket therefore needed to rely on buying rice from nearby cities which was relatively a serious problem in the latter period, and needed to be solved (Suree Liangstong, 1981). As can be referred to the visit of Francis Light in 1783, who mentioned that Phuket at that time only had small areas where rice could be cultivated, as the island was covered by heavy jungle (Morson, 1993).

The economic system in Phuket was mainly for self-support. Digging for tin unquestionably was the main means to earn a living for the islanders since ancient times, as in total 82.52 per cent of the island were mountainous areas filled with plenty of tin. Those local people looked and dug for tin in order to exchange it for food and other supplies. They used simple instruments and simple ways to search and panning for tin in small river areas and the sea which did not need much manpower and did not require much money to invest (Suree Liangstong, 1981). However, tin mining in Phuket had begun obviously during the Ayutthaya period (1350–1767), when the western coastal towns in the south of Thailand including Phuket had increased in its significance because the areas had been found very rich in natural resources,

particularly tin ore, which was found in abundance (Wisanthane Pothisunthorn. Editor, 1989). As tin was more important than any other minerals for the country's economy, thus tin became a royal monopolistic product since Ayutthaya period as specified in the Article 37 of the Criminal Law which was enforced in 1623 (Phuwadol Songprasert, 1992).

Trading in Phuket was found on a small scale, and of course tin was as a key product in the trade. Since the Thai people at that time were consigned to a system of servitude (*phrai*) and forced labor, thus they did not have enough time to spend on working or digging for tin (Suree Liangsongtong, 1981). Particularly, during the 17th century, the royal monopolies on purchase and trade of tin and some other exotic forest goods was strongly attached by the kings, and were enforced powerfully. The locals had no freedom to sell tin freely. People had to sell their tin only to the royal warehouse (*phraklang*) or “the department of the treasury overseeing trade (p.17)” (Baker & Pasuk Phongpaichit, 2014). In Phuket, the royal warehouse was also controlled by the governor. During this time, the governor was the person who took control in economic and politic power under their position which could be implied to the *sakdina* system or feudalism. Moreover, Suree Liangsongtong also mentions that the demand for tin by the global market at that time was still small amount. This caused the production and trade of tin to be small in scale.

Sarasin Viraphol (Sarasin Viraphol, 2014) notes that to confine the flow of a large amount of exotic and precious goods such as tin in order to achieve higher profits was the key reason for a royal monopoly on foreign trade. Under the royal trading monopolies, the governors or nobles who served the royal warehouse (*phraklang*) would be the ones who could trade directly with foreign traders. As a result, they had the opportunity to trade and receive benefits from foreigners (Baker & Pasuk Phongpaichit, 2014). This was an opening for the governors or local rulers to take advantage of the trading system. This monopolistic system was especially unfair towards the locals. It tended to pave the way for the governors to easily take control of the economic and political power of the town. This was illustrated by Captain Alexander Hamilton during his visit the island in 1700 – 1719:

“The islands afford good masts for shipping, and abundance of tin, but few people to dig for it, by reason of the afore-mentioned outlaw and the governors being generally Chinese, who buy their places at the court of Siam, and, to reimburse themselves, oppress the people, in so much that riches would be but a plague to them, and their poverty makes them live an easy, indolent life (p.45)” (Gerini, 1986).

The island became a golden area of tin mining and attracted various foreign traders who invested on the island. For this reason, people started to move toward to Phuket in order to work in tin mining and trading. At that time, the river port settlement of Tha Rua in Thalang town became well known by seafarers and raiders from the Bay of Bengal and the Malay Peninsula as a place to earn from tin and as a port of trade and commerce in the region (Mackay, 2013).

Trade with foreigners became more obvious in Phuket in the early 16th century, particularly the trade of tin. Perhaps in the late 1520s or early 1530s, Portuguese ships started to trade with Phuket. They built a trade factory at Tharua in the late 1560s. By 1585, a tin mining operation which was owned by the Portuguese appeared near Cherngtalay in Phuket. However, foreign traders such as Malay, Indian, Arab and Chinese from Malacca who made a visit the island before to trade at the trading port of Thalang and many other minor ports as well. When the Portuguese traders came and obtained the monopoly trade in Phuket, these Malay, Indian and Arab traders moved out and headed towards the north of the island (Mackay, 2013).

Based on documents about the tin trade in Phuket by westerners during the seventeenth century, there were European nations such as the English, and especially the Dutch and the French, who were strongly interested in taking over the tin monopoly trade on the island of Phuket (Dhiravat Na Pombejra, 2002). King Prasat Thong allowed the Dutch to open fortified factories in many minor ports and the monopoly rights to trade with the local rulers in each port. Phuket was one of the key ports in the trade contracts. In 1643, the tin monopoly contract was signed, and in 1644, the trade factory was built by the Dutch (Mackay, 2013). The English traders also played important

trading roles on the island, especially when Captain Francis Light visited the island and settled down at Tharua in 1771. His stay in Phuket lasted from 1771 to 1786. In the year he left Phuket after the first Burmese attack against the island (Morson, 1993). Morson also states that Captain Francis Light left Phuket to found Penang; however, during his stay in Phuket, he was very popular and became a man revered and trusted by the people of Phuket (p. 28).

During the 17th century, the Dutch and English had a strong influence in the trade on the island, King Narai later gave permission to the French to build missions at Tha Rua. He wanted to reduce the influences of these powerful European nations, especially that of the Dutch. King Narai therefore appointed a Frenchman as governor of the island. The French medical missionary Brother René Charbonneau was appointed as governor of Phuket, his appointment lasting from 1680 to 1684. The second governor was The Sieur de Billy (Mackay, 2013). Phuwadol Songprasert (Phuwadol Songprasert, 1992) points out that because the tin production in Phuket and other nearby west coast ports continually increased; the Siamese government offered governorship of Phuket to the French during 1680 - 1689 in order to monopolize the production of tin and administration on the island. Therefore, during the Ayutthaya and early Rattanakosin periods, the growth of the trading system kept rising mainly under European governors, under the monopolizing policy of the crown trade. Phuket was of course included in the concern of the tin trade (Dhiravat Na Pombejra, 2002).

Phuwadol Songprasert also adds that from the 17th century onward, the flow of the Chinese immigrants moving into Phuket and the southern part of Siam had been increasing in large numbers. The Chinese were very keen to work and get wealth from tin and also wanted to settle down on the island. Chinese influences ensured that after the French governorship, the position would traditionally fall to the Chinese. During his visit Captain Alexander Hamilton noticed that "...the governors being generally Chinese, who buy their places at the court of Siam...(p.45)" (Gerini, 1986). The Chinese later took control over the tin trading in Phuket and the west coast ports of the southern Siam. Some of them came into the important positions on the island by

purchasing theirs as mentioned above as the tax concession, local rulers and regional governors (Mackay, 2013).

The invasion of the Burmese in 1785 during the so-called “The Nine Armies War”, this attack caused many towns on the west coast of Siam to fall under Burmese siege, but not Thalang. Phuket’s governor, Phaya Pimon, had passed away on December 1785 a month before the Burmese invasion (Thanom Poonwong, 2013). The military force on the island was without a leader. However, the siege was broken because Lady Chan, the governor’s widow and her sister Mook defended Phuket wisely for a month until food and provisions of the Burmese troops ran out. The Burmese finally retreated. As a result, the island of Thalang was not captured by the Burmese during the attack. King Rama I, the first king of the Rattanakosin dynasty, rewarded Lady Chan with the title of Thao Thep Kasattri and her younger sister Mook was given the title of Thao Sri Sunthon. The Heroines Monument honoring them, built in 1967 is located in the heart of Phuket at Tharua (Mackay, 2013).

In 1809 Phuket was critically damaged by a second Burmese attack. During this onslaught Thalang was defeated and captured by the Burmese. The island was seriously damaged by the Burmese force. Local people fled to the mainland (present-day Phang Nga), ran away into the forest or were captured to be sold as slaves. They left the island destroyed and depopulated. Three months later, in 1810, a third Burmese invasion followed but this time the Burmese failed to accomplish their goal because they could not fight against nature as heavy monsoon winds and torrential rains caused food shortages and many Burmese soldiers died from drowning. The force finally went back to Burma (Mackay, 2013). After the severe damaged from the Burmese invasion, the island of Thalang was abandoned for 18 years. However, during this time of suffering, trading activities in Phuket were disrupted, the production of tin had fallen sharply from over 500 tons in 1784 to about 20 tons in 1824 (Wisanthanee Pothisunthorn. Editor, 1989).

As mentioned previously, during the late Ayutthaya period to the early Rattanakosin period, tin and other exotic products were under the royal monopoly

trading system, and foreign trade in Phuket was under the control of local rulers. However, in 1826, the Burney treaty was signed between the Siamese government and the British. This was the beginning of free trade directly with the British controlling ports of Penang, Malacca, and Singapore, resulting in rapid growth of tin production and commerce in Phuket (Suree Liangsangtong, 1981). Suree Liangsangtong also states that the economic system in Phuket in the period of King Rama III had been expanded from subsistence economy into an export sector. This was because of the opening door of trading relations by the Burney treaty. In addition to the possession of Penang by Captain Francis Light had been carrying the positive impact to the trading activities in Phuket as well. He had brought about to Penang a big progress of economic growth within eight years with free trade, low taxes, effective laws and security. The economic freedom under the governorship of Captain Light attracted many Chinese from the south of China to migrate to Penang (Mackay, 2013). Penang therefore played as a gateway and being a host for Chinese immigrants who wanted to seek for economic opportunities and it was also a tin warehouse and smelting center.

Therefore, the growth of Phuket society and its economy was driven significantly by the key dynamic force of tin, and for Phuket itself it enhanced the importance of the island as a trading port during its history. The entering of foreign traders before 1855 to the island had gradually exposed Phuket into international trade. The society of Phuket had increasingly changed, by having the tin trade as a means in producing an economic system that attracted many foreigners to the island which had steadily shaped the society of Phuket into a more multicultural society. Especially, during the Ayutthaya and the early of Rattanakosin eras, Phuket became a very important trading port for the Kingdom and trade placed the island on an international level of commerce. Though for long periods Phuket was under the monopoly system which tended to frame trading operations in small scale and opened the way for the local governors to take the economic and political power into their own hands, but with its natural resources and its key location the island was able to promote itself into a well-known and significant trading port.

2.1.2 Phuket during the tin mining boom (1855 – 1932)

The trading communities on the island of Phuket were mainly created from the production and trade of tin. The mining activities later had gradually turned Phuket into an important town. Therefore, tin production and its trading ports and harbors were key forces in driving Phuket's society before 1855. With these two significant reasons, Phuket became a more viable commercial and outstanding economic city later on. Such development moved the city forward with economic expansion and attracted foreign traders and visitors to the island. These foreign traders and visitors settled down on the island which had created more and more movements in the society. In addition, various aspects of change in social and economic structures of the society could be noticeably seen particularly after the Treaty of Burney in 1826. The direct free trade with the British colonized cities of Penang, Malacca and Singapore had obviously influenced and played significant roles in the west coast towns of Siam including Phuket in trading activities.

In the era of King Rama IV (1851-1868), the king intended to further modernizing the country and to establish peace and friendship relations with the powerful western countries; this appeared with the signing of Bowring Treaty in 1855 with the British. This treaty was an official opening to a more freedom in trading and commerce especially with the British colonized ports of Penang, Malacca, and Singapore. The treaty created remarkable changes in the prototype of the Siamese economy structure. All the royal monopolies were rooted out except for opium, gambling and spirits which were still in the government control. The treaty also resulted in trade reforms which created a new system in imports and exports, and consequently foreign trading and taxes were reduced to 3 percent for import and 5 percent for export (Mackay, 2013). The Siam government agreed on extraterritorial rights to foreign citizens. The British subjects were under their consul jurisdiction, not Siamese courts (Baker & Pasuk Phongpaichit, 2014). Additionally, the treaty had resulted in having more foreign investment to the island and formed the economy system into the combination of capitalism and Thai bureaucracy with those former local rulers in Phuket (Phuwadol Songprasert, 1992; Suree Liangsangtong, 1981).

The invention of tin-coated metal alloy used for preserving food in tin cans by an Englishman, Peter Durand in 1810, as well as the industrial revolution which took place during the 18th to 19th centuries and spread across the world contributed to the high global demand for tin and the opening of free trade from the Bowring Treaty in 1855 were the important factors that activated the rapid growth of trading activities in Phuket (Punnee Auanskul, 1979; Suree Liangsangtong, 1981). As mentioned previously, the town of “Phuket” which located in the south of the island was promoted its status higher than Thalang in 1861, as the town was found with abundance of tin and including its economic growth (Naunghathai Intakhantee, 2011). “Phuket” and Kathu became the centers of mining and a new area settlement alongside the upward developments which attracted many more Chinese immigrants to work and earn for their living (Mackay, 2013). As a result, Thalang became a minor town under the jurisdiction of Phuket. With to a lesser amount of tin as a key natural resource of the town; the town of Thalang had gradually reduced its significance and “Phuket” finally replaced a well-known town of plenty of tin instead of Thalang (Thanom Poonwong, 2013).

Referring to an article which appeared in the “Bangkok Advertiser” about the rapid growth and development of Phuket town by the American Rev. Dr. R.B. Bradley who made a visit to the island of Phuket in 1870 during the governorship of Phra Thut or Phaya Wichitsongkram, Dr. Bradley describes the development at that time on his visit that:

“The Chinese soon flocked in numbers to Poket, and *P’ra Palat* furnished them with funds to commence work, and the place prospered and grew apace, when he was appointed governor; and now, what was then a paddy field, is covered with brick houses and a numerous population. The immigration continued to increase, and now there are about 25,000 Chinese in Poket. They are divided into different factions and are continually at variance with each other. These men, during the south-west monsoon, find plenty of employment at the Tin mines but during the northeast monsoon numbers of them are idle, being out of employment owing to the scarcity of water for washing. Tongka Bay is the port

of Poket. A good road leads to the town, which is 1.5 miles distant from the Harbour Master's office, and that is about two miles from the junk anchorage...The population is sufficient for working the Tin mines and also for the cultivation and for the land, consist of, Chinese 25,000, British 200, Malays 200, Siamese 300, Siamo-Malays 200, total 25,700. These occupy about one half of the island...The climate is fine and healthy...Most of the houses have been built by the Rajah (governor). The revenues are farmed out the same as in Bangkok. Gambling predominates much more than in Bangkok, and is the principle cause of so much trouble in the island (pp.169-171)" (Gerini, 1986).

The unprecedented development of tin mining occurring during this time carried a huge impact to Phuket society; many foreigners were keen on working and investing for tin production on the island. The influx of Chinese immigrants to the island of Phuket was a significant social phenomenon especially from 1870s onwards. The vast demand for tin from Phuket grew rapidly which led to the high demand in tin mining activities. The island needed more manpower to work for the tin mines (Mackay, 2013). As a number of local residents in Phuket were too small and not sufficient to operate in the mines and they were under the systems of servitude. As a result, the Chinese laborers were strongly required by the tin mining operators and the rulers also encouraged the immigration of Chinese to the island in order to achieve the global demand for large amount of tin. Meanwhile, the overpopulation in China rose from 160 million people in 1651 to 430 million people in 1850 leading to many problems such as famine, economic suffering and wars, these situations led to mass migration of Chinese to South-East Asia (Suree Liangsangtong, 1981). Thousands of Chinese from the southern part of China who emigrated to the south of Thailand and Phuket were found working in tin mines (Mackay, 2013).

The Chinese entrepreneurs in Phuket and other southern provinces supported the immigration of Chinese laborers by shipping some Chinese immigrants from Penang and also directly from China (Pasuk Phongpaichit & Baker, 2002). However, the problem of the manpower shortage for working in the tin mines still remained a severe problem in Phuket. Therefore, during 1892-1901 there was strongly demand for

shipping the Chinese laborers directly from China. This was considered much better than inducing those from Malaya since some might flee away or even when they met with their relatives in Malaya they then did not want to move to Phuket (Suree Liangsangtong, 1981). The Chinese immigrants who migrated to Phuket enjoyed thriving wealth especially during the beginning of the 20th century. With their working hard, some of them became a tin mining and trading company owner. They got rich especially from tin production.

Despite the fact that Phuket became a boom town, at the same time, it was confronted with many conflicts that occurred in the operation. During this period, the government started to employ a new tax system called “Mhao Muang” which led to dissatisfaction for the Chinese miners. As this tax system caused them having less income (The History of Phuket, 2015). They also complained about the water shortage which needed for separating soil for ore. In addition, the Chinese miners were unhappy in unfair treat and other working conditions which led to the Chinese riots in 1876 and they united together called “Angyee”. The *samakom lap* or ‘secret societies’ was the term that the rulers and westerners inferred as threatening, alien and secret (Pasuk Phongpaichit & Baker, 2002).

Better working conditions in the mines and tax reduction were strongly demanded by the Chinese miners. During the critical riots by the “Angyee”, many people were killed and they burned down all over Phuket. The town was attacked and pillaged by the riot group “Angyee”. Negotiating with the riots and sending more troops and weapons to Phuket were the ways out that the government tried to control and stopped the violence. Many locals fled away and some went to Wat Chalong where they felt safer. The monks at the temple, Luang Por Chaem and Luang Pho Chuang provided the medical help for both sides. They tried to resolve the conflicts and finally ended the uprising peacefully (Mackay, 2013).

The expansion of the tin mining industry in Phuket obviously boomed as can be seen from the high production of tin from 4,381 tons in 1907 to 11,565 tons in 1932, it increased 37.88 percent from 1907 (Punnee Auanskul, 1979). Interestingly, in 1907,

the bucket dredge which considered as a very high technology of tin mining in offshore area was brought to Phuket at Tongkah Harbour by Captain E.T. Miles from Australia (Phairat Suthakorn, 1992). This resulted in as one of the factors achieving high production of tin in a latter time. In the beginning of the 20th century therefore Phuket had a positive growth from tin mining boom. At this time, Phuket was under the governorship of Phraya Rassada (Khaw Sim Bee Na Ranong) who diversified the island's economy. He was appointed as a high commissioner of Monton Phuket in 1900. The town of Phuket grew rapidly with its modern expansion with many streets, beautiful buildings in the Sino-Portuguese style were built, and the first Mining Act was promulgated. The Mining Act opened for a more freedom in tin operation which first officially used in Monton Phuket. This resulted in many foreign investors came and operated on tin production and gravitated more Chinese laborers to work on the island (Mackay, 2013).

During the governorship of Phraya Rassada, the foreign companies that applied for tin concessions had to agree on compensation with some donation for civil infrastructure. Additionally, with clear rules and regulations of the Mining Act and the transportation in the island had improved offering more convenience to run tin production and trading activities, this drew western entrepreneurs to invest on the island particularly the British entrepreneurs who residing in Penang and Singapore (Suree Liangsangtong, 1981). During this time the western entrepreneurs played more dominant role than the Chinese entrepreneurs in tin mining operation with their high mining technology and vast capital to invest on the operation.

A better administration, roads and transport facilities were created in this period during the governorship of Phraya Rassada to serve mining activities. In 1907, the opening of a new branch of the Standard Chartered Bank on the island supported well the growth of the mining industry. The fair prices of commercial loans offered by the bank to the tin miners who wanted to start a new business which was very helpful to facilitate the local economy (Mackay, 2013). There were many important buildings appeared during this boom period; for example, the provincial hall or Sala Klang was built from 1907 to 1913 designing by an Italian architect, the governor's mansion, the

tin mines department building, the old provincial court building, sanitation, police stations, bank, schools, hospitals, cinemas and Phuket's first ice factory. Mackay also adds that there were many Chinese schools on the island. Interestingly, Phraya Rassada also brought the prosperity in agriculture to the island by introducing a new industry of rubber plantation. The first rubber trees in Phuket were planted in 1903. Later, nearly 60 percent of the island had changed into large rubber plantations which attracted more laborers to work in this new production (Pp. 357-360). However, at the beginning of rubber plantation investment needed to take longer time at least five years to work and gain benefits, and additionally required significant capital to run on it. Thus, in the early 20th century the rubber plantation investors were mostly wealthy Chinese tin mining owners from Trang and Phuket (Phuwadol Songprasert, 1992).

However, the tin mining boom during this time most of the key people who play significant roles in operations were foreign investors. As Punnee Auansakul (Punnee Auanskul, 1979) investigates the development of tin mining operations in the southern Thailand during 1868 – 1931, most of the tin mines were monopolized by foreign investors. The government did not support the industry directly in order to plan for the future expansion of tin mining. Besides, the study entitled '*An Analytical study of Phuket's economy during 1853 – 1932*', (1980) conducted by Suree Liangsangthong points out that the economic expansion of Phuket during 1853 – 1932 was driven significantly by the high demand of tin from the global market activating mainly from the Industrial Revolution in Europe as a key external factor. Phuket became a very important source of tin producing into the global market which resulted in economic expansion obviously in three aspects; tin mining industry, trading activities and agricultural production. The study also reveals that Phraya Rassada as a high commissioner of Monthon Puket during 1901 - 1913 played an important role in supporting the economic growth of the island by his administration. The rapid economic growth of Phuket produces huge effects in all aspects of the society.

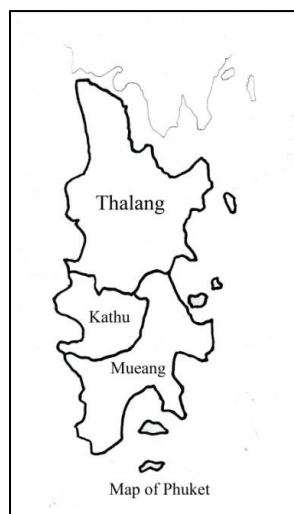
Therefore, time of the boom period from 1855 to 1932 was an outstanding period of Phuket society in the tin production, trading activities and agriculture. Particularly, it was the peak time that tin occupied as a vital power to fuel economic

development of the island which attracted many foreign investors, traders and miners into the island. The new technologies to operate in the tin mines were employed. The investments and rapid growth of economic had turned Phuket into a more modern city with the improvements of infrastructure. The entering of foreigners and trading connections and relationships with foreigners throughout its history from both western and eastern countries had gradually positioned Phuket in an international context which contributed massive benefits in development and changes of Phuket society.

2.1.3 Phuket during the decline of the tin mining industry (1933 – 1967)

The revolution in June 1932 in Thailand was a crucial turning point for the country, with as a significant political change the end of an absolute monarchy and its replacement by a constitutional monarchy. In 1933, the status of Monton Phuket, a political unit that also covered other west-coast towns was terminated and changed into a provincial administration, under governors that were appointed officially by Bangkok. Becoming a province within the state of Thailand, the provincial area covered only the island itself and was divided into three districts (Amphoe), namely, Mueng district, Kathu district and Thalang district (Figure 2). However, the main income of the island during this time still relied on tin production and trading. By this time, the western traders and investors played a more important role than the Chinese.

Figure 2: Map showing the provincial areas of Phuket divided into three districts



Unfortunately, the tin mining operations were forced to stop during World War II from 1941 to 1945. The main impact of the war for Phuket were severe shortages, the markets for tin and rubber were closed during the war for lack of shipping and operation. The tin production rapidly went down because there was no fuel oil and electricity for running the mines (Mackay, 2013). Most of the tin mines stopped to operate: whether run by Chinese or Western owners. In addition, the world market for tin particularly the markets in the United States and Britain had stopped trading activities of tin (Apsorn Na Ranong, 2007).

During World War II, Japan wanted to move its troops across Thailand to the Malayan frontier and this demand was granted by the Thai government under the leadership of Field Marshal Plaek Phibunsongkhram at that time. In January 1942, the government declared war on Great Britain and the United States in order to retain and protect all assets in the kingdom legally by international law. After the declaration, the British and Americans were evacuated and moved out of Phuket by leaving all assets such as massive tin dredgers, banks and fuel oil. The Thai government took over all assets and opened a company to manage the assets. The war ended in 1945, the allied forces won the war and Great Britain demanded-war reparations from Thailand. The Thai government therefore had to compensate and pay back all British businesses for machinery and property, as well as damages made things by the Thai government after their confiscation of goods at the declaration of war against the allies.

The post-war situation in Phuket made people face a very tough time in making their primary living due to lack of food and other supplies. There was a severe shortage of rice, which had to be brought from Bangkok and Nakorn Si Thammarat. Some people used to work mainly in the tin mining industry, but in this critical situation they had to work in agriculture, growing crops and rice and raising livestock. People were still afraid to go far away from home after the war, and this was one of the reasons people had to stop working in the tin mines. Many locals preferred to work in agriculture at home or not far from home (Apsorn Na Ranong, 2007).

The tin mines re-opened after World War II ended, the price of tin at this time was unstable but started rising later. Many small tin mining companies affected by the big impact from the war, the mines had been abandoned for many years during the war, causing mining tools and sites damaged. Thus, if the owners wanted to re-open their mining business, this would cost a lot in reinvestment. As a result, many small companies had to close their businesses permanently. However, many western companies returned to the island after the war, especially those from Great Britain and Australia. At this time, more advanced technology was employed in tin mining (Mackay, 2013).

Additionally, Chinese tin miners also applied for tin concessions in many areas, this was because some of the Chinese were confident of their working skills in mining operations and thought it would bring them more benefit when they would own their own mines (Apsorn Na Ranong, 2007). The re-opened tin mining companies began to employ Thai laborers instead of Chinese. In particular Thai laborers from the northeastern part of Thailand were employed, due to the fear that Chinese immigrants were now not allowed to enter to the country according to the nationalist policy of the Thai government headed by Field Marshal Plaek Phibunsongkhram (Naunghathai Intakhantee, 2011). Accordingly, the number of Thai people from different parts of the country who came looking for work on the island of Phuket had increased significantly. However, after the war, western companies appeared to apply for tin concessions less than Chinese investors. During the period between 1946 – 1949, there were 25 requests for tin concessions by the Chinese, and only 3 requests for concessions were from the western investors (Apsorn Na Ranong, 2007). Therefore, the Chinese investors played a more important role in tin mining than the westerners after the World War II.

The tin mines were kept in operating. The opening of a big tin smelting factory named ‘The Thailand Smelting and Refining Company’ or ‘THAISARCO’ at Ao Makham near the deep-water port in Phuket supported the expansion of tin production in 1965. The major shareholder in this company was USA-based Union Carbide. Another 30 percent was held by Field Marshal Praphas Charusathein and other powerful mine owners in Phuket and Phang-Nga. This company received a patent for

investment from the Thai government for having an annual production capacity of 25,000 tons. At the same time, the company gained the privilege of executing the tin business at the Board of Investment or BOI. Therefore, all the tin mines in Thailand had to sell their tin to the THAISARCO only (Phuwadol Songprasert, 1992).

As many entrepreneurs invested in rubber in Phuket after the war, rubber production was also restarted. The prosperity of the island of Phuket was later also carried by the rubber production which was one of the key economic forces after the war (Mackay, 2013). The government under Field Marshal Phibun had strongly supported investment in rubber plantations as part of the policy on agricultural development, which had been drafted in order to encourage farmers growing a better quality of rubber saplings and boost more efficient rubber plantations. Later, the market for rubber showed very good signs and prices went up during this period. Many Chinese miners had turned their business interests toward rubber plantations. Therefore, tin production at this period gradually decreased compared to rubber production, kept growing significantly as can be seen in Table 1, pp.85-87 (Apsorn Na Ranong, 2007):

Table 1: Comparison of the export values between the tin and rubber in Thailand during the years 1946 – 1957

Year	Tin (Baht)	Rubber (Baht)
1946	4,100	45,400,562
1947	18,091,167	72,355,980
1948	52,268,357	419,232,523
1949	263,464,595	425,014,209
1950	288,297,225	725,344,061
1951	187,240,224	1,469,142,660
1952	223,795,208	1,008,947,260
1953	299,937,307	751,497,533
1954	373,548,116	1,108,749,473
1955	440,505,767	1,801,667,309
1956	507,446,593	1,526,425,235
1957	531,178,015	1,406,241,811

Source: Fine Art Department, Statistical Reports and the Annual Sailing of Thailand, Volume 47, 1948 – 1949 (Bangkok: Fine Art Department, 1953), 76-77.

In Table 1, it shows that the export value of tin and rubber during the period of 1948 – 1949 had continually increased each year, but the export value from rubber production was obviously larger than that of tin. This is a clear sign of the decline of the tin mining industry in Phuket.

However, the development of Phuket society after the war had gradually improved especially the city's infrastructure. The transport infrastructure which linked Phuket with Bangkok was very much improved. The road from Phuket to Ranong, which was constructed by the Japanese during the war had benefited Phuket, it was the first time to drive a car to Bangkok via Ranong by taking about two days' arrival (Mackay, 2013). Thai Airways began a service from Bangkok to Phuket in 1947, offering more convenient travel. A major road and a regular air service were provided in the mid-1960s. Furthermore, the opening of the Sarasin Bridge on 7 July 1967 was important for better transportation between the mainland and Phuket. Agricultural products, for example rubber, coconut and tropical fruits appeared more visibly, as many tin mine owners tried to support their tin business, which needed much more capital to recover after the war. It took quite a long time to re-open and operate their tin mining business once more.

A closer link between Phuket and Bangkok contributed to the development after the war. In the past, Phuket had a very close relationship with Penang and Singapore, as they were the most important tin smelting and trading centers for the island, while the connection towards Bangkok consisted only of an administrative link. However, the improving relation between Phuket and Bangkok became more obvious when the smelting factory was built in 1965 (Uthoff, 1997). That was the THAISARCO Company as mentioned previously. The time from the 1932-revolution in Thailand until 1967 was an important period of decline for tin production. The economic situation was not stable, the instable political situation and shifting government policies, the impact from the war on Phuket and its mining industry and the sensitivity of world tin prices market were significant enough to herald the decline of tin mining industry.

2.1.4 Phuket during the transition from mining to tourism (1967 – 1986)

After World War II, the tin miners in Phuket began to turn their investment to agriculture and tourism as an alternative business to support and re-generate mining, which needed more capital and took a longer time for re-investment. The tourism business in Phuket had started in 1967; the fast expansion of the world travel market had played significant roles in this business trend. The Thai government had started to support the tourism industry by providing tourism policies in the National Economic and Social Development Plan No. 2 (1967-1971), as now they found that the tourism industry would be the key force in driving the country's economy (Apsorn Na Ranong, 2007).

Although the tourism business was at the starting point to attain an important position on the island, at the same time the tin mining industry was still active. By the first half of the 20th century, the island contributed about 10 to 20 percent of the world tin production. Around 25 percent of the total area of Phuket was occupied as an open-cast mining area which had been operating for centuries (Uthoff, 1997). In 1969, there were 31 open-cast mines on Phuket and 5 dredgers on the coast. The concession areas and tin supplies were both onshore and offshore, as shown in Figure 3. The tin production in this year reached at 4,458 tons, which was about two thirds of the annual amount of the previous peak time of mining activities in Phuket (Uthoff, 1997).

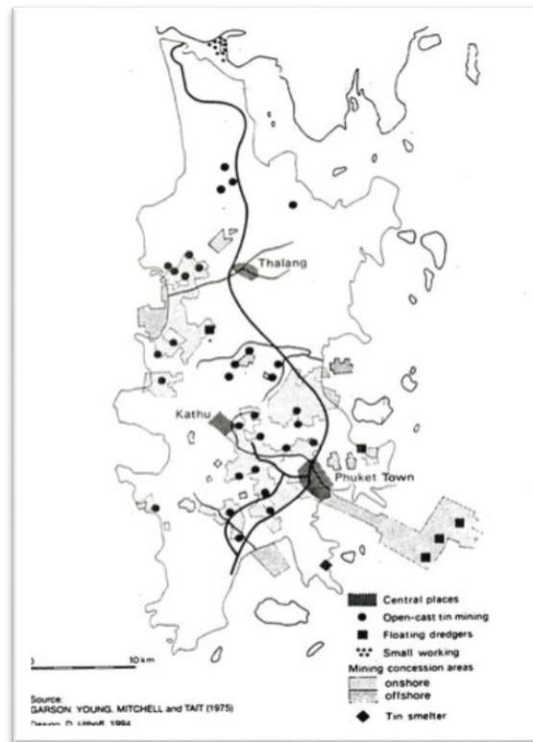


Figure 3: Tin mining on Phuket – concession areas, open-cast tin mining and floating dredgers in 1969, (p.13) (Uthoff, 1997).

The tin production in Phuket dropped, starting from 1972 onwards, due to the fact that the rich mineral resources were exhausted by mining for centuries, leaving only bad quality mineral resources. However, in 1979, tin operation continued to peak at 46,700 tons of the total tin production in Thailand, but after that tin production diminished to the low point of 6,363 tons in 1993 (Figure 4). As the prices of tin were unstable, the serious drop in prices of tin at the world market caused the island to face a decline of tin trade from 1980 on. The production had continuously dropped and its oversupply in the world market resulting from the use of substitutes for tinplate and pure tin, the use of electrolytic coating procedures which use less raw material, the rise of environment awareness, the opening of cheaper sources of supply in Brazil and China as new tin producers, and the reduction of stockpiles in the USA and the former Soviet Union within the framework of global trigger (Uthoff, 1997).

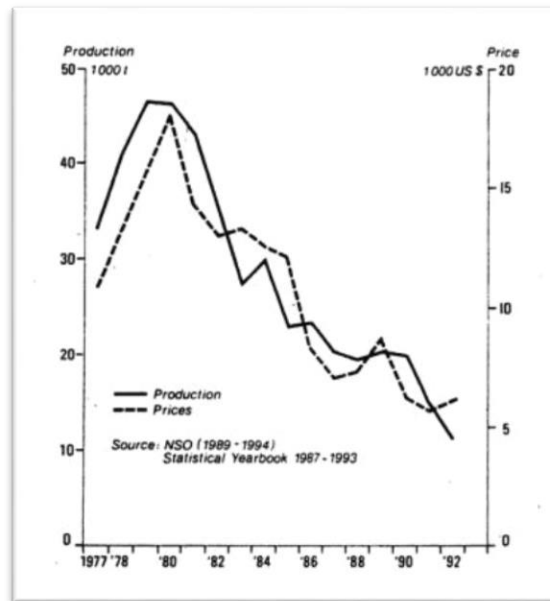


Figure 4: Production of tin concentrate in Thailand, and the world market prices paid for tin concentrate on the tin exchange in New York, 1977-1992 (p.14) (Uthoff, 1997).

Due to the huge profits from tin production, the tin mining industry had generated huge political controversy and social unrest. There was a big scandal about the provision of tin concessions by the government to the mining 'TEMCO' Company. This company was a subsidiary to the THAISARCO under the major shareholder by Field Marshal Sarit Thanarat and his people applied for the tin offshore mining concession of Phuket in 1968. There was a question among Thai people at that time whether the company had received the concession via a clear and clean process or not. From the concession request of the company, people kept continually protesting to the government. In October 1973, a strong protest by huge groups of people demanded the government to revoke the tin concessions owned by the TEMCO Company. The government of M.R. Seni Pramoj at that time eventually terminated all tin concessions owned by the TEMCO Company by 1975. However, the THAISARCO Company still continued running their company, until in 1976, the major shareholder of the company designed to sell all their shares to the Billiton BV company of the Netherlands, a member of The Royal Dutch Shell Group. One of the reasons for the sale might have been that the yield did not meet annual capacity targets of the company.

In 1970s, a clearer sign of the decline of the tin industry consisted of the fact that many tin dredgers and mines in Phuket started closing down. Moreover, in 1974 The Standard Chartered Bank which originally had been established on the island in order to provide services mainly for tin market cash flows was closed. However, tantalum which is a by-product of tin was found, it is a very useful product in nuclear missiles, electronics and medical equipment for this element was a rising global demand. Thus, the tin operation in Phuket was still active and having this new product put into the process (Mackay, 2013). The THAISARCO Company could earn huge profits from exporting tantalum.

The tantalum smelter was built in 1983 in Mueng Phuket District, Phuket, to earn new profits from the old slag piles with the help of the Thai government and banks. The plant had been planned to open its operation in 1986, but there were many strong disagreements and conflicts between different groups of people, local residents and students concerning about the island's environment. In particular, when they heard about the gas leak at the Union Carbide chemical plant in India and the meltdown disaster happened in the Chernobyl nuclear reactor in Russia. Moreover, the tourism industry in Phuket was in its starting stage already during this period.

Thus, unsurprisingly, the rising awareness of the people fed by the island's rumors on the dangers surrounding the tantalum plant, which might spoil Phuket's environment, local residents agreed on the decision not to have the smelting plant on the island. But the demand from the locals could not stop the project being implemented anyway by the developers and the government, this finally led to a riot with thousands of people attacking the plant and burning it down. The rebellion spread out violently with aggressive attack on other assets they thought were under the support of the tantalum project, such as the banks and the Merlin Hotel, also police cars were attacked. The government finally agreed not to build the plant on the island (Mackay, 2013: 408). The worldwide tin crisis started in 1980 with an oversupply in the tin world market, which was followed by an extreme drop in prices. As a result, many mines in Phuket were abandoned. The last open-cast mine was closed in 1992 (Uthoff, 1997). After

centuries, Phuket's mining industry finally ceased to be a key force in driving the island's economy.

Phuket needed to move into a new economic direction; the tourist trade. A high potential in tourism product trends of was on the start obviously in 1967. Many local investors started to become financially interested in the tourism business, while the government supported and promoted projects in tourism. When starting off, the period from 1967-1974, the early tourism industry in Phuket between 1967 and 1974 had a very small growth in everything involving the tourism business by having only 15 hotels/accommodations, 11 restaurants, 7 souvenir shops and 3 transport business. Within these eight years, no tour companies and recreation businesses appeared on the island (Apsorn Na Ranong, 2007). In the mid-1970s, the American magazine "Newsweek", listed Phuket as a destination for travelers who are keen to discover and search for something special. The article appeared in a special feature section of the magazine. A significant new industry was created as many travelers were attracted to the island within a short time (Warren, 2009).

Back in 1927, when a five-room hotel was opened in Phuket Town (Mueng Phuket) by a Chinese immigrant, this was considered the first hotel on the island, and the beginning of the development of Phuket as a tourist destination. It remained the only hotel in Phuket until 1957 when it was followed by a second hotel. In 1975, there were five hotels in Phuket town, with a total number of 429 rooms. Furthermore, three bungalow parks with a total of 126 rooms appeared on the south-east coast of the island which attracted mainly domestic travelers. The island of Phuket hosted approximately 20,000 visitors per year during this period (Uthoff, 1997).

The Thai government at the time started to promote tourism development in Thailand and especially on Phuket. In 1973, the decision was made by the Thai government for a plan to make Phuket a center of tourism. Accordingly, a concrete plan was implemented in 1975. Phuket was placed into the "National Plan on Tourism Development" which aimed to develop Phuket to become a key destination for foreign tourism. In early 1976, 'Patong Beach Hotel' was opened as the first hotel in Patong,

located on the west coast of Phuket. In this year, the starting of the tourism-related economic changes and changing in landscape of the island was initiated, particularly on the west coast areas. This was considered as the first step in promoting international tourism in Phuket (Uthoff, 1997).

Patong was not easy to reach during this time, as the area was hilly and covered by heavy jungle. However, when backpackers visited Phuket mainly to discover Patong in the 1970s, at the bay of Patong appeared a few hotels and bungalows catering to visitors. Later, those were followed by a few restaurants and bars, and a road that was built over the hill opened in 1976. In addition, Phuket airport became an international one serving international visitors to the island (Mackay, 2013).

During the transition from mining industry to tourism industry, each of these two industries kept operating in their own ways. During this period, Phuket was in a period of change, both in an economic sense and concerning the landscape of the island. While the tin production as a non-renewable natural resource continued its operation in a downward direction, tourism was starting to play a significant role for Phuket's economy with more visitors coming to the island, and took over the role that tin used to play in the past. However, during its glory days the mining industry provided huge prosperity to the island and also to the country, helping in the growth of the economy and social development. Importantly, the mining industry was the key force in driving Phuket's economy and now it turned out to be a significant basis for further development of Phuket, particularly in the tourism industry. Phuket therefore had stepped into a new direction by changing the land use and its produce since 1976, which was considered a turning point of the island that moved into its new role as international tourism destination. This will be described in the next paragraph.

2.1.5 Phuket's transformation into an international tourism destination

(1976 – 2003)

The new role of Phuket in tourism began to replace mining in those glory days of tin production. The fast growth of tourism in Phuket has changed the pattern of

economic activities, including its landscape which was targeted to transform into a conventional tourism destination with the development of properties, hotels and resorts, shopping centers and many other components that serve the international tourism industry. Phuket has become a very popular and famous destination which brought an influx of international and domestic tourists to the island.

Phuket has beautiful sandy bays along its 75 km long the west coast which are considered the most attractive landscapes on the island. Phuket in its new role as an international tourism destination had started interestingly in 1976, along with the becoming of Phuket airport promotion as an international airport in the same year and new roads providing access to the west coast of the island. In 1977, Phuket international airport extended its capacity in order to service large aircraft such as B-737, DC-10 and A300 (Apsorn Na Ranong, 2007). These were considered the most important facilities for tourism development and as input factors that drew large number of international tourists to visit the island.

With the move towards international tourism Phuket needed to promote its natural beauty with its beautiful sea, sand and sun destination as its key attraction. In particular, the west coast of Phuket matches with the conception of tropical island paradise and its geographical satisfactions among international tourists who like to have good bathing beaches (Uthoff, 1997). The development in the direction to transform Phuket into becoming an international tourism destination has started mainly from Patong. Later, all the bays on the west coast of the island were included. The developed areas for tourism from 1975 to 1994 took place in extreme measure on the west coast of the island, with a growth of hotel capacity of about 70 percent. Between 1975 and 1994 visitor's accommodation in Phuket expanded from 8 hotels with 555 rooms to 276 hotels with 18,360 rooms (Uthoff, 1997). Phuket began to experience rapid tourism development, particularly during 1980s.

The support from the government and a large portion of the private sector developed tourism in Phuket. This facilitated a growing number of both international and domestic tourist arrivals on the island. Although at the start of the tourism plan of

1967, the goal had been just to provide services for trading activities on the island, and had not focused on, nor promoted the beautiful natural environment of Phuket, the second plan, implemented in 1984 and focusing mainly on tourism development in the southern part of Thailand. It had been arranged by the “Japan International Cooperation Agency” (JICA), which estimated the number of tourists to Phuket around 764,000 by the year 2000 (Uthoff, 1997).

However, the development of tourism in Phuket had gone faster than the existing plan, with an influx of tourists to the island of 884,293 by the year 1988 (Table 2). Noticeably, the arrivals of tourists had soared to 3,334,613 in 2000, exceeding the estimated number of the initial forecast of the year 2000 by 336 per cent. If we focus mainly on the arrivals of international tourists, during the 1980s, the international tourism continued to rise in numbers and reached a total of 533,545 by 1989. The number of international tourists kept increasing to 2,117,864 in 1999 and the tourist arrivals on the island reached a total of 3,906,737 by 2003 (Table 2). The rapid increase in tourist arrivals since 1980s has fueled the development of tourism, making the last few decades a new boom period in economic activities, even though it resulted in inefficient and disorganized tourism management in the province of Phuket.

Table 2: The Annual Statistics of Tourists to Phuket from 1988 to 2003

Years	Total	Foreigners	Thai
1988	867,063	511,642	355,421
1989	956,998	533,545	423,453
1990	1,235,027	752,463	482,564
1991	1,148,059	581,005	567,054
1992	1,606,499	1,200,385	405,114
1993	2,036,082	1,266,017	770,065
1994	2,093,192	1,587,894	505,298
1995	2,272,257	1,607,907	664,350
1996	2,257,305	1,612,635	664,670
1997	2,369,021	1,651,175	717,846
1998	2,629,938	1,879,016	750,992
1999	2,964,327	2,117,864	846,463
2000	3,334,613	2,443,871	890,742
2001	3,656,859	2,654,673	1,002,186
2002	3,854,054	2,766,350	1,087,704
2003	3,906,737	2,688,499	1,218,238

Source: (Ministry of Tourism and Sports, 2015)

Although Thailand had seriously financial crisis in 1997, the number of international tourist arrivals into Thailand increased from 1,651,175 in 1997 to 1,879,016 in 1998 and in 2002 the number raise up to 2,766,350 tourist arrivals. With the promotion of tax refunded for tourists and a cooperative both from public and private sectors in implementing the ‘Amazing Thailand Years’ campaign during 1998-1999 (Manat Chaisawat, 2004). These convey positive impacts to the tourism business in Phuket and it seemed not to have effects from the crisis as well.

The arrivals of international tourists in Phuket during 1975 to 1994 exploded into very high numbers at 27.7 percent, compared to other cities or countries (Table 3).

This resulted in a tremendously rapid development of supply and demand for foreign tourism on the island of Phuket. Unsurprisingly, the development of tourism in Phuket moved up very fast in order to serve the demand from both international and domestic tourists. In 1986, international tourists from Europe who visited Phuket counted for 49.8 percent, while 31.2 percent came from east and south-east Asia. By 1994, the regions of east and south-east Asia had moved up to 53.5 percent of the demand while the tourism from Europe had decreased to 36.6 percent (Uthoff, 1997). In 1998, the Global Magazine from Germany labeled Phuket as a ‘Dream Island’. This revealed that among international tourists from Europe, a large number of tourists were from Germany.

Table 3: Mean annual growth rates for visits by international tourists in the period 1975 to 1994, for various resorts or countries.

Country/City	Percentage
Phuket	27.7%
Thailand	9.1%
Bali	14.6%
Indonesia	13.8%
Singapore	9.1%
World	5.0%
Europe	3.7%

Source: WTO and national tourism organization (p. 21) (Uthoff, 1997)

The rapid growth in numbers of tourist arrivals created a fast expansion of hotels, restaurants, bars and other tourism facilities. Hotels/accommodation in 1979 stood at 1,400 in total of hotel room numbers, two thirds of which were located in Phuket town (Kontogeorgopoulos, 1998). The number of hotel rooms had significantly increased by 1989, reaching a number of 9,914, which continued to rise to 20,150 in

1999 and up to 31,302 in 2003 (Table 4). As can be seen, tourism development in Phuket progressed enormously, and led to huge changes in the physical landscape and socioeconomic character of the island (Kontogeorgopoulos, 1998).

Table 4: The Annual Statistics of Hotels and Hotel Rooms in Phuket from 1989 to 2003

Years	Hotels	Hotel Rooms
1989	177	9,914
1990	190	12,037
1991	237	14,912
1992	261	17,355
1993	267	18,360
1994	235	17,426
1995	264	18,454
1996	277	18,590
1997	293	18,959
1998	293	17,529
1999	303	20,150
2000	344	19,574
2001	510	26,759
2002	510	26,637
2003	549	31,302

Source: (Phuket Office of the Tourist Authority of Thailand, 2015)

The basic infrastructure and facilities for the initial steps to be taken by the tourism industry have been developing rapidly and have been followed by more

construction of accommodation in Phuket. Many brand name beach hotels appeared; for example, Club Med in Kata, Holiday Inn in Patong, the Phuket Yacht Club in Nai Harn, the Meridien in Karon, the Chedi and Amanpuri in Surin and the Laguna Resort located at old mining area in Bangtao (Mackey, 2013: 410). Interestingly, the first foreign famous chain investing in Phuket was the Club Méditerranée or commonly known as Club Med from France in 1986 (Warren, 2009). Apart from these, many hotels and resorts were built all over the island, new roads were built and city infrastructure was developed in order to smooth the progress of the fast growing in tourist trade on the province of Phuket.

There are many significant factors that have contributed in leading Phuket into the explosive development of tourism. For example, the decline of the mining industry forced many local investors to invest in tourism, with capital and land available from the prosperous times of the tin mining period. Patong had a starting opportunity in the tourism trade and took this advantage to higher levels when developing all other west coast bays to serve tourist fulfillment. The various levels of prices and quality of Phuket's accommodation provided different choices to its visitors. The flexible price policy held by hotel operators and offered to visitors during low season of tourism, and the various areas to visit and discover on the island added to the attraction. In addition, the supporting policy from the government sectors, particularly the Tourism Authority of Thailand which had promoted the name "Phuket" to be known by association as a "paradise island", "dream island" and "pearl of the South" (Uthoff, 1997). These key reasons also capture the island with a positive image, and make it into the well-known holiday destination which continues to attract huge number of visitors who experience the island of Phuket.

Thus, during its transformation into an international tourism destination, Phuket had changed overwhelmingly with the influx of visitors and rapid growth in tourism development. Thousands of different kinds of jobs and opportunities in doing business on the island were generated by tourism development. In addition, changes in the pattern of economic activities drew people from different countries to the island which led to the international context of Phuket society. The development and changes in the

approach of the tourism trade during this transformation period has affected the island in all aspects, but especially in its economic structures, society and landscape. However, Phuket has never stopped doing its duty as a host to welcome visitors.

2.2 Development and social context of Phuket during (2004 – 2014)

The province of Phuket has fully developed its tourism industry as a major means in boosting the island's economy and is nowadays becoming one of the world's leading tourism destinations under moniker "Pearl of the Andaman". The major income of Phuket today relies mainly on tourism growth. With its base of rich natural resources on the island combines this with other sources of income such as rubber plantations, fisheries, and orchards, Phuket has positioned itself as the wealthiest province in Thailand after Bangkok (Callahan, 2006; Uthoff, 1997; Warren, 2009).

While tourism in Phuket has driven its economic development in full scale, undeniable changes and impacts on the society can be witnessed in various aspects. As Mason (Mason, 2003) indicates that the impacts from tourism development are clearly seen from many famous tourist destinations where tourists interact with local society, culture, economy and environment leading to major impacts in economic, socio-cultural and environmental impacts. This is an interesting phenomenon occurring in nearly every tourist destination causing always both negative and positive consequences to the society.

In order to enhance in-depth understanding about the context of Phuket society in the last decade, this section therefore will be divided in three main aspects namely; the economic context, the environmental context and the socio-cultural context. These three points have apparently changed as a result of the booming tourism development in Phuket.

2.2.1 The economic context

Phuket's tourism industry has from the 1980s on been in an uptrend continually its growth by attracting more both international and domestic visitors into the island. In particular, the booming development on tourism infrastructure to facilitate all aspects of tourism business in the last decade is appeared as mushroom growing all over the island. Additionally, the numbers of tourists have increased significantly (Table 5), even a few years revealed on the decline. From Table 5, the numbers of tourist arrivals in 2005 and 2009 appears on the decline. There are 4,642,302 tourists in 2004 which consisted of 3,432,741 international tourists and 1,209,561 domestic tourists, whereas in 2014 the number of tourists reached 11,810,003 by having 8,334,333 international tourists and 3,520,670 domestic tourists. This means some strong motivating factors of tourist arrivals especially on the increase of international tourist arrivals. This is of course one of key motivating factors is an advancement of high technology development on transportation and communication offering for long distance of sea or air travel.

Table 5: The Annual Statistics of Tourist Arrivals in Phuket from 2004 to 2014

Years	Total	Foreigners	Thai
2004	4,642,302	3,432,741	1,209,561
2005	2,375,344	1,266,900	1,108,444
2006	4,317,312	2,827,852	1,489,460
2007	4,726,693	3,160,349	1,566,344
2008	4,976,212	3,530,196	1,446,016
2009	3,126,558	2,385,215	741,343
2010	5,120,761	4,305,665	815,096
2011	8,891,039	6,290,577	2,600,462
2012	10,211,885	7,216,975	2,994,910
2013	11,339,885	8,034,981	3,304,904
2014*	11,810,003	8,334,333	3,520,670

Source: Tourism Authority of Thailand, Phuket Office, 2015

*Source of Information in 2014: Phuket Province Office of Tourism and Sports, 2015

From Table 5, shows clearly that the numbers of tourist arrivals are increasing, particularly the number of tourists from 2004 has quadrupled by the year 2014. This indicates that in the last ten years the tourism industry of Phuket has experienced a period of booming growth, and has been the most important tool in boosting Phuket's economy. However, in 2005 and 2009 the numbers of tourists obviously decreased. A significant cause of the dropping in the numbers of tourist arrivals in 2005 was the natural disaster of a Tsunami that had occurred on 26 December 2004. The disaster carried extensive devastation to not only Phuket but also five other provinces of Thailand on the Andaman coast; Ranong, Phang-Nga, Krabi, Trang and Satun were hit and experienced severe damage. In particular, the tourism infrastructure and local settlements were heavily destroyed. Additionally, many other countries, such as Indonesia, India, Malaysia, Sri Lanka and the Maldives were hit by the Indian Ocean Tsunami and seriously devastated. In Thailand, more than 5,000 people died, among them almost 2,000 tourists in the disaster areas of Phuket (Henderson, 2007). This shocking natural disaster directly caused a sharp drop in the number of tourist arrivals in 2005. The tourist's confidence in choosing Phuket as a holiday destination declined as a result of the crisis and needed time to recover. The Tsunami has been indeed the greatest natural disaster that Thailand ever experienced.

In addition, Henderson (Henderson, 2007) also finds that the tourists leaving Phuket en masse, together with the cancellation of bookings revealed a drop of 27 percent in inbound flights and the decline of international tourists was 85 percent in January 2005. In the first half of 2005 the decrease in international visitors to Phuket was down to 67.2 percent. This resulted in the failure of around 500 tourism enterprises, while over 3,000 people were left without a job. About 20 percent of the hotels in Phuket were severely damaged, whereas 80 percent were able to back in business within one week after the Tsunami.

Since the six-Andaman Sea provinces of Thailand, especially Phuket, rely heavily on tourism revenue, the post-Tsunami situation needed quick actions and responses for recovery in order to continue the island's economic force. The Thai Government tried to put full efforts in management with quick reacting to the disaster

in close corporation with tourism organizations and private sectors. After the very low point of tourism revenue in Phuket in the first quarter of 2005, the return into the region of international tourists began again, and the number of tourist arrivals had reached to the pre-Tsunami levels within 14 months. The recovery was very fast as it went along with infrastructure rebuilding and providing high standard of tourism facilities. The sections of services and activities were expanded. A large number of new hotels were built. Therefore, about within one year, 80 percent of the hotels on the island of Phuket were back in operation (Zurick, 2011).

In 2009, a key intervening factor of the decline in numbers of tourist arrivals was the political unrest in Thailand which propelled large negative impacts on Thailand's economy and of course it was the fact that growth in tourism and economic development was deterred formed a very sensitive issue. During the protest on 28 November, Bangkok's Suvarnabhumi Airport was invaded by the People's Alliance for Democracy (PAD), which led to thousands of overseas passengers getting stuck in the airport following the cancellation of hundreds of flights. The PAD protesters had been on a purpose to remove the government for six months and were at the same time provoking the army to depose the Prime Minister, Somchai Wongsawat (MacKinnon, 2015). This unrest political situation directly affected the numbers of tourists visiting the island of Phuket and the whole Thailand as well.

However, Thai political instability had occurred repeatedly along with coup d'états and violent protests; for example, a coup d'état that took place on 19 September 2006 with a declaration of Martial Law nationwide (Athip Buttarach, 2010). The political unrest plus the declaration of Martial Law can cause negative impacts on tourist's psychology not to come, and another effect is that in some countries, insurance companies will not offer insurance to tourists due to the declaration of Martial Law in a country which is an important factor affects seriously on the tourism sector (Jiraporn Ruengthaweesil, 2014).

Although the figures of tourist arrivals to Phuket show a drop in 2005 and 2009, in general Phuket still continues to attract a large number of tourists from around the

world. Even the coup d'état that took place again on 22 May 2014, led by Army Chief General Prayuth Chan-o-cha who seized power from the government of Yingluck Shinawatra after months of political turmoil and protest, followed by the announcement of Martial Law (Kennedy, 2014), but this political situation seemed not to impact tourism in Phuket too severely. As the arrival numbers to Phuket, which reached 11,855,003 in 2014, this is higher than the number of tourist arrivals in 2013 indicated 11,339,885 tourists. This accounts for a 4.54 percent rise from 2013 (Phuket Province Office of Tourism and Sports, 2015).

The influx of tourists into Phuket including its booming tourism industry are the key impacts that has led the island to the expansion of economic activities, incomes, and improved standard of city infrastructure. Since the tourist arrivals has increased year-by-year, this resulted in a large expansion of hotel and resort establishments including residential areas in order to facilitate high demands from both international and domestic visitors. The hotel rooms in 2004 appeared 32,076 rooms and had added up to 48,241 rooms in 2014. Noticeably, the mentioned numbers disclose as an official registered number of hotels and resorts which can be witnessed clearly in tourism growth of Phuket during the last decade. However, there are many other un-registered hotels on the island that can be estimated as a large number as well (Phuket Province Office of Tourism and Sports, 2015).

The tourism industry in Phuket has generated tremendous foreign exchange earnings yearly. The island earned a total of 85,670.63 million Baht in 2004, by receiving mainly from international visitors 72,182.37 million Baht and from Thai visitors 13,488.26 million Baht, conversely in 2014 earning a large revenue reached by 270,210.56 million Baht; by having 230,880.64 million Baht from international visitors and 39,329.92 million Baht from Thai visitors (Phuket Office of the Tourist Authority of Thailand, 2015). The revenue of Phuket from tourism industry during the period 2004 – 2014 is shown in Table 6, Phuket has achieved a large income from international visitors.

Table 6: Phuket's Revenue from Tourism Industry in 2004 – 2014

Years	Revenue from Tourism (Million Baht)		
	Total	International Tourists	Thai Tourists
2004	85,670.63	72,182.37	13,488.26
2005	28,181.46	19,073.23	9,108.23
2006	77,595.88	65,151.01	12,444.87
2007	94,239.52	80,671.87	13,567.65
2008	101,684.44	84,383.09	17,301.35
2009	94,006.88	86,857.05	7,131.83
2010	108,446.18	101,286.38	7,159.80
2011	188,822.46	163,927.15	24,895.31
2012	228,984.88	198,693.30	30,291.58
2013	241,927.00	207,874.00	34,053.00
2014*	270,210.56	230,880.64	39,329.92

Source: Tourism Authority of Thailand, Phuket Office, 2015

*Source of Information in 2014: Phuket Province Office of Tourism and Sports, 2015

Considering the capacity of the Phuket International Airport to provide services for passengers in 2014 with 56 airlines, offering averaged services at 96 flights per day or in a total number is 192 inbound and outbound flights per day (Government Housing Bank, 2014). Interestingly, Phuket welcomes a large number of visitors which has topped around 11 million both international and domestic passengers passing through Phuket Airport, if accumulate with a large project of the Phuket Airport's 5.7 billion expansions invested by the government which currently is under construction. The project has started since 2013. This means Phuket has to host around 18 million visitors by the time of the expansion project is finished in mid-2016 (Chutharat Plerin, 2014).

This charming small island does needs a very good planning in hosting more and more visitors in the near future.

The economic context in Phuket is in accordance with Kreg's study (Kreg, 2001) as shown in Table 7, exemplifying the impacts of tourism development generate various and complex impacts in economic concerns. Tourism brings along both positive and negative consequences to the host destination. The positive impacts of tourism development for example, contributions of higher income and foreign exchange earnings, improving of standard of living and local economy, jobs and tax revenue generation, stimulation of infrastructure investment in public utilities and transportation and creates new business opportunities. The negative impacts are for example, the increased prices of goods and services, land and housing are included, high cost of living, rising potential for imported labor, high cost of additional infrastructure, profits may be exported by non-local owners, and high competition for land with other economic uses.

Table 7: Economic impacts of tourism

Positive impact	Negative impact
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Contributes to income and standard of living - Improves local economy - Increases employment opportunities - Improves investment, development, and infrastructure spending - Increases tax revenues - Improves public utilities infrastructure - Improves transport infrastructure - Increases opportunities for shopping - Economic impact (direct, indirect, induced spending) is widespread in the community - Creates new business opportunities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increases price of goods and services - Increases price of land and housing - Increases cost of living - Increases potential for imported labor - Cost for additional infrastructure (water, sewer, power, fuel, medical) - Increases road maintenance and transportation system costs - Seasonal tourism creates high-risk, under- or unemployment issues - Competition for land with other (high value) economic uses - Profits may be exported by owners - Jobs may pay low wages

Source: Kreg (2001: 6)

As a result, to the development of tourism infrastructure facilities to support tourism industry, this resulting in local lifestyle has changed and people are more extravagant. With culture, community, economy and environment, these significant local social elements were affected by tourism development. Local people have strong positive perceptions towards the tourism development in Phuket as it could generate more benefits in developing local economy (Marzuki, 2012).

However, the negative impacts from tourism have affected local people directly are the increases of land prices, housing property and local resident's cost of living. In addition, tourism in Phuket also has carried the problems of overcrowding of people, traffic congestion and overloading of water supply network. In general, local residents of Phuket have positive perceptions on the economic impacts than negative impacts as they could have more opportunities to earn higher income from working in the tourism industry (Marzuki, 2012).

The context of Phuket's society today becoming as a world-class destination with massive economic development and the influx of tourists have visited the island are the main reasons in carrying the island into a new form of economic activities and turning itself into a more urbanized city alongside with the expansion of tourism industry. It is evident with the increasing numbers of hotels and resorts, shops, restaurants and housing areas and other property constructions which are distributed in a very considerable numbers all over the island for serving a high demand from international and domestic travels.

2.2.2 The environmental context

Phuket's prosperity has been brought about by the tourism industry starting obviously since the 1980s with the development of beach resorts and self-contained hotel complexes (Henderson, 2007). The rapid growth of tourism development including a large number of tourist arrivals has caused to greatly alterations in various aspects, one of those is changing in physical landscape and environment of the island.

Phuket has been suffering from environmental dilemmas and conflicts occurring from the industry of tourism; for example, mangrove forest areas were invaded and got severe damaged and mountainous parts have been converted to a hotel and resort area. Although Phuket had experienced with natural disaster tragedy on 26 December 2004, the disaster had been taken part in providing opportunities to improve the tourism infrastructure in Phuket where the development tended to move into uncontrolled growth and having insufficient planning which led to the environmental degradation on the island (Henderson, 2007).

Figure 5 and Figure 6 show Patong's urban area in 2014. It was full of hotels, resorts, and other related tourism properties. This is because Patong is the most popular area among tourists and becoming a commercial center in the west coast of Phuket.

Figure 5: Patong, Phuket (2014)



Figure 6: Patong Beach, Phuket (2014)



Phuket's physical landscape has been changing radically after the crisis of Tsunami, as the government has supported and boosted tourism industry of Phuket to bring back economic activities and income. This resulted in all related businesses of tourism industry, which have recovered and operated not only in the damaged areas from the disaster, but also moving into other areas especially on the west coast of the island. The change of land-use in Phuket is the consequence from the expanding of real estate business, particularly on the highland and the beachfront areas have been rising in order to serve for sea view and convenient accommodation (Dithanan Senrit & Sangdao Wongsai, 2012). The study also indicates that the emergence of urban area and agricultural land have been increasing rapidly in the area of Cheong Talay Sub-District in Thalang District during the period 2002 – 2011.

The foothill slope and beachfront areas in Phuket are occupied by real estate development with accommodation and hotels offering various choices and costs for visitors. There are many cases in Phuket, and Phang-Nga as a neighboring province, have found as land scams and more than 1,000 rai of National Reserve Forests and coastal areas had been encroached, which many former high-ranking officials got involved. There are many cases of land ownership by foreigners through Thai

nominees, especially the lands in coastal resort area of Phuket. For example, the reserved forest land in the Kamala Mountain Range in Kathu District has invaded by many investors. Noticeably, the land price in Kamala Sub-District is 200 million Baht per rai, this price was in the year 2012. The serious problem is that most of landowners are registered as a company, which consists of Thai shareholders who are a nominee of foreign investors (King-oua Laohong, 2012).

Additionally, there are many other areas of national parks, protected forests and mangroves in Phuket were in hands of land owners via illegal process. Land encroachment in Phuket is a very vital problem which needs to find solutions for the issue. Therefore, along with the rapid growth in tourism industry that has been carrying the prosperity to Phuket, many problems concerning about the environmental issues are needed to be aware from all related groups and also local residents in order to protect the island from degradation of environment.

2.2.3 The Socio-cultural context

With a history of Phuket, from mining industry in the past to tourism industry in the present Phuket has formed its social and cultural context into a very unique society which is reflected in its multicultural society within which various ethnic groups have been making the island their home for centuries. On this small island of Phuket, the socio-cultural context is a combination of cultural differences of people who have resided on the island. Of course, the reflection in Chinese culture and belief is most obvious in the variety of local culture and ways of life. Additionally, Thai-Muslims, Chao Lay and foreign settlers are also the communities that take part in forming Phuket society through their ways of lives which resulted in a great social melting pot.

In the province of Phuket there are many places of worship; namely, 38 Buddhist temples, 52 mosques and 5 churches (Phuket Provincial Office of Buddhism, 2015). In addition, there are a large number of Chinese shrines and temples, of which 45 are registered shrines and more than 100 are unregistered (Thanom Poonwong, 2013). Hence, the socio-cultural context of Phuket is combined through the model of a melting pot where many people from different countries have migrated to the island

and living together peacefully. Phuket residents mainly are Buddhists, the second largest group is Muslims, and other religions exist in small percentages, including Chao Lays who are animists. Hence, Phuket is considered a multicultural society which is reflected its lifestyles and cultures through various forms of festivals and events.

The festivals and events in Phuket express distinctively the identity and tradition of Phuket-ness from various groups of people, such as the Vegetarian Festival deeply reflects the Thai-Chinese beliefs and is held in October for nine days. It is a celebration in which the Chinese community makes merit by not eating meat and keeping their peace of mind during the ninth lunar month of the Chinese calendar. In addition, there are other events; for example, the celebration of Chinese New Year annually around February, the celebration for Thai Buddhists is the Songkran Festival which is held in the middle of April. Another important merit making festival for the Chinese is the Por Tor Festival or 'the Hungry Ghost' festival which will be held at Chinese Shrines on the 7th or 9th lunar month following the Chinese calendar. The important offering is a red turtle shaped cake or Ang-ku which represents strength and long life meaning.

The Loy Rua Festival is a Chao Lay or Sea Gypsy festival held on the 13th, 14th and 15th night during the full moon in May and November. The Chao Lays in Phuket are living at Leam Tuk Kae in Rassada Sub-District, Ban Rawai, Ban Sapham in Kaokaew Sub-District and Leam La in Thalang District. They believe that this festival will take their bad luck and sickness away from them and also from their village. (Thanom Poonwong, 2013). Apart from these festivals, many other events are organized by the public and private sectors, including international settlers on the island, such as Patong Carnival, Phuket Kings Cup Regatta on early Decembers, Turtle Release Festival on Aprils and Buddhist Temple Fairs from November through February.

The culture of food in Phuket is oriented toward the Chinese cuisine and has a unique local taste. Phuket is famous for its breakfasts in typical Chinese restaurants consisting of dumplings accompanied by coffee or tea (Thanom Poonwong, 2013). Phuket Town is the main area for those Chinese restaurants. It is there where the large

Chinese communities have settled down centuries ago, and where they have set up their commercial and social center. However, Phuket is also a world-class tourist destination filled with a variety of cuisines, both Thai and international foods such as German, Mexican, French, Italian and Korean food, as well as many other cuisines from many countries are served by restaurants and hotels. In particular, in the west and south of Phuket, which are popular areas among tourists and residential areas of the international community who have made Phuket their second home.

The historic zone of Sino-Portuguese architecture is a great blend of Chinese and European styles. The Old Town of Phuket which once used to play an important role in the tin mining industry with its abundance of tin ores during the Ayutthaya period and becoming a key port for western merchants during this era. During the reign of King Rama IV, the governor Luang Phitak Taweep (Tat) moved the city from Ban Ket Ho (Kathu) to Tung Kha, which is now the area of Phuket Municipality. The area well reflects the prosperity of the island both in economic and cultural sense during the tin mining industry with those Chinese migrants who later settled down on the island and also the western merchants who powerfully influenced tin trading. In the period of the governorship of Phraya Ratsadanupradit (1901-1913) there was a significant boom in the mining industry starting with his vision to develop the city by launching a mission on city infrastructure and construction. This resulted in many buildings and mansions in Sino-Portuguese styles as appear in Phuket nowadays (Phuket Municipality, 2002).

At present, the old town of Phuket has become a well-known and charming historical area which attracts many tourists. Phuket Town consists of many Sino-Portuguese style buildings, such as shop-houses, mansions, museums and banks. In addition, after their settlement, the Chinese formed their unique culture and tradition, which is Baba-Nyonya in different forms of wedding, God Worship Day in Chinese New Year festival and the Chinese's theater puppet performance on their festival (Suthi Wongmongkondate, 2011). However, with the current trend in the growth of tourism industry, this historic site has been seriously influenced by the influx of tourists and tourism business, resulting in a change into a direction that can cause the typical culture

and traditions to fade away, to be replaced by the commodities that serve for the tourism industry.

Figure 7: Sino-Portuguese buildings at Soi Rommanee, Thalang Road, Phuket



Figure 8: Phuket Walking Street Market (Lard Yai), Thalang Road, Phuket



With a strong influence from the tourism business, the local community in the area of Old Phuket Town and in close cooperation with public and private sectors, agreed on coping with the uncontrolled tourism management which might harm sites through irresponsible or un-effective management. Therefore, the Phuket Municipality has set up the project for ‘The Development & Conservation of the Old Commercial Quarter in Phuket Town’. The Phuket Municipality was host to the project, which started in 2002. During this project, Phuket residents, especially on the area of Thalang Road took parts with restoring, repairing and repainting their shop-houses. Promoting the heritage through the event of an ‘Old Phuket Town Festival’ now has become an annual event at the site (Phuket Municipality, 2002).

Figure 9: Map of the Culture Art Conservation Area, the Project of ‘The Development & Conservation of Old Commercial Quarter in Phuket Town’



Source: Phuket Municipality, 2002

Today, more tourists are attracted to and appreciate old Phuket Town. In addition, in order to encourage more tourists to visit the heritage zone and in the same time try to conserve culture and traditions, a trend in cultural tourism to old Phuket Town is promoted by using the cultural heritage of the location. In particular, on Thalang Road, which is a lively cultural street, and Phuket Walking Street Market (Lard

Yai) takes place on every Sunday evening. The event is from cooperation of public and private sectors including the residents in the area (Orrapan Thanasiriphong, 2012).

However, the potential of losing cultural identity could be a result from the tourism industry which tends to be an undeniable consequence occurring especially on socio-cultural aspect when a majority of tourists are from the developed countries visiting and interacting in a developing country (Mason, 2003). This phenomenon is considered as a related situation in Phuket. Unavoidable social changes come along with the tourism flows to the historical sites more obviously in the last five years; a nightlife entertainment business have found in the Old Phuket Town area. Normally, most of the nightlife entertainment appears massively in the attraction areas at the nearby beaches, particularly Patong beach, whereas the Phuket Town offers as a historical site and city tour to experience the typical culture and traditions of Phuket.

There are many nightlife entertainment businesses and pubs opening in the areas. Appearing nine pubs on Dibuk Road, two pubs on Thalang Road, three pubs on Yaowarat Road, four pubs on Phang-Nga Road, six pubs on Rasada Road and one pub on Rayong Road, in total number is 25 places in the area of historic zone. All of them use Sino-Portuguese buildings with new decorations inside the shop-houses. The Old Phuket Town's residents mostly respond positively to the nightlife entertainment business as their key reason the economic benefit of having an increasing number of tourists which gains them more income. Additionally, in terms of socio-cultural benefits, they think that the business can boost up a more lively and exciting atmosphere within the community. However, some of residents disagree with the nightlife entertainment business because they think that it is unsuitable, and incompatible with the heritage area (Panuwat Phakdee-auksorn, 2014).

Accordingly, the socio-cultural context of Phuket has been changing the rapid growth of tourism which now plays as a powerful engine for the island's economy. In particular, Phuket is on the stage of international tourism which tends to provoke huge impacts not only on the economy, but on non-economy related areas as well. With shopping malls, plazas, nightlife entertainments, various standards of hotels and resorts

are offered for visitors. Meanwhile, the government and tourism organizations including Phuket residents are trying to promote tourism in all aspects, they are at the same time put full efforts in attempting to protect and conserve natural beauty, community and places of heritage. Hence, in this situation, where tourism and traditional culture interface, controversial issues should be handled effectively.

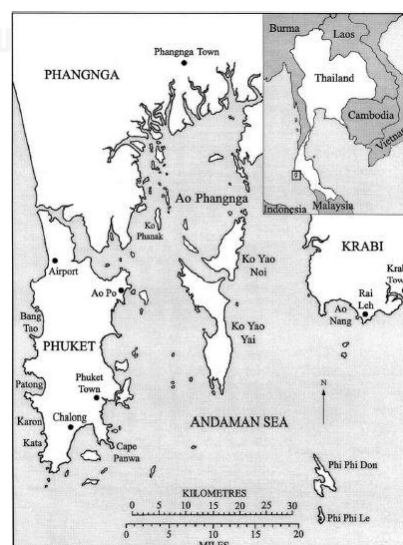
2.3 Present day Phuket environment

“Pearl of the Andaman, Paradise of Southern Thailand, Golden Beaches, Home of the Two Heroic Sisters and The Hallowed Luang Poh Cham”

The provincial slogan of Phuket evidently reflects about its gorgeous nature with its many beautiful sandy beaches and a long island history that have been forming Phuket for decades, and caused it to become one of the most famous and popular tourist destinations in the world. General information on the present day environment of Phuket will be described in the section below.

2.3.1 Geography

Figure 10: Map of Phuket, Thailand



Source: (Kontogeorgopoulos, 2003)

The province of Phuket is located in on the west coast of the southern part of Thailand. The island is situated in the Andaman Sea which is part of the Indian Ocean, lying on a latitude between 7°45' and 8°15' north, and on a longitude from 98°15' to 98°40' east on the map. Phuket is 48.7 kilometers long and 21.3 kilometers wide and the total area of the island is about 570 square kilometers (356,271.25 rai). This includes another 32 isles surrounding the island. It is approximately 867 kilometers south of Bangkok (Thanom Poonwong, 2013). The island of Phuket today is connected to the mainland over the Pak Prah strait on the northern part of the island by the two new bridges; Thao Thep Krasattri Bridge and Srisoonthorn Bridge. These two bridges today handle for the traffic instead of the Sarasin Bridge which is turned its function into a sightseeing tower and has changed its role to a pedestrian bridge. The island of Phuket is bounded by:

On the North: The Pak Prah Strait and Phang-Nga province which is connected by two bridges running side-by-side, the Thao Thep Krasattri Bridges and the Srisoonthorn Bridge.

On the South: The Andaman Sea.

On the East: Phang-Nga Bay.

On the West: The Andaman Sea.

Approximately 70 percent of Phuket's land area is mountainous. The hilly areas mostly cover the west coast areas of the island. The average heights of the hills are approximately 100-500 meters above sea level. The main hill lies down the west coast of the island. The 'Mai Tao Sip Song' (Twelve Cranes) is the highest peak with 527 meters and is situated in the area of Tambon Patong in Kathu District and Tambon Karon in Mueang Phuket District. However, hills appear all over the island. Many of the most beautiful and best beaches of the island are on the west coast (Thanom Poonwong, 2013). The flatlands of Phuket are urbanized and mostly used for agriculture, mainly rubber and coconut. Mangroves and tropical rainforest also can be found on the island, especially in Khao Phra Thaew National Park.

Thirty percent of the island is flatland, located mainly in the central and eastern parts. The east coast consists of large areas of flatland which are the result of the lapping

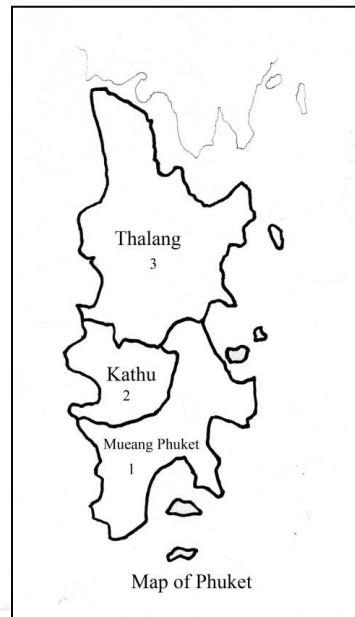
of the waves that deposited sediments from the ocean for millions of years. The small beaches on the east coast of the island tend to be a little muddy. This is because the seabed on this sheltered coast consists of sludge and mud that resulted from tin mining, as extensive dredging took place during the tin mining period.

Phuket features a tropical monsoon climate which is dictated by the monsoon winds, makes the weather on the island warm and humid all year round. There are two distinct seasons, rainy and hot. The rainy season covers eight months from May to October. The hot season is from November through April. This is the best time to visit the island, and during this time is the high season for tourism in Phuket. The average temperature is between 22 and 34 degrees Celsius (Shippen, 2014).

2.3.2 Administrative divisions

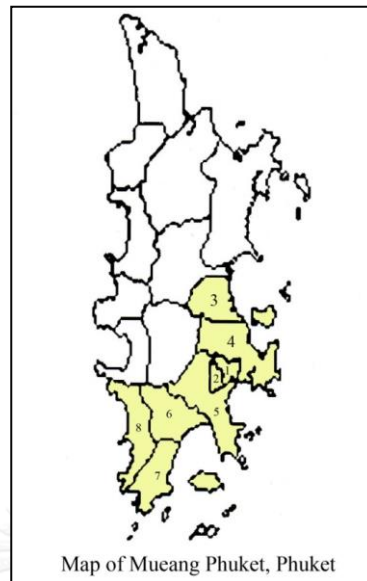
Phuket consists of 3 districts (amphoe); Mueang Phuket (1), Kathu (2) and Thalang (3), which are further divided into 17 sub-districts (tambon), and 103 villages (muban). Among the three districts, there are nine municipal (thesaban) areas. The status of the capital town of Phuket is city or thesaban nakhon status. Patong and Kathu have thesaban mueang status. Karon, Thep Krasattri, Choeng Thalay, Ratsada, Rawai and Wichit have sub-district municipalities or thesaban tambon status.

Figure 11: Map of Amphoe, the three districts of Phuket, Thailand



Mueang Phuket District (Figure 12) is located on the southern part of the island where the city of Phuket or Phuket Town is situated as the most important commercial center of the island. In addition, it is a charming area in which history and culture of the Chinese communities in Phuket are reflected. Many beautiful white sandy beaches can be found in this district; Karon, Kata, Nai Harn, Rawai, and Chalong Bay. There are 8 sub-districts (tambon) in the district, which having further subdivided into 44 villages (muban).

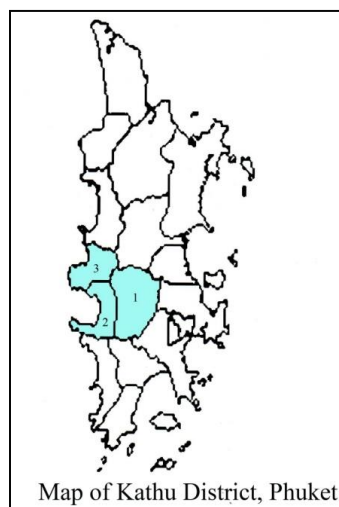
Figure 12: Map of Mueng Phuket District, Phuket



From the Figure 12, there are 8 sub-districts (tambon) in Mueang Phuket district; namely, Talat Yai (1), Talat Nuea (2), Ko Kaeo (3), Ratsada (4), Wichit (5), Chalong (6), Rawai (7) and Karon (8).

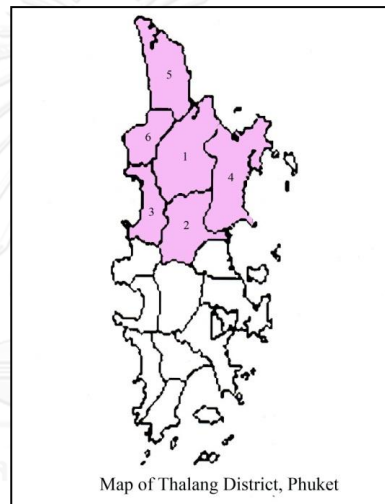
Kathu district (Figure 13) is home to two famous sandy beaches; Patong and Kamala. Patong beach is the most popular beach of Phuket among international tourists, Kamala beach is located in the north of the district. There are 3 sub-districts (tambon) which are further subdivided into 14 villages (muban). The sub-districts are Kathu (1), Patong (2) and Kamala (3).

Figure 13: Map of Kathu District, Phuket



Thalang District (Figure 14) is located in the northern part of the island. It includes the Khao Phra Thaeo Non-Hunting Area, which keeps more than 20 square kilometers of rainforest safe from commercial tourism within the hills of the district area. Additionally, the Sirinat National park, Nai Yang and the heroine monument of Thao Thep Kasattri and Thao Sri Sunthon are also in the district. There are 6 sub-districts (tambon) in Thalang District; namely, Thep Kasattri (1), Sri Sunthon (2), Choeng Thalay (3), Pa Khlok (4), Mai Khao (5) and Sakhu (6). The district of Thalang consists of 46 villages (muban).

Figure 14: Map of Thalang District, Phuket



2.3.3 Population

The official resident population of Phuket was 378,364 people by December 2014 (Department of Provincial Administration, 2015), this number includes only the people who registered as permanent residents. There is a large number of unregistered or transient persons from different parts of Thailand who come to Phuket in order to seek job opportunities, mainly in the tourism industry, who stay in Phuket on a temporary or semi-permanent basis.

Due to Phuket's natural sheltered position in the Andaman Sea and its location between India and China, it is no surprise that Phuket became a housing port for sailors

arriving by commercial ships from various nationalities. The people of various ethnic groups chose Phuket as a residence, especially Chinese, originally arriving from the Hokkien region of China. A large number of Chinese immigrants first migrated to Phuket to work at the tin mines. Today, the Thai-Chinese account for more than 40 percent of the population of Phuket (Shippen, 2014).

Additionally, Phuket comprises of local Thais, Chinese, and Muslims. The Muslim population comprises around 30 percent of Phuket residents. Most of them originally arrived from Malaysia and Indonesia. The majority of Thai-Muslim population in Phuket has been living in the area of Thalang District in the north of the island for centuries, where their ancient Malay migrants settled. Their main livelihood of Thai-Muslims in Phuket is fishing and growing rubber (Mackay, 2013).

Another group of people who originally have been living in Phuket are known in Thai as Chao Lay or Sea Gypsies. They are represented by about 4 percent of the population. The Sea Gypsies were nomadic tribes of people who traveled from coast to coast in search of fish and other natural resources along the eastern part of the Indian Ocean. They have their own language and culture. Today, they have been increasingly marginalized and were heavily impacted by the rapid development of the tourism industry in Phuket. Their unique culture and way of life are susceptible to change. Their main settlements are at the beach of Rawai and at Koh Sire are at risk to be demolished by business developers (Shippen, 2014). The booming tourism development tends to have a strong influence on this small group of people, and causes them to assimilate rapidly into the main population of Phuket. Their uniqueness of being Chao Lay soon may fade away (Warren, 2009).

Moreover, there are groups of laborers from Myanmar, Laos, and Cambodia who work on the island for a low income. The biggest group is from Myanmar: there were 95,286 registered workers in 2012 (Phuket Provincial Employment Office, 2013). Today, the number of laborers probably has been increasing to more than 100,000, along with booming followed by many construction projects and a thriving property market in Phuket. In addition, another significant large group is that of the international

expatriates from around the world who have made the island their home. Between 30,000 to 50,000 of them appear in various statuses such as businessmen, vacationers and retirees (Mackay, 2013). Shippen (Shippen, 2014) also states that the island of Phuket is known as a second home for rich businessmen from Hong Kong and Singapore, as well as and for European retirees who break away from the very cold winters in their home countries. They embrace the island as a paradise haven for their second home.

2.3.4 Education, religion, healthcare services

Education

There are a total of 103 schools in Phuket, ranging from public schools run by the Ministry of Education to private schools which offer international curricula and are run by foreign investors. At the level of higher education, there are 2 public universities, falling under the auspices of the Ministry of Education; Prince of Songkla University – Phuket Campus which was established in 1977, and Phuket Rajabhat University was founded in 1971 (Phuket Provincial Operation Center, 2015).

As a result of the rapid development of the tourism industry in Phuket, the island continues to attract a massive influx of visitors from around the world who come to experience its remarkable natural assets and culture as a world-class destination. In addition, huge investments from foreign companies are done on the island not only in real estate or tourism sectors, but also in the business of education, which will undoubtedly mean a significant change within the education system of Phuket. This is of course especially true for those public schools that are favored by parents of children with Thai nationality, because they can afford the tuition fees, which are not too expensive.

However, most international settlers or expat families living in Phuket and some Thai families prefer their children to study in international schools or private Thai schools that offer bilingual education in English. The most important schools offering international education in Phuket are The British International School (BIS), Headstart

International School, Quality Schools International (QSI), Phuket International Academy (PIA), Kajonkiet International School (KISP) and the Rawai Progressive School. These schools offer an international curriculum. There are also schools with English Programs (EP) such as Kajonkiet School and other major public Thai Schools that offer English Programs (EP) for instance Satree Phuket School and Phuketwittayalai School.

Religions

The island of Phuket is considered a multicultural society comprised of residents and visitors who have different cultural backgrounds and religious beliefs. Phuket is a very small province, but its cultural landscape coincides interestingly with religious places on the island. The Thai-Buddhists are a majority in Phuket, thus, the main religion in Phuket is Theravada Buddhism with its 38 temples, including 19 temples in Mueng Phuket District, 14 in Thalang District and 5 in Kathu District (Phuket Provincial Office of Buddhism, 2015).

The Thai-Muslims are the second large group in Phuket. There are 52 mosques, including 31 in the Thalang District, 14 in Mueng Phuket District and seven in Kathu District (Shippen, 2014). Although the Thai-Muslims are smaller in number, the mosques on the island outnumber Buddhist temples. There is also a group of Christians, which is quite small group, reflecting by its 5 churches. Finally, there is one Hindu temple and one Sikh Temple or Gurdwara in Phuket. Both are located in the same area on Sutat Road, Tambon Talad Yai, Mueng Phuket District.

As has been mentioned previously, throughout Phuket's history, the Chinese have played a predominant role in Phuket society since the mining period, and comprise of a large percentage of Phuket's population. The Chinese have been settling on the island for centuries, and they of course brought their culture and traditions with them. Many Thai-Chinese people also practice Daoism together with Buddhism. Chinese culture, tradition and belief have clearly been influential, as can be seen from a large number of Chinese shrines and temples on the island. There are 45 registered and more than 100 unregistered shrines on the island (Thanom Poonwong, 2013).

Healthcare Services

The fact that Phuket is well established as a world-class tourism destination has no doubt resulted in the fact that high standard healthcare services and facilities are provided for not only residents and expatriates, but also for international and domestic tourists on the island. There are many private high-end international hospitals and clinics on the island of Phuket and also public hospitals that people can choose from.

Public hospitals are for example Vachira Hospital on Yaowarat Road in Phuket Town, Thalang Hospital on Thepkasattri Road in Thalang District, Patong Hospital on Sawatdirak Road, Patong Beach and Mission Hospital on Thepkasattri Road in Mueng Phuket District.

Private international hospitals are Phuket International Hospital on Chalermprakiat Ror 9 Road, Mueng Phuket District, Bangkok Hospital Phuket on Hongyok Utis Road in Phuket Town and the newest one is Dibuk Polyclinic located on Chao-Fa West Road in Mueng Phuket District, which is managed by the same organization as the Bangkok Hospital Phuket.

2.3.5 Transportation

The northern Phuket is connected to the mainland of Phang Nga Province by the Sarasin Bridge, which was the first bridge between Phuket and the mainland, built in 1967. The Sarasin Bridge has played a key role in transferring the prosperity to Phuket as it was used to transport goods from Phuket to other outbound provinces easier, faster, and safer. In 1992, the new 650 meters bridge named Thao Thepkasattri Bridge was established as the main bridge in order to facilitate and support the growth of tourism in Phuket. In concordance with the tourism boom and the tremendous growth in tourism development, as well as the increase in road traffic, a newer bridge right next to the Sarasin Bridge the 650 meters long Srisoonthorn Bridge was completed in 2011. Today, the old Sarasin Bridge has become as a tourist attraction and a place to enjoy a good view of the Andaman Sea.

At present, a visit to Phuket can be accomplished by different modes of transportation: one can now choose between travel by land, by air or over sea.

By car: from Bangkok, take Highway 4 (Petchakasem Road) through Petchaburi, Prachuap Khiri Khan, Chumphon, Surat Thani and Phang Nga provinces, then turnoff from the Highway No. 4 at Route 402 to cross the Thep Krasattri Bridge or Sarasin Bridge to Phuket. The total distance is 862 kilometers. On the way from Phuket to Bangkok, take the same way by crossing Sisunthorn Bridge. If traveling by bus, both air-conditioned and non-air-conditioned buses depart daily on many hours from Bangkok's Southern Bus Terminal to Phuket and take about 13 hours to arrive. There is no train service in Phuket, but travelers can take a train for the part of the route, get off at Phun Phin Railway Station in Surat Thani Province and then continue by bus to Phuket.

By Air: flying to Phuket is considered to be the most convenient choice of travel. Phuket International Airport is located in the northwest part of the island on Thep Kasattri Road to serve both international and domestic flights to the island. Regular and low-cost airlines provide many daily local flights. In addition, several international airlines offer direct flights to Phuket from many cities or countries, such as Singapore and Hong Kong, Penang and Kuala Lumpur in Malaysia, Sydney in Australia, a large number of European countries and many other cities throughout the world.

By water way: Phuket deep sea port at Ao Makham provides services to transfer goods and passengers by offering transportation between Phuket and Bangkok, and from Phuket to other sea ports in the country and abroad.

2.3.6 Economy

Phuket's tourism industry has become a key force in fully driving the island's economy with its burgeoning number of tourists. For the development of tourism, it is an important national policy to promote local tourism and tourism facilities on the island of Phuket. The structural proportion of Phuket's economy in tourism or service sector reveals that 89.88 percent is tourism-related, followed by an agricultural sector

of 5.43 percent and a manufacturing sector of 4.69 percent (Phuket Provincial Office of the Comptroller General, 2015). It is undeniable that the tourist industry now plays a significant role and has greatly boomed, especially in the last decade, generating a great deal of Phuket's income, and creating a rapid development in the sector. Phuket received the high revenue of 270,210.14 million Baht from visitors in 2014 while in 2004 collecting revenue from visitors of only 85,670.63 million Baht (Phuket Province Office of Tourism and Sports, 2015). There are huge investments from both local and foreign financiers on the island, mainly made in the sectors of hotels, restaurants, travel agents, souvenir shops, spas and Thai massage.

In agriculture rubber, coconut and palm oil are the main products in Phuket. Today, production has declined due to their unstable price causing production to go into a downward direction. Due to the flourishing tourism industry on the island, this has made land prices triple over the past decade. In particular, in the Patong beach areas the prices in Phuket are as high as around 180 million Baht per Rai. From 2004 to 2014, the increase of land prices averaged 14 percent a year (Bangkok Post, November 3, 2014). As a result to the increasing land value in Phuket, many land owners have turned to using their lands for other profitable businesses. Rubber plantations today still remain, mostly in the area of Thalang District, however in the next decade rubber culture may fade away from the island of Phuket, as the owners shall not be able to resist the boom of real estate and tourism development.

Fishing is also an important contributor to Phuket's economy. Fishing is considered an important livelihood for local people who live along the coast. It is an important source of income in every village of every sub-district on the coast of the island. There is a large scale commercial fishing industry, especially in Tambon Rassada and Tambon Talat Yai, Amphoe Mueng Phuket, while in other areas in the Amphoe Thalang small scale traditional fishing is found. In Amphoe Kathu, fishing only is counted for 10 percent of revenues, as tourism is the main source of income in this area with 90 percent of the sector (Thanom Poonwong, 2013).

2.3.7 Recreation and tourist attractions

The island of Phuket today offers many activities for visitors. There is, for example, diving to enjoy the wonderful diversity of marine life. At the diving sites are options for beginners as well as for advanced divers. Ko Racha Noi is the main island nearby Phuket which is a popular place to dive. Snorkeling is also provided for those who have no diving certificate, but still want to experience the beautiful underwater world in the area of the north end of Patong beach, the north end of Kata beach, the south end of Karon beach and the north end of Kamala beach.

In addition, sea kayaking and sea canoeing are interesting activities to do especially around Phang Nga Bay. It is fantastic way to get close to many smaller islands without beaches. There are of course many other activities that travelers can enjoy, such as sailing, cycling and golfing (Nam, 2014). Phuket has a good reputation as an attractive destination for yachting and boating activities, and as a top golf destination, which attracts a large number of visitors to visit the island.

There is a diversity of attractions in Phuket offered to visitors. The Figure 16 shows the attractions in and around the island. The major beautiful beaches are along the west coast of the island namely Patong, Karon, Kata, Nai Harn, Kamala, Laem Sing, Surin, Mai Khao, Nai Yang, Nai Thon, Layan and Bang Tao, each of them has a charming and different character and is separated by rocky outcroppings (Warren, 2009). Each area offers different accommodations starting from modest guest houses to luxury lodgings from which visitors can easily make their choice, and according to their moods and expectations. Apart from the natural beauty of Phuket's beaches, there are other sites to visit such as the waterfalls in Kathu District area and Phromthep Cape which is on the southern point of the island and is renowned for its sunsets and south-coast views.

Figure 15: Map of Phuket's Attractions



Source: (Phuket Map, 2015)

<http://www.phukettourism.org/phuket/map.htm>

Khao Phra Taew Royal Wildlife & Forest Reserve is located in Amphoe Thalang on the northern part of the island is an important site in ecotourism of Phuket. This park consists of 23 square kilometers protected virgin island rainforest. There are 2 waterfalls, including Ton Sai and Bang Pae waterfalls. The most impressive time to see the falls is during the rainy season from June to November.

Phuket's small islands: there are 39 small islands attached to the province of Phuket which are primarily situated near the east and south coasts of the island. The major attractions are Racha Island, Hay Island (Coral Island), Lone Island (which is the second largest island after Phuket Island itself), Bon Island and Mai Thon Island. All

are just off the south coast of the island of Phuket. These sites are good for diving and snorkeling to see the underwater world. Apart from the islands mentioned above, there is Taphao Yai Island on the eastern coast of Phuket, Rang Yai Island, which is famous for its pearl farms, and Maprao Island or Coconut Island, a small island known for its traditional fishing villages.

In addition, Sire Island is located on the east side of Phuket Town by 4 kilometers far from the town along Srisutat Road. The island area covers only about 20 square kilometers and has a short bridge connecting it to the mainland. There is a temple on a hill which features a big reclining Buddha statue. At the area of Laem Tuk Kae of Sire Island is the big settlement of Chao Lay or Sea Gypsies who have been living on the island since around 1920 (Thanom Poonwong, 2013).

Historical attractions in Phuket: The Old Phuket Town in Mueng Phuket District on the south of the island has a long history of more than one hundred years. The areas consist of many Sino-Portuguese buildings on both sides of the streets in Phuket Town, especially on the main street of Thalang and other roads such as Dibuk Road, Phang-Nga Road, Yaowarat Road and Krabi Road. The buildings were built during the booming period of tin mining industry. The Sino-Portuguese buildings are built in a blended Chinese-European style (Suthi Wongmongkondate, 2011).

The Thai Hua Museum on Krabi Road in Phuket Town opened in 2009 and is one of the best-maintained Sino-Portuguese buildings, used as the first Chinese language school in Phuket. The Museum shows and explains Phuket's history and the connection between Phuket and China in the days of Chinese migration during the tin mining period.

Thalang National Museum, located in Thalang District is worth a visit to learn about the history, archaeology, art and culture of Phuket and the southern region. Another interesting museum is the Mining Museum built in Sino-Portuguese style in Kathu District on the road between the Loch Palm Golf Club and the British International School. The museum opened in 2009. It is very informative on the culture

and history of Phuket, especially about the daily life of the Chinese miners during the heydays mining industry.

Nearby Thalang National Museum is the memorial statue of the Two Heroines Monument which is situated in the heart of Phuket on Thepkasattri Road. Their bravery in defending Thalang from the Burmese invasion in 1785 was honored by King Rama I, he conferred to Lady Chan the noble title of Thao Thepkasatri, and to Lady Mook that of Thao Sisunthorn. The monument was built in 1967, and an annual fair on March of every year is held in order to honor the bravery of the two heroines.

There are many Buddhist temples in Phuket. Chalong temple (Wat Chalong) or officially known as Chaitaram Temple is the biggest and best well-known one comparing to other temples in Phuket. There are enshrines statues of two important local monks who lived in the 19th century; Luang Pho Chaem and Luang Pho Chuang helped a lot of people, especially during a crisis at the occurrence of a rebellion by Chinese miners or 'Angyee' in 1879. The monks ended the rebellion peacefully.

The Golden Buddha Temple (Wat Phra Thong) is located in Thalang District nearby the Thalang District office. The temple is not big, but the half-buried golden Buddha image is the key attraction of the temple. In addition, Wat Phra Nang Sang which is believed to be the oldest temple in Phuket. The temple was once used as an important fort in protecting the island from the invasion of Burmese in 1785 (Shippen, 2014).

The overall historical background of Phuket since the tin mining period to the present-day Phuket has been described in this chapter in order to enhance understanding of the developing social context of Phuket. In the next chapter, information about foreign settlers in Phuket will be explored.

CHAPTER 3: FOREIGN SETTLERS IN PHUKET

The island of Phuket has always been an interesting destination for foreign settlers who chose the island as their home more apparently so since the 16th century. What tin mining was before, the tourism industry is now: the key industry attracting large numbers of foreigners to the island. Various factors and conditions were pivotal during these periods, in which the tin mining industry attracted a massive influx of traders and miners to the island, and Phuket transformed into a world-class tourism destination, opening for the influx of tourists, foreign investment and migration, resulting in new settlements of a foreign community. A large number of foreigners who come to the island come in many appearances, such as a tourist, a business investor, a retiree and in many other shapes.

Some foreigners later married Thais and settled down on the island permanently. Some decided to make the island their second home or live there on a semi-permanent basis. Consequently, many of the foreign visitors have become settlers in Phuket. This social phenomenon apparently changed various aspects in Phuket society, particularly in the last decade when the international tourism industry was booming.

The two key industries of tin mining production and tourism tend to attract and distinguish groups of foreign settlers in Phuket visibly. In the period of the booming of the mining industry, the majority of foreign settlers were Chinese migrants who came to Phuket to settle down with the deep intention to seek for a more prosperous and better existence earned by the mining of tin ore in a new life here on the island. Conversely, in the period of tourism, foreign settlers are mostly from the western countries. Some of them have made a first visit to Phuket as a tourist and others came looking for jobs and business opportunities. Later on, they decided to stay in Phuket either permanently or on a semi-permanent basis using the island as the site of their second home.

The settlement of foreign settlers in Phuket is considered a significant example for the social phenomenon occurring on the island both in two key industries. The

settlement patterns of the foreign settlers during the mining and tourism eras are distinguished by socio-cultural context, living conditions, policies of the host country, and their transnational lifestyles in the periods. The foreign settlers have gradually transformed themselves into a large transnational community, which will unavoidably integrate or assimilate in the society of Phuket in a latter time. As (Pirkko, Ahmet, & Deniz, 2012) state when newcomers settle down in the host society, they unavoidably enter into the process of cultural assimilation. However, to integrate or to assimilate into the host society, there are various conditions that circumstance and social context of the society in a certain time must hold; for example, the economic activities, socio-cultural landscape, and national policies of the host country.

Therefore, this chapter will describe in detail the foreign settlement in Phuket and how it influences Phuket's society. The chapter will discuss four main issues: the arrival of foreign settlers in Phuket before 2004, the influx of foreign settlers after 2004, key factors causing the influx of western settlers in Phuket; and the western settlement as a transnational community in Phuket.

3.1 The arrival of foreign settlers in Phuket before 2004

If we consider the fact that Phuket is located on an important trade route between India and China, and that its natural features include perfect harbors, it is no surprise that the island became a key spot, attracting various foreign traders, seafarers and settlers by the time the island appeared as 'Junk Ceylon' on early maps.

The arrival of foreigners to the island of Phuket dated back to the Srivijaya and Sukhothai periods, appearing mostly in the connections between major trading groups of Indian, Arab and Persian origin. During some of their visits, they had to wait for the monsoon winds to stop; hence, a longer stay on the island was needed (Mackay, 2013; Parichart Ruengwiset, 1997). Of the Indians who came to the island in the early history of Phuket may be assumed that they were Tamil-speaking Dravidians from Kalinga and other southern districts on the East coast of India (Wisanthanee Pothisunthorn. Editor, 1989). The Chinese probably had come to the island around the same time as the

Indians. At the time, their goal was trade rather than settlement (Preeyachanan Saisakares, 2004).

The economic blueprint of Phuket has changed from tin production to tourism; the island today has become a vital commercial city which has a significant role in hosting the global flow of foreigners to the island. The flow of foreign settlers to the island and their settlement during the eras of tin mining and tourism are considered a remarkable social phenomenon which forms one of the key indicators influencing the dynamics of Phuket society. In this section therefore these two main factors will be illustrated; the tin mining industry and the tourism industry before 2004.

3.1.1 The arrival of foreign settlers in Phuket during the tin mining industry

In the era of the Kingdom of Ayutthaya, which started in 1350, many foreign traders had begun to visit the island, as the tin mining production had started to become a main economic drive for Phuket and the country. From the foreign trade, the kingdom of Ayutthaya became very rich. The acquisition of income from trade with foreign countries was advantaged by Western colonial expansion into Asia. Colonizing countries were for example England, the Netherlands, France and Spain. The arrival of foreign settlers during the tin mining era was noted by the westerners and Chinese, who had influenced more or less social changes, from their settlements on the small island. The discussion here therefore will break down in two parts: firstly, the arrival of the westerners, and secondly the appearance of the Chinese.

3.1.1.1 The arrival of western settlers in Phuket during the era of the tin mining industry

The island of Phuket was rich with tin as a vital natural resource. There were many nations had a keen interest in the tin trade. Since the Ayutthaya period a large number of westerners came to the island of Phuket, who involved themselves mainly in the tin trading business by setting up their trade factories to buy tin from the locals in order to sell the product in Europe (Puengthip Kiattisahakul, 1991). The earliest stage

of western settlement for a monopoly on the tin trade with Portuguese traders coming to the island, Portugal was the first western country playing a major role in conducting the tin trade (Wisanthanee Pothisunthorn. Editor, 1989). In 1583, the Portuguese received a royal permission for a monopoly on the tin trade and established a trade factory at Tharua in Thalang district. With the procurement of the royal trade monopoly permission, the Portuguese company was the only one who got full right to deal on tin trading with the local miners. However, during the 16th century, the demand of tin at the global market was still small, which caused tin mining activities and tin production to be marginal. In Phuket tin mining was restricted to the Thalang area (Chatchai Pongprayoon, 1995; Wisanthanee Pothisunthorn. Editor, 1989). Hence, at that time Thalang was the center of tin production, with several mining communities in the area, including foreign ones.

At the early stage of foreign settlement, in the area of Tharua in Thalang District appeared a community of Portuguese large enough to erect a religious building in order to perform their beliefs and religious practices. By 1585 they were allowed to build a wooden Catholic mission building, and in the same year they were permitted to operate their own mines near the area of Cherngtalay sub-district of Phuket. This suited the Portuguese commercial mission. Another Portuguese policy was to encourage marriage with the indigenous populations at their settlements, to expand Christianity. This mission was successful in Malacca in which about 200 mixed marriages took place by 1604. Malacca was a colonized city under Portuguese power; the Portuguese had taken control over the city before their settlement on the island of Phuket. Of course, some mixed marriages had also taken place at their settlement at Tharua in Phuket (Mackay, 2013).

During the 17th century, the Dutch, English, and French were the key three European nations that demonstrated a strong interest on taking a monopoly in the trade of Phuket tin (Dhiravat Na Pombejra, 2002). They competed with each other to trade with the island of Phuket, which at that time was known under the name of Junk Ceylon. The Dutch under the Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie or the Dutch East India Company (the VOC) turned their attention to the east with interests mainly in matters of trade and profits. They reached Siam in 1604 during the reign of King Naresuan.

Later in 1626, under the reign of King Songtham, the Dutch company succeeded in taking over the tin monopoly trading from the Portuguese. They were allowed to build a trade factory near the Chao Phraya River and set up two branches in Nakorn Si Thammarat and Phuket (Puengthip Kiattisahakul, 1991; Wisanthanee Pothisunthorn. Editor, 1989).

The situation between Portugal and Siam was deteriorating and characterized by many conflicts. The Portuguese were too arrogant and aggressive toward the Siamese kings. The Dutch then were easily convinced to take the opportunity to take over the royal Siamese monopoly trading contracts from Portugal. The Portuguese community in Phuket was gone and was replaced by the Dutch who took over the power of trade on the island and established themselves on the Peninsula's west coast, just as they had done in Jakarta and Malacca since 1605 (Thanom Poonwong, 2013). The Portuguese had to leave the island, and under Siamese law of that time they could not take their half-breed children and their local wives with them. Most of the children and wives continued living on the island at Tharua (Mackay, 2013).

The Dutch, however, after capturing Malacca in 1641 from the Portuguese, became a very powerful presence on the Peninsula's west coast (Mackay, 2013). In Phuket, the influences of the Dutch were strongly felt. They had a keen interest in profits on trade conducts. The VOC obtained a tin monopoly on the island of Phuket. The Dutch attempted to force the local officials and residents to sell tin at a very low price to them, and not to sell to other foreign traders coming to Phuket, to whom the locals could actually sell for a better price (Dhiravat Na Pombejra, 2002). Their unfair trading methods and other cases of iniquitousness had earned them the hatred of the people of Phuket. Dutch commerce in Phuket eventually ran into big trouble because of their unfair trade with the locals. It eventually resulted in strong resistance by the people of Phuket, who destroyed the Dutch trade factory, killed many of them and expelled the rest from the island (Preeyachanan Saisakares, 2004; Puengthip Kiattisahakul, 1991). The commercial role of the Dutch in the island finally came to the end and they left the island in 1667 leaving the French to become the next dominant European group.

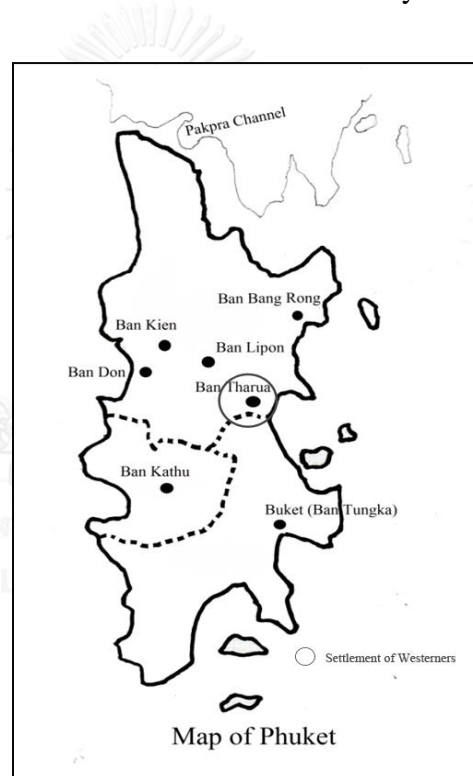
Towards the end of the 17th century, by the 1680s, the French came to Siam to balance the influence of the Dutch and also to proselytize Christianity. They had a very good diplomatic relationship with Siam. Later on, the French played a dominant role in the tin trading business in Phuket. Of course, the French had arrived in Siam at the right time to conduct their trading and religious tasks, as at that time Siam had many trade conflicts, very often with the Dutch and the English. In order to reduce the power of the two nations, King Narai granted the French trading convention and appointed two Frenchmen as the island's governors. The first French governor of the island of Phuket (or Thalang Island at that time) was Brother René Charbonneau who was in the position for four years, and the second governor was The Sieur de Billy. His governorship lasted until 1689 (Gerini, 1986; Mackay, 2013; Phuwadol Songprasert, 1992). Of course under the French governorship of the island, there were more French ships involved in the tin trade.

During the period of King Narai's reign, the French gained a strong influence on trade in Siam, and in 1685 a commercial treaty between the Siam and France was signed to allow the French to monopolize the tin trade on the island of Phuket (Gerini, 1986). During the French governorship of the island, a fort was built at Thalang between Ban Don and Ban Lipon which eighty years later in 1785, was used by Lady Chan, her sister Lady Mook and their local forces in their protection of the island of Phuket against the invasion by the Burmese in 1785 (Mackay, 2013). In 1688, the Siamese revolution took place, which was a time of turmoil in the history of kingdom of Ayutthaya. As a consequence of the revolution, the pro-foreign policies of King Narai were brought to an end. After King Narai passed away he was succeeded by Phra Phetracha (1688 – 1703). The new king absolutely did not favor the French, and he terminated their trade monopolies. The French eventually were expelled from the island of Phuket as the Siamese thought that the French were planning to capture the island (Thanom Poonwong, 2013).

Therefore, by obtaining the privilege of the tin monopoly in Phuket, the French set up a trade factory, and being in an important position as a governorship of the island,

the settlement of French community was found evidently during their powerful period on the island of Phuket (Gerini, 1986). As Ekavidya Na Thalang (Ekavidya Na Thalang, 1985) notes, at Tha Rua sub-district, there once used to be a settlement of a large Portuguese community in the area, which was similar to the settlement of the Portuguese community in Malacca during the era of Portuguese colonization. Later, during the reign of King Narai, it is possible that a large French community had made their home at Tha Rua as well.

Figure 16: Map of Phuket showing key communities and the key settlement area of westerners before the 20th century



Ban Tha Rua was situated close to the sea on the east coast of the island. At that time, it seemed to be an international town with many people and visitors from foreign countries making a stop and some setting up houses there (Figure 16). It is stated by Gerini (Gerini, 1986) that:

“a little country town of considerable importance then, situated one and a half miles up a small stream of the same name which is very narrow and where oars cannot be used only paddles. Tha Rua consists of about 80 houses on a plain

through which runs a pleasant brook. There was a large Portuguese settlement here, as well as a fine market street, composed of large brick buildings, among which rose the spacious houses belonging to the Europeans that used to reside here while their ships lay at anchor in the harbor” (p.57).

The area of Ban Tha Rua in Thalang District, which nowadays is the location of the Heroine Monument – the memorial statue of the heroines Thao Thepkasattri and Thao Sisoonthon, Thalang National Museum, The Phuket City Pillar Shrine, Tha Rua shrine, Tha Rua temple and the land in the area used to belong to Phraya Vichitsongkram (That).

Although during the 17th century many western nations came to the island of Phuket with the key purpose of spreading of religious faith and trade, during most of the time those nations were busy in competing among themselves to procure trade monopolies on the island. In the 18th century, the English sought to expand their trading power in Asia. Captain Francis Light and other English traders came to Phuket. This was considered the largest trading group at the time and they also chose Tha Rua to set up their houses (Morson, 1993).

The key nations, such as the French, British and Dutch – had started to fade away from the island of Phuket in the period of “Ban Plu Luang” (1688-1766) which was established by King Petracha (1688-1705). With the new king’s policies, all trade was in hands and controlled by the King. This made trade more difficult than before (Mackay, 2013). However, there were some other foreign private companies and independent foreign traders took their ships to buy tin from the island dealing directly through the local governors and the King’s agents. Puengthip Kiattisahakul (Puengthip Kiattisahakul, 1991) states that after the Burmese invasion in 1785 there is no evidence mentioning the significant roles of westerners in the tin trade on the island. For a long time the island was abandoned and having less trading activities.

Later on, the English came and started playing a more significant role in the tin trade monopoly on the island of Phuket again when the Burney treaty was signed

between the Siamese government and the British in 1826. Noticeably, this was the opening door for having free trade directly with the British-controlled ports of Penang, Malacca, and Singapore. The treaty activated the tin production and commercial movement on the island of Phuket in a more obvious growth in its development (Suree Liangsangtong, 1981).

Notwithstanding having sparkling activities in the tin production after the Burney treaty, the development of tin mining before 1853 was still in short demand, but gradually improved. After 1853, the year in which the industrial revolution in Europe took place a higher demand for tin issued from the European markets. The tin production had changed its pattern in the market: instead of an exchange medium for food and other supplies it had become a vital export product (Apsorn Na Ranong, 2007). In addition, Apsorn Na Ranong asserts that the development of tin production after 1853 had started to use more modern technology, and western investors played a significant role in its production (p.25). A new agreement between the Siamese and the British took place when the Bowring Treaty was signed in 1855. This vital event had stimulated more trading activities on the island of Phuket, and the British were able to exert a strong influence through the treaty.

During the period of tin mining before 1891, there had been very few western traders and companies who had applied for tin concession in Phuket. This was because of having poor management and planning in tin mining. There were many unclear rules and regulations on concession policies. Also other snags and glitches can be considered as key reasons. The policy of granting tin mining concessions at that time by the Siamese government did not enable the western traders to conduct trading smoothly. It may be assumed that the Siamese government was suspicious of the danger that might occur by the powerful western nations. In particular, the British, who took control of some areas in Malaya, such as Perak, Selangor, Pahang and Negeri Sembilan. All of these areas were very rich in tin ore. It could be considered a vital natural resource. It could be a very clear case in point for the government to acknowledge this, and decide not to grant westerners opportunities to trade on the island. The government also took control over the mineral-rich west coast towns in the southern part of Siam such as

Nakorn Si Thammarat, and imposed direct rule by the government. These were the key reasons that caused western traders to be reluctant to invest much in the tin mining business in Phuket before 1891 (Puengthip Kiattisahakul, 1991).

Puengthip Kiattisahakul states that westerners appeared again on the island of Phuket when in 1891 the Siamese government improved its concession policy, and established better rules and regulations, which made western investors feel more secure in applying for tin concession. Thus, during 1891 – 1906, a large number of western traders and companies invested in tin mining on Phuket (p.114). Western trade methods noticeably influenced tin production. One apparent example of such foreign influence was personified by Warrington Smyth, an Englishman who was hired to work as consultant for tin production in Siam during 1891-1895 during the reign of King Rama V (1868-1910) (Phuwadol Songprasert, 1992).

The trading doors of Phuket had opened wider for foreign traders to invest in tin mining when the Mine Act was issued by the Siamese government in 1901. This resulted in the fact that trading and concession policies and laws were improved to higher standards in order to increase confidence for foreign traders investing on the tin trade in Phuket. From 1901 to 1906, there were 29 private companies and traders from western countries that applied for tin concessions in Phuket. Among these companies, 22 companies were British and the rest belonged to the Dutch, Americans and Italians. In the period from 1907-1931 the tin mining business in Phuket had changed its patterns through a significant growth of its economic movement with larger number of western traders invested in the mines, and high technology used in tin production. In particular, starting in 1907, the Tongkah Harbour Tin Dredging Company under operation of Captain Edward T. Miles of Australia achieved success in offshore mining by utilizing the world's first sea-going bucket dredge (Puengthip Kiattisahakul, 1991). They applied for the tin concession in a large area of Tongkah (24,000 Rai). The company gained a very high profit of 4,462 Pounds in the first year of the operation by employing the newest technology available for mining, which resulted in many other foreign companies coming to invest in Phuket, and in neighboring tin towns such as Pang-nga, Takuapa, Trang and Ranong (Punnee Auanskul, 1979).

The British acquired a very strong influence in tin mining in Phuket and the surrounding areas during the boom of the tin industry from 1855 to 1932 during which tin was exported to the important markets of Penang and Singapore. Of course these two significant markets were under the administration of the British. A deal signed in 1897 during the Anglo-Siamese Secret Convention on tin production on the island of Phuket, allowed the British to gain huge power in taking control over tin mining of the island. After 1907, companies from the western countries made higher profits and could easily compete with the Chinese traders in the tin trade, with their high-tech of bucket dredgers used in mines and of course with their huge investments in the tin business (Puengthip Kiattisahakul, 1991).

The period between 1855 and 1932 was considered as the boom time in tin mining, and contributed to changes in various aspects of the island, such as in economic and social development. The investment in the mining industry by westerners had activated rapid growth of the industry, and the achievement of a very high profit rate from the production by the application of up-to-date technology in tin production. The Siam Chamber of Mines was set up in 1918 by western investors located in Phuket as a head office can be seen as a clear example of their success. The westerners played dominant roles in the industry during the boom time. Their huge capital, management, and skills, and utilization of high technology in mining had made Phuket's economy change from an agrarian into an industrial one. The city's infrastructure had been improved in order to facilitate tin trade activities. Additionally, the tin mining areas became more urbanized with big communities residing (Apsorn Na Ranong, 2007). After the 1932 revolution in Siam, the tin mining business in Phuket was still in hands of foreign investors from western countries and the Chinese.

The impacts caused by westerners on the island of Phuket during the tin mining era were economically obvious. Their large investments in tin production had turned the structure of Phuket's economy into a new international one and had positioned the tin mining industry in Thailand as one of the key sources of revenue for the island and the country. Noticeably, the western flow of investment, in particular during the boom

time of tin mining had spread export-oriented growth into the island, which had been activated by high technology, used as one of their key forces, by the western companies. However, the westerners who arrived during the mining era were mainly keen on economic opportunities and benefits, and not to settle down on the island permanently. They made Phuket their home for a time, while attending to economic matters, but returned to their home countries eventually.

Although most of tin business benefits had fallen into western hands, particularly in the hands of the most powerful nations of each era as they arrived at the island, the westerners notably took part in the development of the island as well. Phuket gained the support of different western countries that invested in the development of its economy and society. Therefore, the arrival of the westerners during the tin mining industry played a significant role in economic subject, and also started to change the island's society into a more international one. In addition, economic growth also brought other benefits to the society, such as the improvement of basic city infrastructure made people's lives more convenient, and led to tolerant perceptions of the locals towards foreigners. These facts may be considered as an important step in further improvement and development of the society of Phuket.

3.1.1.2 The arrival of Chinese settlers in Phuket during the tin mining era

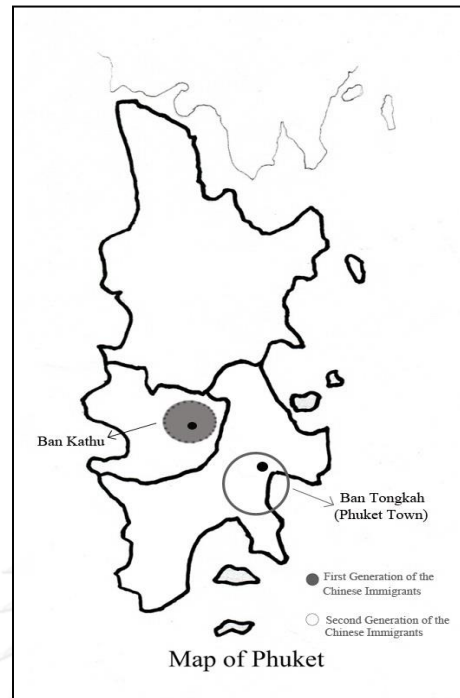
The Chinese played a very interesting and dominant role on Phuket's society by creating great social dynamics during the island's tin mining days, mainly in economic and cultural sense. The entering of the Chinese to the island of Phuket started during the late Ayutthaya period (Wisanthane Pothisunthorn. Editor, 1989). An increasing demand of tin from China with a very attractive price in the early 18th century drew more Chinese traders to the southwest ports in Siam to trade for tin. The Chinese traders did realize that the government of China did not support their independent trades, it was even considered as illegal in China. The traders suffered much from having no protection, as they were frequently robbed by pirates (Mackay, 2013). However, some of the Chinese traders had started to gain a strong influence over the west coast ports, where the tin trade was conducted in Siam. In particular, more and more Chinese began settling down to trade on the island of Phuket when in 1769 a Chinese man, Phraya

Thalang Kang-Seng was appointed by the Siamese government as governor of the island of Thalang (Preeyachanan Saisakares, 2004).

In the early 19th century, new abundantly large deposits of tin were found in “Puket” and Kathu which was formerly known as “Bukit” or “Tongkah” Harbor. These areas are located in the south of the island, in which large Chinese mining camps appeared. Today, “Bukit” is the area of Get Ho village in Kathu. The areas were later inhabited by a growing Chinese community. Larger Chinese settlements were erected along with the development of a new mining center in the area of “Bukit”. In fact, a great number of Chinese had moved from Malaya and Southern China, some had initially decided to make the British Straits Settlements their destination, but later, hearing about the new rich tin areas of Phuket, moved on to the island of Phuket to mine and to trade for tin. With the lack of labor force and the island being under-populated, the Chinese migrants were welcomed to the island by the Siamese government which aimed to re-populate the island with Chinese immigrants (Chatchai Pongprayoon, 1995; Mackay, 2013).

King Rama III (1824-1851) was interested in increasing tin production, and had the strong intention to protect the island of Phuket as a valuable asset. King Rama III was very good in trading, particularly with the Chinese traders. The King therefore persuaded the local Thais who ran away from the island during the war to re-settle on the island. In the meantime, the King also motivated more and more Chinese move to the island. He appointed a Chinese as governor of Phuket. In addition, the King provided many important working positions for the Chinese in order to balance the power of Thalang’s ruler at that time. After 1827, the first big wave of Chinese immigrants settled down and worked in the Phuket mines in the area of Kathu and a group of Chinese that arrived later settled down in the area of Thung-kha which today is the location of Old Phuket Town (Preeyachanan Saisakares, 2004). The key settlement areas of Chinese communities during the tin mining industry as shown in Figure 17:

Figure 17: Map of Phuket showing key settlement areas of Chinese communities after 1827



The coming of Chinese immigrants as foreign settlers had led to inter-marriages between local Thai women and Chinese men. Living in large communities and cross-cultural marriage was an important commitment for running a business. Mackay (Mackay, 2013) tells us the story of the early Chinese immigrants, Tan Gaik Tam, who became a rich business owner who was greatly successful in tin mining and trading. He married to a local Thai woman and also took many minor wives in order to have a large family to expand his business. After his great success in conducting business, he encouraged more of his relatives in China to come and work on the island.

Interestingly, throughout the 19th and early 20th century, particularly during the peak period of the tin mining boom from 1855 to 1932, the island of Phuket was flooded by Chinese immigrants coming and settling down on the island. During this boom time in tin mining Phuket, the island needed more laborers to work in the mines. This resulted in a large number of Chinese immigrants. They were welcomed and arranged directly from China to the island of Phuket in 1892 and 1901. The Chinese immigrants were great in numbers and became a residential majority of Monthon Phuket at that

time. They played a dominant role in the mining industry by establishing control over much of the tin trading network in the southern provinces of Siam and of course especially in Phuket (Punnee Auanskul, 1979). Domestic problems in China such as overpopulation, economic turmoil, lack of food, and wars were factors that caused many Chinese to leave from their home country. The year 1890 was considered a peak year of influx of Chinese immigrants to the island of Phuket, they had occupied almost the whole island especially in Tongkah (Phuket Town today). The island of Phuket had a majority of Chinese residents of around 45,000, compared to only about 1,000 Thais (Mackay, 2013).

The key factors of more Chinese entrepreneurship on the island of Phuket were the signing of the Burney Treaty in 1826 which strengthened direct trade with constructive conditions between the west-coast ports of southern Siam and the British Straits Settlements, and the Bowring Treaty in 1855. Close trade connections between the island of Phuket and the British Straits Settlements which consisted of Penang, Malacca and Singapore had increased the tightness of the link between the Chinese society in Penang and the Chinese society in Phuket. More than just an economic center, Penang was also a site of cultural reference to Phuket (Nasution, 2009). The settlement of the Chinese in Phuket had produced great social dynamics with economic growth and the emergence of many socio-cultural phenomena. Their way of life was expressed and is preserved through traditional practices and festivals which today are still a reflection of the prominence of a Chinese identity throughout Phuket.

The settlement of the Chinese on the Malay Peninsula, Malacca was one of the important trading ports which having the Chinese created key roles in Malacca's economy. The Chinese here called themselves as "Peranakan". This term referred to those people who were descendants of a cross-cultural marriage between Chinese migrants and local Malays. At the beginning of settlement, these people were not recognized in the society; however, they tried to work hard particularly on their trading deals which they finally gain huge success in conducting business and becoming rich. Female members in the Peranakan community were termed "Nyonya" and "Baba" was the term for men (Orrapan Thanasiriphong, 2012; Preeyachanan Saisakares, 2004).

Among the Chinese in the Malay Peninsula, they kept strong trading and cultural ties which had spread out through other parts of the Peninsula and of course Phuket. In Phuket itself, the Chinese had formed themselves as “Baba” Chinese community through intermarriage with local women, the community of “Baba” in Phuket is usually referred to the “Peranakan” in general and both men and women are referred to “Baba”. The term “Nyonya” refers to their clothing, which is in a unique Chinese style (Naunghathai Intakhantee, 2011; Orrapan Thanasiriphong, 2012). The Baba community in Phuket represented cultural practices in their ways of life dominantly. More importantly, they were key economic actors who had changed the island of Phuket into a transnational city through their influx, causing the emergence of new socio-cultural landscape during the tin mining industry.

Among the Chinese immigrants some would later open small tin mining businesses, and became a ‘towkay’ – a Chinese who had become rich as a business owner from running tin mining operation and related businesses. In particular, during the 20th century, some of them had become powerful business owners and had seats in the Thai parliament. Those Chinese families are for example; the Tan families, who adopted the Thai family names of “Tanthawanit, Tanthai, Tandavesa, Tantiwit and Hongsyok. They needed to do so according to the country’s policy at that time. Other Chinese immigrants who became rich and influential through their family business are the Khaw or Na Ranong family, the Ngan family changed their name into Ngantawee, the Yap family took on the Thai name of Wanit (or Vanich). Until today these Chinese families still play a significant economic and political role on the island and in the country (Mackay, 2013).

The settlement of Chinese immigrants during the mining industry is revealed through for example Sino-Portuguese housing and building styles in the Old Phuket Town. They were built by patterns of, and under supervision of skilled construction workers from Penang, which once was colonized by the British, with the Chinese as major resident group. The Sino-Portuguese style is a blend of Chinese and European architectural styles (Suthi Wongmongkondate, 2011). The architecture in the Old Phuket Town is as that of George Town in Penang. This is because Old Phuket Town

(Tongkah) had strong trade connections with various port cities in the Malay Peninsula, and most closely with the island of Penang (Preeyachanan Saisakares, 2004). Around 1910s, Tongkah or the Old Phuket Town today was fully developed in the Penang-inspired style, with terraced residential rows, mansions, two-storey shop-houses, temples and shrines, schools, theatres and markets. Thalang Road was the center in development and was full of significant mining and trading companies (Nasution, 2009).

All this reflected the island's prosperity and economic growth which had been carried by the Chinese immigrants. There were close connections among the Chinese in Penang and Phuket due to a common business network and through kinship relations. Besides, some of the wealthy Chinese in Phuket preferred to send their children to Penang for their education, as they trusted that the port city of Penang at that time was being modernized by the British. However, the Chinese in Phuket kept close-knitted bonds, providing education for their children as needed. They also intended strongly to preserve their Chinese identity through school. For these reasons, many Chinese schools were established on the island. In 1913, the Hua Boon School was the first public school in Monthon Phuket running under the Ministry of Education providing both Chinese and Thai language classes. The Hua Boon has since changed its name to Phuket Thai Hua school, and was located on Krabi road, Phuket Town (Nasution, 2009). The school was renovated and used as a museum in 2009 with the name "Phuket Thai Hua Museum", and exhibits mainly about Phuket's history in the context of Chinese immigration.

Many other Chinese schools were established in Phuket. The Tandavanitj Vithayakom was established in 1917. This was a Siamese-medium secondary school on Yaowarat Road which was entitled its name and opened by King Rama VI. Tan Mah Siang was the key person who donated the budget to build the school. In addition, in 1918, to other Chinese schools were established in Phuket; Seong Teik School located on Dibuk Road and the Yok Eng School in Bang Neow. The funds to build these two schools were mainly donated by the Chinese community leaders (Nasution, 2009). Establishing a Chinese school was an effective way to support the learning of the

language and culture, maintaining identity, and feeding cultural and traditional practices.

The Chinese on the island of Phuket, arriving throughout the era of the tin mining industry, evidently caused great changes through economic activities, Chinese stores, Chinese schools, housing styles, shrines, festivals, cultural practices and food. They had energized a huge move of Phuket's economy and produced the predominant culture in the society of Phuket. Accordingly, Phuket has become home to a large Chinese community who first visited Phuket seeking for a better life and economic opportunities. Some of them became hugely successful as business owner in large landholdings, property, hotels, rubber plantations and many other business fields on the island of Phuket. Of course they have contributed huge benefits to the island in growing Phuket's economy through the mining industry which played a vital role for the development of the latter industry of tourism. Consequently, the island of Phuket can be considered as once inhabited by the transnational community of Chinese who had had a noticeable influence on the society of Phuket in all aspects during the tin mining period, and are in fact extending that role until the present-day situation in Phuket.

3.1.2 The arrival of foreign settlers in Phuket during the tourism period in pre-2004

Phuket started to reshape its production landscape from mining to tourism visibly in 1967, and was moving seriously into the direction of developing a tourism industry by the 1980s. Phuket truly stepped onto the stage of international tourism in this period (Kontogeorgopoulos, 2004). The island of Phuket combines a wealth of beautiful natural resources, such as white sandy beaches, mild tropical climate and interesting indigenous traditional cultures in a long history of different groups of people residing on the island. Apart from that, cooperation between the government, private tourism sectors and the locals of Phuket have tried to promote this paradise island. There is no doubt that with the massive growth in tourism development Phuket has moved rapidly, and the island has been transformed into a world-class tourist destination. Phuket, formerly a rural island, had turned itself, through the development

of tourism into a fast growing in urbanization and had become a modern city (Marzuki, 2012).

Various aspects changes in Phuket society coming with the new landscape of its production in tourist industry including the foreign cultures from foreign settlers in various forms such as tourists, investors, retirees and diplomats. They have come along with the tourism developments and Phuket's reputation of being a very popular tourist destination is part of motivations of them to experience the island. The key forces of the tourism engine are big changes in economic activities related to the business network of hospitality and tourism; for example, hotels, resorts and property, restaurants, bars, shopping centers, supermarkets, tour operators, transportation, car and motorbike rentals, spa services, etc. Noticeably, all developments in tourism in Phuket have offered opportunities for not only investors both foreign and domestic but have also opened doors widely to new businesses and have created thousands of jobs, attracting more foreign settlers to the island.

The landscape of Phuket has been changed into large investments in hotels and property on the island, particularly from foreign investors, had become more common during the 1980s. During 1981 – 1983, when the transnational corporation from Japan offered loans under the OECF project (The Overseas Economic Cooperation Fund) to the Thai government in order to develop tourism infrastructure, three key projects were launched: 1) Greater Phuket, 2) Phuket – Phang Nga – Krabi, and 3) Southern Thailand. The OECF had assigned JICA (Japan International Cooperation Agency) to work on the study plans for tourism development in Phuket. The study found that Phuket had a high potential for the development of tourism, based on its wealth of natural resources and traditional cultures. Hence, the first stage of the development plan for tourism in Phuket by JICA was implemented in 1984 by convincing more foreign investors to invest on the island. The project proved successfully; there was a large number of investors from overseas found willing to invest in hotels and property on the island (Charn Wongsattayanon, 2014).

By the 1980s, a foreign company under French management had invested in the hotel business under the name of *Club Méditerranée* or *Club Med* on Kata beach. During 1983 – 1989, there were huge investments from other foreign companies; for example, Amanpuri Hotel nearby Surin beach under a joint venture from Switzerland, Japan and Indonesia, Le Meridien Hotel, Phuket Yacht Club and Laguna Beach Club from Singapore. In addition, there were more hotel investments by the Wah Chang Company from Singapore. Hotels developed were for instance Dusit Laguna, Laguna Beach Club, Sheraton Grand Laguna Beach, Banyan Tree and Allamanda. The growth in housing, resort and hotel investments by foreign investors along with related services has been growing ever since. As Chatchai Pongprayoon (1991: 42) states, a side effect of the growth in the tourist industry is the boom in housing and real estate development, which can be clearly seen by the constant construction of housing and hotels all over the island of Phuket.

Phuket has become more internationalized due to the full ‘engine capacity’ of Phuket’s economic strive in tourism development, along with the government policy to turn the island of Phuket into an “International City”, an action plan approved by the government in November 1996, and implemented accordingly during 1999 – 2011. In the action plan, Phuket was defined as “International City”:

“An attractive town to live in, safe and convenient, with up-to-standard services and an effective and modern management, transparent and characterized by an international way of communicating. There is a strong cultural identity in Phuket, expressed in way of life and general spirit, and in an active effort to preserve nature and environment.” (Office of the National Economic and Social Development Board, 1999)

In the action plan “International City” for Phuket, the island was zoned in order to gain the most productive result from the project into three areas; 1) the areas of Patong, Kathu, Rasada, and Mueang Municipality were planned to be the main center of administrative and services, 2) the north and the south of the island mainly in the areas of Koh Kaew, Mueang Municipality, Tambon Wichit and Tambon Rawai were planned to serve for community expansion as residential area, a Tourism Service

Center, and a Marine Service and Research center, 3) Kata and Karon served mainly as tourist beaches. The northern area of the island was planned for recreational facilities and agriculture along with the conservation of forest resources in the plan of the Office of the National Economic and Social Development Board, 1999. From the plan, there were many projects created in order to make Phuket to be an “International City”.

However, the unprecedented growth from 1980s onwards in the tourism industry of Phuket and the tremendous developments in the industry on the island seem to have no end and limit. Still, more and more foreign investors invest on the island, and a large number of foreigners have made Phuket their permanent or second home, seen from the increasing demand on Phuket land use. Hence, a high demand for housing in resort style and other luxury accommodation has resulted in a high demand in landownership in Phuket by foreign investors. In 1999, Thailand issued the “Foreign Business Act, 1999”, which were permitted foreigners in ownership of property or doing business in Thailand by taking shareholder not more than 49%. In addition, in the same year, the Condominium Act was announced to facilitate a foreigner in purchasing a condominium unit. The Act was allowed a foreigner to have ownership in a condominium unit in a proportion not higher than 49% of the total space of that condominium. However, from these two Acts caused unsatisfied impact from the investors in Phuket. As a result, the land in Phuket is now progressively drawn into the sphere of tourism development and the rise of foreign settlement. This situation has led to the emergence of foreigners owning land in Phuket under a nominal Thai landownership (Naunghathai Intakhantee, 2011).

Expansion of high level of urbanization from Phuket town to other parts of Phuket, particularly beachfront areas on the west coast of the island, has grown very fast with the appearance of hotels and other property investments. This area has become very popular among tourists, and the beachfront land has been on peak demand among foreign investors. In 1990, the government’s Financial Liberalization policy contributed to a positive impact in the economic aspects of an expansion in the trade in property. Real estate business brokers had appeared in all parts of Phuket. The situation encouraged more foreigners to come in order to invest, work, and settle in Phuket.

According to Charn Wongsattayanon (Charn Wongsattayanon, 2014), the Financial Liberalization policy had contributed great impact on Phuket with the rapid growth of Phuket's economy during the time from 1993 to 1996; he points out that with this was the period of rapid expansion in housing and property businesses and speculative land development which had revealed all over Phuket, not only small rice fields on the island. It is no surprise that the migration of people from different regions of Thailand had moved to work and settle on the island of Phuket. Of course, not only Thais but also a large number of foreigners came to work and settle down on the island caused by new business opportunities. When foreign settlement on the island appeared, it involved paper registrations for necessary investment performance, work, and the requests for work permits for foreigners in order to live in Phuket legally. This demand was growing in numbers and new settlers widely used the services provided by new established agencies for those foreigners.

Thus, development in the tourism industry in Phuket along with its consequences is accompanied by an equally rapid growth of tourists from around the globe to the island, in the meantime, a rising numbers of foreigners moving to settle on the island. The settlement of especially Westerners tends to partly transform the society of Phuket into a more internationalized one. Significant indicators of the settlement of foreigners are for example that the international organization Alliance Française was established in Phuket in 1983, with as its key mission the promotion of French language and culture (Alliance Française Phuket, 2015). Another key indicator showing the settlement of foreign settlers in Phuket is establishment of a French consulate in 1991 and a German honorary consulate in 2002, these are the key examples of the countries which having their residents residing on the island of Phuket with considerably number. The key function of consulates or honorary consulates is providing assistance for their people who have resided on the island. These are some of the consulates established in Phuket before 2004, and they give an indication of the main foreign communities residing on the island obviously in the tourism era. There are many other consulates in Phuket founded after the 2004, which will be mentioned in the next section.

Additionally, the local 'The Phuket Gazette', a weekly English-language newspaper, was launched in 1993 (Phuket Gazette, 2015). This newspaper is the leading and largest one in Phuket, offering a printed and an online format. The newspaper contains daily news, and information on events happening in the society: it is considered as an important vehicle to reach the foreign community. This obviously implies that a large number of foreign settlers residing on the island of Phuket.

More importantly, the social phenomena of the movement of foreign settlers to Phuket also have their reflection in the emergence of international schools in Phuket. In 1996, the private international school of Dulwich International School Phuket was established; later the school changed its name to the British International School, Phuket (BISP). This school provides an English medium, co-educational, day and boarding and offers a British curriculum. Its school buildings were built in a western style. Kajonkietsuksa School originally opened as a Thai school in 1954. Later, the school expanded its English Program in 1999. The establishment of the QSI International School of Phuket in 2000 offers elementary and secondary levels and provides the educational curriculum of the United States.

Phuket is considered as one of the most well-known provinces in education. The establishment of many international schools is key evidence to that fact. The market of international schools is on growing trend, particularly in Phuket which reflects apparently not only the increase of foreign settlement but also the value of people paying more interest on the education for their children to have bi-lingual language ability. They prefer to provide the opportunity for children to study at international schools or a school conducting lessons in English. This issue will be described more in the next section.

3.2 The influx of foreign settlers after 2004

In the last decade, Phuket has become home to a rising number of foreign settlers who have made Phuket their home. The growing number of foreign communities and entrepreneurs now makes up almost ten percent of the population of Phuket and foreigners are paying significant contributions to both economy and society

of the island (Mackay, 2013). The estimated number of expatriate residents in Phuket is more than 100,000 (Schatz, 2014). Obviously the flow of foreign settlers who reside in Phuket is closely tied to tourism development and tourist facilities, which keep parallel with the huge expansion of the housing and holiday island's property on Phuket in the last decade. In particular, from the tsunami disaster 2004 onwards, the tourism development in Phuket has been growing overwhelmingly; the physical setting of the island has great altered from green forest, rice fields and rubber plantations into various types of resorts, hotels, condominiums, housing areas and other property.

Phuket is now well established as an international destination with tourism growth, which does not only welcome an increasingly large number of tourists yearly, but also the expat community has grown in combination with this rapid growth in tourism development. The increasing number of foreign settlers in Phuket has its reflection in the foreign honorary/general consulates founded on the island a total of 22 in 2015. The key responsibilities of the consulates are to provide assistances and services for their residents in Phuket and surrounding areas. Here is the list of consulates in Phuket:



Table 8: Honorary/General Consulates in Phuket

No.	Consulate	Country
1	Honorary Consulate of Australia	Australia
2	Honorary Consulate of Austria	Austria
3	Consulate of Brazil	Brazil
4	Consulate of Chile	Chile
5	Consulate General of The People's Republic of China	China
6	Honorary Consulate of the Czech Republic	Czech Republic
7	Royal Danish Consulate	Denmark
8	Honorary Consulate of the Republic of Estonia	Estonia, Republic of
9	Consulate-General of Finland	Finland
10	Consulate of France	France
11	Honorary Consulate of the Federal Republic of Germany	Germany
12	British Honorary Consulate	Great Britain and Northern
13	Honorary Consulate of Ireland	Ireland
14	Honorary Consulate of Republic of Italy	Italy
15	Consulate of the Republic of Korea	Korea
16	Honorary Consulate of the Kingdom of the Netherlands	Netherlands, Kingdom of the
17	Honorary Consulate of Nepal	Nepal
18	Royal Norwegian Consulate	Norway
19	Consulate of the Republic of Poland	Poland
20	Honorary Consulate of the Russian Federation	Russia
21	Consulate of Sweden	Sweden
22	Swiss Consulate	Switzerland

Source: (Royal Norwegian Consulate Phuket, 2015)

As can be seen from Table 8, the total number of 22 consulates implies that the small island of Phuket accommodates a large number of foreign settlers on the island, and indicates that a majority of the foreign settlers in Phuket is from western countries. Phuket foreign residents included 12,034 international expatriates with work permits by the end of 2014, with international expatriates from western countries a majority among them (Table 9). Another group of settlers in Phuket is that of the retirees who have made Phuket their home, and which included a registered number of 3,739 people

by the end of the year 2014. The number had increased with about 9.5% from 2013 (Table 9).

Table 9: International Expatriates with Work Permits in Phuket

Nationality	Total Number December 2014	Total Number December, 2013	Total Number February, 2012
Great Britain	1,404	1,272	1,095
Russia	1,142	848	403
Philippines	987	699	440
France	736	596	432
United States	572	528	408
Italy	591	492	357
Australia	569	493	338
China	646	429	N/A
Germany	466	419	361
Korea	637	337	284
Sweden	447	297	302
India	344	257	N/A
Japan	203	182	N/A
Myanmar	189	183	N/A
Taiwan	27	27	N/A
Others	3,071	2,576	2,527
Total	12,034	9,635	6,947

Source: (Phuket Provincial Employment Office, 2015)

Table 9, the statistic reveals that British expat residents working on Phuket outnumber all other nationalities. There are 1,404 British with work permits in 2014. They have run business and stay long term and have established on the island as a majority since many years. The second group is the very interesting number of Russian expatriates, the number has doubled from 403 in 2012 to 848 in 2013, and the number is increased to 1,142 in 2014. The Russians are large in numbers of tourists and expats, but they are a very recent influence on the island in last five years. The growing number of middle class Russian is on the rise with their spending power and they are only a part of the global tourism boom on Phuket. Russian settlers are quite big in number residing in Phuket but they are quite new for the island. Russian expats started

to arrive after the Russian economy tightened, a few years after the fall of communism. The new freedom of enterprise placed Russians all over the globe; in Phuket because of its bounty-island image and the great deals they could make by selling real estate to other Russians. Russia is currently the largest source market from Europe for visitors to Thailand and Phuket is now one of the most popular destinations for Russian nationals. Thai entrepreneurs quickly saw the gap in the market and started acting as the Russians's legal in-betweens, some learning Russian in the Process.

Another example for western countries is France with 736 expatriates holding work permits and of course some other French on the island there are approximately 2,500 people altogether. Furthermore, Americans (572), Italians (591), Australians (569) German (466), and Swedish (447) are also notable groups on the island. Considering from the presented statistics, they are as quite big number of westerners living on the island.

Regarding the number of Thai residents on the island, the registered official Thai population in Phuket has increased from 278,480 people in 2004 to 369,522 in 2014 (Department of Phuket Provincial Administration, 2014). The number of non-registered Thai people living and working in Phuket was about 150,000 in 2003, and went up to approximately 300,000 people in 2014.

Considering the phenomenon of the aging society is emerging significantly, mostly in the developed countries. As the estimated number of the global population of age 65 or older is 461 million in 2004, it has risen in great pace from 2003. There must be more than 10 million people turning 65 in one year (Kinsella & Phillips, 2005). By 2010, the number of world population is 6,892,319,000 people, among this number there are 551,385,520 retirees or elderly people, who accounted for 8% of the world population (Haub, 2010). With this situation, Phuket, which is a small island in Thailand has become one of the dream destinations for many western retirees who want to spend their new phase of life in a warmer climate, near beautiful beaches and enjoy the rich culture.

By 2014, Phuket hosted a total of 3,739 international retirees (Table 10). While the development in medical care system in Phuket has been booming during the last decade, with 3 hospitals under the government sector, 5 private-owned hospitals and 18 health centers are provided on the island. The high international standard hospitals are offered on the island with world-class medical facilities are, for example: Phuket International Hospital, Bangkok Phuket Hospital and the newest state of the art hospital - Debuk Hospital. This implies not only to support the tourists but also the foreign settlers on the island who need strong confidence in medical security and health care matters. In particular, to those retirees who consider the health care system as one of the key priorities in their concerns in living in abroad. Phuket has become a key provider of international standard health care which is a magnet for international settlers mainly from the western countries (Table 10).

Table 10: International Retirees in Phuket

Item	2014		2013	
	Nationality	Number	Nationality	Number
1	British	563	German	509
2	German	544	British	505
3	Swiss	401	Swiss	345
4	French	372	French	305
5	American	312	American	305
6	Swedish	228	Australian	226
7	Australian	218	Swedish	199
8	Italian	194	Italian	194
9	Norwegian	124	Norwegian	128
10	Austrian	122	Austrian	100
11	Others	661	Others	613
	Total	3,739		3,412

Source: (Phuket Immigration Office, 2015)

According to Suwan Buakhao & Naree Weerakit (2013, the most popular residential areas for foreign settlers in Phuket as a long-term stay are Cherngtalay and Rawai Sub-districts, as these areas can still offer them privacy and are situated not far

from the business areas. In addition, the settlers prefer to own a house for their vacation instead of staying in a hotel or even to stay in a rented one if they have a chance to do so. In particular, the village of Sai Yuan has been changed into a more developed area and has become a bigger village with many foreign settlers living there.

The observable indication of a huge number of foreign settlers residing in Phuket is evidenced by the ongoing rapid growth in residential housing and property developments, notably the luxury ones on this small island. There were 50 housing projects in Phuket by 2004, which was a rapid growth compared to 2003, when there were only 10 projects. 'Leam Kamala' in the area of Kamala bay with its great sea view has become a popular spot of foreign millionaires who want to own a second home on the island of Phuket.

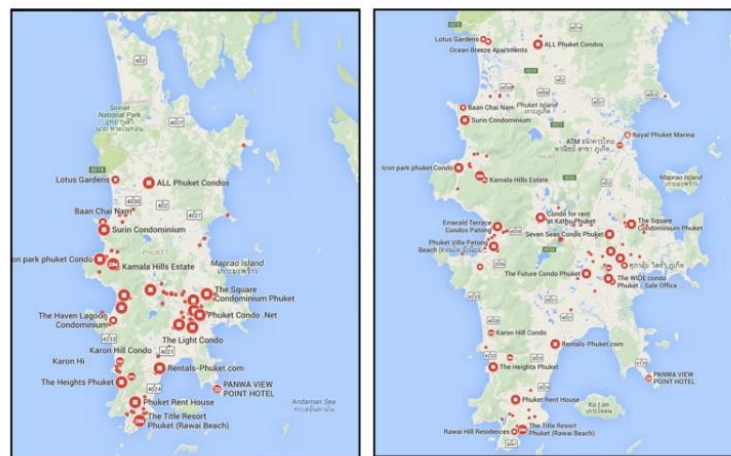
However, the boom of Phuket's economy was hindered due to the terrible natural disaster on December 26, 2004 when by the end of the year the people of the world were shocked by the Boxing Day tsunami which hit several countries in Southeast Asia after a magnitude 9.1- 9.3 earthquake (M. Choowong et al., 2007). Phuket was one of the areas that received critical damages from the natural disaster of the deadly waves. The most severely damaged zone was mainly on the west coast of the island, which directly affected to the beaches and led to severe damages and loss of human life and property. The Indian Ocean Tsunami reduced Phuket to a near zero rating of touristic attraction at this time. The island of Phuket had gained media coverage from around the world on the shocking natural disaster of the tsunami. The impact on Phuket's economies was huge, it took a year to recover and to resume normal tourism operation, which was in fact remarkably fast.

Condominiums have appeared abundantly on the island of Phuket in the last decade. There are more and more demands from overseas buyers who wish to own a condominium in Phuket in order to reside as long term foreign residents. In fact, the hotel and luxury accommodation investments from foreign hotel chains and investors have taken over a large proportion of the resort and hotel markets in Phuket, which aim

to attract mainly international tourists to experience the city of Phuket (Naunghathai Intakhantee, 2011).

The condominium project investments have experienced an on growing trend, which altered the landscape of Phuket with high rise buildings. The market demands are categorized mainly in two groups of target property investor. The first are domestic settlers or buyers, who tend to locate in inland areas. The second are for foreign settlers, who mostly locate in tourist areas, golf courses, marinas and in other locations with privileged standards of facilities in Phuket (Barnett, 2015 -a). As can be seen in Figure 18, the condominium locations are in the key areas of Phuket Town, Kathu district, Rawai and along the west cost of the island. However, the northern part of the island is less popular, as most of the area is a national park.

Figure 18: Map of Phuket showing density of condominiums



Source: <https://www.google.co.th/search?q=condominium+phuket>

With the key reason that Phuket's tourism industry and economy was badly damaged by the tsunami in 2004, it is a concrete policy to open doors to facilitate the cash-flow of capital investment on the island. A major proportion of the investments in Phuket in many projects were from foreign investors. Growth of investment mainly occurred in real estate development, hotels, restaurants and other tourism trades. However, because of the great boom in property development and influx of visitors to the island, this resulted in serious environmental and social problems appearing on the

island. As the major proportion of the investments comes from foreign investors, this also causes a larger foreign community in Phuket. This phenomenon has caused some land in Phuket is under foreign ownership. Consequently, nowadays, some of the mountainous areas on the island are occupied by housing estates and hotels, which keep growing in numbers (Charn Wongsattayanon, 2014).

However, the housing development boom in Phuket has created considerable new support businesses on the island; for example, brokers, construction companies, building material suppliers, swimming pool sales companies, furniture shops, antiques dealers, landscaping services, property management companies, architects, lawyers, banks and accountants. The appearance of villas and apartments or condominiums owned by foreigners has created a new market that leads to more and more service oriented businesses provided by local entrepreneurs in home repair service, pool maintenance, estate management, security, gardeners, maids and many other supporting services (Mackay, 2013).

Furthermore, along with the property boom, the settlement of foreigners in Phuket has also influenced the physical landscape with the simultaneous generation of many restaurants offering food from different countries. Some foreign settlers in Phuket live as entrepreneurs by running business in the form of restaurants, shops and bars, as well as other services in tourism, such as diving schools, surfing schools, tour companies and Muay Thai training centers.

Muay Thai or Thai Boxing has turned to be a very popular sport among foreigners, particularly those young westerners who come to Phuket mainly to take courses in Thai Boxing Centers which can be found throughout many areas of Phuket, especially Rawai, Chalong and Patong. These young westerners visit Phuket to learn Muay Thai for 3-6 months, while some spend a long-term stay in Phuket for one year. These Muay Thai Training Centers have generated other related business matters from the locals or from foreign entrepreneurs, for example, tattoo shops, fitness & sport centers, bars & restaurants, spas and many apartments.

Figure 19: Muay Thai Training Camps at Soi Ta-Ied, Chalong, Phuket



The landscape of Phuket along the streets to the south through the west coast of the island has transformed into an abundance of international restaurants offering a variety of cuisines, such as German, French, Italian, British, Mexican, Indian, Japanese, and Korean restaurants. As can be seen from Figure 20 shows some international restaurants on the southern part of Phuket. Phuket offers a wide range of gastronomy from world-class choice to local style. The reputation of Phuket's local food has been rewarded with an international label; Phuket was chosen as a member of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), honoring Phuket as a 'City of Gastronomy' on December 11, 2011, acknowledging the region's culinary history and distinctive cuisine (Sukawin Tanthavanich, 2015).

Figure 20: International restaurants in Phuket



It is evident in Phuket society that its large foreign settlement has caused great changes to the society. The context of internationalization as a world-class tourist destination along with the great flows of foreign settlers has generated the vital social phenomena for Phuket to be a demographically more diverse society through the different nationalities residing on the island. Meanwhile, particularly during the last decade, Phuket is confronted with intensifying urbanizations combined with the high degree in which its economy, population and migration are growing.

3.3 Key factors of influx of western settlers in Phuket

It is a generally recognized fact that globalization has had a strong influence on the tourism industry, noticeably from the 20th century onwards. It has encouraged a great flow of people to move from one place to another, across borders and cultures, all this enabled by developments in modern communication and transportation technology: the convenience of air transport carrying passengers across nations within hours. These accomplishments are the cause of globalization. As Anan Ganjanapan (Anan Ganjanapan, 2003) notes that the fast propelling development in information technology is a fundamental factor that allows and promotes the process of

globalization, a process which is also one of the causes for the recent changes in the capitalist world economy. Tourism, international labor movements, war, and natural disasters have caused people from various countries to meet, and these representatives have contributed the increase of intercultural connections, which has also been achieved by globalization. Unsurprisingly, as a result of globalization, people from different countries around the world have moved to reside on the island of Phuket in ever greater numbers. It is mainly the settlement by those from western countries that creates interesting phenomena for transnational studies.

Regarding the advanced development of modern technology of communication and transportation, in 1995, information technology developed Microsoft's Windows 95, an operating System which proved to be one of the most successful operating systems. The Internet, known as the "World Wide Web", is a key factor, which offers people the opportunity to navigate with browsers in a network providing growing collections of data that helps in learning and searching any information. It is regarded to have influenced people in their way of daily life. This influential development has accelerated the movement of people across nations and has greatly enlarged the tourism industry with easy access to huge amounts of information people need. Phuket has been driven by the development of this information and communication technology to accommodate an increasing number of visitors and settlers, both domestic and foreign.

The emergence of work from home jobs via the internet offers a great opportunity for people around the globe to independently choose a place to live without the restrictions of being tied to a certain place of work. That is why some choose to stay in places with better climate or cheaper cost of living environments when their place of choice provides a decent infrastructure, i.e. sufficient bandwidth and stable internet connections, which is the case in Phuket. For the same reason expats living on the island no longer are separated from friends and family. The fact that Phuket has a convenient infrastructure lifts the standard of living and running businesses and forms an extra incentive for westerners to settle.

Phuket, in the context of present day international tourism, has become one of the receiving destinations hosting a large number of foreign settlers who have made the island home either on a permanent or a semi-permanent basis. The tropical climate of Phuket, in combination with the sea, sand and sun scenery of the island's 15 spectacular beaches are the important fundamental features that attract foreigners who settle in this tropical paradise. In addition, the island has come a long way from 1980s up to the present day. The rapid growth in tourism infrastructure development to facilitate visitors from around the world is one of the key factors drawing foreign settlers to live in Phuket, as the development provides an international-standard setting which benefits those foreign settlers who have made the island home offering them tranquility, modern life and comfort. These are considered as the key simply pull-factors of migration which possesses by Phuket to attract powerfully foreigners to the island. Of course, there are many other key factors attracting especially the western settlers to make the island their home.

It is obvious that the context of tourism industry of Phuket has led to great opportunities in business investments and to thousands of jobs in hospitality and tourism. Tourism development by the government in addition to that by the private sector in Phuket has welcomed foreign investors and transnational corporations to invest on the island. Government policy also supports tourism in Phuket. During 1983 – 1989 there were large investments from foreign investors on resorts and hotels and in November 1983 a direct international flight (Singapore-Phuket) for the first time (Charn Wongsattayanon, 2014).

Through improvements in even more advanced technology in communication and transportation opportunities for people who are on the move and travel open up, and more and more foreigners come to the island of Phuket. In consensus with the government policy to promote tourism, during 1984-1986 the Tourism Authority of Thailand and Thai Airways, in cooperation with the private tourism sector in Phuket organized campaigns to promote tourism in Phuket by hosting travel writers, officials at all levels from tourism agencies and reporters from different countries around the

world to travel to Thailand and especially Phuket free of charge. During this campaign, the name of Phuket became better and better-known around the world.

In the meantime, a policy called “Open Skies” for foreign airlines to operate direct flights to Phuket started from 1987 onwards. In the same year, Dragon Air started offering direct flights from Hong Kong to Phuket, Malaysia Airlines started offering direct flights from Kuala Lumpur to Phuket in 1988, and in 1989, Silk Air started to provide direct flights from Singapore to Phuket. There were many other airlines offering direct flights; for example, China Airlines with the direct flights Taipei – Phuket, Asiana Airlines offered direct flight from South Korea, Charter flights from European countries such as LTU and Condor from Germany and Martin Air from the Netherlands, etc. (Charn Wongsattayanon, 2014). Phuket International Airport’s expanding capacity plays as a key role in welcoming more and more not only tourists but also foreign settlers from various countries especially those from western countries. Presently, the international airport of Phuket is still steadily developing, offering global routes and welcoming more and more international visitors and foreign settlers to the island.

Regarding the economic aspect as another key attraction, particularly for westerners considering the possibility to reside on the island of Phuket is, in July 1997, Thailand entered a serious economic crisis due to the floating of the Thai Baht. The exchange rate went down rapidly. The Thai Baht was devaluated from 25 Baht per 1 U.S. Dollar to 56 Baht per 1 U.S. Dollar, less than two times its original value. The government needed help in the form of a huge loan from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) bailout package (Warr, 2005). The crisis severely affected to the economy of Thailand, such as housing markets, banking system and many other economic areas. Although, this economic turmoil took the country’s economy down, the crisis situation boosted the growth of tourism and the export sectors of the country. Since the Baht was very cheap compared to other foreign currencies, particularly to the U.S. Dollar and European currency rates, tourism in Phuket was growing constantly as more international visitors came to the island (Charn Wongsattayanon, 2014). Of course, during this economic crisis there were many foreign investors and settlers who had

taken the opportunity to invest and make Phuket home by owning land or buying a housing property.

In 2004, it was already planned for Phuket to become a world-class destination, but unfortunately the tsunami of December 2004 caused things and situations to move into a downtrend. The world witnessed the tidal wave with substantial loss of life and property badly destroyed. Phuket and also neighboring provinces along the west-coast of Andaman Sea were in the peak time of high season in tourism, which caused a high loss of life among foreigners. This shocked day put Phuket in the spotlight of the world, as this famous holiday resort and hotel island was in the peak tourist season, with many tourists from all over the world having their holidays there. After the tsunami disaster, the government put the highest priority to get tourists back with a key budget of 800 million baht to spend on marketing, and promotion of tourism. The new efforts concentrated on promoting novel products such as medical tourism, wellbeing and spa holidays, new marinas were built and Phuket and Krabi Airport were expanded. Drawing the attention from the new tourist-supplying countries of Australia, New Zealand, Japan and China was also a key objective. This was followed by many other plans to get the attention from the world. Later, Phuket was a prime time issue of the world media as it was intensively helped by international aid funds and many other international organizations. The situation had drawn an excessive number of foreign visitors to the island from about two days after the tsunami had hit and about a year later more foreign visitors and settlers start visiting and living on the island.

The international-standard of medical care system is one of the key factors attracting foreign settlers to island of Phuket. Particularly in the last decade, there were more and more western settlers residing on the island of Phuket, and the island experienced rapid growth in property developments and tourism, as well as a public infrastructure that developing in an upward trend. A health care system is one of the most fundamental components of an urban way of life. As a global phenomenon in aging society in various countries shows, especially in developed countries the elderly component of the population is growing. Many of the western retirees have chosen popular tourist destinations in Thailand as their second home; Phuket, also, has become

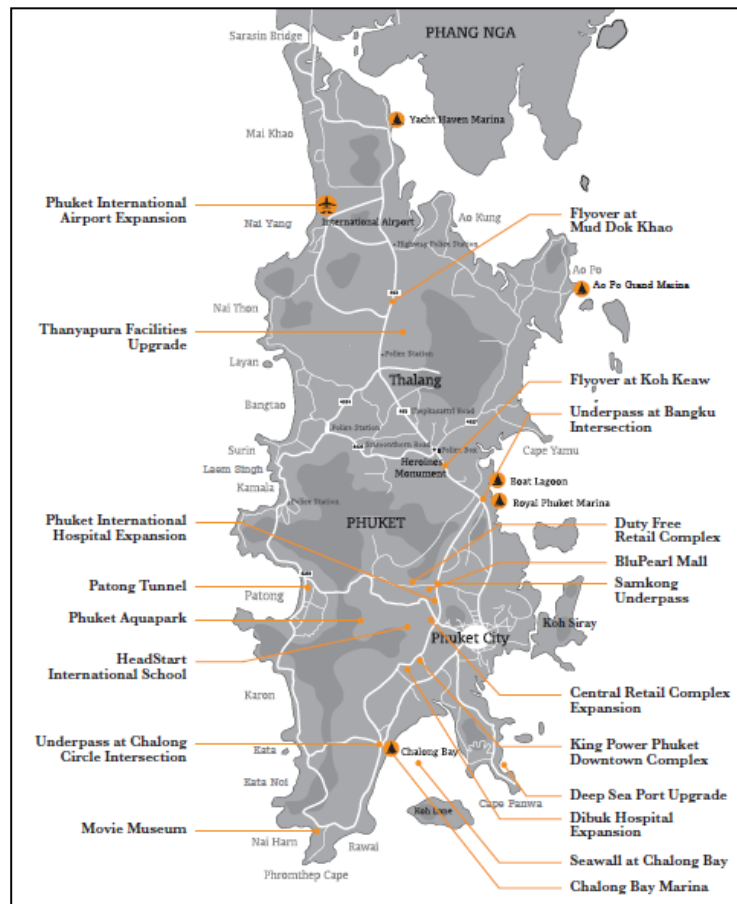
a second home to a large number of western retirees. Medical development is very important for health care service provision and it is one of the key issues that draws not only the foreign settlers but also the visitors on the island.

Additionally, the internationalization in educational sector provided on the island, and it has been booming in the last ten years. English language programs are provided in both public and private schools. American curriculum, and with boarding option of the United Kingdom's national curriculum are offered for parents to choose from. This international standard of education is very important factor attracting foreign settlers to the island of Phuket, appealing especially to western settlers.

Focusing on the development of the public infrastructure is also a very important factor drawing foreign settlers to live on the island of Phuket, as it makes life easy and convenient for the island's resident. Mainly in the last decade, the increase of the island's residents (both Thais and foreign settlers), and tourists visiting Phuket, has caused serious traffic congestion. As more and more vehicles are being used, this has caused more and more traffic congestion (Phuket Gazette, 2015). And due to insufficient public transport, the public infrastructure is in dire need to be developed. There are plans improving public infrastructure in order to reduce traffic congestion by means of the 'Tunnel Project', particularly during rush hours. The Darasamut Underpass at Chalermprakiet Ror IX Road has opened in April 2015. This is the first of the tunnel projects; there are another 3 tunnels under construction; at the Sam Kong Intersection, the Bang Khu Intersection at the northern junction of the Bypass road with Thepkrasattri Road. And another new project is at Chalong Circle (C9 Hotelworks Market Research, 2015a).

There are many other big projects occurring on Phuket, which have gradually turned Phuket into a socially internationalized island, as can be seen from Figure 21. It shows the development of key public and private infrastructure projects in Phuket.

Figure 21: Infrastructure Pipeline Map, Phuket



Source: (C9 Hotelworks Market Research, 2015a)

From informal interviews with many westerners who have been living for more than 10 years here on the island of Phuket, their key reasons to reside in Phuket are because of its beautiful natural environment and tropical warm climate, which make them comfortable and raise their standard of living. Besides of being an archetype dream for westerners to live on the tropical island, with an easy life with no hassle from everyday struggles, and with the rules and regulations of their home country makes them feel like they live in paradise. Although, the cost of living in Phuket tends to be the most expensive one among other provinces in Thailand, but it still offers many foreign settlers easily to live with a higher quality of life than they could afford in their home country. Thus, lower cost of living, easy access to cheap restaurants, local and international ones, fruits all year round and a climate which literally forces them to relax provides an overall feeling of leading a comfortable life. Adding the comfort of

and international standard of health care, supermarkets with all kinds of food from their homelands and good infrastructure will make it a good choice to spend their live on this tropical island.

Another passion for living abroad is the opportunity to experience new exciting places, particularly those western retirees from Northern and middle Europe who want the winter of their homelands on pristine beaches on a tropical island. For some of them, images of beaches surrounded by palm trees are positive attributes and are connected to feelings of warmth, happiness, peace of mind, relaxation and good mood. Thus, Phuket has become home for many of them who have succeeded to spend lives in an environment which truly matches with their envisaged image of paradise.



CHAPTER 4: WESTERN SETTLEMENT IN PRESENT DAY PHUKET: A CASE STUDY OF BAN SAIYUAN, TAMBON RAWAI, AMPHOE MUENG PHUKET, CHANGWAT PHUKET

The entry of foreign settlers in the context of international tourism of Phuket has caused great changes in various aspects to the society of Phuket, as obviously seen in economic, socio-cultural and physical landscape features as described in Chapter III. Those considerable shifts are reflected in the overall picture of changes taking place on the island of Phuket.

In this chapter, the impact of the western settlement on Phuket society will be investigated focusing on the area of Ban Saiyuan, which is one of the villages in Tambon Rawai (Sub-District) as a case study. This small village has turned to be a very popular residential area among the western settlers making their home here permanently or even semi-permanently; therefore, this site can be a good case to enhance insight understanding of the western settlement impact on Phuket society. The impact will be reflected mainly through the aspects of physical landscape, economic matter, education, activities, practices, lifestyles of the locals and relationship between locals and western residents at Ban Saiyuan.

4.1 An Overview of the western settlement as a transnational community in Phuket

The improvement of advanced technologies in transportation and communication is a key factor to dynamite the movement of people into transnational connections in new locations. This leads to the phenomenon of transnational communities in different countries in today world, and results in changes throughout the host societies. This phenomenon is defined by Vertovec (Vertovec, 1999) as the phenomenon of transnationalism, which refers to the “multiple ties, exchange interactions linking people or institutions across the borders of nation-states” p. 447. The increasing of foreign settlers residing or making other countries their home or

second home is on the upward trend. In the meantime, they still keep moving back and forth to the home country, which is easily to do so in today world.

At present, Phuket has become one of the receiving destinations for mass movements of international migration. Under the social context of international tourism industry, the island is confronting with the influx of tourists and foreign settlers which keep growing in numbers. The number of foreign settlers residing in Phuket has been rising since 1980s when the island moved seriously into the new production landscape of tourism industry. Comprising different groups of people living or working on the island, this dynamic situation has made Phuket a melting pot with forming of various transnational communities. Apart from the local residents, there are three other major groups of residents consisting of foreign settlers and laborers. The first and majority group are mainly from western countries such as Britain, Russia, France, America, Italy, Australia, Sweden, and Germany. Another group is from Asian countries coming from the Philippines, China, Korea, and India respectively (Phuket Provincial Employment Office, 2015). The last groups are laborers and low-paid workers from Myanmar, Laos, and Cambodia; they form quite a large group in Phuket, particularly the workers from Myanmar (Phuket Provincial Employment Office, 2013).

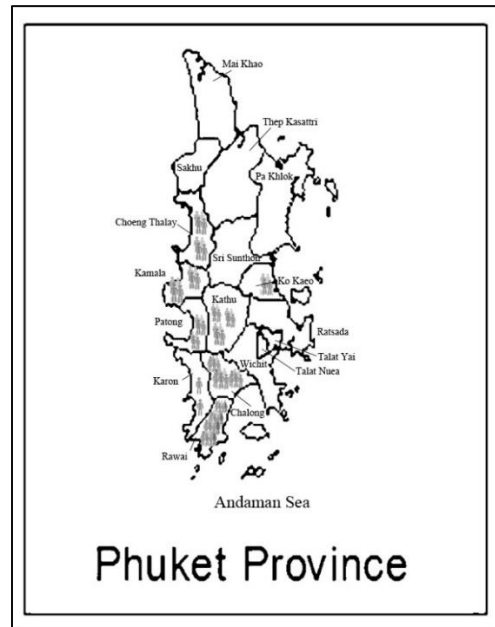
Significantly, the key new wave of foreign settlers making the island of Phuket their home and/or second home is the westerners. They are apparently a majority of the new wave of foreign settlers in the tourism era of Phuket. Various shapes and nationalities of the foreign settlers living on the island, such as western businessmen or entrepreneurs, retirees, diplomats, and those who have married Thai spouses, and many other shapes living on the island, their presence has produced substantial impacts on the island clearly through changes in various aspects of the society. Their formation as transnational community has accelerated the island of Phuket, as an internationalized society living and creating not only a variety of new economic relationships, but socio-cultural substance and physical landscape.

The western settlement has been found to have spread all over the island, but the key preferable residential areas among them are in the southern part of the island.

As Hodges (Hodges, 2015) states, in the south of Phuket has formed a large expat community. Tambon Rawai and Tambon Chalong are the most concentrated area by foreign settlement, especially the western settlers. This is because these locations are close by many beautiful beaches for instance, Kata beach, Karon beach, Ya Nui beach and Nai Harn beach. The areas are equipped with tourism infrastructure to support the rising demand and it also not far away from business center in Phuket Town, many Department Stores, and they can easily to reach international hospitals. In addition, going out to other islands is convenient with Chalong Bay Marina, which is a key marina for yacht mooring and a key center for boat activities. Besides, at the southern tip of the island in Tambon Rawai is also a key spot of boat mooring with long tail boats and speed boats offering activities such as sightseeing, snorkeling and diving to the surrounding islands.

However, the northern part of Phuket has started to become more urbanized by the growth in economic and more people and foreigners moving to the area about in the last five years. With a key simply fact is that land price is lower and more reasonable than in the western, southern, and central parts of the island. As can be seen the popular locations chosen by the foreign settlers from Figure 22. Rawai and Chalong are high density of the western settlers. The central part of Phuket, Tambon Kathu has become a big residential area for foreign settlers because it is not far from Phuket Town and many shopping malls. In addition, in the near future the expansion of Central Shopping Mall and the coming plan to for The Mall Group to open the BluePearl Mall in Kathu. In addition, with the great increase of condominium developments in this area has caused land prices increased (Hodges, 2015). Tambon Ko Kaeo is one of the areas that has turned into a more foreign residential part because of the establishment of the British International School Phuket in the area.

Figure 22: Mapping of the key residential areas of western settlement in Phuket



Among the western settlers in Phuket, one of the most significant groups which proves the transnationalism phenomenon is the retirees. These residents who rely mainly on their monthly pensions, have chosen Phuket as their home or second home. However, they still maintain economic and political strong ties with their home countries. This can be seen from the fact that they return home regularly; some stay here in Phuket half a year, and go back to stay in their countries for the rest of the year, whereas some reside here permanently with their Thai spouses, and visit home just shortly.

It is the policy of Phuket to welcome not just the aforementioned group of citizens, but all other foreign settlers. In so doing, all kinds of infrastructure have been developed to facilitate them. The local views towards the entry of the foreigners as a settler in Phuket tend to be positive, particularly towards the aspect of Phuket's socio-economic growth because such settlements bring about several advantages namely higher income and better quality of life.

4.2 Historical background of Rawai

As aforementioned that the southern part of Phuket is favored by a large number of foreign settlers, particularly the western settlers, making home and/or second home in the area. Ban Saiyuan is a small village, located in the south of the island under the administration of Tambon Rawai. Hence, before discussing about Ban Saiyuan, it is important to know and understand the setting of Tambon Rawai first. Importantly, the area of Tambon Rawai has turned into a large residential part of foreign settlers, as it is famous for peacefulness and relaxation.

Originally, in 1994, Tambon Rawai was attached to the Sub-District Administrative Organization (SAO). Later in 2007, Rawai was promoted sub-district municipality (*thesaban tambon*) because of its socio-economic growth. Significantly, in the last decade, it has turned to be home and/or a second home for a large number of citizens not only Thai residents, but also the foreigners. Tambon Rawai consists of 7 villages (Thesaban Tambon Rawai, 2016), as can be seen from Figure 23.

Figure 23: Map of Tambon Rawai, Phuket



Source: Adapted from www.rawai.go.th

Tambon Rawai is under the administration of Amphoe Mueng Phuket. It is situated on the southern tip of the island with the total area of approximately 38 square kilometers (about 23,750 Rai). The area of Tambon Rawai is divided into the mainland and the small islets. The former is about 23 square kilometers wide, and the latter, consisting of 9 small islands, was almost 15 square kilometers. On the eastern end of Rawai is home for Chao Lays or the Sea Gypsy community who have been living here for more than a hundred years, and its beach is a key mooring point for fishing boats, long tail boats, speed boats, and boat activities for going out to the surrounding islands. As illustrated in Figure 24, it shows those long tail and speed boats which are moored along the beach. On the western end of Rawai lies a small peninsula of Promthep Cape (Leam Promthep), which is famous for viewing spectacular sunsets. Rawai beach is less touristy than other beach areas in Phuket, since the beach is not for sunbathing or swimming. As well, the sea in this area is shallow and there are rocks and mud flats when the tide goes out. Although the beach of Rawai is less attractive to tourists than other sites, along the beach many restaurants both local Thai seafood and international ones that offer variety of western food are available. Rawai is famous for being a very good place for dining out.

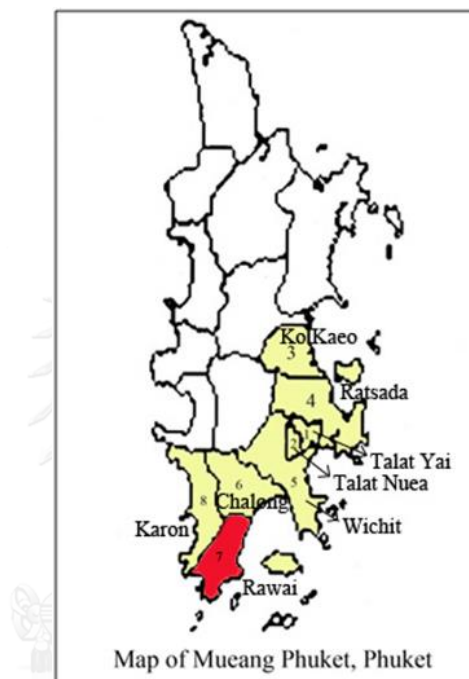
Figure 24: Boat mooring along Rawai Beach, Phuket



Tambon Rawai is bounded by the north with Tambon Chalong, and by the south with Andaman Sea. On the east it borders with Chalong Bay and Andaman Sea, and on the west it connects with Tambon Karon and Andaman Sea (Figure 25). Due to its great

location which is close to tourist facilities such as Chalong Bay Marina and Boat Mooring Spot, and its easy access to nearby beaches such as Kata Beach, Karon Beach, Ya Nui Beach and Nai Han Beach, there is no doubt that Rawai has been favored by a large number of foreign residents settling in the area.

Figure 25: Map of Amphoe Mueng Phuket, Phuket



One of the key factors that dynamites Rawai with larger communities is that the government supports the policy of turning Phuket into an “International City”, Tambon Rawai is in the action plan of the policy to support the community expansion as residential areas. Rawai has turned to be a large residential locale with the rising number of foreign settlers especially, in the last decade after the disastrous tsunami on Boxing Day 2004.

Tambon Rawai Municipality consists of official registered population of 16,790 people, divided into 7,877 males and 8,913 females. The population density is 442 people/square kilometer. There are 14,930 houses. These numbers had been recorded by June 2014. More details are shown in Table 11. In Rawai, 60 percent of the population practices Buddhism with one temple, that is Sawang Arom Temple, and 3

monasteries (*Samnak Song*); Nai Harn Monastery, Leam Phromthep Monastery, and Kokaewpisadan Monastery. Thirty-seven percent of the population is Islam who visit 4 mosques (Masjids) providing for Muslims: Aowalul Hidayah Mosque, Noorut Deeniyah Mosque and Noorun Ibadah Mosque. The rest is those who believe in Animism.

Table 11: Population number in Rawai Municipality divided into 7 villages

Villages	Population Number			Houses
	Male	Female	Total	
1) Ban Nai Harn	747	932	1,679	2,068
2) Ban Rawai	1,651	1,811	3,462	2,281
73) Ban Ko Loan	200	171	371	107
4) Ban Bangkontee	2,582	2,817	5,399	3,765
5) Ban Bangkontee (Ban Hayak)	742	825	1,567	1,309
6) Ban Promthep	685	771	1,456	1,519
7) Ban Saiyuan	1,255	1,560	2,815	2,880
Total	7,877	8,913	16,790	14,930

Source: (Thesaban Tambon Rawai, 2016)

There are 7 villages in Tambon Rawai, and below are a brief of its context and historical background of each village;

Ban Nai Harn (Moo 1)

The original location of the village was a jungle or in Thai, *Paa Sai* (ป่าไผ่). Here was formerly home of a certain type of bees, called “*Pueng Yuan*” (ผึ้งหวาน). Before Ban Nai Harn covered the area of Ban Saiyuan until they were split and Ban Saiyuan was established as a village in 1991. Ban Nai Harn is connected with a very beautiful beach of Nai Harn. Every year, Ban Nai Harn hosts a large number of both Thais and foreign tourists.

Ban Rawai (Moo 2)

Originally, here was first inhabited by the people from Nakorn Si Thammarat around 1887 following by other groups of people such as the Chinese and Chao Lays who have moved to live in Ban Rawai. However, during the tourism era of Phuket, the land price particularly in the southern part of the island has increased to a very high rate with the growing in residential property development. Recently, this area has become a land dispute between Chao Lays who have lived here for more than a hundred years and the investors who claim that they have owned the land by law.

Ban Ko Loan (Moo 3)

Ko Loan is a small island attached to Tambon Rawai. Originally, Muslim people from Satun Province made a first move to live at Ko Loan around a hundred years ago. There is one mosque and small number of population living here with only 371 people counted on June, 2014.

Ban Bangkontee (Moo 4)

Muslims from Satun Province moved to settle down in this area a hundred years ago. Today, Ban Bangkontee comprises of a large Muslim community. In the former time, the village had a bad reputation of the young gangster in the village being unfriendly to visitors who made a trip to Ban Bangkontee.

Ban Bangkontee or Ban Hayak (Moo 5)

This village is close to Chalong roundabout or Hayak Circle; accordingly, the village is named by its location. This village is also a populated area of the Muslim community.

Leam Phromthep (Moo 6)

In 1973, Ban Leam Phromthep was separated from Ban Rawai (Moo 2). The village originally was the area for livestock. After World War II, the area became rice fields. At the present day, Ban Leam Phromthep is well-known as the best place to view the sunset in Phuket.

4.3 Historical background of Ban Saiyuan (Moo 7)

Ban Saiyuan (Moo 7) is a small village, located in Tambon Rawai. Originally, the village of Ban Saiyuan was attached with Ban Nai Harn (Moo 1). Later in 1991, it was separated from Ban Nai Harn and established as Ban Saiyuan (Moo 7). Historically, the name of the village ‘Saiyuan’ is derived from its community location, which used to be covered by a jungle or in Thai Paa Sai (ป่าไผ่), and this area was abundant with bee’s nests because it was home for bees. The type of bees in the jungle is called Pueng Yuan (ผึ้งยวน). Hence, the name of the village is “Ban Saiyuan” (Thesaban Tambon Rawai, 2016).

The local living form in the community of Ban Saiyuan is like a family relationship. In the former time before the tourism industry, agriculture was the main livelihood of the locals as they worked in rice fields, grew vegetables or coconuts, and earned a living from rubber plantations and livestock. The majority of the locals are Muslim (Thesaban Tambon Rawai, 2016). Kamonchai Khuadkaew (Kamonchai Khuadkaew, June 9, 2014), the Village Headman of Ban Saiyuan asserts that originally the locals in this area mostly worked on coconut and rubber plantations, rice fields and vegetable farms. Ninety percent of the locals here is Thai Muslim, whereas the rest is Thai Buddhist and there is a small number of people who believe in animism.

4.4 The various aspects of changes caused by the western settlement on Ban Saiyuan

The arrival of western settlers to Rawai could be traced back to around 20 years ago. As Fueng Wandee (Fueng Wandee, January 7, 2015), who is now 84 years old and lives in Ban Saiyuan, told the researcher that Ban Saiyuan in the past was covered by coconut plantations, durians, and rice fields. The entry of westerners or *farangs* to Ban Saiyuan was around 20 years ago, but it was just a small number at that time. He added with the example of the French couple who asked to rent his house in 1997 by signing a very long contract of 20 years. They have rented the house by staying here around 6

months or during the winter time in their home country. He said that this contract will be finished in 2017.

The coming of Westerners in this area of Ban Saiyuan and neighboring villages in Tambon Rawai has increased obviously in numbers, especially in the last ten years. The locals have turned to be the hosts for a large number of foreign settlers; some come for a temporary stay just like 3 months or 6 months and some have resided permanently by having their own houses and married status with Thai spouses. Kamonchai Khuadkaew, the Village Headman also states that there are many foreign settlers in various nationalities at Ban Saiyuan for example, Koreans and Japanese (Kamonchai Khuadkaew, June 9, 2014). These two groups come mainly for taking Muay Thai training programs. In Tambon Rawai, there are about six Muay Thai Training Centers by 2015, which attract many young foreigners to train in the programs. Other nationalities are such as Italians, German, Swedish, French, Australians, Americans and Russians who make Ban Saiyuan their permanent home and/or a second home, and some are in semi-permanently form. Of course, the westerners have resided spreading all over the area of Rawai in different villages, but the thing is Ban Saiyuan is the most favorite one among the western settlers with the highest number among the villages in Tambon Rawai. In particular, those westerners who want to have a long-term stay with a big number of western retirees live in Ban Saiyuan.

Obviously, the settlement of westerners tends to cause impact on the society of Ban Saiyuan in various aspects which will be discussed through physical aspects, economic aspect, education and activities, practices, lifestyles of the locals and the relationship between locals and western settlers.

4.4.1 Physical aspects

Changes occurring from the settlement of westerners in Ban Saiyuan are apparent in the growth in houses, buildings, massage and spa shops, tattoo shops, bars and restaurants. According to the fact that telling by Fueng Wandee, in the past here had no two-storey buildings or houses like in today. In contrary, most of the areas were covered by jungles and there were not many houses. He also adds that Bay Saiyuan and

neighboring areas have been changed a lot as some local people sold their lands and left with small land for their houses to live with their family. Some built new houses for rent to the foreign settlers. Jedsada Soipord (Jedsada Soipord, May 10, 2016) asserted the researcher that Ban Saiyuan before was full of coconut and rubber plantations, but today this area has changed to many housing buildings and the rapid expansion of urbanization after the year of tsunami 2004. Importantly, the land price has been increasing and remains very expensive up to the present day.

Figure 26: View point from the hill of Ban Saiyuan, Tambon Rawai, Amphoe Mueang Phuket, Phuket



The physical landscape of Ban Saiyuan has been altered to a more crowded community with the expansion of larger communities both Thais and foreigners through the last decade. The urbanization has been expanded rapidly. Samrong Singwaree (Samrong Singwaree, May 23, 2016) who has lived in Saiyuan for more than 20 years, states that Saiyuan was covered by a large area of jungle and rubber plantations, but during the last ten years it has rapidly changed to housing areas. More and more foreigners reside in the village.

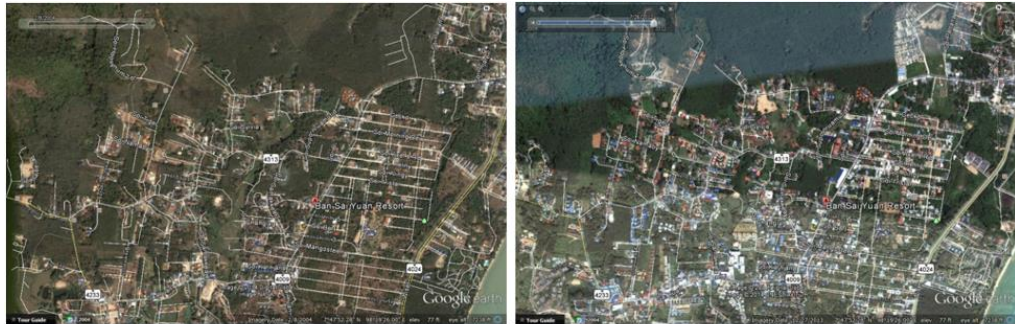
Significantly, the area of Ban Saiyuan in Tambon Rawai is very popular among the foreign settlers and along the street to Ban Saiyuan or Soi Saiyuan is mostly known

as “the international Soi” or in Thai, *Soi Nanachat* (ซอยนานาชาติ). This obviously implies that the locale comprises of a large number of foreign settlers. Most of the areas have become residential areas for settlers from western countries; namely, Britain, Russia, Germany, France, Australia, Italy and Sweden. Kamonchai Khuadkaew (Kamonchai Khuadkaew, June 9, 2014) confirms that the number of foreign settlers at Ban Saiyuan is higher than the number of 2,815 local people.

In order to better understand the physical changes in the area of Ban Saiyuan, Google Earth can be a helpful tool to do so with a comparison from 2004 and 2013. As can be seen from Figure 27, it shows the density of the residential area. In 2004, there were fewer houses and buildings, but unlike in 2013, the picture visibly shows that the village of Ban Saiyuan has changed into a high density of housing and building area. This conveys a great sense of change with larger communities living at Ban Saiyuan and surrounding areas. Of course, the growth of population resulted in housing expansion and other property development in the area.

Along with the increasing expansion of housing areas at Ban Saiyuan during 2004 to 2013 in Figure 26, it can be implied that the coming of western settlers to the area must be as one of the key factors rapid growth of housing property development. Ban Saiyuan has become a more urbanized area with various kinds of buildings and houses. Many locals have used their land for construction of new houses and apartments for rent or for sale, whereas some have sold their land to investors or foreigners who use the land for property development under the conditions of Thai law. These changes have caused Ban Saiyuan to be called *Soi Nanachat* is another name, characterized as it is by a large number of foreign settlers living there, and with Westerners are a majority among the foreign residents.

Figure 27: Ban Saiyuan, Tambon Rawai, Phuket in 2004 vs 2003



Ban Saiyuan in 2004

Ban Saiyuan in 2013

Source: “Ban Saiyuan, Rawai, Phuket in 2004” 7°47’52.28” N and 98°19’26.00” E.

Google Earth. August 02, 2004. July 24, 2014.

Source: “Ban Saiyuan, Rawai, Phuket in 2013” 7°47’52.28” N and 98°19’26.00” E.

Google Earth. December 12, 2013. July 24, 2014.

Looking at housing development in Ban Saiyuan today, it has grown in property development. The area is covered with apartments, villas, hotels, and houses. Kamonchai Khuadkaew (Kamonchai Khuadkaew, June 9, 2014) mentions that a change has gradually come to Ban Saiyuan during this tourism period, but the phenomenon has escalated with the coming of more and more foreigners residing in the village. The new development of condominiums, villas and housing estates are in the upward trend, following by plenty of international restaurants, coffee shops, massage and spas, bakeries, butchers, as well as a variety of leisure activities offering by both local and international entrepreneurs.

Figure 28 reveals the atmosphere of the main street of Ban Saiyuan; along the street is full of bars and restaurants, massage shops and commercial buildings.

Figure 28: Main street of Ban Saiyuan, Tambon Rawai, Phuket



The residential areas in Ban Saiyuan which are abundant with western styled houses can be seen in nearly every small *sois* in the village. Those houses are secluded by its tall fences marking its own territory. Figure 29 demonstrates the housing styles in the area of western settlers living in Ban Saiyuan:

Figure 29: Housing styles in the western settlement at Ban Saiyuan



Jedsada Soipord (Jedsada Soipord, May 10, 2016), the local resident of Ban Saiyuan, informed the researcher that the houses surrounded by tall fences are mostly owned by *farang* or the western settlers. He also adds that Thai people do not like to build tall fences like the *farang*'s houses, because they want to keep the atmosphere of living together and share good feeling of being friendly to their neighbors.

Figure 30: Mapping of various nationalities of western residents at Ban Saiyuan, Phuket

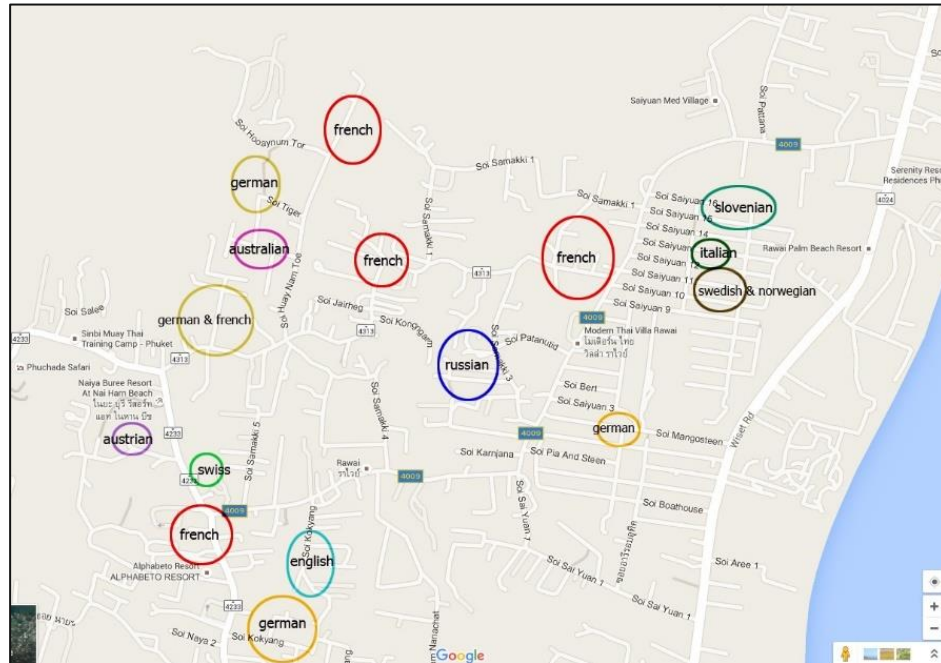


Figure 30 shows the key location of western residents living in the area of Ban Saiyuan. There are a big number of French and German residing at Ban Saiyuan, some of them run business of small restaurants in the areas. The western retirees are a majority among the western settlers at Ban Saiyuan (Kamonchai Khuadkaew, June 9, 2014). However, it has to note here that there are many other western residents from other countries living in the area, which are not shown in the mapping.

Therefore, this is obviously seen that the western settlement at Ban Saiyuan has influential impact on the physical change with high density level of housing development boom. The relationship between an increasing numbers of western settlers settling in Ban Saiyuan tied strongly with the huge expansion of housing areas with less green jungle like in the former days.

4.4.2 Economic aspects

More movements of the western settlers residing at Ban Saiyuan during the last decade has generated the significant economic growth through its changes in

livelihoods, business, and income of the locals. At the beginning of tourism period, the locals here still worked in rice fields, coconut plantations, rubber plantations and livestock. Later, some of them work in hotel and tourism industry. A serious change in the aspect of economy has appeared here when the foreign settlers have started to settle down in the area of Ban Saiyuan in the last 20 years.

Many locals have changed their livelihood by investing in building new houses for rent offered mainly to the foreigners. This business benefits them as it creates a large income they can rely mainly on either monthly or yearly. Some of the locals sold their lands to investors or foreigners, so this resulted in the development of condominiums, villas and housing estates which continue to increase. The circumstance leads to many new jobs in the areas such as maid, gardener, and house repairing service. These jobs have also attracted more people from other regions of Thailand to come and work in the village. The population growth in Ban Saiyuan and surrounding areas is rising which carries out the diversity of demographics in the area. The resident composition of Ban Saiyuan today consists of Thai locals with a majority of Muslims, Thai people who are from other regions of the country and foreign settlers with a majority of the westerners from various countries.

Plenty of international restaurants, coffee shops, bakeries, massage and spas, butchers are offered by both local and international entrepreneurs. Various kinds of food are available especially on the main street of Ban Saiyuan. The map in Figure 31 shows the emergence of many international restaurants which is one of the ongoing changes in this area underwent during the past decade and Figure 32 displays some international restaurants along the main street of Ban Saiyuan. The settlement of western settlers in this village generates the internationalized setting of Ban Saiyuan through a variety of food mainly from the western countries for example German, French, Italian, Mexican, British and local Thai food. However, the proportion of international restaurants is higher than local Thai food restaurants with about 80 percent of international restaurants and the rest is local Thai food. Of course, the majority of the customers for these international restaurants are foreigners from their own country and also from others. The price of food is quite high.

Figure 31: International Restaurant Mapping at Ban Saiyuan, Tambon Rawai, Phuket

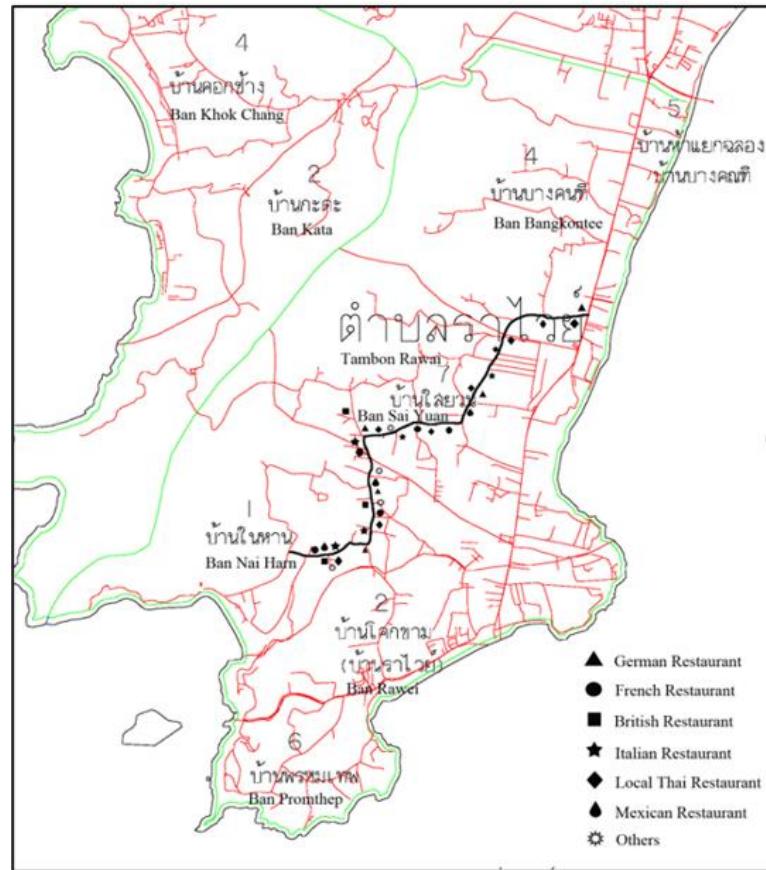


Figure 32: International restaurants on the main street of Ban Saiyuan



Yuttana Benjakarn (Yuttana Benjakarn, May 10, 2016), the local resident who has run his 'Rawai Noodle Restaurant' at Ban Saiyuan (Figure 33) for more than 20 years tells the researcher that there are many foreign customers enjoy eating at his restaurant with different kinds of food. He adds that his restaurant has many foreign customers because his wife used to work as a chef in a hotel in Phuket before, so she can understand well what kinds of food taste and style the foreign customers like. They love good food taste here and the price of food is reasonable. The price of food is the same price and not expensive to all customers, whether they are foreigners or Thais. He also says that because of many foreigners living in Ban Saiyuan, this benefits him well with better income.

Figure 33: One of the local restaurants at Ban Saiyuan, 'Rawai Noodle Rest'



There many local Thai restaurants at Ban Saiyuan as can be seen from Figure 34, it shows some of the local Thai restaurants on the main street of Ban Saiyuan. Many western settlers in the areas like to go for lunch or dinner at the local restaurants because of the good taste of their tasty foods and fair prices.

Figure 34: Local restaurants along the main street of Ban Saiyuan



The impact of western settlement on Ban Saiyuan creates great changes on economic aspect. New economic activities are generated by living together among the locals and foreign settlers in the village such as many massage and spa shops, tattoo shops, bikes for rent services, and convenient stores along the main street of Ban Saiyuan. The locals gain better income into their families through opening their houses for rent, selling lands with a very good price.

4.4.3. Education

In the last decade, the island of Phuket has become a study destination for international students. It started with a high competition in this market trend particularly in the past ten years when ten new international schools have been established on this small island of Phuket. The small area of Tambon Rawai is no exception as three international school foundations have revealed; the first one is the ABC International Nursery and Pre-school, secondly, the Phuket International School and Kindergarten, and the third one is the Palm House Primary School. In addition, there are two schools located in a neighboring area of Chalong, which are Buds International School Phuket and Chalong International Kindergarten and School

As can be seen from Table 12, the number of student enrollments in each school comprises of Thai students which is considered as a notably number. Of course, the

majority of students in these schools are those international students from various countries. However, the number of Thai student enrollments in these international schools is significant to reveal visibly of the influence of the western settlement have on the local parents' notion of sending their children to study in an international school with English medium conducting. At Ban Saiyuan, there is one school located, that is the ABC International Nursery and Preschool. The number of student enrollments here comprises of 80 percent of Thai students as a majority.

This social phenomenon conveys visibly how the western settlers have influences on international school growth in the area with a large settlement of them at Ban Saiyuan and also in Tambon Rawai. The change in this education sector at Ban Saiyuan and Tambon Rawai has proved noticeably the impact of the western settlers on the society. Kamonchai Khuadkaew (Kamonchai Khuadkaew, June 9, 2014) says that some local families in the area have sent their children to the international schools at Ban Saiyuan, or to nearby ones, this depending on the financial status of the family. As can be seen in Table 12, the enrollment of the ABC International School, which is located in Ban Saiyuan, consisted for 80 percent of Thai students in 2015, the Chalong International Kindergarten and School at Soi Chaofa 57 in Tambon Chalong has 60 percent Thai students and the student enrollment Palm House Primary School at Rawai is for 50 percent Thai. Thai students make up a large proportion of the enrollments in three international schools at Ban Saiyuan and nearby areas. This indicates that the many locals and Thai parents prefer to send their children to study at international schools with the intention to give their children wider opportunities through their bilingual ability, and to further their study in leading universities in Thailand or in abroad.

Table 12: International Schools in Phuket, Thailand

No.	International Schools	Establishment Year	2015 enrollment	% Thai Students	Location
1	ABC International Nursery and Preschool	2007	45	80%	Soi Saiyuan 6, T. Rawai, A.Mueang Phuket, Phuket
2	Phuket International School and Kindergarten	2010	120	5%	Soi Sermasuk, Viset Road, T. Rawai, A.Mueang Phuket, Phuket
3	Palm House Primary School	2011	70	50%	Rawai, Mueang Phuket District, Phuket
4	Buds International School Phuket	1990	84	20%	Chaofa Road East, T. Chalong, Phuket
5	Chalong International Kindergarten and School	2009	45	60%	Soi Chaofa 57, Chalong, Phuket

Source: Adapted from (C9 Hotelworks Market Research, 2015b)

Various aspects of changes taking place at Ban Saiyuan are mainly the consequences of the western settlement. The change in the physical landscape in this area has turned into a large foreign residential area of big houses with tall fences, villas and apartments generates a great income coming through new economic activities of the locals. Cultural differences between the locals and westerners motivate them to learn and understand each other.

4.4.4 Activities, practices, lifestyles

The entry of foreign settlers to Ban Saiyuan tends to welcome by the locals because the settlement of foreign settlers brings them better income, whereas, to stay in the destination of warm climate and beautiful scenery is the benefit that the foreigners keen to experience in their lives. Many events and activities organized by local residents that always open for foreign settler to take part in the activities, for example, during the Ramadan activities of Muslims in Ban Saiyuan. Many western settlers come to join the event in the evening when they open a place at the mosque for selling food. Conversely, the activities of the western settlers here gathering in a small group going for jogging

in the morning or afternoon along the beach. Some come for having morning coffee in a local restaurant, they come in small group talking and sharing information during their coffee time (Jedsada Soipord, May 10, 2016).

The practice and lifestyles of the locals at Ban Saiyuan are clearly in the Muslim way. Because of the majority of the residents is Muslim, at a very first time of staying in the village, many misunderstandings concerning about religious practice reveal quite often between the locals and westerners. For example, the western settlers like to order alcohol in a Muslim restaurant and sometime they bring alcohol to drink in a Muslim restaurant. However, there has been no major conflict between the locals and westerners. Jedsada Soipord confirms that the western settlers here tend to adjust themselves to get along well with the locals by trying to learn Thai and also eat Thai food occasionally. Of course, many of them can speak Thai fluently.

From having personal communication with many western settlers at Ban Saiyuan, they say in similar answers that their lives here are very easy and comfortable with warm climate and cheap living cost comparing to their home countries. Particularly, the western retirees who have made Ban Saiyuan their home for more than 10 years. They will never miss their food in their countries because in Phuket and Saiyuan is offered by many department stores and also the Villa Market which is not far from their house. Even to find fresh bread for their meals can be easily going to Saiyuan Soin 1 or in the area of Rawai and Nai Harn which is offered by such as German restaurants and French restaurants. Figure 35 shows the Bakery Shop with different kinds of bread. The owner of the shop informs the researcher that ninety percent of the customer is *farang*. This shop has been opened here for around eight years and more and more western customers buy their products.

Figure 35: Bakery Shop at Ban Saiyuan, Rawai, Phuket



4.4.5 The relationship between locals and western settlers at Ban Saiyuan

The way in which local people of Ban Saiyuan live together in the village is like that of a family, states Kamonchai Khuadkaew (Kamonchai Khuadkaew, June 9, 2014), who is the village headman of Ban Saiyuan. Through the entry of foreign settlers, particularly the Western settlement in Ban Saiyuan has become a large community and has created various changes in the village, particularly in an economic aspect, as they have buying power by generating a larger income to the locals. The people of Ban Saiyuan tend to interact with them in a friendly way and with positive attitude. Jedsada Soipord (Jedsada Soipord, May 10, 2016), who plays an important role Muslim religious activity in the village states that the western settlers at Ban Saiyuan, mostly are a middle class to very high income, and a large number of them are retirees. Many Westerners at Ban Saiyuan have tried to learn and adapt themselves to local life. They learn to speak Thai and socialize with the locals at local restaurants and coffee shops.

Aphinan Tovankasame (Aphinan TovanKasame, May 10, 2016) asserts that many of the western settlers at Ban Saiyuan have joined activities with the artist community at Ban Rawai. There are various activities such as playing music and drawing, and a number have become good friends with the locals. The Westerners learn to speak Thai with the locals, while many locals can speak English (not very good; just enough to communicate in a simple manner). The Westerners feel comfortable when joining activities with the locals, as they have created friendly relations and live together in a good atmosphere.

As has been mentioned before, western settlers in Ban Saiyuan mostly earn a good income, and have a sufficient budget to either buy a house or to rent a very good accommodation. Some have a big house with tall fences - this has created a high degree of privacy in some areas of Ban Saiyuan. In those areas there is less interaction and socializing between the locals and western residents. Some western settlers have a house, but work in other areas of Phuket. Mr. Denis Rochel (Rochel, May 23, 2016), the Director of the Alliance Française Phuket has lived in Ban Saiyuan for about 15 years, he states that he has a house where he lives with his family at Ban Saiyuan while working in Phuket Town area for many years, his daily life consists of only working place and home. So he does less socializing and interaction with the locals. He also mentions that he does not know many locals in the area.

Somsak Kornkonnatee (Somsak Kornkonnatee, May 23, 2016) tells the researcher that he has been living at Ban Saiyuan for more than 20 years. The area of Soi Ruamnanachat in Ban Saiyuan where he lives has turned into the area full of foreigners, especially western retirees. He also adds that the whole area has expanded with houses in possession of Westerners and large villas, developers of which aim mainly for western settlers who want to rent or to buy. There are about three houses in the area that belong to Thai people. Many western retirees married to a Thai living in the area. The people in this area do not know one another as they live quietly and separately with a high degree of privacy in their houses. There is no interaction or socializing among people in the area.

In conclusion, the relationship between locals and western settlers in Ban Saiyuan in the greater picture tends to show a large gap within some areas less interaction and socializing occurring between them than in others. It can be assumed that about 40 percent among western settlers who develop a friendship with the locals, the rest prefer to keep high privacy with tall fences surrounding their houses. However, because of the friendly and positive attitude of the locals toward the western settlers in the area there are no big conflicts among them and most of the western residents have tried to learn and adapt themselves to live in the area.

CHAPTER 5: AN ANALYSIS OF WESTERN SETTLEMENT'S IMPACT ON PHUKET SOCIETY

This chapter presents an analysis of the impact of western settlement on Phuket society in its demographic, physical, economic and socio-cultural aspects, specified as below;

- 5.1 Demographic change in Phuket
- 5.2 Increase of cultural diversity
- 5.3 The Influence of western settlers on local residents' way of life
- 5.4 Rapid growth in property development and concentration of residential areas
- 5.5 Increasing domination and possession of western settlers
- 5.6 Rapid changes in education

5.1 The Demographic Change in Phuket

The island of Phuket has historically been an island of immigrants, mainly from China, who had made Phuket their home during the mining era, now in number amounting to double of that of other local communities residing on the island. This conveys a clear perspective on the type of multicultural society present during the era. Equally, the tourism era has turned the island of Phuket from being a place for Chinese settlers to a home for foreign immigrants with a larger variety of nationalities, mainly from western countries and introducing diverse forms of living in Phuket.

It is manifest that tourism in Phuket has undergone a dramatic growth and has carried with its significant changes, especially in the last decade. The phenomenal growth of the tourism industry has positioned the island more visibly into a context of internationalization and made its society a more multicultural one, part of the growth is a large number of foreign settlers residing on the island.

The forces of globalization and the advanced technology, especially in transportation and communication have accelerated the movement of people from various countries across different destinations. Phuket is one of the well-known tourism destinations and has become home and/or second home for a large number of western settlers. Another factor is that the change of the economic blueprint, leading from an emphasis on tin mining toward a prominence of tourism has propelled more and more visitors - both domestic and international- to the island. Foreign communities and entrepreneurs make up approximately ten percent of the island's population, with more than 100,000 foreign settlers residing in Phuket.

The coming of western settlers in Phuket has caused demographic diversity on the island. The demographic composition of Phuket residents before the tourism era, consisted mainly of Chinese, Muslims, Thais and Chao Lays. In present-day Phuket, within the context of international tourism, the emergence of western residents on the island has evidently altered the island's demographics. This situation can be observed by taking into consideration the various nationalities of western settlers residing on the island of Phuket, particularly in the south of Phuket. They have produced a great impact on Phuket society, mainly through their economic success and huge expanding of the housing and holiday property on the island.

These foreign settlers come in various shapes, such as western retirees with a total registered number of 3,739 in 2014 (Phuket Immigration Office, 2015), international expatriates with work permit holding in 2014 in total 12,034, by having western expatriates as a majority (Phuket Provincial Employment Office, 2015), and business investors in a large number of resort and hotel development. In addition, diplomats who form a total of 22 in the foreign honorary or general consulates on the island (Royal Norwegian Consulate Phuket, 2015), young westerners who come for a short stay in Phuket and the westerners who form families in Phuket with their Thai spouses are all part of Phuket demographics. Although some westerners living in Phuket are doing that on a semi-permanent basis and some settle down permanently, their settlements visibly influence society. This impact is also clearly seen in the emergence of many local English language newspapers, such as the "Phuket Gazette",

“The Phuket News” and “Phuket Wan”. A local bi-weekly German language newspaper is “TIP”. In addition, there is a free monthly magazine in French called “PARIS PHUKET”, and there exist several Russian publications, as well as a Russian version of “The Phuket News”. These newspapers clearly show the demographic diversity in Phuket with its multitude of foreign settlers.

Another key impact of the western settlers on Phuket’s demographic composition is a new generation of *Luk Kreung*, which is on the rise on the island. “*Luk Kreung*” is an interesting social phenomenon in Phuket nowadays, cross-cultural marriages and new settlements of foreign communities tend to be crucial factors in molding the society and culture of Phuket into a new ethnic identity. Unquestionably, cultural values and traditions are at stake, and the change is dynamic and inevitable. The generation of *Luk Kreung*, who are the children born in cross-cultural marriage is more assimilated and accepted, and makes a considerable impact on the society of Phuket. This phenomenon is not happening only in Phuket, but also many other popular tourist destinations in Thailand. Significantly, as time goes by, the generation of *Luk Kreung* in Phuket tends to transform from “Chinese-Thai *luk kreung*” to be “Western - Thai *luk kreung*” (*luk kreung farang*) with a more western look along with different identities and characteristics.

In accordance with Mackay (2013), some of westerners have been living with their families in Phuket for over 30 years. Among these, some work or invest on businesses, and pay taxes to Phuket. Consequently, the new generation of *Luk Kreung* is getting higher in numbers on the island. This phenomenon can be proved from the number of students studying at the British International School Phuket, which is the top rank as a leading private international school in Phuket with the highest number of student enrolments among the schools in Phuket. This can be a good example from the number of student enrollments: out of a total of 312 students from Grade 7 to Grade 12 (March 2014), there were 63 mixed-blood students with Thai-Foreign parents which accounted for 20%: 92 were Thai students, and the rest were international students from various nationalities (British International School Phuket, 2014).

Due to the fact that there is not only a large number of westerners who have made Phuket their home but also a considerable number of Thai people moving from other regions of Thailand to work and settle down in Phuket in this era of booming tourism. The social phenomenon of cross-cultural marriages in Phuket does not only concern westerners marrying local Phuket people, but also westerners marrying people from other parts of Thailand. Thus, *Luk Krueng farangs* in Phuket are the children from various nationalities of westerners and Thai people, not specifically with the locals of Phuket.

Consequently, a more diverse demographic composition of Phuket is one of the effects generated by the western settlers who have formed themselves into a large transnational community by some living in two countries between their home country and a second home in Phuket and some them finally make an island their permanent home. This social phenomenon has transformed the island of Phuket into a demographic melting pot with as a major characteristic its internationalized society with a steadily growing proportion of western settlers.

5.2 Increase of cultural diversity

With its many different ethnicities residing on the island of Phuket, is an island with a long history of cultural diversity. This is reflected visibly by many religious and cultural sites; for example, temples, churches, mosques, shrines, Sikh and Hindu temples. These are the witnesses that show the settlement of inhabitants on the island of Phuket through their cultural and traditional practices.

Chinese immigrants have a dominant role during the tin mining era. During this period, the influx of Chinese to the island of Phuket and their settlement shifted great social dynamics, particularly in an economic and cultural sense. The entering of westerners during the mining days played an important role mainly in economic aspect; they started to introduce changes in Phuket society by turning the island into a more international city with international trade. Hence, from this time, the socio-cultural

context of Phuket started to form a combination of cultural differences of people who resided and worked on the island. Of course, the influence of Chinese culture and belief is most obvious in the variety of local culture and way of life. Additionally, Thai-Muslims, Chao Lay and foreign settlers are also the key communities that take parts in forming Phuket society through their ways of life which resulted in a great social melting pot. The tolerant perception of the locals towards foreigners presents them a friendly host which is important for the increase of cultural diversity setting of Phuket.

At the present day within the international tourism context of Phuket, the influx of foreigners from around the globe, particularly those from western countries, arrive in various forms, as investors, tourists, retirees, diplomats, students, and etc. A large community of westerners tends to play dominant roles in the society of Phuket in this period of booming. This reflects in a high concentration of international restaurants with different kinds of food from different countries which have been established all over the island of Phuket. Meanwhile, local food and local restaurants also take part in the internationalized combination of Phuket. Various international and local restaurants in Phuket have together created an atmosphere and a fine picture of internationalization on this small island. Many hotels and restaurants have opened Thai Cooking Programs, for example the Blue Elephant Cooking School on Krabi Road in Phuket Town, which has welcomed many international students. Visiting the market in order to learn about local and authentic Thai ingredients is a must for the students in this program. This considered a good way for people to learn about and understand cultural differences.

The linguistic diversity of the island's residents is also a highlight of the 'melting pot situation' in Phuket. Many Phuket locals cannot speak English, while many foreign settlers cannot speak Thai and some cannot speak English. When it comes to the necessity of communication, for instance in business interactions, the language that is used consists of a mix of easy Thai and English words, which may be considered a "pidgin". According to (Wardhaugh, 2010), "a pidgin is a language with no native speakers: it is no one's first language but is a contact language (p.67)". It is obvious that, the cultural diversity of Phuket has caused the emergence of a Thai English Pidgin. As Nicha Tovankasame (Nicha Tovankasame, 2010) points out that some local people

in Rawai, Phuket do not have chances to learn English in school, but the way that they communicate just picking up the language by themselves because they need to communicate with foreigners in specific settings such as trade, living or joining a particular group. The way they learn English is from real situations during their trading or business dealings.

However, some locals can communicate in English and some western settlers can speak Thai fluently. As Jesada Soipord (Jedsada Soipord, May 10, 2016) confirms that many *farangs* at Ban Saiyuan can speak Thai very fluently and he adds that there is one *farang* who always likes to talk with him in a Thai southern dialect very much. In this point of diversity in languages has generated new business of language schools providing Thai language course for foreigners and many other languages such as English, German, French, Russian and many other languages. Figure 36 shows the language school at Ban Saiyuan.

Figure 36: The Language School at Ban Saiyuan, Rawai, Phuket



Various groups of people living together in the society of Phuket have reproduced their own way of life in different activities and festivals. Many events that are organized on the island that reflect westernization, such as Patong Carnival, the Phuket Kings Cup Regatta in early Decembers, Christmas in December. In addition, small activities are organized by different groups of western settlers; for example, playing music on Nai Harn beach on Sundays, organized by western settlers who live in the area of Ban Saiyuan.

Therefore, in present-day Phuket, the increase of cultural diversity has added to society to a great degree, through the rising number of people from different cultural backgrounds living together. To this effect, western settlers have played as key actors during the last decade. The impact is not only seen in society via the changing landscape of the island, which is filling up with various international restaurants, events and activities, but also through the cultural diversity in the education sector and the various nationalities of students in classrooms. Within this melting pot of cultures the new social context of Phuket has clearly helped promote the island as a unique, internationalized environment with a large westernized sector.

5.3 The Influence of western settlers on local residents' way of life

The settlement of westerners on the island of Phuket has had a great impact on the Phuket's local citizens' way of life. In particular, many local families have changed their means of support into a new private business. Some local land owners benefit from a great income through the coming of western settlers, as most have a high potential in buying land or housing property. Many locals sell their land to the westerners or to other domestic or foreign business investors. In addition, some invest in building new houses, apartments and condominiums for rent and for sale.

When the tourism industry started to take a serious turn in Phuket, the local people of Ban Saiyuan mostly worked in a hotel or a tourism related business. Some of the locals changed their livelihood when they started to accommodate western settlers, already 20 years ago. Many locals have changed their livelihood by investing in building new houses for rent and offered mainly to foreigners. This business benefits them as it creates a large income they can rely on, either monthly or yearly. Some of the locals sold their land to investors or foreigners, resulting in the development of condominiums, villas and housing estates which continue to increase in number. This circumstance leads to many new jobs in the service sector such as maid, gardener, taxi driver, and home repair man. These jobs have also attracted people from other regions of Thailand to come and work in the village.

Jedsada Soipord (Jedsada Soipord, May 10, 2016), states that many local people earn a living as a taxi driver, which guarantees a very good income from foreign customers, mainly Westerners who reside both on a permanent and a semi-permanent basis in Ban Saiyuan and its surrounding areas. He adds that there is a simple trick to this job because the local taxi drivers get most of their clients by word of mouth. Some of the *farangs* living at Ban Saiyuan know one another and become friendly with the locals. Jedsada Soipord also confirms that many *farangs* at Ban Saiyuan try to adjust themselves and try to get along well with the locals. Some take a long time - up to two years - to learn and understand the ways of local people and their lifestyle, many of them learn Thai and can speak Thai fluently.

The population growth in Ban Saiyuan and surrounding areas is increasing, as more and more people want to settle in the area. The population of Ban Saiyuan today consists of Thai locals with a majority of Muslims, Thai people from other regions of Thailand and foreign settlers with a majority of Westerners from various countries. This leads to intensive neighborly contact which causes the emergence of a cultural melting pot through their different ways of life and religious/cultural practices.

Jedsada Soipord and Aphinan Tovankasame, who is well-known as a local artist living at Ban Rawai tells the researcher that some among the young Muslim generation at Ban Saiyuan tend to present themselves in a westernized way. Young Muslim women tend to be influenced by the western way, and dress in shorts and T-shirt, without a *hijab*, when they go out. However, under religious rules, they still do not expose themselves openly when they are at home or in the village.

Therefore, the influence of western settlers on local resident's way of life is mainly on their livelihoods, through better income. Some have become landlords, others owners of a local restaurant or coffee shop, and some make a living as a taxi driver. In general, the western settlers' way of life in Phuket is easy and comfortable, assisted by the many international restaurants, shopping malls, bakery shops and other tourism facilities beneficiary to their living here, whereas, the locals' way of life keep is maintained in a way. Interestingly, when two or more cultures are in contact, Phuket

is a good place to see how different cultures mix, but each community still remains distinct in their ways of life. Obviously, the difference between the western settlements and the local communities are about quality of life and income.

Therefore, it is evident that when newcomers enter the host society, change is the consequence of this setting. Phuket has become a receiving society for large foreign communities during this era of international tourism, incredible social changes are taking place in different aspects of society. Significantly, aspects of demographic, socio-cultural, economic and physical landscapes have visibly changed into new social phenomena. These are key impacts resulting mainly from the settlement of Westerners on this small island.

5.4 The Rapid growth in property development and concentration of residential areas

The property development in Phuket has been growing since the beginning of the era of tourism, but it was dramatically slowed down when the island was hit by the tsunami disaster in December 2004. After the Boxing Day tsunami, development was back to full operation within a year, and the booming tourism era of Phuket continued. The rising number of foreign settlers is growing parallel with the influx of international visitors traveling to Phuket. This situation has carried changes in the physical landscape, as more and more areas of Phuket are being transformed into residential locations for people from around the globe, and large areas of land have changed their purpose and are now assigned for resort and hotel development. The boom in property development is caused by high market demands especially by western settlers with a high potential of buying power.

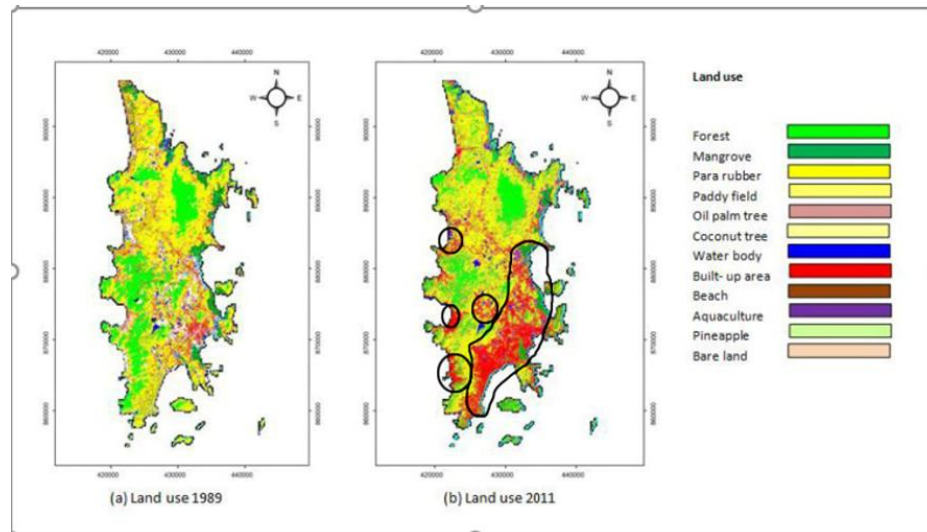
Meanwhile, a fast-growing community of foreign settlers living in Phuket increasingly revealed itself in various requests for long-term residency in Phuket. From 2007 onwards, the economy in Phuket has come back to boom-time level as the housing and property market in Phuket kept growing continuously with many villa and condominium building projects rising to target the demands of both domestic and foreign settlers.

The most popular residential area for foreign settlers after the global crisis in 2007 – 2008 was the west coast of Phuket, whereas the locations in the southern areas of Rawai and Naiharn have been steadily popular as well, followed by Kathu, which is situated in the central part of the island. The south of Phuket has become a significant location for the foreign community, as the area is close to Naiharn beach and therefore easy to access. Rawai is not a beach for swimming and sunbathing, and it is therefore less touristic. In addition, Chalong marina in the southern area offers boating and diving activities and other necessary marine infrastructure, supporting the increasing demand (Hodges, 2015). It is therefore not surprising that the southern location of Phuket has gradually become more and more popular amongst foreign settlers.

The coming of foreigners together with development of tourism facilities has strongly influenced the change of the physical landscape in Phuket. As Narunat Payakha and Sangdao Wongsai (Narunat Payakha & Sangdao Wongsai, 2012) illustrate in figure 35, the use of land in Phuket in 1989 reveals a low density of built-up area, but the data of 2011 expose a big change in high density of built-up areas especially in the circled areas, which implies overcrowding with more and more people living in more and more housing properties, hotels, resorts and other related service buildings that have been built in the areas.

Figure 37 displays the urban areas found mainly in Mueng Phuket District, following by Patong, Karon and Choeng Thalay, these three key locations are famous and popular among tourists. In addition, Narunat Payakha and Sangdao Wongsai (2012) find that in 2011 land use for the residential areas or built-up areas have increased obviously compared to other locations on the island by transforming its physical landscape of agriculture area into a more urbanized area.

Figure 37: Maps of Land Use Classifications of Phuket in 1989 and 2011

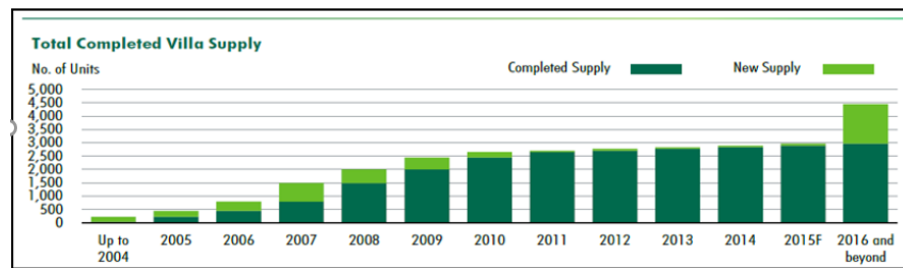


Source: Adapted from Narunat Payakka and Sangdao Wongsai, 2012

The physical landscape in Phuket has been dramatically altered with its outperformance in construction and building continuing to gain high demands. A study by CB Richard Ellis (Thailand) Company Limited (CBRE Research, 2015) found that by the end of 2014 there were 18 condominium projects launched in Phuket with a total of 2,000 units, which was significantly higher than in 2013 with a total of 800 units. Many condominium projects have popped up in the landscape of Phuket with high rise buildings all over the island. Concentrations of these condominiums are mostly located in the western, central and southern parts of the island.

The development of luxury residential housing on the island of Phuket is mainly for the benefit of foreign buyers, and is in increasing demand. The property sector of the luxury villa market is also in an upward trend. During the years between 2004 and 2014, the numbers of emerging luxury villas sharply on the increase. A market survey conducted by CBRE Research (CBRE Research, 2015) provides information about real estate development trends in Phuket. Figure 38 shows that from 2004 to 2014 the growth in construction of luxury villas is rising sharply. This implies that the property boom on the island of Phuket has generated economic growth with foreign money, and that the island is hosting more and more foreign residents.

Figure 38: Phuket Residential Villas, Q4 2014



Source: CBRE Research, Q4 2014

Ban Saiyuan is an example of a dense concentration of residential areas, developed to a great extent to accommodate western settlers. The housing areas are often built full with big houses and large gardens surrounded by tall fences. Many of those villas and apartments are available both for rent and sale to foreigners in the area. Many plots in Ban Saiyuan are fitted out with the sign “Land for sale” and “House for rent/sale”. A key motivation for the locals who want to sell their land is that land prices on the island of Phuket are increasing rapidly and steadily. In particular, the west coast of Phuket seems to be a very expensive location, in which, in the area of Patong beach, around 180 million Baht is the price per rai. From 2004 to 2014, the land value has risen with an average of 14% a year (Bangkok Post, November 3, 2014).

In addition, more and more western settlers still want to make the island of Phuket their home and/or second home, and in the meantime the tourism industry of Phuket attracts a lot of foreign investment in the resort and hotel business. These are the key factors that cause a change in the physical landscape and transform into large residential area and property development.

The southern part of Phuket is a popular living area for western settlers. Rawai has a high concentration of property development. However, a growing trend in building is moving to the northern part of the island. As the land prices there are still lower than in other parts of Phuket and the area has a lower density of inhabitants as well as areas of residential construction. Large parts of northern Phuket are covered with rubber plantation. Figure 39, shows the land for sale at Thalang with a total of 21

Rai. This land located in Thalang District covers with rubber plantation. These rubber plantations will change soon into new building projects or housing areas.

Figure 39: Land for sale at Thalang, North Phuket



Source: <http://www.phuket.net/property/property-for-sale/land/page/3/>

In the near future, the island of Phuket is going to become very crowded with more and more housing property development and finally forests of buildings will replace the green tropical jungles, which are already in danger of disappearing. Serious problems caused by the rapid growth of the property market and the high concentration of residential areas will increase even further, such as severe water shortage, deforestation and soil erosion. Therefore, in the northern part of Phuket, which has still less concentrated property development compared to other parts of the island, plus the large area of Natural Park should be under protection and managed seriously.

5.5 The Increase of domination and possession of western settlers

The influx of foreign settlers in this tourism era of Phuket has produced great income, especially in foreign money invested in the island and the country. Apart from international and domestic visitors with a powerful potential in buying land and property, western settlers who have made Phuket their home have become an influential group in generating capital and driving Phuket's economy. Some of them are business

operators related to tourism and hospitality services. Large areas of land and property gradually fall under the domination and possession of westerners. The locations of interest are mainly on the western part, the southern part, and also the central part of the island. Foreign ownership of land and property in Phuket has been questioned by society. Particularly the beach front areas are very interesting location for foreign retirees and those foreigners who want to buy a second home.

From the case study of Ban Saiyuan we learn that a large number of westerners who live in the village own a house through marriage. Many western settlers are married to Thais, and they can buy a house or land via their Thai wife or husband. However, some prefer to rent for living on a semi-permanent basis. Many local people sold their lands to westerners and some turn their lands into a new business of houses/apartments for rent, leaving only small piece of land for themselves to live on. The locals have gained great income from the coming of these western settlers, while the westerner's domination and possession of land and property in this area are increasing significantly.

Foreign business investors prefer to operate their businesses along the beachfront areas. Although the land price in Phuket keeps rising yearly, the property developments are the targets of the great potential in buying power from the westerners. Because the price of lands is very high, this situation tends to reduce the buying potential of Thai people.

A survey of foreign housing ownership in Phuket done by the CB Richard Ellis (Thailand) Company in 2004 found that there were in a total of 947 units of housing projects sold to foreigners. This number included completed units as well as units under construction. In the same year, there were more than 1,000 foreigners who owned property in Phuket. In most cases, foreigners who buy houses in Phuket do this with the intention to use the house as their second home.

Considering foreign property ownership in Phuket, Chompoonuh K. Permpoonwiwat (Chompoonuh K. Permpoonwiwat, 2010), states that there are two types of foreign ownership of immovable properties in Phuket. The first way is legal foreign ownership, under which condominium units and industrial land are legally

owned under the principle of promoting foreign investment. Secondly, there are cases in which foreigners own land or immovable properties via Thai nominees by exploiting legal loopholes. Much property, mainly along the coastline and in the large residential areas or zones of hotel and resort development are under foreign ownership via Thai nominees in various forms, in which spouse, employees of corporate bodies or legal entities such as staff of law firms act as a nominee in order to help foreigners registering as a Thai corporate body.

The study also finds that the impact of land and immovable property ownership by foreigners in Phuket has both a positive and a negative impact in socio-economic aspect. The positive impact includes the benefits on the local economy and its growth with the increase of land utilization, technology and skill transfer and cultural exchange. The negative results are that land speculation and larger control of Phuket's economy are at high degree risk of foreign ownership, as foreign investors tend to have greater capital power on buying or investing in land than Thais. In addition, taking of the legal loopholes by foreigners who want to own land or immovable properties lead to the loss of revenue of local governments from local taxes and duties. The aggressive growth of residents and visitors yearly has caused negative impacts on the environment of Phuket and the problems are difficult to handle by the public sector. This also resulted in a serious problem within Phuket's infrastructure, waste handling, water supply systems and roads. Significantly, a downfall of traditional lifestyle and culture may also accompany the growth in population and migration on the island of Phuket(Chompoonuh K. Permpoonwiwat, 2010).

With the increasing number of foreign settlers, causes lands in some areas such as Ban Saiyunan and other areas of Phuket to fall increasingly under the domination of western settlers because of their high potential in buying. This situation often causes headlines in present-day Phuket, especially in the Phuket local media about "Crackdown on Thai nominees".

Land and property in Phuket are increasingly in possession of foreign settlers. This situation is the impact from western residents of Phuket, many of whom have

turned their residential areas and living atmosphere into fortresses. Some westerner's houses are surrounded with a tall fence, which is different from those houses that belong to local people do not have such tall fences.

5.6 The Rapid change of the education sector

The settlement of westerners has generated striking social changes, particularly in the education sector of Phuket. The island of Phuket is famous not only being a world-class tourist destination, but is also becoming notorious as a study destination with a large number of international student enrollments. The rapid expansion of the education sector with high competitive offerings from international schools on the island, this is considered as a clear example of influence exerted by a large foreign community in Phuket. Barnett (Barnett, 2015 -b), states that Phuket has strong attraction as a regional hub for expatriates to live and work, which causes part of the growth of Phuket's economy, and at the same time the high quality of education providing in Phuket is one of the key reasons that attract them to the island.

Significantly, in the past decade, the founding of 10 out of 13 international schools on this small island of Phuket has created rapid change in the education sector of Phuket. These 13 private international schools provide an English-medium education for all classes. Table 13 shows all international schools in Phuket.

Table 13: All International Schools in Phuket, Thailand

No.	International Schools	Establishment Year	2015 enrollment	% Thai Students
1	Buds International School Phuket	1990	84	20%
2	British International School Phuket (BISP)*	1996	830	27%
3	Q.S.I. International School of Phuket*	2000	115	23%
4	ABC International Nursery and Preschool	2007	45	80%
5	Oak Meadow International School and Smiley Kidz International Kindergarten	2007	100	43%
6	Phuket International Academy (PIA)*	2008	318	30%
7	Shining Stars	2008	20	25%
8	HeadStart International School Phuket*	2009	512	27%
9	Chalong International Kindergarten and School	2009	45	60%
10	Phuket International School and Kindergarten	2010	120	5%
11	Kaionkiet International School Phuket (KISP)*	2011	224	70%
12	Palm House Primary School	2011	70	50%
13	Gecko School	2013	25	60%

*Schools that registered with International Schools Association of Thailand (ISAT)

Source: (C9 Hotelworks Market Research, 2015b)

The substantial growth of the education sector with the establishment of many international schools in Phuket visibly indicates the rising demands for education at an international school. Among these schools, there is a high competition in taking more seat enrolments by offering high education quality and excellent facilities. Phuket's international schools provide a wide variety of curriculums and certificates, from which children and their parents can pick their choice.

From the study of C9 Hotelworks Market Research (2015) in the Phuket International School Market, considering the number of student enrollment in 2015, the top three schools are British International School Phuket (BISP), HeadStart International School Phuket and Phuket International Academy (PIA), with 830, 512 and 318 students respectively. The proportion of student enrollments into the international schools in Phuket by 2015 from Preschool to Grade 12 (Year 13) number is a total of 2,508 students. Of course the majority consists of foreign students from various countries at 62% of the total number of students. 38% of the students are Thai nationals. Some of the students are dual passport holders (or *Luk Kreung* who are mixed-blood children of Thais and foreigners). Among the large group of foreign students, British, Russian, American, Australian, and South Korean students are the top five nationalities.

Additionally, Thai schools in Phuket offering an English Program (EP) are on the second line in the education sector growth, providing another option for parents to send their children to study, as the tuition fee is cheaper than that of the international schools. They also provide English language education. There are 6 Thai schools offering English Program, as can be seen in Table 14:

Table 14: Thai Schools offering an English Program (EP)

No.	International Schools	Establishment Year
1	Satree Phuket School	1909
2	Phuket Thai Hua School	1910
3	Darasamut School	1964
4	Baan Kajonkiet Nursery	2010
5	Kajonkietsuksa School, Kathu Campus	2011
6	Kajonkiet Thalang School	2014

Source: C9 Hotelworks Market Research, 2015

The majority of student enrollment into Thai Schools offering an English Program (EP) is Thai at 91% of all students. The expansion of international schools in Phuket is in progress; HeadStart International School moved to a new site in August 2015 with extending its capacity to accommodate a student population of 750. Phuket

International Academy (PIA) has plans for a new secondary school building, boarding facilities, a sports center and a performing arts center, and British International School Phuket (BISP) plans to have an arts center, an Ice Center with Olympic-sized ice rink, all centers being covered training areas (C9 Hotelworks Market Research, 2015b).

The number of Thai students who study in international schools with 38% is a notable percentage. Some Thai parents believe that studying at international schools is a good way to enhance better opportunity for their children to continue their study at leading universities. In addition, studying at international schools can be the best option to further their study abroad. Although the tuition fee of each international school is very high, many local people of Phuket have become rich, so they can afford sending their children to study at international schools. Thus, Thai parents and children have gradually become notable consumers, who value the productivity of the international school system in Phuket.

A high competition within the education market in Phuket produces high-quality education and enhances educational outcomes that students can benefit from. At the initial stage of the establishment of international schools in Phuket before 2004 promoters did not only intend to support the foreign communities in Phuket, but also form a response to the education hub in Southeast Asia. Therefore, Phuket as an international city within the context of the present and ongoing international tourism era has become a place with a high concentration of international schools. For example, the British International School Phuket founded in 1996, Q.S.I. International School of Phuket founded in 2000, and Buds International School Phuket was established in 1990. Later, from 2007 onwards, there were followed by another 10 international schools, clearly indicating the rising number of foreign settlers in Phuket. To the present day, the significant change in education sector of Phuket has become one of the key factors that attract foreign settlers to reside on the island.

The number of Thai students is also increasing markedly. The social phenomenon of the growing trend to study at international schools for Thai children is considered an important change. In former days, Thai parents tried hard to send their

children to study in leading Thai schools in Bangkok and famous schools in various in different provinces. This situation has changed now, since parents/children have various choices of international schools they can choose from to suit the family's financial situation and location. Internationalization has become a key characteristic of Phuket through its high standard in international schools. Therefore, internationalization of Phuket has strongly influenced a large group of Thai people in their ideal to send their children to study at an international school.

Therefore, it is evident that when newcomers come into the host society, changes are the consequences of this factor. Phuket has become a receiving society for large foreign communities during this international tourism era, incredible social changes are taking place in various aspects of the society. Significantly, such aspects of demographic, socio-cultural, economic and physical landscapes as above described have visibly altered Phuket society into transformation. These are the key impacts resulting mainly from the settlement of westerners on this small island.

CHAPTER 6: SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

The thesis has studied and analyzed the phenomenon of the influx of the westerners in Phuket from 2004 to 2014 and the various aspects of change caused by these westerners, as well as its impact on present-day Phuket society. In the context of international tourism of Phuket, a large number of foreign settlers - especially from western countries - have come to reside on the island of Phuket. This group has become a significant cause of demographic change, and also changes in the physical, economic and socio-cultural dimension in present-day Phuket.

Two primary sources in this research are qualitative and quantitative data. Qualitative, non-statistical and documental, data was collected from academic texts, newspapers, journals and websites, whereas quantitative, statistical, data was gathered from government sources. In addition, qualitative fieldwork by conducting observation, in-depth interviews with the local residents and informal conversations with western settlers who live in the area of Ban Saiyuan, Tambon Rawai, Amphoe Mueng Phuket, Changwat Phuket were used in this research. Ban Saiyuan was selected as a primary research site because this area is highly favored by westerners. Ban Saiyuan or Soi Saiyuan is mostly known as “the international Soi” or in Thai, *Soi Nanachat* (ซอยนานาชาติ), which obviously indicates that the inhabitants of the area are mostly foreign settlers. Consequently, in the last decade, Ban Saiyuan has gone through a rapid growth. Much housing property has been built, and it has become a large residential area with many and a variety of nationalities of western settlers.

6.1 Summary of the research

Foreigners have been attracted to the island of Phuket by two key industries, namely tin mining and the tourism industry. During the tin mining era in the past, the island of Phuket hosted a large number of Chinese migrants who came to Phuket in order to seek for better economic opportunities, which could be earned by the mining of tin ore. The migrants played an important role, mainly in economic and cultural sense in the society of Phuket. The island was transformed into a settlement with Chinese

characteristics throughout society by their large settlement. The areas of what are Phuket Town and Kathu today were populated by the Chinese settlers. Up to the present day Chinese settlements in Phuket uniquely and dominantly reflect Chinese traditions and cultures. Some Chinese immigrants have become powerful local investors with large areas of land and property in Phuket.

The economic activity of Phuket changed from tin production to tourism related business starting in 1967. The island was transformed through full scale tourism development in the 1980s and stepped on the stage of international tourism during this period. The rapid growth in tourism development has changed Phuket's landscape into an urbanized island with enormous holiday resort and hotel investments. More and more both international and domestic visitors flock to the island with its great reputation of incredible natural beauty and unique culture. Its transformation into an international tourism destination has affected the island in various aspects, but mainly in its economic structures, society and physical landscape.

In December 2004, Phuket was hit by the tsunami natural disaster. The Boxing Day Tsunami carried extensive devastation to not only Phuket but also five other provinces of Thailand on the Andaman coast. Ranong, Phang-Nga, Krabi, Trang and Satun were hit and were seriously devastated. The tourism infrastructure and local settlements along the coast lines were heavily damaged. This shocking natural disaster brought down the island's economy sharply with a decrease of tourist arrivals in the first quarter of 2005. However, recovery was very fast. Within 14 months international tourist arrivals increased. This went along with massive growth in tourism developments.

In Phuket's era of international tourism, a new wave of foreign settlers from western countries play a dominant role of influence on the island, along with the overwhelming of tourism infrastructure and holiday resort and hotel developments. In particular from 2004 to 2014, a large number of western settlers have made Phuket their home and/or second home during this era of tourism. Its reflection is seen from a total of 22 foreign honorary/general consulates. Among these consulates, 17 are of western countries. The various forms in which these western settlers reside on the island include

retirees, investors, diplomats, expatriates with work permits holding, young westerners, and western residents who married a Thai spouse.

This phenomenon can be witnessed by the high concentration of residential areas which have sprouted on the west coast of the island. During the last decade the southern area of the island is highly favored by western settlers, especially the area of Tambon Rawai, which is famous for being less touristy with its peaceful and relaxed atmosphere. Apart from this area, Tambon Chalong is also a popular area for western settlement. One of the reasons for these concentrations are that both locations are close to Naiharn beach and Chalong marina, which offers boating and diving activities and forms a key supporting marine infrastructure. Kathu located on the central part of the island has also steadily become more crowded - with many construction projects of condominium and housing estates. The great number of foreign settlers residing on the island is evidenced through the ongoing massive growth in residential areas with many housing and other property developments in key areas of southern, western, and central Phuket.

From the case study of Ban Saiyuan, which is located in Tambon Rawai, Amphoe Mueang Phuket, it is found that the area is highly popular for western settlers. They form large communities with different nationalities living in the area, such as French, Italians, German, Swedish, Australians, Americans and Russians. These are retirees, investors, entrepreneurs, diplomats, and young westerners coming for a short-term stay of 3 months or 6 months or up to a year depending on their activities of interest. Some reside here permanently, have their own houses and have Thai spouses.

The settlement of various nationalities of westerners at Ban Saiyuan has had great impact on society. During 2004 to 2014, Ban Saiyuan has gone through rapid changes in various aspects. The physical landscape has changed from a zone with mainly coconut and rubber plantations into a large residential area covered with new big houses with tall fences, apartments, condominiums, and luxury villas. Establishments along the main street of Ban Saiyuan consist for 80 percent of various international restaurants and for 20 percent of different kinds of local restaurants. This combination has generated a picture of great cultural diversity in the area. In addition,

Ban Saiyuan has plenty of massage and spa shops, tattoo shops, bars and restaurants. The settlement of westerners at Ban Saiyuan has caused change in physical landscape through its high concentration of housing and property development. The rising number of western residents residing at Ban Saiyuan can be clearly noticed from the growth of the housing areas.

Economic growth is also obviously emanating from the new economic activities, which has been instigated by the western settlers living in the area of Ban Saiyuan, as the new livelihood of the locals has provided them with more income. The investments in building new houses and apartments for sale or for rent are lucrative mainly due to the foreigners. Some the locals rely for a large part of their income on being a landlord. Others sold their land to both domestic and foreign investors, generating an increase in housing, villa, apartment and condominium developments. Many Thai people from other regions of Thailand have been attracted by this economic growth in the area of Ban Saiyuan, as more new jobs are supplied such as maid, gardener, painter, massage and spa service and house repair service. Some locals still keep their business as owners of local restaurants with better income from foreign customers who live at Ban Saiyuan and surround areas.

Consequently, the settlement of westerners in this area has resulted in a more diverse demographic composition of Ban Saiyuan, which before this development mainly comprised of Thai Muslims, Thai Buddhists, and a small group of animists. The western settlers have become a key factor in demographics and they have generated a high degree of cultural diversity in the area, as can be seen through various kinds of food from many international restaurants, where German, French, Italian, Mexican, British and local Thai cuisines are represented. Additionally, the large western settlement in the area resulted in the emergence of an international school – the ABC International Nursery and Preschool - in the area and another two in the nearby area of Tambon Rawai, the Phuket International School and Kindergarten and Palm House Primary School. In addition, there are two international schools in Tambon Chalong; Buds International School Phuket and Chalong International Kindergarten and School.

The overall impact of the western settlement on the island of Phuket during 2004 to 2014 are divided into demographic, physical, economic and socio-cultural aspects, which shall be specified in six points as below:

6.1.1 Demographic change in Phuket

The settlement of westerners in Phuket society has generated a more diverse demographic picture of the island. The western residents have become a key component of the island's demographic situation, which is mirrored in the variety of local English newspapers and magazine, many Russian publications and a monthly French magazine. This emergence of these media visibly indicates the demographic diversity of which westerners form a significant contribution in the era of international tourism. In addition, the new generation of *luk kreung*, children of mixed ethnic Thai and *farang* parentage is on the rise. This social phenomenon of cross-cultural marriages between Thai and western settlers tends to play a crucial role in the transformation of Phuket society into a new ethnic identity. A generation of Western – Thai *luk kreung* with a Caucasian complexion, yet with a multitude of different identities and characteristics during the era of international tourism of Phuket is quickly rising. The demographic melting pot of Phuket has driven change in society into a more internationalized one, with growing numbers of westerners as a considerable proportion of its demographic composition.

6.1.2 Increase of cultural diversity

Western settlers have gained a dominant role in the society of Phuket by introducing a diversified culture along with a high concentration of international restaurants offering different kinds of food, and showing a fine example of internationalization on the island. Additionally, the linguistic diversity of the residents is also a significant indicator to consider the island as a place with a high level of cultural diversity, leading to a 'melting pot situation' in Phuket. While many locals can speak English, many westerners cannot speak Thai and some westerners cannot speak English. This situation caused in the emergence of a Thai English Pidgin, which became a necessity because some form of communication was essential for business and other interactions between locals and foreigners. The increase in the diversity of culture in

present-day Phuket can be observed from the rising number of people from different cultural backgrounds living together, and generating an altering landscape with plenty of international restaurants, events and activities. A high degree of cultural diversity is also created in the education sector with 13 international schools founded in Phuket, where various nationalities of students study together. Phuket therefore presents a melting pot of cultures within the context of international tourism, which steadily promotes the island as a unique destination and an internationalized society with a large western component.

6.1.3 Influence of western settlement on local residents' ways of life

From the case study of Ban Saiyuan, it can be concluded that there is a clear impact made by the settlement of Westerners on the local residents' way of life. The influx of Westerners is changing their livelihoods by offering them reliable income from being a landlord and by investing in building new houses or apartments for rent. Some locals sold their land to investors with huge profit due to the high price of land in Phuket. This resulted in many more property development projects. Many new jobs such as maid, gardener, taxi driver, home repair man and many other related jobs came on the market, and this attracted more people from other regions of Thailand to the island of Phuket. Many locals have worked as a taxi driver collecting most of their foreign customers by word of mouth. Most of the westerners who have lived in the village of Ban Saiyuan try to adapt and adjust themselves to get along well with the locals, while the locals react to the foreign residents with a positive and friendly attitude.

6.1.4 Rapid growth in property development and concentration of residential areas

Different types of western settlers living in Phuket during the international tourism era - both permanent and on a semi-permanent basis- have caused changes in the physical landscape, which has changed from green forest into a high concentration of property development projects. The natural landscape has been transformed into large residential areas. Over the last decade, the southern area of Phuket has changed

into a large residential area of foreign communities inhabited by a plenitude of western settlers. Tambon Rawai and Chalong are the most popular locations among the western residents. The growing numbers of foreign settlers tie strongly with the increase of housing properties, villas, resorts that have been developed. Because the land price in Phuket is very high, many locals are eager to sell their land. Together with the western settlers' buying power, these facts have caused the boom in property development. As the western, southern and central parts of Phuket have experienced a high concentration of property development and the land price is very high presently, the trend in property development now is to build in the north of Phuket, which is less densely populated and less touristy, and where the price of land is cheaper than in other regions of Phuket.

6.1.5 Increasing dominance and ownership by western settlers

Western settlers have become a dominant group in generating capital and driving Phuket's economy. The dominance and ownership by Westerners concerns large areas of land and property in Phuket, particularly in the western, southern and central parts of the island are under foreign ownership. Many western retirees want to own land, preferably along the beachfront areas. Although the land price in Phuket is very high, especially along the beachfront locations, some westerners have high potential in buying land. With the land prices high in Phuket, Thai people have much less potential. Foreign investors often buy real estates with the intention to use the house as second home. This leads to the fact that large areas along the coastline and housing properties are under foreign ownership through Thai nominees. This can be arranged in different forms, in which either spouse, employees of corporate bodies or legal entities such as staff of law firms act as a nominee in order to help foreigners register as a Thai corporate body. Housing property and land at Ban Saiyuan has been found increasingly under western settlers' ownership. Some settlers own legally, while some have done this through loopholes in the Thai laws. This situation is considered as a serious problem in Phuket society up to the present time. Land and property in the residential zones of Phuket have continue increasing fall under foreign ownership. The fortress-like building styles and tall fences that some Westerners favor, and which are so

different from the way the locals build, have altered surroundings, atmosphere and way of life.

6.1.6 Rapid changes in education

A large settlement of westerners in Phuket has influenced the education sector of Phuket during the period of international tourism with the founding of 13 international schools on the island. After 2004, the establishment of 10 out of 13 international schools in Phuket has caused great change in the education sector. All are private international schools and mostly are operated by western investors. English-medium education is conducted for all classes.

Massive growth in the education sector clearly indicates the influence of the large foreign communities on this small island of Phuket. A large proportion of the students of these international schools are foreign (62%), while 38% of enrolled students are Thai. Some of the students are dual passport holders or *Luk Kreung* who are mixed-blood children of Thais and foreigners. The top five nationalities among the large group of foreign students are British, Russian, American, Australian, and South Korean. In addition, the ongoing market trend of international education provides 6 Thai schools that offer an English program. This could be another option for children and parents who can only afford a low tuition fee. Most of the students enrolled in Thai schools with an English program are Thai, at 91 percent, the rest consists of international students.

Change in the education sector results from large foreign communities in Phuket, particularly western settlement has generated this change and tend to have a visible influence on Thai parents. They believe and value that studying in an international school is the best way for their children to enhance their study opportunities, and to obtain entrance in leading universities or further their study abroad. There are various types of international schools that parents/children can choose from, depending on their financial situation and the location of the schools. Seen in the light of this social phenomenon, the island of Phuket has transformed visibly into

an internationalized study destination with a well-known representation of high standard international schools.

The western settlement in Phuket has been found apparently since its new landscape of production in tourism industry, coming with the foreign cultures from different nationalities of foreign settlers. Various aspects of changes occurring in Phuket society as a consequence of the western settlement, which have turned the island of Phuket becoming home and a second home for a large number of the westerners living as a transnational community by still moving back and forth to their home country.

6.2 Discussion

6.2.1 The development of transnationalism in Phuket: from mining to tourism

Phuket has attracted foreign settlers both during the tin mining period and during the era of international tourism. The settlement patterns of the foreign settlers during these two periods are distinguished by their socio-cultural context, living conditions, policies of the host country, and their transnational lifestyles during the periods. The tin mining industry attracted a massive influx of Chinese settlers. In the era of international tourism, Phuket was influenced by a large group of settlers, with Westerners a majority among them on the island. With a difference in social context and general conditions, a different type of settle emerged. Different government policies during each period caused the pattern of settlement on the island of Phuket to differ greatly. The foreign settlers, from the mining era up to the age of tourism industry have gradually transformed themselves into a large transnational community, which tend to influence various aspects of the society.

In the 19th century, Chinese immigrants came looking for economic opportunities in tin mining in Phuket and with rich tin ore in Ranong (Nasution, 2009). Tin mining in Phuket at that time relied mainly on Chinese migrants, because the island

held only a very small number of local people and they hardly knew anything about mining (Ingram, 1995). The demand of tin from global market was on the increase, thus enlarging the island's tin mining business. It produced a high income for the Siamese government. The growth of tin production of Phuket caused more mining laborers to work in the mines, parallel with the high demand for tin on the market. The Siamese government realized that Phuket was a very important source to generate high income for the government, so they tried to help and solve a serious problem - a lack of labor force for the mines - by providing funds to hire Chinese migrants directly from China through Phuket's mining operators (Puengthip Kiattisahakul, 1991). Thus, one of the key factors causing the massive influx of Chinese to the island of Phuket was the government's policy to support immigration and to welcome Chinese migrants to work in Phuket's tin mines.

The peak period of tin production was from 1855 to 1932. During this period there was an influx of Chinese immigrants who came directly to Phuket. Some of the Chinese immigrants made the British Straits Settlements their first destination in the search for better economic opportunities. Some moved to Phuket, after they had created a transnational network and strong business ties among the Chinese who had settled in the British Straits Settlements. When the Burney Treaty was signed in 1826, this benefited Chinese entrepreneurship both in Phuket and in the Straits Settlements. Even more encouraging for Chinese entrepreneurship was the signing of the Bowring Treaty in 1855. Hence, the business connections and networks had strong ties among the Chinese in the Straits Settlements. Penang had become more important –not only as an economic center, but also a source of cultural influence to Phuket (Nasution, 2009).

The coming of Chinese migrants to Phuket initiated the emergence of inter-marriages between Chinese men and local Thai women. They formed large communities, which had as a prime task the extension of their businesses. The new generation of *Luk Kreung* Chinese-Thai or the children born in inter-marriages mainly between local Thai women and Chinese men has formed the “Baba Community” in Phuket, which still plays an important role in an economic as well as a cultural sense in the society up to the present-day Phuket.

Some Chinese experienced great success in mining in Phuket, and they encouraged more friends and relatives from China to work in Phuket's mines. The settlement of Chinese during the era of the mining industry influenced Phuket by generating the growth of its economy. In addition, the prominence of Chinese culture and identity were reflected through the immigrant's traditional practices, festivals and lifestyle. They played important roles in investment and trade of tin, carrying prosperity to the island. Importantly, the Chinese became a powerful community in the trade of tin and running related businesses, particularly when Phraya Rassada Khaw Sim Bee, who was a Chinese, took position as governor of Phuket. The Baba community in Phuket has formed and kept their specific cultural practices. They have transformed the island of Phuket into a transnational city through their influx, causing the emergence of a new socio-cultural landscape during the tin mining era.

One of the significant changes in the society of Phuket generating by Chinese settlement during the mining era was the establishment of many Chinese schools in Phuket. As the Chinese in Phuket became rich and powerful traders. They wanted their children to have good education. At the same time, they wanted to maintain their Chinese identity and culture through education their own schools. In 1913, the Hua Boon School was established. This school was the first public school running under the guidelines and rules of the Ministry of Education. The school provided both Chinese and Thai language classes and opened for both Chinese and Thai students. Government policy at that time regulated the school to offer one hour of Chinese language classes and four hours for Thai language classes. With the efforts to run the school in order to add more hours of Chinese classes, the school provided a full education program in Mandarin and Thai, with Hokkien still used as a medium of teaching. In the 1920s, the school requested to provide more hours for Chinese language lesson, but the request was dismissed by the government (Nasution, 2009). Nasution also adds that many other Chinese schools were founded in Phuket. For example, Tandavanitj Vithayakom School was established in 1917 on Yaowarat Road, King Rama VI gave the name of the school and opened it. The school was funded mainly by Tan Mah Siang or Phitak Chinpracha. In 1918, the Seong Teik School located on Dibuk Road and the Yok Eng School in Bang Neow were established. These two schools were supported and donated

mainly by Chinese community leaders. In addition, in 1934, the Hua Boon School was rebuilt and became the biggest school in southern Siam with more than 1,000 students enrolled.

The increase in numbers of Chinese schools in Siam during the time before the country's transformation into a constitutional monarchy in 1932 was in a boom (Ravipan Jaruthavee, 2009). Establishing Chinese schools was a very effective way in maintaining Chinese cultural values and identity in children, securing cultural commitment in the next generation. However, the Chinese schools in Thailand experienced serious difficulties when the country was transformed from an absolute into a constitutional monarchy in 1932. Under the administration of Prime Minister Phibul Songkram (1938-1944), all Chinese schools were under very strict and serious rules because of the intense idea of "Nationalism" of the government leader Phibul Songkram. In Phuket, all Chinese schools were forced to follow very strict rules and regulations, while hours of teaching in Thai were increased, which was one of the rules. This caused Chinese classes to deteriorate to no more than two hours a week (Mackay, 2013; Penpisut Intarapirom, 2007). By 1939, Tan Han Kai, an officer from the Thai education department came to Tongkah to announce that all Chinese schools had to close and they were forced to close. The Hua Boon School, which was the biggest one in the South of Thailand was closed completely in 1942 (Nasution, 2009). In this situation, many local Chinese in Phuket took the option to send their children to Chinese boarding schools in Penang, the government tried to close this option by increasing departure tax to the very high rate of 500 baht per each departure for the parents of any school age child who wanted to leave Siam. However, some richer Chinese could afford the high departure tax and insisted to send their children to Chinese schools in Penang (Mackay, 2013).

In addition, under the regime of Prime Minister Phibul Songkram, his powerful idea of "Nationalism" used the Thai Nationality to classify the people in the country, thus treating the Chinese different than the "Thai". The declaration of the Nationality Act of 1911, which was implemented after the country's revolution in 1932, allowed

the Chinese in Thailand to change their nationality into Thai and adopt Thai names. Speaking Thai was also compulsory (Mackay, 2013; Ravipan Jaruthavee, 2009).

The settlement of the Chinese during the tin mining era can be divided into two main group movements; the first group consisted of those who settled down in the port of Penang, then moved on to Phuket in order to invest in mining. Their houses and families were still in Penang. The second group consists of the Chinese migrants who came directly to Phuket through the support of the Siamese government and mining operators to solve the problem of labor shortage during the boom time of tin mining (Naunghathai Intakhantee, 2011). The settlement of the Chinese has visibly influenced on the society of Phuket through the import of their unique identity and culture. The housing architecture in Phuket Town is in Sino-Portuguese style, the same style as the architecture in Penang and Singapore - as these two ports had been settled by them first. The influences of Chinese settlement in Phuket are reflected via their celebration of the vegetarian festival, Chinese New Year celebration and many other festivals. In addition, the Chinese are responsible for linguistic change. In the Southern Thai dialect of Phuket today, many Chinese words have entered. In particular, in the speech of Chinese-Thai who are aged 50 years and above (Puengthip Kiattisahakul, 1991).

In present day Phuket, many Sino-Thai families whose ancestors originally migrated from China and worked in Phuket's mines have become powerful local traders and investors in hotel and real estate developments, car dealerships and related tourism businesses. These local capitalists are for example, the Na Ranong family (from Khaw Sim Bee Na Ranong), the Hongsyok Family, the Nganthawee Family, the Vanich Family, the Tanbun Family and the Upattisaring Family. These big families made a great success of their mining businesses. By owning large area of land in Phuket, these local capitalists have extended their wealth and expanded their businesses in the current context of international tourism. Although economic activity on the island of Phuket has been transformed from tin to tourism, these local Chinese-Thai investors still keep strong economic ties and social relations with the Chinese in Penang, Singapore and Malaysia to maintain their transnational network which was created by their ancestors during the heydays of the tin mining industry.

The coming of Chinese immigrants as foreign settlers in Phuket during the mining era was welcomed because of economic opportunities in the growth of tin production. Later, when social context and conditions changed, they were forced to settle down permanently in Phuket and assimilated into Thai society through taking Thai citizenship, as law and government policies prescribed after the country's revolution in 1932. They had to speak Thai and behave like Thai people. However, their settlement as Chinese has produced great socio-cultural changes, which are visible through their different religious beliefs and practices in the daily life with their many shrines and Chinese temples, mainly in the areas of Phuket Town in Amphoe Mueng Phuket and Amphoe Kathu.

In the meantime, within the social context of the tourism era, a new wave of foreign settlers is coming to the island of Phuket. A majority among the foreign settlers is Westerners. This group has caused various aspects of changes throughout the society. As the transformation of Phuket from mining industry to tourism business has started seriously in the 1980s and Phuket moved and came into contact with international tourism during the same period (Kontogeorgopoulos, 2004). The opening of wider opportunities in tourism development for both foreign and domestic investors that were supported by the government and the private sector, has triggered an overwhelming and rapid growth in tourism development and infrastructure, facilities, hotel and accommodation improvement of various levels to serve all kinds of tourists on the island. This resulted in shifting the island economy from a rural one to a modern, fast growing urbanized one all over Phuket.

As a well-known and popular tourist destination, apart from the influx of tourists visiting the island, Phuket also hosts for a massive number of foreign settlers as well. The combination of beautiful nature of sandy white beaches, mild tropical climate and long history of various groups of people residing on the island constitutes a basic factor to attract Westerners to reside in Phuket. In addition, globalization and advanced technology in communication and transportation are the key factor to accelerate an increase the number of western settlers on the island with a high degree in the phenomenon of transnationalization.

Various appearances of western settlers residing in Phuket are for example, business investors, entrepreneurs, retirees, hotel or company employees with work permits, and foreigners who marry a Thai spouse. Within the social and political context in contemporary Thailand this causes the settlement patterns of Westerners to differ from those of the Chinese settlers in the mining period. Different law, rules, regulations, and policies from the Thai government have produced new characteristics of western settlement in Phuket. The immigration process for entry into Thailand is different depending on purpose of stay, which is linked to visa policies. For example, a foreign retiree needs to request a retirement visas. The applicant must be 50 years of age or older, with proof of a minimum balance of 800,000 baht in a Thai bank and/or a pension or other forms of monthly income of at least 65,000 baht. This visa allows foreign retirees to stay for up to one year per request with no permission to work or earn an income during the stay.

A large community of western settlers in Phuket has made the island home both on a permanent and on a semi-permanent basis, but most stay in Phuket on a semi-permanent basis. This means Phuket is their second home. Many of them will stay in Phuket during the winter time of their home country or longer than that. All these factors make that they are residing in the form of transnational settlement, as they still move back and forth to the country of origin and keep strong economic, social and political relations with their home country. Some rent a house or an apartment and some buy a house in the name of their Thai spouse. Therefore, the living status of western settlers in Phuket does not strictly deal with Phuket only; they may move away or they may live in other countries after two or three years or more than that in Phuket. These are the key different characteristics from the Chinese settlers during the mining time.

However, a large number of western settlers living in Phuket - more than 100,000 people- has produced great changes to present day Phuket society. Regarding the economic aspect, they have generated new businesses for the locals and also for Phuket as a whole. Greater income to the locals and growth in Phuket's economy from property development, with a high concentration of residential areas as there is a high

demand by westerners who want to own or to rent houses, apartments, condominiums and villas, as well as new livelihoods as landlord and taxi service provider for the locals.

Additionally, the impact from western settlement on the education sector of Phuket can be clearly seen by the many international schools that have been established (a total number of 13). In the last decade, the increasing number of international schools in Phuket revealed that 10 out of 13 schools were founded in the last ten years. Phuket is very small island but it has a total number of 13 international schools, this implies to a large western community on the island and high competition on the education market. International education in Phuket started in 1990 with the establishment of the Buds International School Phuket, the first private international school in Phuket, after that following by the British International School Phuket in 1996 and Q.S.I. International School of Phuket in 2000. From 2007 to 2013, there were ten international schools established in Phuket.

The growing numbers of international schools in Phuket is not only to the benefit of international settlers, but it also receives significant support from the Thai government, starting under Prime Minister Anand Panyarachun who implemented the new policy in 1991 by opening greater opportunities for more investments from both foreign and domestic investors on private international schools and under the Education Act of 1991, allowing Thai children to study in international schools as a new alternative, in order not to restrict Thai students to study only in Thai schools, as before 1990 (International School, 2004). In addition, the Thai government has attempted to support and increase the English capacity of Thai students by announcing a policy in 1995 for all Thai students to learn English as their first foreign language, starting from primary school level onwards. The government supports the establishment of more international schools and supports Thai schools to provide an English Program (EP) for students under the rules and regulations of the Ministry of Education. In present-day Phuket, high demands in sending children to international schools can be found not only from foreign parents but from Thai parents as well.

Considering the western settlers' impact on Phuket society in the aspect of demographic diversity in Phuket, Westerners have become a key proportion in the demographic components of Phuket. The emergence of *luk kreung farang* generation has become an interesting social phenomenon, as they are on the rise in numbers. The generation of *luk krueng farangs* tends to form a predominant part in Phuket's demographic compositions. Besides, the increase of linguistic diversity has created Thai Pidgin English, which is used in the communication between western settlers and local people. The western settlers feel free to speak Thai or to use Thai Pidgin English to communicate with the locals or Thai people. The phenomenon of linguistic diversity in Phuket has generated an increase of language school businesses in Phuket. Many Westerners want to learn Thai, while many their Thai spouses need to learn a foreign language such as German, French, Russian and Italian depending on the home country of their foreign spouse. This is because they have to follow laws and rules of their foreign spouses' home country when they want to marry or stay with foreign spouse in their homeland.

These are some key impacts from the western settlement in Phuket during the international tourism era. It can be considered that the settlement patterns of westerners in the tourism period of contemporary Phuket are different from the patterns of Chinese settlers during the boom of the mining industry. This is a matter of course within such the different socio-economic contexts of each period, causing different characteristics of the respective settlements. A high degree of transnationalized settlement can be seen clearly from the western settlers in Phuket, as a large number of them have made the island their second home. Whereas going back and forth to their home country regularly is a common practice among them, which is easy to realize in the context of globalization and advanced technology of the world today.

6.2.2 Globalization as a key dynamic of foreign settlement in Phuket

The mobility of people in moving from one place to another in the world is steadily increasing. People are moving abroad from their home countries for all sorts of reasons: making a new place their home or second home is one the main reasons of their migration. Globalization is a key factor promoting this phenomenon. Thus,

moving to another country with the intention of residing there permanently or semi-permanently has become a common activity in world today, while moving back and forth between home country and new home destination is simple via the advanced development of communication, transport, trade and information networks.

Immigration to Phuket has been driven by the key factors of globalization and the advancement of information technology in transportation and communication, which have accelerated the flow of people from all over the world to the island. Macleod (2004: 6), points out that globalization includes the exchange of money, items and information, while trade, travel and communication are encouraged by globalization. In the era of international tourism, Phuket has accommodated a large number of foreign settlers from various countries and their settlement has caused profound changes in economic activity, socio-cultural landscape and demographic composition. A high level of diversity in Phuket's demography as well as its cultural diversity, has transformed the island into a demographic melting pot. Anan Ganjanapan (Anan Ganjanapan, 2012) illustrates that in a social and economic point of view, globalization causes an extensive and quick movement of people, trade and information across national boundaries, either in the form of tourism or mobile labor. This has resulted in a rapid socio-economic development that has caused people within society to become more diverse.

In present-day Phuket, international tourism is an influential factor in the great shift in economic activity from tin production to tourism industry. There is no doubt that the growth of tourism development has been caused by globalization, accelerating the flow of tourists to the island. The increasing number of tourists ties with the rising numbers of foreign settlers. The tremendous growth of Phuket's tourism industry causes massive change, mainly in new economic structures and activities, and for a large proportion the physical landscape of the island turns into investments sites consisting of holiday's accommodation and hotel zones, developed by both foreign and domestic investors. Globalization has facilitated the growth of tourism through modern development of transportation and communication, and through the exchange of trade and investment capital.

The foreign settler is a significant agent of change arriving alongside globalization. Particularly, the western residents in Phuket also cause profound impact on society and the local community in various aspects. Western settlers' impact on the education sector generates a strong sense of internationalization, a fact also evident from the number of international schools founded on this small island. This causes the fine picture of Phuket as a world-renown tourist destination to extend into that of a high quality hub for education as well. Key investments on the education market in Phuket are mainly from the western countries that provide their national curriculum in the schools. The total of 13 international schools in Phuket indicates the large foreign settlement in Phuket. The island is hosting more and more foreign settlers because of its reputation as a high standard study destination, coupled with the growth of world class tourism infrastructure and facilities, with many big projects planned for the near future.

6.2.3 Phuket as a second home for western retirees

In the current era of the tourism industry, there are various groups of foreign settlers residing in Phuket. Among the foreign settlers, the retirees from western countries form a large community. The south of Phuket its and beachfront location are highly favored by this group of settlers. Key factors of their motivation for dwelling in Phuket are its tropical climate, its natural beauty and its fantastic beaches. In addition, although the cost of living in Phuket is the most expensive of all tourism destinations in Thailand, it is still lower than that of many western countries. The island is well equipped with infrastructure and tourism facilities, international banks, hospital and medical care centers, shopping malls and international schools. Hence, for persons who wish to enjoy life after retirement, Phuket offers a long dreamt of retirement life with plenty of sea, sand and sun.

Government policy supports a warm welcome to more and more foreign retirees to settle in popular tourism destinations in Thailand as Phuket, Samui, Chiang Mai, Hua Hin and Pattaya, as they boost the economy of the country. As it is, Phuket is one of the most popular second home destinations among western retirees, mainly from European countries.

These settlers still keep moving back and forth to their home country, which is easy to do in today's world with its advanced information technology and transportation. Some western retirees have married a Thai spouse, and buy land or a house in the name of their wife, while many others rent a house/villa or condominium. During winter in their home country, most of these western retirees will stay in Phuket. This situation has been described as the phenomenon of the transnational community, as these settlers still keep close relationship with their home country, especially economically and politically.

During the time that many western retirees stay in their home country, they may offer their houses for friends or other people that they know to stay in their houses. This situation tends to accelerate a higher degree of transnational phenomenon in Phuket with various nationalities of foreigners residing on the island. Kamonchai Khuadkaew (Kamonchai Khuadkaew, June 9, 2014) confirms that many western retirees will take this opportunity when they are in their home country and let the people that they know stay in their house. In this situation, Phuket has to accommodate more and more foreigners, and the investment in housing property is on the rise. Green forest areas are steadily changed into larger residential areas.

6.3 Suggestions for further research

The thesis focuses mainly on the impact of the settlement of Westerners on Phuket which plays a dominant role in the era of international tourism. For those who are interested in studying foreign settlement in Phuket, there are many other interesting issues and aspects to discover, as there are various groups of foreign settlers residing in Phuket. There are also various aspects of change on society; for example, the aspect of international retirement migration of Westerners in Phuket is still waiting to be explored and explained: foreign residents in Phuket play an interesting role as a transnational community, Russian settlers as newcomers in Phuket, are an interesting group to consider, as are other foreign communities such as laborers and low-paid workers from Myanmar, Laos, and Cambodia; they form quite an extended community in Phuket. Among the low-wage laborers from neighboring countries, Burmese nationals form the

largest group. Very little research has been carried on these migrant laborers from our neighboring countries.

The island of Phuket has to host more and more foreigners in the various shapes of both tourists and settlers; therefore, different aspects of changes taking place in the society need to be investigated.



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APPENDIX



จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย
CHULALONGKORN UNIVERSITY

VITA

Sudrudee Bamrung was born in Nakhon Si Thammarat Province. She graduated from Ramkhamhaeng University in 1996 with a BA in English. Sudrudee had worked in private sectors for nine years. During that period, she pursued a master degree in Language and Communication at National Institute of Development Administration from which she graduated in 2006. After that, she moved to Phuket to start her new career path as a lecturer at Prince of Songkla University, Phuket Campus, and she got a financial support from the university to further her Ph.D. in the Thai Studies Program in 2012.

