

The Moken: Today and Tomorrow

Building a sustainable livelihood for the Moken community in the Surin Islands Marine National Park



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Abstract

The thesis seeks to explain the feasibility of the tourism activities proposed by the Andaman Pilot Project (APP) for the Moken living in the Surin Island Marine National Park (SP). The Moken, who are a group of indigenous sea nomads who used to wander around the area in the past, has undergone enormous changes in their life – from sea wandering to permanent settlement in a protected area.

Due to the conservation policies and regulations, the traditional livelihoods of the Moken that in the past relied on natural resources gathered from the surrounding environment have come to an end. Despite the fact that they are ‘unofficially allowed’ to gather some resources for household use, the gathering would not support the community in the long run because 1) there is no official consensus about the allowance of resource gathering, 2) the Moken are not able to seek for other job opportunities elsewhere for they do not have the Thai citizenship and , 3) changes as a result of tourism have already taken in the Moken community, replacing their traditional values and knowledge with modern culture.

The tourism activities proposed by the APP is recognized as one of the most outstanding project that supports the Moken to be able to stand on their feet so that they can cope with the existing problems. Despite strategies and development projects, the living condition of the Moken has not yet alleviated. Thus, a challenge here is in the managing, implementing, and improving the existing condition of the project.

The case study investigation in the Moken village has examined the adaptability of the Moken whether they can cope with a range of changes that take place in the community as a result of tourism on the SP and the implementation of the tourism activities proposed by the APP. In addition, the study has also examined the feasibility of the tourism activities whether they can establish the Moken a sustainable livelihood. This examination has focused on one hand on the institutional constraints that may obstruct the implementation of the tourism activities and on the sustainability of the project on the other.

The key results indicate that the tourism activities at this stance may have a potential to establish a sustainable livelihood for the Moken, and the activities in return will take away cultural values from the Moken because the Moken seem not to cope well with changes that tourism has given them. Further, the implementation of the tourism activities is also constrained by institutional factors, and the sustainability of the project itself is rather skeptical. The investigation for these constraints shows that the current tourism activities are incapable of establishing a sustainable livelihood for the Moken.

Possibilities still exist for the APP to improve the working strategy. Reconsideration for the function of participation may affect the strategy of the tourism activities as a whole. However, it could make a great improvement to the implementation of the project, which in return would establish a sustainable livelihood for the Moken.

List of Abbreviations

APP	Andaman Pilot Project
CSI	Environment and Development in Coastal Regions and Small Islands
ECTWT	Executive of the Ecumenical Coalition on Third World Tourism
FIO	Forest Industry Organization
GNP	Gross National Product
ICEM	International Center for Environment Management
IISD	International Institute of Sustainable Development
IOC	Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission and Environment
MNP	Marine National Park
MSP	Master Plan of the Surin Islands Marine National Park
NESDB	National Plan by the National Economic and Social Development Board
NWPD	National Park, Wildlife and Plant Conservation Department
PAO	Provincial Administrative Office
RFD	Royal Forest Department
SEA	South East Asia
SDCN	Sustainable Development Communication Network
TAO	Tambon (sub-district) Administrative Office
TAT	Tourism Authority of Thailand
TDRI	Thailand Development Research Institute
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Motivation

This project attempts to investigate the potential of the tourism activities (elaborate later in this chapter) promoted by the Andaman Pilot Project (APP) whether they can provide a new livelihood strategy that is sustainable for the Moken. This project has been developed from my concern in the Moken, a group of indigenous sea nomads who currently live in the Surin Islands Marine National Park (SP) in the south of Thailand. The SP has been known as having one of the most beautiful beaches in Thailand and is a popular tourist destination.

National agencies and international institutions are the agencies that advocate market-driven, integrated, sustainable development principles and programs. They claim that cultural and ecotourism approaches which adopt a sustainable model are capable of empowering marginalized communities (Pholpoke 1998, p. 265). However, a number of critical studies focusing on the small island economies have begun to highlight the unequal economic and social impacts associated with tourism (Mowforth and Munt, 1998, p. 45). Instead of providing benefits for the majority of people, tourism exploits the benefits of the people by polluting the environment, destroying the ecosystem, bastardizing the culture, robbing people of their traditional values and ways of life (Srisang¹, quoted in Mowfort and Munt, 1998, p. 47).

I also became concerned with the conservation policies, which have directed me to a greater concern of possibilities and constraints of the communities to participate in a development project that sees tourism as a key to establish a sustainable livelihood. This

¹ Srisang K. was a former Executive of the Ecumenical Coalition on Third World Tourism (ECTWT).

was based on Kumar's² claims that most participatory development fails to take into account the social obstacles in people's participation (Kumar, 2002, p. 29). In his *Methods for Community Participation*, he claims that the social obstacles like “*mentality of dependence, culture of silence, domination of the local elite, or gender inequality*”, can militate against people's participation (Kumar, 2002, p. 29).

Based on these dual concerns I intend to investigate possibilities and constraints of the Moken in participating in the tourism activities designed by the APP. Thus, my investigation primarily targets 1) the potential of the tourism activities whether it can promote a sustainable livelihood to the Moken and 2) the potential of the Moken whether they can work with the tourism activities provided by the APP. At the end of the research, I intend to provide recommendations to the APP by basing on strengths and constraints of the Moken in participation in order to develop or improve new strategies in working with the Moken.

1.2 Problem area

1.2.1 Conservation Parks and the Local Communities in Thailand

Of increasing concern is the negative impact of the regulations for environmental conservation on the people living in or near protected areas. Often they suffer from both the tourism development as well as from the enforcement of conservation regulations. This problem is particularly acute for indigenous communities in unique and often remote cultural landscapes³ (UNESCO, 2001).

The establishment of national parks in Thailand began some 40 years ago. During the 1960s, only three national parks and one wildlife sanctuary were established. In the early

² Kumar S. has extensive experience in working with the most backward communities in Andhra Pradesh and has implemented a number of innovative programs including externally funded participatory development projects. He has also served as Director of the PRA of Action Aid India (1996-2000).

³ <http://www.unesco.org/csi/pub/papers2/surin6.htm>

1970s, the idea of national parks was considered as the best way to prevent the occupation and exploitation of forest areas (Ghimire, 1992, p. 4). However, the process of establishing a park in Thailand is hard. The chief problems are policing, administration, staffing and funds (Ghimire, 1992, p. 4). Further, problems in relation to the local communities always fail to be addresses.

Thailand is rich in cultural diversity charmingly composed by numerous minority groups across the region, as well as in protected areas. Most of them had been in the areas for generations before the areas were officially protected. The traditional resident people were disregarded by the law, and were even displaced or blocked from traditional uses of park resources. This is because they are seen as the main cause for resource degradation. Traditional agriculture practices are considered harmful to the ecology and environment. As a result, they are alienated and left to suffer severe deprivation and social impacts without and documented proof that they were harming the resources of the area (IUCN, accessed 7/05/06)⁴.

Further, the boom of tourism was accelerating and blinded the real concern in environmental protection. Economic growth has been one of the most major concerns among South-East Asian countries, particularly during the mid 1980s which was the period of industrialization in South-East Asia (Bryant and Parnwell, 1996, p. 9). In order to reduce dependence on farming and extractive industries that the countries had been depending on up until the early 1980s, the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) had tried to develop areas of economic development. The introduction of tourism was hoped on a major scale to diversify the economic base (Hitchcock, King and Parnwell, 1993, p. 3). This opened a window of opportunity to national parks as a new source of income.

Subsequently, changes took place in the communities as a result derived from the change in political scheme. The countries in South East Asia (SEA) were experiencing a boom of foreign and domestic tourism. The states have enjoyed the boom without increasing their awareness of the need to understand its dynamics, the development processes engendered

⁴ The International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources

and their consequences for the region and its peoples. As Hitchcock, King and Parnwell observed, studies of tourism available to date do not provide them with “*anything approaching a comprehensive view of the social, economic, cultural, environmental and political issues, processes and problems involved in the rapid expansion of both international and domestic tourism*” (Hitchcock, King and Parnwell, 1993, p. 4).

In case of Thailand, the politics of environment that are generated around resource disputes are not always straightforward issues of competition between different social actors over a singular resource. In the past, business groups became directly involved in various environmental causes. It is obvious when the Royal Forest Department (RFD) established the Forestry Industry Organization (FIO) in 1947 to improve wood production, and in 1951 the state-owned Thai Plywood Company was founded for wood extraction and processing (Buergin, 2002). Although the National Park Act enacted in 1961 limited (not prohibited!) activities in park boundary, it contradicted with the fact that 40% of the total land area were assigned as concession areas, and commercial forestry was of major concern for the RFD (Buergin, 2002).

1.2.2 Moken in the Surin Islands Marine National Park

Before the islands were appointed as a protected area, Surin Islands had been home of the Moken for at least several centuries (UNESCO, 2001). In the past, the Moken spent most of their life time in the sea, wandering from island to island in groups of half a dozen or more boats⁵. It was in 1981 that the area was announced a protected area and the Moken had to stop nomadic lifestyles as a matter of policies and concerns, i.e. traditional hunting, gathering and trading practices of the Moken were seen as disturbance to the ecological balance of the national park (UNESCO, 2001). Two permanent villages were built for the Moken on Ao Sai Ean (Sai Ean Bay) and Ao Bon Lek (Bon Lek Bay), which were combined into one village after the tsunami (see table 1.1). Although the Moken

⁵ <http://www.phuketmagazine.com/html/Andaman%20Region/Mergui%20Archipelago/The%20Moken-traditional%20sea%20gypsies.htm>

who live in the Surin Islands Marine National Park (SP) have been settled in the permanent village on Ao Bon Yai (Bon Yai Bay), their livelihoods have been changed.

Time	Settlement	Production system
Several centuries ago	Nomadic	Extraction of natural resources and bargaining
1981-2004	Settled on Sai Ean and Bon Lek Bays	Less extraction, small-scale trading, making crafts and temporary work with the SP
2004 - present	The villages were combined and moved to Bon Yai Bay	Least extraction, small-scale trading, making crafts and temporary work with the SP

Table 1.1 Settlement patterns over time

A great change in the Moken's livelihoods took place when the area was announced a protected area. When the SP was officially established in 1981, it already contained a group of the Moken who had been traditionally living in the area. According to the Conservation Act of 1961, any roles of the resident of the local community living in the parks were not mentioned and their activities were prohibited, including human resident. Although the SP had to exclude human resident from the area as a matter of policies, the Moken were and have been allowed to continue their living in the area where they have been. It is because the SP accepted the fact that the Moken have been living in the area long before the SP was established, even though there was no official written consensus of the allowance for resident (UNESCO, 2001).

The traditional livelihood of the Moken on the SP that was based mainly on food-gathering practices and gathering of marine products for the local market to exchange for rice and other necessities were still permitted in the late 1980s. However, in the 1990s the SP prohibited the gathering of marine products due to the growing concern of

environmental degradation, despite there are “*no signs of severe over-exploitation*” caused by the Moken’s traditional gathering methods (UNESCO, 2001). According to UNESCO, damage to ecosystems around the SP is the result of illegal fishing activities by the semi-industrial Thai fishing fleets and reef damage resulting from the anchoring of pleasure boats (UNESCO, 2001.)

Surin Islands National Park’s regulations were written with the clear intention of preserving Thailand’s environment, fauna and flora, which are very rich in the SP area. Yet the preservationist approach to the environmental conservation does not consider the roles that the Moken could have in preserving and protecting the ecosystem and livelihoods.

Subsequently, the Moken have been facing a hard time to live their life according to the traditional ways of life. The cultural situation became more unpredictable when tourism industry boomed, attracting more people to the park. According to Ghimire, “*the notion of creating parks in order to protect plants and animals are seen as a crucial function*”. However, as he continues by saying, “*a common emphasis of national parks is to take benefit from tourism with a view to generating foreign exchange earning and providing income and employment opportunities for local people*” (Ghimire, 1992, p. 3). In relation to his claim, the nature of Thailand’s economy has been analyzed that “*it is highly dependent on the tourism and related industries and attracts high levels of foreign exchange*”⁶. Thailand has been promoting tourism campaigns with huge sum of investment for many years without any clear environmental impact assessment of the promoted destinations.

As a result, the Moken now are caught in the limited environment where they cannot practice their daily life as freely as they did. On the other hand, they have not gained Thai citizenship, making them not included in the Thai administration system. They have no rights to official occupation and welfare coverage. Due to these constraints, the Moken livelihood can no longer rely on food and resource gathering like they did in the past. On

⁶ <http://www.asiamarketresearch.com/news/000305.htm>

the other hand, they are not encouraged to assimilate into Thai society as a result of the lack of citizenship.

Currently, 53 households, 195 Moken live on the Surin Islands Marine National Park, all of whom are described as being effected by 1) the park's regulations that prohibit most of the traditional activities that seem to be a threat to the environment, and 2) the tourism that introduces the Moken to the external modern culture.

Groups of development workers and researchers have pointed out negative changes in the Moken's society. Traditional culture and lives of the Moken are being threatened because they are very sensitive to the new lifestyles such as gambling, substance addiction and overdose that have killed many Moken. I perceive the threats via the following scenario: as tourism grows and traditional livelihoods are limited, the Moken's livelihood is at risk, being incapable to sustain their livelihoods in the traditional manners and in moving towards a more modern lifestyle.

Development projects have been introduced to the Moken's community in an attempt to improve their living condition. Among them is a project that promotes tourism activities organized by the Andaman Pilot Project (APP). Training the Moken to participate in tourism activities is a new strategy project that has an objective in improving livelihoods of the Moken's by creating a new job opportunity. However, the first process of the project has already proven difficult due to a range of obstacles of the Moken to participate. For example, for Moken it is very difficult to fulfill the touristic requirement of face-to-face interactions among the host and guests since they are very shy to outsiders. Further, the number of female widows in the community is high⁷, and thus they have little spare time to participate in the project. It is obvious that implementing a new plan in training the Moken to participate in tourism activities is a very challenging task.

⁷ The Moken men work in the sea and very often they die in case of storm and other unexpected accidents.

1.2.3 The Andaman Pilot Project and its strategy

The Andaman Pilot Project (APP) was established in 1997 by the Social Research Institute of Chulalongkorn University. Supported by the Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission and Environment (IOC) of UNESCO and Environment and Development in Coastal Regions and Small Islands (CSI), the overall objective of the APP is the maintenance of the Moken community and culture that conforms to the Thai coastal protection policy. The APP intends to preserve the environment in the SP and to empower the Moken with rights to access natural resources. Further, the APP attempts to get the Moken to participate in future environmental protection and management (UNESCO, 2001).

The projects of the APP have been divided into five periods. Each period has its own objectives to be achieved. The first period began in October 1998 and was completed in September 1999. This can be considered as the ‘planning period’, holding meetings that included participants from various sectors and brainstorming for sustainable strategies took place in the first conference. The livelihood of the Moken was presented in the second conference; activities were brainstormed for the Moken to manage themselves and during this second conference that the potential of the Moken to participate in tourism activities was designed. The third period consisted of traditional boat-building planning, having objectives in preserving the traditional technique and to transport tourists to diving spots. The fourth period was dedicated to economic and social evaluation. The present period is the fifth, having objective in implementing the tour activities. There are nine Mokens (seven men and two women) participating in the APP tourism activities (UNESCO, 2001).

The conferences covered issues that are important for the Moken to live in the SP. For example, zoning strategy was proposed from the second conference, suggesting that the Moken should have a few habitat areas in cases of epidemic or conflict within the community. The other important issues were the rights to Thai citizenship, health, education, and community strength that should prevent cultural losses (UNESCO, 2001).

The second period of the APP started in October 1999 and completed in December 2000. Considering from the three activities that took place, it was the period of planning. These ideas were put into actions in the third period (January 2001 – March 2002). According to information given by the director of the APP, the following aspects of participation were emphasized:

A part of the current projects supports the Moken to participate in tourism of the SP. Young Moken men are gathered to build boats. Their task also includes taking tourists to snorkeling spots and trailing. This is a pilot project and is a method to support the Moken to be able to work in the SP because collecting sea-shells and sea-worms are now prohibited. This shall encourage the Moken to live with pride and use their extensive knowledge about the sea instead of doing part-time work in the SP.

(Interviewed with Assoc. Prof. Dr. Narumon Arunotai, own translation, 3/10/2005)

With these clear principles and strategies, the APP seems to be an outstanding institution working with the Moken at this moment. According to the statement, the underlying development principles of the APP focus on, firstly, promoting rights for the Moken. As we have come to see that the present livelihoods of the Moken, which include gathering activities, are in the compromising period, there is no consensus at any governmental level that would promise the continuation of the gathering, and even the residency. Thus, establishing a package of strategy, in particular the tourism activities, is expected to advance because tourism is perceived as an activity that would cause less natural degradation comparing to depending on extraction alone. Less extraction in return should result in making the SP not perceive the Moken as the main cause of the environmental degradation.

Secondly, participation in tourism is expected to function as a development tool that would lead to empowerment of the community. Finally, the APP expects that the practice of tourism activities would be environmentally sustainable and would provide an alternative livelihood strategy for the Moken, which would in return decrease the rate of gathering activities.

One might argue that the attempt of the APP is rather forcing the Moken to participate without consulting them. According to my visit to the SP in December 2005, I had a chance to talk with many Moken who stated that they wanted to live the way they were in the past, and realizing also the lack of opportunities to assimilate into Thai administration system. Thus, participating in tourism activities seems to be a potential solution for the APP in preserving traditional culture and livelihoods of the Moken.

1.3 Problem identification

The implementation of the tourism activities seems to have potential to impose threats on the Moken community because the Moken seem to be sensitive to modern culture and values. According to information collected from my first fieldwork, modern technology and values have become a part of the community. For example, the need of car batteries is growing because they are the source of electricity for television sets. This is also the need for AA and AAA batteries that are used to generate power for radios. The Moken earn money from working with the SP and spend them on these objects without considering saving. Regarding to traditional values, during my second stay I participated in a Moken funeral. I was told that in the past the Moken would sing their requiem in their traditional tone. However, what I experienced was a modern dancing with loud and upbeat music from the speakers.

Thus, in order to implement a development project that can go hand in hand with cultural conservation and establish a sustainable livelihood, it is important to understand the weaknesses and strengths of the community in order to decide an effective development project. It is also important to understand the feasibility of the project.

1.4 Problem formulation

The emphasis of this research is the assessment of the feasibility of the tourism activities whether they can become a sustainable livelihood strategy for the Moken.

The research will deal with assessment of 1) how effective the Moken can cope with changes in their livelihoods as a result of the implementation of the tourism activities proposed by the APP and 2) how feasibility the tourism activities are to establish a sustainable livelihood for the Moken. The main research question is presented as followed:

What steps should the Andaman Pilot Project take in order to improve the livelihood of the Moken living in the Surin Islands Marine National Park in a sustainable way?

In order to fulfil the question, the research will focus on two major areas. The first focus of this research is on 1) an investigation of how the Moken respond to the **new environment** and **new lifestyle** proposed by the APP as the result from the implementation of the tourism activities with an emphasis on impacts derived from changes in their **production system**. I will also emphasize on investigating reasons impeding the Moken to participate in the **tourism activities** because the APP has not yet been very successful in encouraging the Moken to participate in these tourism activities.

For the second focus, 2) I am going to investigate the feasibility of the of the tourism activities whether it can establish a sustainable livelihood for the Moken. By doing this, I intend to investigate **the capital feasibility** of the tourism activities whether it can establish a sustainable for the Moken. Further, as claimed by Hitchcock, King and Parnwell (1993) that the boom of tourism as a new source to national economic growth has been widely accepted throughout S.E.A. region, I will investigate how the incentive in economic growth of the Thai government has passed down affects to the living condition of the Moken. This thesis will partly deal with the institutional and political constraints for the emphasis will be put on the relationship between the Moken and the tourism activities.

Working questions

In order to fulfil the main research question, a list of working questions has been designed in an attempt to cover the problem fields which are the policy and livelihood fields. The questions are presented as follows and the answers to the questions are presented in the identified chapter.

1. What are the hindering objectives of the Thai state in establishing protected areas and how have the establishment of protected areas affected livelihoods of the local resident living in the area? **(Chapter 4)**
2. What are the characteristics of the traditional livelihoods of the Moken? **(Chapter 5)**
3. What changes in livelihoods have taken place after the SP was established and the APP got involve. **(Chapter 5)**
4. How the Moken responded to and cope with it? **(Chapter 5)**
5. What are the major changes in livelihoods of the Moken who have participated in the APP tourism activities? **(Chapter 5)**
6. How are the capital feasibilities of the APP tourism activities to generate a sustainable livelihood? **(Chapter 5)**
7. In reference to the finding of their adaptability, what are the possibilities of the Moken to cope with the tourism activities? **(Chapter 6)**
8. What are the main factors impeding the participation of the non-participant Moken? **(Chapter 6)**
8. In reference to the finding of the institutional constraints and the sustainability of the capitals, what are the possibilities of the APP to establish a sustainable livelihood for the Moken via the tourism activities? **(Chapter 6)**
9. What should the APP consider in order to improve the project implementation? **(Chapter 7)**

1.5 Definitions

Livelihoods

According to Chambers and Conway (1992), “*a livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living*” (Chambers and Conway, 1992, p. 296). I will refer to livelihoods in this thesis as the Moken’s means of living, which includes a range of activities that generates monetary and non-monetary income derived from jobs and assets such as natural resources and traditional knowledge.

By **traditional livelihoods** I refer to the living means of the Moken before the SP was established in 1981. The Moken before that time lived off of fishing, gathering forest products, small scale farming and product exchange with other communities. By **present livelihoods** I mean their living means after the SP was established. In this period the Moken are limited to live with the traditional livelihoods due to the regulation and environmental laws, and thus the living means includes working in a job and extracting natural assets. Present livelihoods cover the period of the Moken being engaged in APP tourism activities. A more critical definition will be elaborated further in the theoretical chapter.

Production system

By referring to production system I mean production methods that support the Moken in making a living. Traditional and present livelihoods consist of different production systems. The production system of the traditional livelihoods is natural-resource gathering based, consisting partly of small-scale bargaining and trading. On the other hand, the production system of the present livelihoods is relied less on natural resource gathering but more on income from jobs.

In this research I perceive the tourism activities as a main part of the production system of the Moken in the present. The importance of production system to this research will be clarified with completion in Chapter 2.

Tourism activities

Throughout this thesis I will refer to the tourism activities. The tourism activities proposed by the APP are a range of activities that have been established, having objective to create a new livelihood strategy for the Moken. The main activities promoted are trailing with Moken guides, which then the tourist trailers will be transported by *Kabang*, the traditional vessel, to snorkelling spots.

New environment and new lifestyle

The term ‘new environment’ that I use throughout this research refers to the environment around the Moken that have been created by tourism promoted by the SP and the APP, ranging from natural environment to societal values. Tourism creates a new environment for the Moken as well as a new production system that bases on income jobs more than on natural resource gathering. The shift from natural-resource base to monetary-income base will give them new lifestyle, which will affect the Moken community with threats that I will explore in this research. The threats can affect both natural resources and Moken culture.

Capital feasibility of the tourism activities

The implementation of the tourism activities should establish a sustainable livelihood for the Moken. By referring to capital feasibility I mean a range of capitals of the tourism activities that are importance to establish a sustainable livelihood. They are human, physical, natural and financial capitals. The importance of these capitals to establish a sustainable livelihood will be elaborated in the Chapter 2.

1.6 Structure of the thesis

Chapter 2 Conceptual framework

This chapter contains a list of theories and concepts that contributes to the conceptual framework of the thesis. In this chapter I will clarify the theories and the approach central to the research. I will describe the two theoretical approaches to understand effects on livelihoods as a result of tourism, which are the theory of **cultural ecology’s adaptation**

and **ethnoecology**. In order to understand the feasibility of the tourism activities that should establish a sustainable livelihood for the Moken, I will elaborate on the **Sustainable Livelihood Approach framework** to understand institutional constraints that might contribute to difficulty of the tourism project implementation. This will follow by an argument for aspects that a development project should consider in order to establish a sustainable livelihood.

Chapter 3 Methodology

The methodology chapter describes how the problem formulation and the working questions can be investigated. This chapter employs ethnomethodology and applies it in the data collecting methods use of case study and the research techniques. At the end of this chapter is the assessment of the quality of data and the reliability.

Chapter 4 Conservation Policies, Tourism and the Andaman Pilot Project

This chapter explores the trends of conservation policies in Thailand. It presents the linkage between the incentive in the economic growth of the Thai state and the establishment of protected areas, which results in affecting livelihoods of the local communities. The chapter will then move to the case of the SP, discussing the importance of tourism to the SP and its impacts on livelihoods of the Moken. I will end the chapter by relating the concern in tourism of the SP to the implementation of the APP tourism activities, discussing institutional constraints that the APP might face to advance the tourism project.

Chapter 5 Impacts of the Andaman Pilot Project on the livelihoods of the Moken

The first purpose of this chapter is to investigate for changes that have taken place in the Moken community as a result of tourism, emphasizing on a comparison of impacts in the Moken community that took place before and after the APP got involve. The other purpose is the investigation for the capital feasibility of the APP in promoting a sustainable livelihood strategy through the tourism activities.

Chapter 6 Feasibility of the tourism activities proposed Andaman Pilot Project

Based on the empirical data gathered from Chapter 5, this chapter will analyze for the feasibility of the APP tourism activities by emphasizing on 1) how effectiveness the Moken can cope with the new livelihood generated by the tourism activities by considering from impacts that have taken place in the community, and 2) how feasibility the capital are so that the APP tourism activities can establish a sustainable livelihood for the Moken.

Chapter 7 Discussion and recommendation

This chapter will draw potential solutions to the problems based on what the analysis will point out. Societal and institutional constraints that are expected to derive from the analysis will be considered in order to give a list of recommendations that covers all the constraints in relation to the tourism activities.

Chapter 8 Conclusion

This chapter will summarize the findings from the above chapters and will address a conclusion to the problem formulation.

Chapter 2: Conceptual Framework

In this chapter I attempt to clarify the approach for this thesis, including elaboration of elements and terms. Conceptual frameworks will be introduced in this chapter, which will prove helpful in assessing the relationships between livelihoods and the changing environment and the feasibility of the project.

As seen in Chapter 1, the investigation of the feasibility of the APP tourism activities is a two-way process in which I intend to approach the problem from the Moken's and the APP's perspectives, the conceptual frameworks shall contain theories that help understand 1) impacts derived from changes in their production system on the Moken community and 2) the feasibility of the project to establish a sustainable livelihood for the Moken.

The section will start with description of the theoretical approach which is expected to help in understanding how the Moken have perceived the environment created by the APP tourism activities (2.1). This will in 2.2 be followed by the 'theoretical concepts' I have developed in order to understand the sustainability of the APP project itself. Thus, central to this chapter are theories that shall explain 1) how I can understand changes in livelihoods of the Moken and 2) how to understand sustainability of the APP tourism activities.

2.1 Theoretical approach to understand changes in livelihoods

2.1.1 Adaptation and cultural ecology

2.1.1.1 Background

Adaptation is one of the central theories in this thesis which is also one of the main principles in cultural ecology. To begin with, cultural ecology has its origin in Ecology, which is "*the study of the interaction between living things and their environment*"

(Sutton and Anderson, 2004, p. 2)⁸. One of the main arguments of ecologists is that “the behavior, distribution and population of a species cannot properly be understood by considering that species in isolation but only when that species is examined within a whole system of relationships with other things, both living and non-living”⁹ .

From this, we can see that the relationship between man and the environment is interconnected and thus it requires a holistic perspective to understand why the things in the community are the way they are now, i.e. culture, behavior. Further from this point, Human Ecology is more specific as it is the study of the relationship and interaction between humans, their biology, their cultures, and their physical environment (Sutton and Anderson, 2004). According to Sutton, the broad field of human ecology includes two major subdivisions, which are 1) human biological ecology which focuses on adaptation through biological means and 2) cultural ecology which emphasizes on adaptation through cultural means (Sutton and Anderson, 2004). This thesis will focus only on cultural ecology - “*the study of the ways in which culture is used by people to adapt to their environment*” (Sutton and Anderson, 2004, p. 3).

As argued by Sutton, the concepts of changes and adaptation to change are fundamental to any inquiry in human ecology. According to his argument, “*all environments are dynamic, and change will vary in both time and space*” and “*as environments change, organisms must adapt to those changes, a process that can entail a variety of mechanism*” (Sutton and Anderson, 2004, p. 8). According to these statements, we are now able to see that adaptation in human ecology includes biological and cultural adaptations. However, this thesis will focus mainly on cultural adaptation.

2.1.1.2 Defining culture and adaptation

What is culture? In general culture is something that all human being have. It enables them to live in social groupings and it is acquired through association with others (Milton, 1996, p. 13). However, there is no universal agreement on the definition of

⁸ Mark Q. Sutton is professor of anthropology at California State University, Bakersfield. E.N. Anderson is professor of anthropology at the University of California, Riverside.

⁹ <http://www.abdn.ac.uk/anthropology/notes05/Level3/AT3018/Lecture%20%20Ecology%20Web.doc>

‘culture’. The term culture in this paper will be defined in the sense of anthropology for the field of study that deals with physical and behavioral aspects of human. One among the variety of anthropological definitions is that “*culture itself is the manner in which human groups learn to organize their behavio[u]r and thought in relation to their environment*” (Howard, 1986 quoted in Milton, 1996, p. 14). The definition in itself regards culture as the sum of human’s behaviors, experiences and thoughts that act according to their environment. Anthropologists also use the term culture to refer to distinctive lifestyles associated with particular groups of people and cultures that might be considered to have their own pattern of adaptation to the physical environment (Bennett, 1996).

The basic meaning of adaptation in human behavior is derived from the biological meaning which pertains to behavior during the lifespan of an organism which enables it to cope with the environment (Bennett, 1996). A major tenant of the overarching theoretical conceptualization as presented by Walters is that people try to manage threats to their existence by either adapting their lifestyle to ongoing environmental change or enacting patterned interactions known as lifestyles (Walters, 2000).

2.1.1.3 Production system as a crucial principle in cultural ecology

Julian Steward is considered to be the first person who developed cultural ecology as a theoretical approach to understand how people interact with their environment in the 1950s, in order to examine the influence that environment had upon culture. According to Steward, cultural ecology was aimed to provide “*a determination of how culture is affected by its adaptation to environment*” (Steward, 1955. p. 31). Thus, the field of cultural ecology focuses on discovering cultural adaptations (Sutton and Anderson, 2004, p. 85). Because the concept of cultural adaptation is broad, what then are the principles that should be taken into account when using the approach of cultural ecology?

Sutton claims that “*much of the ecological work relating to human has centered on diet and subsistence*” and elaborates the term ‘subsistence’ further as “*a complex system that includes resources, technology, social and political organizations, settlement patterns,*

and all of the other aspects of making a living” (Sutton and Anderson, 2004, p. 84). In this regard, I will refer to this system as the ‘**production system**’, which is one of the principles in the cultural ecology approach.

A production system is thus a collection of activities that supports the subsistence of the community, consisting of things from daily activities to traditional knowledge. I perceive the application to a production system of a community as a process of adapting their livelihoods to live with the environment. Thus, impacts from application to the production system shall indicate ineffectiveness of that production system.

In other words, the tourism activities as a main part of the production system will not be considered effective if they cause severe impacts to the community and the environment. On the other hand, negative impacts on the community and the environment derived from applying the production system thus indicate how inappropriate the production system is to the community.

Which areas then should be emphasized in order to investigate impacts of the tourism activities as a production system in the Moken community? According to cultural ecologists, there are three main areas within society that are particularly affected by the environment; 1) division of labor, 2) size and stability of people, and 3) their distribution in space¹⁰. I consider these the most sensitive areas because affects from the changing environment and lifestyle will be reflected and perceivable on these areas. This is because a culture must make “*constant adjustments*” (Sutton and Anderson, 2004, p. 91) to maintain some sort of equilibrium with the environment.

The three main areas that will be investigated in the Moken community are elaborated in the following section¹¹ with explanation why they are important in this research.

¹⁰ <http://www.revision-notes.co.uk/revision/593.html>

¹¹ These three main areas are initially presented in www.revision-notes.co.uk/revision/593.html. I will further elaborate from the initial description.

1. Division of labor- includes sexual division of labor, age division of labor, tasks done, if they are sedentary or not. Hawkes argued that “*the benefit of sharing resources may lie not in calories but in the development of social ties*” (Hawkes, 1993, quoted in Sutton and Anderson, 2004, p. 93). This statement suggests that the development of social ties is the main reason for sharing amongst the community. In the case of the Moken, I was told that they have a tradition in sharing things, i.e. dry food, tools, etc. (interview with na Pombejra, 18/12/05). I then assume that changes that have taken place in the community as a result of limited resources and tourism-related issues will affect this traditional value as well as another. A similar thought is made by Sutton, who says that “*social responses to environmental stress are varied*” (Sutton and Anderson, 2004, p. 93).

2. Size and stability of populations include food availability, size of territory, and type of territory. According to Sutton, one of the responses to inadequate food supplies is to exist in a “*malnourished condition*”, (Sutton and Anderson, 2004, p. 63). That issue is relevant to this research and needs to be investigated. It is because the Moken have different trends and consumption behavior after the establishment of the SP and the involvement of the APP. Establishment and involvement of the institutions will supposedly change the size of the gathering territory and nutrient trend of the Moken.

3. Distribution in space includes availability of food/water, vicinity to rivers, distance between groups, kinship/marriage rules. As claimed by Sutton, “*people and their activities, residences, work localities, facilities, and sacred places are located across a landscape in a culturally significant way, called settlement pattern*” (Sutton and Anderson, 2004, p. 93). Deriving from this claim, a settlement pattern depends on many factors, i.e. activities, residences. Thus, it will be affected as a result of the establishment of the institutions because their involvement, i.e. conservation policies, tourism activities, will somehow affect the factors. Further from the distribution in physical space, I will advance into affects on space between age groups.

I have discussed the theory of adaptation and argued **which areas** are to be investigated in order to understand changes and impacts of tourism as the production system. In the next section I will discuss another theoretical approach that I intend to combine with

cultural ecology in order to understand **how to identify** changes and impacts of tourism as a production system on livelihoods.

2.1.2 Ethnoecology

2.1.2.1 Background

Ethnoecology, according to Sutton, is a new component of cultural ecology. It is “*the study of what local people know about their environment, how they classify that information, and how they use it*” (Sutton and Anderson, 2004, p. 98). This field of study is important for understanding the relationships of traditional culture with their environments. Ethnoecology has emphasized on linguistic analyses of terms for plants, animals, habitats, and other ecological phenomena. Attempts of ethnoecology are to reveal underlying structures of the human mind that influence human behavior. According to Casagrande¹², to understand human relations with non-human environments requires first the determination of what indigenous people “*consider worth attending to*”¹³.

According to Sutton and Anderson, “*all cultures construct a system to classify the elements in their environments, including plants, animals, soils, rocks and minerals, climate and weather, earth surfaces, and astronomical phenomena*” (Sutton and Anderson, 2004, p. 99). From this starting point, knowledge of ethnoecology can be broadly categorized into the Biotic Environment and the Abiotic Environment.

Knowledge of the biotic environment is called ethnobiology. It is a major component of cultural ecology, which includes studies of human diet, ritual, the knowledge and use of plants (ethnobotany) and animals (ethnozoology), and the knowledge and use for medical purposes (ethnomedicine). On the other hand, knowledge of the abiotic environment

¹² David G. Casagrande is an Assistant Professor of Environmental Anthropology at Western Illinois University.

¹³ <http://www.wiu.edu/users/dgc101/ethnoecol.html>

includes information of terrestrial, i.e. geography, soils, and nonterrestrial elements, i.e. meteorology, astronomy (Sutton and Anderson, 2004).

2.1.2.2 Important principles in ethnoecology

According to the notion of Ethnoecology above, its ultimate purpose is to understand the relationship between man and the environment. What then can be considered important principles in ethnoecology?

Traditional knowledge and other societal values

The environment constructs the way of life of the community. It influences the way the community reacts to the environment. This influence also includes how the community members interact to one another. Lying under the way of life is the traditional knowledge. It is the knowledge system that connects the community with the environment. Throughout time, cultures have obtained and categorized knowledge about their environment (Sutton and Anderson, 2004). Although the majority of this knowledge is unwritten, individuals in traditional cultures know about the environment because they live with it everyday. Thus, this obtained knowledge functions as the mediator of man and the environment, allowing man to live with their environment. I perceive traditional knowledge as a part of the production system for it must inhabit methods of how the community makes a living.

Further, I also consider traditional societal values as a part of traditional knowledge. I perceive that a production system does not contain only traditional knowledge as the only method applied in making production. It also includes traditional values, i.e. behavior, thoughts, beliefs, norms and characteristics, of the community members.

In this sense, I understand that **changes that contradict with the traditional knowledge and values should identify how the production system affects the community**. For example, the Moken have no tradition of saving. Thus, when they employ tourism activities as a production system, which allows them to earn more income, they would not save but over-spend the income on things. From this circumstance, we can see that

the production system affects the Moken because it contradicts with their traditional values.

Comparative study

Ethnoecology is a comparative approach. According to Michon (2000), the need to relate similar and different cases to each other through comparisons or contrasts is important in order to understand the ecological, economic and social dimensions of traditional (indigenous) knowledge. As he goes on, it is the understanding of patterns, tendencies, consistencies and inconsistencies as well as critical factors and dynamics of the relations between man and the environment (Michon, 2000, in Panday).¹⁴ An important methodological inquiry on traditional knowledge that has been suggested by Michon (2000) is comparison of case studies, aimed at identifying similarities and differences, in order to define the significance or determining factors in these similarities/differences. According to this statement, one of the important uses of culture ecological research is to “*compare different cultures and environments and evaluate each adaptive strategy*”¹⁵. However, it is not my intention to compare the Moken community with other communities. Instead, I will compare the condition of the community in different periods, which are the period before the SP was established, after the establishment of the SP but before the APP got involve, and after the APP have proposed and partly implemented the tourism activities (source Michon in Panday).

Application of cultural ecology and ethnoecology

Based on these theories, I intend to analyze the production system of the Moken in different periods. The first chosen period is before the SP was established in 1981 because the Moken at that time depended mainly on natural resource gathering and nomadic lifestyles, which should help me to understand characteristics of the Moken in general. However, it was difficult to gather information of the production system of this

¹⁴ www.infinityfoundation.com/mandala/t_es/t_es_pande_biodiv.htm (accessed 24/04/06)

¹⁵ www.utexas.edu/courses/wilson/ant304/glossary/glossary.html

period in detail. It is because the Moken who know about life in this period are the elders who cannot communicate in Thai. Thus, only general description of the production system of this period will be presented in order to give a general traditional picture of the life of the Moken in the past.

The second period (1981-present) is after the SP was established but before the tourism activities were introduced. It was the period that the Moken got involved in tourism. Analyzing changes and impacts of the community should provide me a broad picture of how the Moken adapted to the 'new environment' generated by tourism as a production system. For the last period (present), I assume that impacts from tourism on the community will have become more obvious if the Moken did not adapt well to the 'new environment'. Thus, I will focus on changes and impacts in livelihoods of the Moken participants because they are connected directly to the new environment.

In each period, I attempt to analyze for changes and impacts through as appeared in the division of labor, size and stability, and distribution in space in order to compare for major differences and impacts derive from the production system in each period. This should lead to an understanding of how the tourism activities have affected the Moken and why the Moken responded to it the way they did.

My research is then comparative in that I conduct field work within different time frames of their production system and pattern of their behavior. My research is also theoretical in that I use these comparisons to explain processes that underlie their interactions with the environment of each period. Further, the underlying process is expected to provide a basis for conflict with the tourism activities. My work is also applied in that I use the information to generate solutions for the current problems, i.e. lack of participation in the Moken community. The analytical framework for this approach is drawn in figure 2.1.

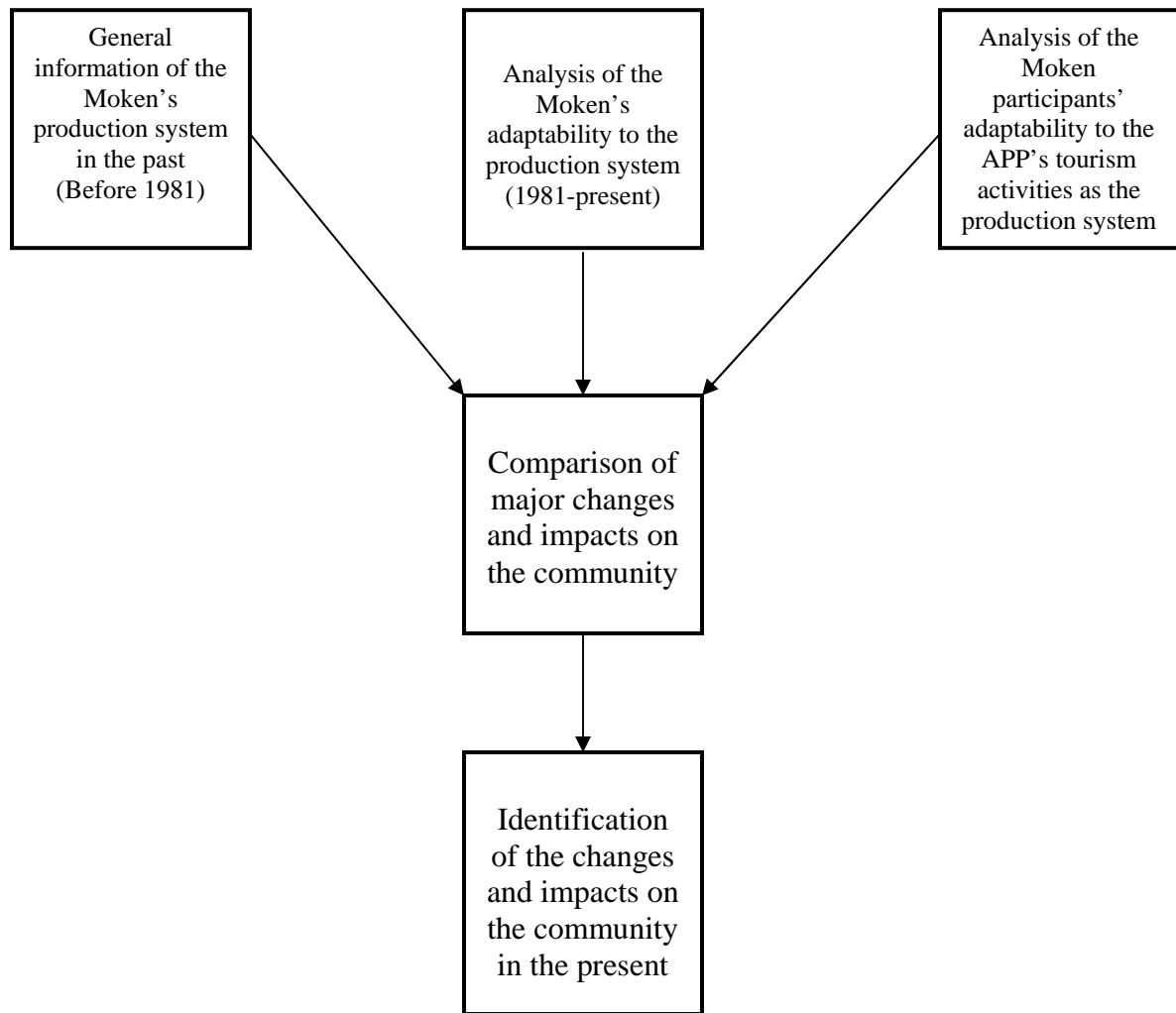


Figure 2.1: The conceptual framework to understand major changes and impacts in the Moken community

2.2 Theoretical approach to understand the feasibility of the tourism activities

2.2.1 Sustainable Livelihood Approach Framework

The Sustainable Livelihood Approach Framework developed by the International Institute of Sustainable Development (IISD) is the framework (see figure 2.2) that I chose

to help in identifying all the stakeholders that are the keys in building a sustainable livelihood for a community and in **identifying institutional constraints of the APP**.

According to the framework, four key sectors are important of building a sustainable livelihood for the community. Founding at base, governmental bodies are important for enabling environmental governance and policy issues. The framework suggests that environmental governmental bodies play a main role in monitoring the other sectors to work in collaboration while enacting environmental policies for the other sectors. In addition, the framework suggests that environmental governance and policy have a direct link with the people’s strategies, knowledge, and livelihoods.

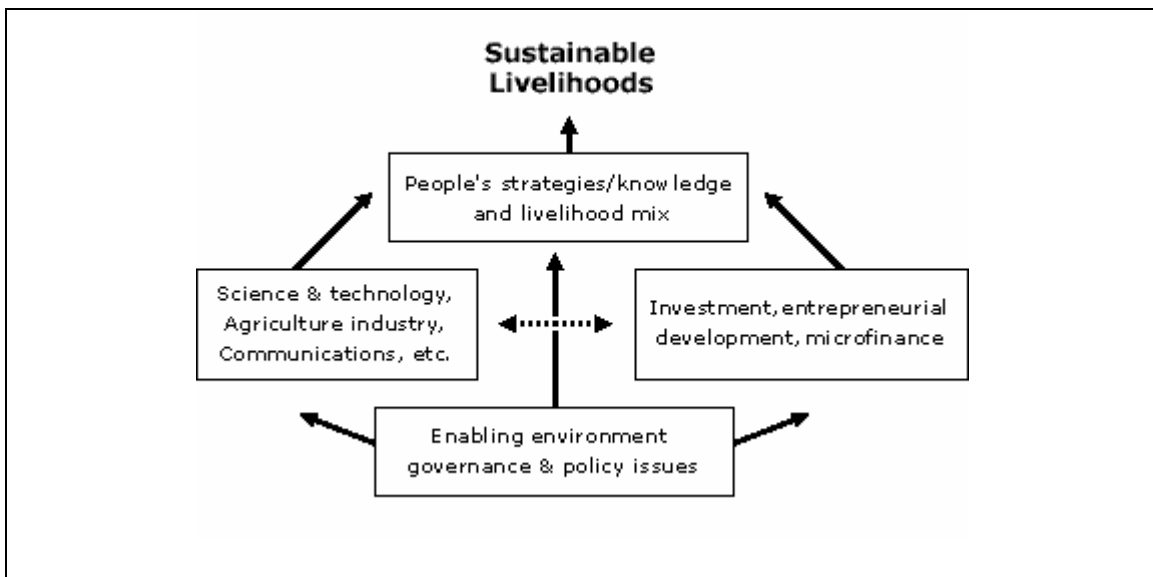


Figure 2.2 IISD's Sustainable Livelihoods Approach framework (www.iisd.org/casl/)

In this framework, ‘governance and policy’ has power to influence the implementation of the ‘science and technology’, in particular of the Andaman Pilot Project (APP), as well as of the ‘entrepreneurial development’, namely the business sectors. The framework seems to give equal importance to all the presented stakeholders. However, although the framework does not discuss it, issue of the institution constraints will be discussed in the following section.

Can this institutional framework be constructed in reality? According to the IISD, *“traditional approaches that promote high rates of economic growth have not led to*

*sustained or evenly distributed benefit and what the world requires is a fundamental and far-reaching change in the attitudes and behavior of its citizens, governments and corporations if it is going to provide for a sustainable future”*¹⁶(IISD, 12/03/06). This statement suggests that what is more important than the effective institutional arrangement is the attitudes of the actors.

Fundamentally, the struggles between local communities and the government is about who owns and controls the land and valuable resources. Pleumarom, a Thai expert on tourism and development, elaborates that *“for local people involved in immediate livelihood struggles in the Third World, such as protecting against legally obtained title deeds to land and permits to start hotel construction or violation of environmental regulations, the issue of power is central, although this has been sidestepped by mainstream critics of tourism”* (Pleumarom quoted in Honey, 1999, p. 84).

According to my empirical data about the institutional arrangement of the SP, I found out that the SP plays major roles in environmental protection and business management, sparing a few space of concern for the Moken and organizations that want to work on community development. In this sense, the SP can be seen as the key actor who can establish the Moken a sustainable livelihood.

Application of the Sustainable Livelihood Framework to understand institutional constrains of the Andaman Pilot Project

According to the Sustainable Development Communication Network (SDCN)¹⁷, a sustainable livelihood approach works within a specific local context to solve a particular set of issues (SDCN, 12/03/06). In this sense, we understand that issues such as

¹⁶ www.iisd.org/casl/ (Accessed 8/04/06)

¹⁷ A group of leading civil society organizations seeking to accelerate the implementation of sustainable development through broader, integrated information and communication about what they acknowledge (www.sdcn.org).

environmental or societal are various among communities. Although the framework can be applied in order to solve a set of these particular issues, it needs to consider a specific local context in detail. By referring to local context I mean surroundings in which something happens or in which to be considered, i.e. culture, behavior of the community members, relationship between the SP and the APP.

Based on this notion, in order to understand the institutional constraints I will focus on some certain special local contexts, which are the relationship between the SP and the APP. A local context of the relationship between the SP and the APP that I will elaborate in Chapter 4 will start with the background and hindering reasons of the establishment of protected areas in Thailand with an emphasis on the linkage between conservation policies and economic growth, which then will be narrowed down to the relationships between the SP and the Moken.

The reason for considering mainly on the linkage between conservation policies and economic growth as the local context is that, in reference to the framework, the state can be considered as the key actor and thus can influence actions of the other actors, as Friedmann claims that “*local empowering action requires a strong state*” (Friedmann, 1992, p. 7). Thus, if the state shall concentrate on other specific things, on economic development through tourism in particular, the process of establishing a sustainable livelihood may be skeptical.

2.2.2 Sustainable project

What then is the definition of a sustainable development project? What aspects in livelihoods should it cover so that can be considered sustainable? The objective of this section is **to develop a list of elements that helps to identify a kind of project that is sustainable for a community** and to explain its application. This section will start with the clarification of some key concepts – livelihood and sustainable livelihood – which some of their elements will be extracted and considered as components of a sustainable project.

Livelihood and sustainable livelihood

The term livelihood can cover a broad range of issues surrounding the debate about the association between environment and poverty (Scoones, 1998). One of the most common definitions of livelihood is given by Chambers and Conway (1992), which is “*a livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, while not undermining the natural resource base*” (Chambers and Conway, 1992, p. 296).

Scoones (1998) has elaborated three broad clusters of livelihood strategies open to rural people, namely agricultural intensification/extensification, livelihood diversification and migration. Thus, rural people have options in gaining livelihood either from agriculture through intensification/extensification, a range of off-farm income generating activities, or to seek a livelihood elsewhere. However, a combination of these alternatives is common and can differ over time-scales where seasonal and annual variations in livelihood options emerge. Livelihoods then are dynamic, and thus should be taken into account when implementing a development project.

By referring to livelihoods (traditional and new), I do not limit the meaning to income-generating activities that are important to the people, but the every element that is a part of the Moken. This can include values, culture, beliefs, traditional knowledge, norms and lifestyle etc. Although in this thesis livelihoods will be dealt with as the general work and employment of the Moken, including their dependency on natural resources, other elements that I have just mentioned are also referred to as a part of livelihoods.

The concept of ‘sustainable livelihoods’ was first used as a development concept in the early 1990s. Chambers and Conway defined that a livelihood is environmentally sustainable when it “*maintains or enhances the local and global assets in which livelihoods depend, and has net beneficial effects on other livelihoods*”, and is socially sustainable when “*it can cope with and recover from stress and shocks, and provide for*

future generations” (Chambers and Conway, 1991, quoted in Scoones, p. 6). Sustainable livelihood, thus, refers to the potential to maintain the productivity of resources on a long-term basis for the community and its next generation.

2.2.3 Elements of a sustainable project

Embedded in the definition of sustainable livelihood underlies four key elements, which this research will consider them in order to develop a theoretical concept of a sustainable APP project. The elements of sustainability that a development project should cover will be presented as followed¹⁸:

- i) Creation of working days
- ii) Poverty reduction
- iii) Well-being and capabilities
- iv) Natural resource base sustainability

(source: Scoone, 1998, p. 5-6).

According to authors, they consider **creation of working days** as the first element, suggesting that this may be on or off-farm, part of a wage labor system or subsistence production. In term of employment, Sen notes out three aspects, which are “*income (a wage for the employed), production (employment providing a consumable output) and recognition (where employment provides recognition for being engaged in something worthwhile)*” (Sen, 1975, quoted in Scoones, 1998, p. 5). I consider this as a very important element of a sustainable project because the Moken are becoming to rely less on natural resources gathering. Thus, a sustainable project should provide enough income that would allow the Moken to rely mainly on the income that the project generates.

Poverty reduction is a process that seeks to reduce the level of poverty in a community, or amongst a group of people or countries. Poverty reduction programs may be aimed at economic or non-economic poverty. Economic poverty can be understood the lack of material need. For non-economic poverty, the key feature is the “*voicelessness*” of the

¹⁸ These elements have been originally developed by Carney, Drinkwater, Rusinow, Neefjes, Wanmali and Singh, (1999). I will argue why they are considered important for making a sustainable project.

poor (World Bank, 2000, quoted in Townsley and Campell, 2000, p. 6), who are often missing in studies and surveys because they are invisible to the formal structures that collect data about the population as a whole. In this sense, a sustainable project should also cover this element. It should then improve the standard of economic and non-economic poverty reduction of the community.

Sen's notion of **well-being and capabilities** is "*what people can do or be with their entitlements*" (Sen, 1987, quoted in Scoones, 1998, p. 6). It seems that the concept encompasses far more than the material concerns of food intake or income. This idea represents more than the human capital which allows people to do things. On the other hand, this notion has opened opportunities for people to define the criteria which are important (Chamber, 1997, quoted in Scoones, 1998). However, I perceive Sen's notion as being more related to one of the working objectives of the APP that tries to empower the community. According to this reason, I regard well-being and capabilities as one of the key elements in a sustainable project which to be investigated.

Natural resource base sustainability – Most rural livelihoods are reliant on the natural resource base at least to some extent. According to, Conway, "*natural resource base sustainability refers to the ability of a system to maintain productivity when subject to disturbing forces, whether a stress or a shock*" (Conway, 1995, quoted in Scoones, 1998, p. 6). Based on this definition, this research will bend it into the scope that intends to focus on analyzing the feasibility of the tourism activities.

In this research I regard these four elements as the main components for a sustainable project. The ability of these elements of the APP tourism activities to maintain productivity when the Moken are being disturbed by forces is the sustainability of the project. These elements are important when we consider that the project is being implemented in a protected area and there are other constraints apart from institutional constraints. For example, most of the activities require woods for principle material, i.e. crafts, vessels, tools for building vessels. Thus, it is important to consider whether natural capital such as woods could be allowed to be extracted. In this sense, a set of capitals

have been listed to identify whether the elements above can be considered sustainable. These capitals will be presented in the next section with its explaining application of how I intend to use them to indicate the sustainability elements of the project.

Capitals indicating a sustainable project

The key capitals that I expect to help in indicating the sustainability of the tourism activities are human, physical, natural and financial capitals. In order for a project to be classified as a sustainable project, it is important that its strategy and implementation have to meet with the five elements. In order to understand whether the project's strategy have such potential, I will focus on the capacity of these capitals.

By **human capital**, Scoones defines as “*the skills, knowledge, ability to labor and good health and physical capability important for the successful pursuit of different livelihood strategies*” (Scoones, 1998, p. 8). According to this definition, I perceive that the tourism activities should bring out skills, knowledge, ability to labor and physical capability of the Moken in order to make a progress towards establishing a sustainable livelihood. It would be skeptical to establish a sustainable livelihood for the Moken with the tourism activities if the APP could not acquire this kind of capital from the Moken.

Physical capital can be referred as physical strength, as Scoones seems to be referred to. However, I perceive this kind of capital as a non-human asset but made by human and used in human production. In this case, I mean the traditional tools. Considering the traditional vessel, or *Kabang*, as a main tourist attraction, it is important that the vessel has to be made in the traditional structure and methods. Even though some tools can be replaced with modern tools, a number of certain traditional tools are more preferable by the Moken to use. Further, I do not see that the real value of using traditional tools lies in the fact that the vessels and other objects can be made in a traditional way. It is in the preservation of traditional culture and values, which this aspect should be highly considered when implementing a development project, even though it is not referred to in the elements of a sustainable project above.

Natural capital refers mainly to natural resources, such as soil, trees, and water (Scoones, 1998). Natural capital is made up of the stock of resources and living systems, such as wetlands, prairies, and tundra.¹⁹ I perceive that natural capital surrounding the Moken community is one of the key capitals contributing to the establishment of a sustainable livelihood because tour facilities need to be built to host the tourists. Crafts are also to be made for another source of income to help alleviate poverty. The major problem here is the length of time that the Moken can keep extracting the natural capital, mainly woods, in the area in order to support with the tourism activities for it is against conservation regulations of the park.

Further, one of the elements of a sustainable project is that it project has to be natural resource base sustainability. Thus, the activities of the project should not open opportunities for the community to extract resources in an unsustainable manner.

Finally, **financial capital** is the financial resources that are available to people in pursuit of their livelihoods. However, I perceive it with a different aspect in this research for it can be converted into other type of capitals, i.e. making modern tools and other tour facilities instead of extracting natural resources. Further, I will focus on the number of jobs and income that the tourism activities can generate.

The concept of sustainable projects is a composite of many ideas. They are quite different in scope and very broad and are requiring more qualitative techniques for assessment, which is one of the weaknesses in this research. Thus, there is no neat, simple algorithm for measuring sustainable projects emerges from this elaboration therefore. The conceptual framework to understanding the feasibility of the tourism activities is drawn as followed:

¹⁹ <http://www.humboldt.edu/~envecon/Indicators/naturalcapital.htm> (accessed 14/05/06)

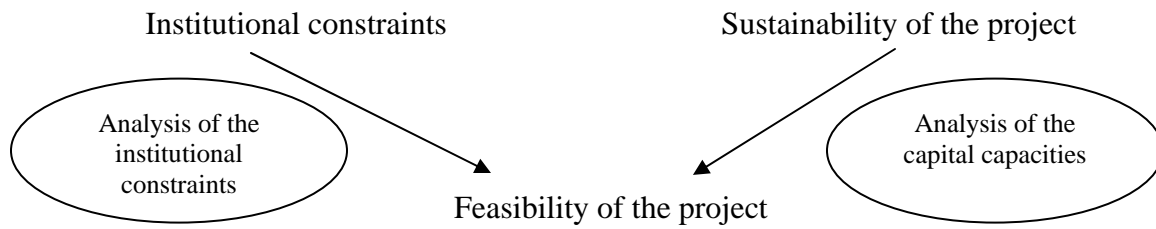


Figure 2.3: The conceptual framework to understand feasibility of the tourism project

2.3 Summary

This chapter has introduced all the theories and concepts that are important 1) to understand potential impacts of the tourism activities on the Moken and 2) to understand the feasibility of the project itself. The new question lying here is how to collect all the empirical data to put them into the frameworks. The next chapter is the methodology chapter where all the data collecting methods will be presented.

Chapter 3: Methodology

In this chapter I will describe the methodological approach designed for this thesis. Because my conceptual frameworks require input data that rarely exists in literature, the principle behind the method design was based on ‘how to extract information from the interview and observation in an effective way’.

This chapter will start with an introduction of ethnomethodology, which is the scientific approach I chose to apply with my data gathering methods, especially with the interview and participant observation. The chapter will then move on to the explanation of the interview and other techniques that I conducted during my fieldwork and how ethnomethodology has been applied with the techniques. This chapter will finish with the elaboration of biases and potential errors of the report.

3.1 Scientific Approach: Ethnomethodology

Ethnomethodological studies seek to treat practical activities, practical circumstances, and practical sociological reasoning as topics of empirical studies, and by paying to the most commonplace activities of daily life the attention usually accorded extraordinary events, seek to learn about them as phenomena in their own right.

(Garfinkel, 1967, quoted in Have, 2004.)

Ethnomethodology simply is “*the study of the ways in which people make sense of their social world*”²⁰. This sociological perspective was found by the American sociologist Harold Garfinkel in the early 1960s. Ethnomethodologists start out with the assumption that social order is illusory, whereas Functionalists, Marxists and Symbolic Interactionists are all different by assuming that the social world is essentially orderly, meaning that patterns of behavior and interaction in society are regular and systematic rather than chaotic²¹.

²⁰ <http://www.hewett.norfolk.sch.uk/CURRIC/soc/ethno/intro.htm>

²¹ <http://www.hewett.norfolk.sch.uk/CURRIC/soc/ethno/intro.htm>

In ethnomethodology, “*facts are treated as accomplishments*” (Pollner, 1974, quoted in Have, 2004, p. 14). They are seen as being produced in and through members; practical activities. In other words, according to Have, the effort of ethnomethodology is directed towards an “*explication*”, while classical sociology is in the business of “*explaining*” social facts (Have, 2004, p. 14). In my opinion, a major difference between explication and explanation is about the way of extracting reasons out of its source. Explanation is an action of extracting reasons out of a process of achievements. On the other hand, explication seems to be an action of extracting reasons of how people arrive to achievements of the process.

For example, extracting reasons out of a process of using spear to hunt fish is an explanation, but giving reasons of why the man comes to hunt with spear is an explication. In this research, ethnomethodology’s explication is applied in an attempt to understand how the participants arrive to accomplishment of their interactions, ignoring the truth or falsity. It is not an attempt to understand the process of accomplishments.

In this research I will rely on two notions in ethnomethodology, which are 1) members’ methods, and 2) indexicality. Members’ methods, according to Have, can be considered as an indication of ethnomethodology. Although Garfinkel is interested in the dynamic properties of social life, he has no interest in intentions, striving, norms or values, of the individual. His perception towards individuals is that “*individuals are only dealt with as members of cohorts that populate social scenes*” (Have, 2004, p. 20). According to this statement, ethnomethodologists seem to perceive members’ methods as “*abstraction of their existence as well as their ‘raw’ emotions and ‘inner’ thoughts*” (Have, 2004, p. 20). In this sense, I understand that seeing patterns, i.e. of daily lifestyles, activities, and how the Moken deal with them, of their methods can help to understand how the Moken community make sense of the world around them.

Indexicality refers to the context that is embodied in the language used in the practice. In other words, it means “*language and actions cannot be understood without being situated*

*within the social context in which they are performed and uttered*²². This means that we make sense of a situation or activity as being a product of our experiences and expectations. For example, smoking marijuana means one thing to the smoker and another to a counselor.

Application of ethnomethodology

How can we make use of members' methods and indexicality? During my fieldwork, I tried to understand how the production system of each period was achieved by the Moken with an attempt to explicate how they arrived to accomplishments of the production system of that period. By doing so, I emphasized my observation on the pattern of lifestyle of the whole community as much as on the individual.

The notion of indexicality was also applied, for I tried to understand conversations and other form of receiving information from the respondents' points of view, even though I realized that bias would always take place when I work with the data.

Based on these core notions, the techniques that are normally used to gather empirical data are **semi-structured interviews, informal formal conversations and participant observation**. However, some qualitative research techniques, semi-structured interviews with the Moken for instance, have not been proved successful during my first fieldwork, although it is a technique that brought me close to respondents. In the following section is the presentation of the research methods I applied during my first fieldwork without elements from ethnomethodology and how I have employed it into my research techniques in the second fieldwork.

²² http://uk.geocities.com/balihar_sanghera/ipsrsocialreality.html

3.2 Fieldwork methods²³ and literary studies

The fieldwork was planned in August of 2005 or five months before the first trip began in December of the same year. It was because the SP is the prohibited area and conducting the fieldwork would require the official permission from the National Park, Wildlife and Plant Conservation Department (NWPD), which might take up to two months to complete the process of the application for permission. However, with help from many people, the process was completed earlier than expected. The fieldwork was divided into two periods, which one took place during 17th-22nd of December 2005 while the second one was during 4th-27th of February 2006. On both trips, I went to the Moken village with the team from the Andaman Pilot Project (APP) that would visit the village occasionally to monitor the progress of the implementation of the tourism activities. It was on the second trip that the team departed after staying for three days, letting me stay on with a field officer, Mr. Taksin.

3.2.1 First fieldwork

To unravel the complexities of large-scale social change is necessary to examine the lifestyle of individual lives. During the first fieldwork that took place in December 2005, I expected individual formal interviews would provide the opportunity to examine how social transformations were experienced and interpreted by the community, expecting that the technique would provide a starting point for accessing into what hindering behind the thought of the respondents.

Instead of getting a good result expected from the interview technique, I was given a sense of being insecure of the respondents, which in return made me feel 'disconnected'. Although at the first trip I was welcomed to visit the village with the team from the APP who have been working with the Moken for many years, it did not make the Moken feel that I was one of the people they knew. The first fieldwork lasted for four days for the

²³ Please see Appendix 2 for the field note.

APP officers went there only to check up the progress of the trail. I spent most of the time walking around the village, making myself acquainted to the Moken, hoping that the next trip in February would be more fruitful.

3.2.2 Second fieldwork

3.2.2.1 Problems with the questionnaire

On the second fieldwork I went to the SP with the team from the APP, who this time stayed in the village for a few days whilst I stayed for three weeks. Getting acquainted with the Moken from the first visit was not enough to allow me to break the ice into the level I wanted to achieve. I thought it was because they were not open to me enough for open discussion about their life. During the first phase, the questionnaire method proved that it was not a good technique to be implemented, although I was the person to fill the questionnaire.

However, at some point I thought I might be wrong because during my stay I have been welcomed occasionally with friendly hospitality in form of food, dinner and other appetizers. It was not because they did not want to talk but they felt uncomfortable when I was jotting things down. This might be because the Moken are shy in their nature, jotting down notes in front of them always put in a wall between me and the Moken interviewees. I then put away my recording tools, except the camera and a few blank papers that I carried all the time.

3.2.2.2 Semi-structured interview

The questionnaires then became the guideline for semi-structured interview. This is one of the most common methods amongst ethnomethodologists for they tend to avoid formal interviews as their data source (Have, 2004). To ethnomethodologists, it seems that the interviewer should learn from informants and seeks to discover how they organize their behavior. Thus, in this approach “*the researcher asks those who are studied to become the teachers and to instruct their ways of life they find meaningful*” (Spradley and McCurdy, 1972, p. 11– 12, quoted in Ely, 1991, p. 58). Further, according to Ely, “*the*

tasks of an ethnographic interviewer include providing focus, observing, giving direction, being sensitive to clues given by participants, probing, questioning, listening, amalgamating statements, and generally being as involved as possible” (Ely, 1984, p. 4–5, in Ely, 1991, p. 91).

I was aware of my role as a researcher during my stay, trying to take the lead as well as to follow. However, it was very difficult to stick to the suggestion when I was actually conducting a real interview.

Although the semi-structured interview methods allowed me and the interviewees to feel more relaxed during the interview, it was still difficult to have a long interview that would take long enough to extract some information out of it. It was because many of them, especially the Moken men, usually had something to do, making them walking around and not sitting at one place.

I found out during the fieldwork that they would donate some of their precious time talking with me if I participated in their daily work. According to ethnographic field methods, Have states that employing them is extremely cumbersome. As he goes on, *“one has to spend an enormous amount of time waiting for interesting events that may never occur or may be uncomfortable, if not dirty and dangerous”* (Have, 2004, p. 108). It has been proven that Have was correct for I had to participate in their daily work; going fishing, oyster-knocking, crab-chasing, shrimp-catching and fish-spearing in order to steal their time, bit by bit, asking things I wanted to know. These activities were normally conducted in the national park area, where they are prohibited. However, it was a very good chance to gather information because conversation always came up, either from me or a Moken, which then would give me an opportunity to put in my questions in the conversation.

3.2.2.3 Formal and informal conversation

The next method which turned out to be very useful was the informal interview. In my opinion formal and informal interviews are different from formal and informal

conversation in term of the scope of the questions. Formal and informal conversation always started with a very broad question, or sometimes even an issue or my opinion towards things related to their livelihoods.

I found that informal conversation very often would lead to a more formal conversation in which I had the opportunity to question some serious matters like their attitudes towards the park and the APP. However, whether the informal conversation would lead to a formal conversation also depended to the level of education of the interviewees or those who have positive attitudes towards the SP or the APP; otherwise, the response would appear to be very simple, limiting the answer to yes or no.

Each conversation started with a very general question, normally concerning with the activity that he or she was doing. Most of their activities can never been seen in the metropolitan area. Then I would narrow down the topic, becoming more focused and related to things around the life of the participant, leaving aside some serious issues such as questions related to the official government.

Most of the questions were related to their daily activities, i.e. their food sources, market, sources of income, health, children and their schooling, life in the past and future prospects. Although those topics were good to know, my primary interest was fixed on how the respondents came to their answers. For example, the underlying purpose of ‘why are you making the demo boat?’ and other questions relating to the activity was not just to find out that ‘because I can sell it to the tourists’ but to find out ‘why they chose to make demo boats as an income generating source and not other activities instead’. Therefore, I emphasized on ‘detail around the answers’ by trying to understand what the attitudes towards the activity, how they like the activity, are they good at it, and what is good about doing it comparing to working on other activities.

In order to do this, it is important to apply observation methods along with the conversation. The observation methods and their importance will be discussed in more detail in the following section.

3.2.2.4 Participant and non-participant observations

One of the prominent strategies in ethnomethodological research consists of “*closely observing situated activities in their natural settings and discussing them with the seasoned practitioners, in order to study the competences involved in the routine performance of these activities*” (Have, 2004). According to this reason, participant and non-participant observations appeared to be one of the most useful techniques in the field for some reasons. 1) Non-participant observation allowed me to observe deliberately and not to get involved in the situation under assessment. 2) Participant observation, on the other hand, allowed me to share in some of the activities or discussions that are being assessed in order to get a better understanding of insider experiences and views.

I relied on both types of the observations equally. In my opinion, non-participant observation technique was useful for it allowed me to categorize the livelihoods of the whole community and the groups. They are categorized as follows;

- 1.** The Moken who participate in the APP tourism activities that consists of seven men and two women.
- 2.** The Moken who do not participate in the APP tourism activities. This group consists of Moken men and women who seek for livelihoods in working with the SP and elsewhere. The approximate numbers of the Moken men who work with the SP are around twenty and women are around forty. It is difficult to count the numbers of those who work in the mainland because they only return to the village once in a while, making them not registered.
- 3.** The third group contains mostly women who stick to their traditional livelihoods such as doing the housework and searching for food in the village area. The women of this group are mostly elders, whose husbands also live in the traditional way. The people in this group are grandparents. The approximate number of men and women is about 20 people.
- 4.** The fourth group belongs to those who rely on traditional food-gathering and partly from income generated from crafts. The members of this group are mostly the elders and

the adults. However, members from first three groups can be found making crafts in order to earn extra income from selling them to the tourists.

5. Members of the last group are children who go to the Community Study Center situated on the same beach of the village. The children have not yet been able to earn income. However, they would go to the SP office at the North Surin Island to help with small jobs, which can generate some pocket money. The numbers of 82 are only approximate in that some children have not been registered and many are relatives from Burma.

These numbers were recorded by the APP. However, they cannot be considered as accurate because the numbers change all the time due to the fact that the Moken may have visiting relatives from Burma. The numbers of the Moken in villagers then were different between my first and second visit. New faces appeared during my second stay. One of the new comers told me that he did not know where to settle (interview with Toy, 12/02/06).

I found that participant observation technique was very useful in approaching members of each group. It was because, as I have mentioned, they seemed to donate some of their time sharing their thoughts with me.

3.2.2.5 Formal interview with key persons from the APP and the SP

Formal interviews with key persons from the APP did not happen in a formal way as the title suggests. Most of the interviews took place during the journeys as soon as an opportunity rose. The questions prepared were then split along the journey of both trips. Most of the questions were regarded with the administrative obstacles, the implementation of the project, problems with the Moken and with the SP, financial support, prospects of the tourism activities and the future outlook.

However, I did not have chance to interview the Chief and the assistants of the SP formally. However, I could feel the atmosphere changing when they or I mentioned the APP. I gathered most of the information from field officers instead. However, all of the

interviews were short and would be considered as informal conversation rather than any form of interview.

3.2.3 Literary studies

The information of conservation policies and regulations has been based on literature literary studies. The literature sources included Thai and English books, published and on-line articles and websites. The Master Plan of the Surin Islands Marine National Park was very useful for it provided rich information regarding the conservation policies of the SP.

It was difficult to find research about the Moken in any academic fields. The most recent research about the Moken was written by na Pombejra, a former Master Degree student from Chulalongkorn University who studied the perspective of the Moken in perceiving the world as reflected in their ecological knowledge. Limited literature resources explains my emphasis on gathering new and update data, aiming at comparing literary and empirical information and achieving validity. The methodological framework of the thesis is presented as followed:

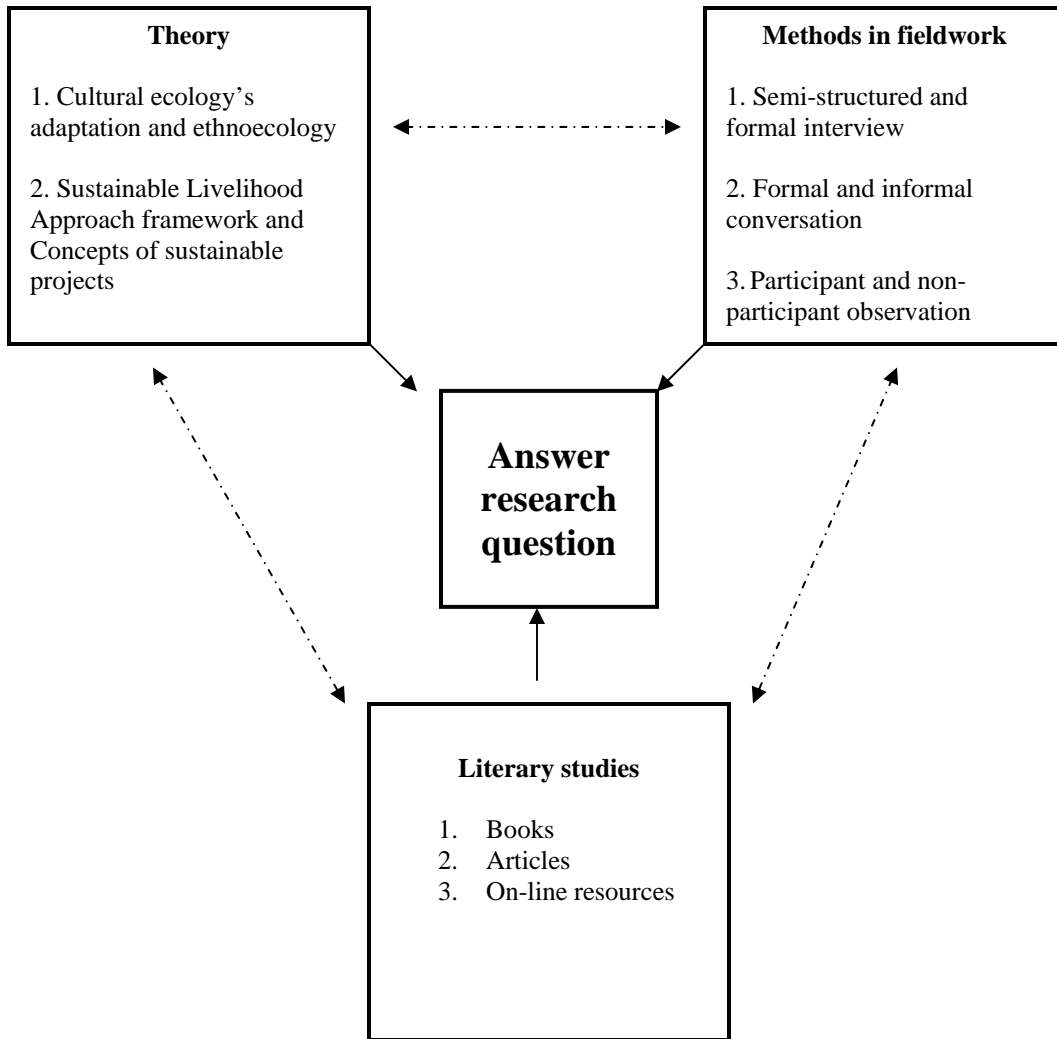


Figure 3.1: Methodological framework of the thesis

3.3 Applicability of collected data

My data collection has aimed at seeking insights to the APP project implementation and solutions based on the research techniques that I have presented. Because the problems are related to the APP tourism project itself and whether the Moken could apply it, I have sought information from both sides in order to understand how the tourism activities could be implemented effectively. Thus, the understanding of their insights, how they

arrive to accomplishments, and partly of policy implementation, have provided data that are important to understand the problems of the project implementation.

However, although the applied research techniques and my interpretation of the data have made me come to understand the situation, various perspectives of the actors and actions were explicated by my understanding. Thus, the following sections will be presenting the reliabilities of data and how it may contribute to the possible biases.

3.3.1 Reliability of data

As I have mentioned, I did not have the chance to conduct intensive formal interviews with the APP team members and neither with the SP officers. The lack of information of their insights may somehow affect my explication of information collected from the Moken. I relied heavily on the empirical data collected from the community and the lack of information from the other's perspectives may result in ineffectiveness of the explication.

3.3.2 Language barrier and other problems with the interviews

I have mentioned in Chapter 2 that it was difficult to collect empirical from the Moken due to the fact that most of them cannot speak Thai. It was also difficult to find an interpreter because all the Moken whom I was familiar with during my stay had jobs to do. When they came home in the evening they would be very exhausted and I really did not want to ask them to assist me, even though it was a good time for chit-chatting. According to this language limitation, I did not get much information about their life in the past in detail. However, the gathered information about the life and the production system of the past period was enough to give an overview of those aspects in general.

Further, there are not alphabets in the Moken culture. Thus, the information that they gave me was based on their memory, experience and their own point of view. This would

affect the accuracy of the information that the Moken gave me during the interviews. I recognize that this information may affect the quality of the analysis of changes and impacts in the livelihoods of the Moken.

3.3.3 Lack of quantitative data

One of the major weaknesses of this research is the lack of quantitative data. This is because the data of the resources gathered by the Moken have never been studied. Further, due to the time constraint that I had on spending in the village, I could not afford to design a strategy for the quantitative data of the resource used or any form of environmental degradation. Acquainting with people also took time, and it was the activity that I wanted to focus on the most. I perceived this activity as my main and the most valuable method to collect data.

3.3.4 Possible bias of the collected information

Most of the Moken knew that I came with the APP team and that made me appear to be the mediator between the Moken and the APP. What really happened was that many Moken knew the members of the APP and sometimes they would express their need for things that they could not obtain from the village. At some points, I felt like I positioned myself in between the Moken and the APP, transferring their needs to the APP. It is because many Moken pay high respect especially to Assoc. Prof. Arunotai, making them feel uncomfortable to ask things from her directly. Many times before or after the conversation with a Moken they would clarify if they need anything and wanted me to transfer it on to one of the members. In this sense, possible bias in 'expecting something' from the conversation might affect the information given. For example, the chief of the village asked me to write him a donation sign after I had a conversation with him.

On the other hand, biases were also generated by me. I realized my role as a researcher and I must stay neutral. However, I am also a Thai and have been listening to news about

development projects, conservation policies and other issues regarding to minority groups and tribes in Thailand. I have to admit that I have quite negative attitudes towards conservation policies and development projects in Thailand. My attitude towards the Moken is that they have been marginalized by the state for years, making them lack of opportunities to choose a way of life. I realize that it is not possible to let them live in the traditional nomadic ways. However, they deserve more interest from the state.

3.4 Summary

The chapter has explained the range of data gathering methods applied in this research. It started with the introduction and key notions of ethnomethodology that directed me what and where to focus when I was working in the field. These notions in ethnomethodology have proved to be useful for I would not have gone into detail when conducting the interviews or when observing the community. Without knowing some elements of ethnomethodology, I may have focused only on what the respondents told me without trying to explicate how they arrived to such achievements, and all the methods would have been conducted without knowing where to focus.

In Chapter 4 and 5, information collected by using these methods will be presented. In Chapter 4, most of the information has been collected from sources of literature and partly from the interview. On the other hand, the information in Chapter 5 has been explicated from data gathering from the fieldwork.

Chapter 4: Conservation Policies, Tourism and the Andaman Pilot Project

The objective of this chapter is twofold. Firstly, it will present a range of political backgrounds that are relevant to the existing situation of livelihood development in the Moken community which was promoted by the SP. Secondly, it aims to present the existing situation of the APP in implementing the tourism activities in the SP, including factors contributing to the obstacles in the implementation of the activities.

The chapter will start with a general introduction to characteristics of Thailand, ranging from the environmental settings to reasons behind the establishment of protected areas and how Thai environmental policies became interested in tourism industry. This information shall provide an understanding of the political context in which the thesis has been constructed.

Subsequently, the chapter will turn to the mechanism of the Master Plan of the Surin Islands Marine National Park (MSP²⁴) which was designed according to the nature of protected areas with support of economic incentive that I will discuss in 4.2. This will include major issues pertaining to livelihoods of the Moken on the SP.

Finally, this chapter will finish with an examination of the characteristics of the tourism activities proposed by the Andaman Pilot Project and a range of political and cultural issues confronting the project implementation.

4.1 Country Characteristics of Thailand

Thailand's population is relatively homogeneous. More than 85% speak a dialect of Thai and share a common culture. The language of the central Thai population is the language taught in schools and used in government. Up to 12% of Thai are of significant Chinese

²⁴ The MSP was developed by Forest Land Resources Division. This division is a part of Natural Resources Conservation Office of the Royal Forestry Department (RFD).

heritage, but the Sino-Thai community is the best integrated in Southeast Asia. Malay-speaking Muslims in the south comprise another significant minority group (2.3%).²⁵ Other groups include the Khmer; the Mon, who are substantially assimilated with the Thai; and the Vietnamese. Smaller mountain-dwelling tribes, such as the Hmong and Mein, as well as the Karen, number about 788,024. The current population of the Thai is an estimated of 65.4 million with an annual growth rate of 0.87%²⁶.

In terms of natural biodiversity, the country stretches nearly 200 km from north to south and includes forested mountains, a variety of geology, very wet and very dry climates, and a complex coastline. However, Thailand's economic development has been rapid however not without ecological costs, as was shown by the failure of many of the coastal areas cleared of mangrove forests to establish shrimp ponds, and the major loss of forest cover leading to a ban on logging in natural forests in 1989²⁷.

Throughout Thailand's history, national development plans have been predominantly concerned with promoting growth in gross national product (GNP) through capital-intensive industrialization. Industrialization in Thailand can be dated to 1961, when the first five-year national economic and social development plan began. Since then there has been a steady progression from import-substitution to export-oriented industrialization (Akransee et al, 1991 quoted in Forsyth, 1998, p. 212).

Until the early 1980s both Thailand's domestic and export economies were heavily dependent on the agricultural sector. But there were dramatic changes in the composition of exports in the 1980s. At that time, the utilisation of resources was the key element in the Kingdom's development. Resources were regarded as something to exploit for expansion of agricultural production, with little effective control. This has resulted in the loss of forest area (Dixon, 1999, p. 13-14).

²⁵ en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Demographics_of_Thailand (15/11/2005)

²⁶ www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/2814.htm (15/11/2005)

²⁷ www.worldbank.or.th (15/11/05)

4.2 Overview of the characteristics of the protected areas in Thailand

According to the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN), a national park is identified with exclusion from the residence's use of resources in the national parks. A national park is defined as a large area:

1. where one or several ecosystems are *not materially altered by human exploitation and occupation*, where plant and animal species, geomorphological sites and habitats are of special scientific, educative and reactive interest or which contains a natural landscapes of great beauty;
2. *where the highest competent authority of the country has taken steps to prevent or eliminate as soon as possible exploitation or occupation in the whole area and to enforce effectively the respect of ecological, geomorphological or aesthetic features that have led to its establishment .*

(IUCN, quoted/emphasized in West and Brechin, 1991, p. xvii)

The principal objective in establishing protected areas was to ensure conservation of the Kingdom's array of plant and animal species, and its intrinsic scenic beauty, which can be referred to the descriptions presented by the IUCN.

Protected areas have been regarded as the backbone of Thailand's natural resources conservation strategy, which in turn is vital in maintaining the productive potential of the national economy. Thailand's protected area system was inaugurated in the 1960s following the enactment of the Wild Animals Reservation and Protection Act (1960) and the National Parks Act (1961). From 1989 on, the protected area system expanded rapidly as a result of the logging ban and the other government conservation policies. In October 2002, the system was managed and supervised by the Royal Forest Department (RFD). Now protected areas are managed by the Department of National Park, Wildlife and Plant Conservation (DNWP). Both departments are under the responsibility of the Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment (MONRE). By July 2002 there were 81 terrestrial national parks, 21 marine national parks, 55 wildlife sanctuaries and 55 non-hunting areas. Following the creation of DNWP in October 2002, management of terrestrial and

marine national parks were merged. They are now gathered under one administration – the Office of National Parks (ICEM, 2002).

As we can see, Thailand seems to be concerned with environmental protection for the number of protected areas has been increasing throughout decades. However, there have always been issues besides the environmental concerns. The National Logging Ban, for example, enacted in 1989 was implemented because of the severe floods that caused the great tragedy in the Nakorn Srithammarat province in the south of Thailand. The floods were caused by excessive logging and timber concession throughout the country. As a result of the enactment, all commercial logging were prohibited and the timber concessions in the natural forest were terminated (Lakanavichian, 2001.). According to this, it can be implied that the Ban was enacted in order to recover the forests that were degraded from natural resource extraction industry. The next section will take a closer look on how the Thai state has become to interest in the importance of economic growth.

4.3 From logging to tourism

Establishment of protected areas in Thailand is hampered by a lack of real interest in environmental concerns because all the important tools, i.e. policy and administration are ineffective. According to Ghimire, the process of establishing a park in Thailand is hard, due to problems related to policing, administration, staffing and funds (Ghimire, 1992). The statement is understandable according to the fact that establishment of parks in Thailand always fails to consider other issues such as the native people who have been living in the areas. Local community participation in protected areas has been poor.

This insight has been confirmed by UNESCO. A study shows that Thailand's national parks and wildlife sanctuaries cover more than 25,000 square kilometers. However, the increasing concern is the negative impact of environmental conservation regulations on the people living in or near protected areas. They suffer from both the development of tourism as well as from the enforcement of conservation regulations. This problem is

particularly acute for indigenous communities in unique and often remote cultural landscapes²⁸ (UNESCO). Issues concerning the environment and the local communities in the protected areas have been raised according to unequal development strategies and policies that have been marginalizing the local communities and degrading the environmental.

The nature of environmental policy development in Thailand has always been considered as unequal development. According Ganjanapan,²⁹ the Thai government has tried to claim more control over forest areas in the highlands by using various legal means to protect the forest cover, such as designating a certain forest area as a park or wildlife sanctuary, and classifying highland regions as restricted watershed areas, portraying the local people as “*enemies of the forest*” (Ganjanapan, 1997 p. 206).

Broadly defined, the richness in biodiversity of Thailand has been perceived as the main source of income generated by the native people and the Thai governments. As studied by Bryant and Parnwell, the RFD oriented itself towards commercial exploitation long before the floods. They pointed out that the RFD bureaucrats tried to please the owners and brokers of the forests by supporting them to grow eucalyptus (Bryant and Parnwell, 1996). As a result, natural resources have been extracted by the Thai Governments since the past. Accusations were put on the forest-dependent people who have been living in the areas for generations, with their living depending on small-scale extraction of the natural resources.

According to this use of natural resources, we can broadly distinguish the function of the natural resource extraction in Thailand into two substantial values. The first value is economic one. Within the economic values, there are direct and indirect use values. It has use value of biodiversity for many rural communities. Such uses include collecting food from natural ecosystems for self consumption, shelter and medicine used by local village

²⁸ <http://www.unesco.org/csi/pub/papers2/surin6.htm>

²⁹ Dr. Ganjanapan is a social scientist at the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Faculty of Sciences, Chiang Mai University, Thailand.

communities. The indirect economic value of biodiversity can be seen in term of ecosystem tourism. The second is the intangible values which refer to the spiritual connection, which are still playing very important roles in many local communities³⁰.

To go forward, within the economic value I perceive that it can be distinguished further into levels. The first level is the use of natural resources 1) at the national level in form of a source for economic growth and 2) at the local level where biodiversity is a source of natural resources which provide basic needs to local communities.

In 1947 the RFD established the Forest Industry Organization (FIO) to improve wood production, and in 1951 the state-owned Thai Plywood Company was founded for wood extraction and processing. Later from the 1960s to the 1980s, almost 40% of the total land areas were assigned as concession areas, and commercial forestry was of major concern for the RFD (Buergin, 2002). The areas of deforestation, forest reserves, concession, and reserved areas are illustrated in figure 4.1.

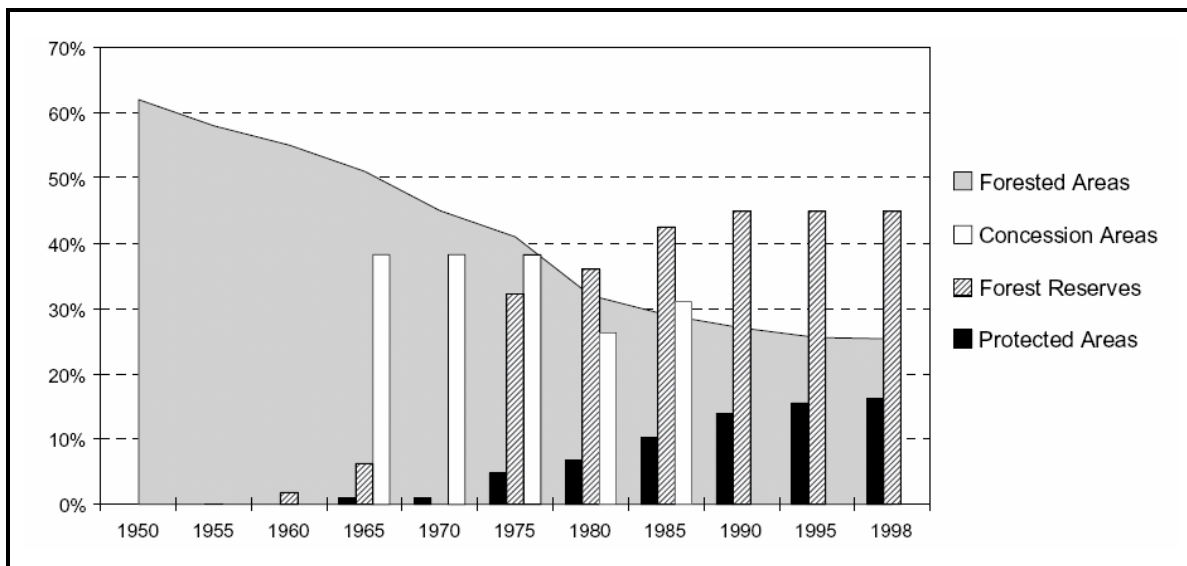


Figure 4.1: Deforestation, Forest Reserves, Concession, and Reserved Areas in Thailand 1950 – 1998 (in % of total land area, 513.115 sq. km.) (Source: Buergin, 2002)

³⁰ siteresources.worldbank.org/INTTHAILAND/Resources/Environment-Monitor/environment_monitor_2004-ch1.pdf

As a result, the new objectives of forestry influenced perceptions and politics of the state authorities towards the ethnic minority groups categorized as hill tribes who were living in the forested mountain areas, practicing various forms of swidden cultivation (Buergin, 2002).

Although the excessive forest extraction was operated by the Thai state, the problem posed by local people who inhabited in the area was more emphasized by the majority of the Thai's being perceived as the main cause of deforestation, which a result would always lead to the prohibition of the area.

For example, throughout the country there are groups of indigenous people whose livelihoods are depended on extracting natural resources. One among the groups is the hill tribes. They are thought by many in Thailand as the cause of resource degradation in northern Thailand and were assumed that their use and nature preservation practices were incompatible, and are therefore put under Thailand's laws governing national parks which were enacted in the early 1960s. This was obviously against local villagers seeking to use the resources to which they since the past had been accessing for over hundred years³¹. In contrast, land reform programs were introduced to legitimate the private land use by lowlanders, regardless to the harm lowlanders do to the environment (Ganjanapan, 1997).

According to what I have been presenting, we can understand that the main reasons to establish a protected area is not based on a real environmental concern but on emphasizing opportunities in economic growth that the protected area might generate. In this sense the great floods that occurred in 1989 which led to the Nation Logging Ban enacted in the same year did not appear to show the concern in environmental conservation but only to function as the closing eucalyptus curtain for the long concession period.

The industry scenario was shifted after the National Logging Ban from concession to tourism. The period between 1987-1996 was the golden decade of Thai Tourism, which

³¹ http://www.iucn.org/bookstore/HTML-books/BP4%20-%20Indigenous_and_Traditional_Peoples_and_Protected_%20Areas/casestudy9.html

was highlighted again after the economic crisis in 1997 when the number of international tourists coming to Thailand grew rapidly.

In 1999, the Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT) recorded that 8.58 million international tourists visited Thailand with collective expenditure of US\$ 6.3 billion. In which 2000, there were 9,508,623 international visitors, accounting for expenditure of US\$6.64 billion (TAT). This went up to 10.0 million international tourists in 2003 with US\$ 7.43 expenditure (TAT, 2005³²). The expenditure is spread across various sectors, including hotels and restaurant, retail trade, and transport (ICEM³³, 2003). According to the Thailand Development Research Institute (TDRI), tourism appeared to be the country's primary source of foreign exchange (TDRI, 1997 quoted in ICEM, 2003, p 44). Thus, the income accrued from tourism contributes to the Thai economy.

National parks during this time were fully recognized as potential assets that would generate income from tourism. National parks are expected to play a greater role in the economic development. In this sense, we can understand that the period of natural resource extraction industry was replaced by tourism industry.

However, the nature tourism policies in Thailand, according to Kaosa-ard (1998), emphasized expanding the number of foreign tourists visiting the country through aggressive international advertising campaigns. These policies existed despite the fact that tourism problems in recent years have been the result of excess demand on resources. As indicated by figure 4.2, the emphasis placed on advertising is manifested by the large budget share of the Marketing Department in the TAT (Kaosa-ard, 1998) but much less of the Planning and Developing Department. Despite Thai environmental policies became to favor tourism industry, there have been no signs of a real environmental concern. Instead, new projects and campaigns were launched by the governments, targeting in having more management options that are expected to create conservation incentives for the local people. However, the classic problem that exists is still the issues

³² www.tourismthailand.org/

³³ International Center for Environmental Management

pertaining with the local people living in protected areas. The next section will be an exploration of a range of issues pertaining with how the economic incentive favored by Thai environmental policies has affected the roles of national parks in Thailand, with emphasis on Surin Islands Marine National Park (SP).

<i>(Unit: Percentage)</i>			
<i>Item</i>	<i>Year</i>		
	1994	1995	1996
1. General Administration Department	3.8	3.7	3.9
2. Planning and Developing Department	24.1	16.1	13.2
3. Marketing Department	60.6	68.9	71.3
4. Hotel and Tourism Training Institute	0.4	0.5	0.5
5. Tourist Business and Guide Registration Office	0.7	0.8	0.8
6. Tourist Police	10.3	10.0	9.9
Total Budget	100 (2,162.65)	100 (2,305.02)	100 (2,545.24)

Figure 4.2: Thailand's Budget for Tourism (*Source: TAT in Kaosa-ard, 1998*)

4.4 Characteristics of the Surin Islands Marine National Park

4.4.1 Natural and administrative settings

The SP (see picture 4.1) comprises of five small islands, which are North Surin Island (18.7 square kilometers), South Surin Island (11.6 square kilo meters), Stork Island (1 square kilometer), Pajumna Island (0.6 square kilometers), and Torinla Island (1.05

square kilometers). At the widest point, the overall area covers 135 square kilometers (land and marine areas are 32.95 and 102.05 square kilometers). The land area is covered with three types of forests, which are the Tropical Rain Forest (93.20 per cent), the Beach Forest (0.42 per cent), and the Mangrove Forest (0.46 per cent) (MSP, part 4).



Picture 4.1: Map of the Surin Island Marine National Park. The arrow indicates where the Moken village situates (Source: www.talaythai.com, accessed 10/11/05).

In the past, the Royal Forestry Department (RFD) was the only key governmental sector responsible for forest protection, including other natural resources. The RFD was believed that its capacity was enough to handle the accelerating degradation. However, as the rate of environmental degradation grew, mostly from deforestation, other

governmental sectors began to enact plans and policies that included environmental concerns.

In 2000 the overall responsibility for the Marine National Parks (MNPs) in Thailand lay with the RFD. In 2002 there were 26 MNPs in total and in the same year the administrative responsibility for the MNPs was shifted from the RFD to the National Parks, Wildlife, and Plant Conservation Department (NWPD) of the Royal Thai Governmental Ministry of National Resources and Environment. However, at the local level the responsibility still involves with a number of other governmental agencies such as the RFD, the NWPD, the Provincial Administrative Office (PAO), and the Tambon (sub-district) Administrative Office (TAO).

4.4.2 Influence of the incentive in economic growth favored by the Thai state as reflected in the Master Plan of the Surin Islands Marine National Park

The incentive in economic growth by the Thai state as I have presented, has become one of the main principles underlying many policies enacted by different governmental sectors³⁴ including the SP. The initial influence from the incentive in economic growth can be traced back to the reasons behind the establishment of national parks and other types of protected areas, wildlife sanctuaries for instance. According to Ghimire, the major difference between the two is the level of human access allowed in these areas. In other words, national parks allow tourism and are open to the public for educational and recreational use. On the other hand, tourism is discouraged in wildlife sanctuaries (Ghimire, 1992). In this sense, national parks are not limited to environmental protection but are open to other opportunities that can be perceived as a source of income.

Further, according to the 8th National Economic and Social Development Plan, or NESD (1997-2001)³⁵, tourism development is mentioned with two main strategies. The first

³⁴ Please refer to the list of policies and Plans in Appendix 1.

³⁵ The major function of the National Plan by the National Economic and Social Development Board (NESDB) is to provide a reference for budgetary purposes; subsequently, each ministry develops its own plan in accordance with this National Plan (Kaosa-ard, 1998).

strategy is to develop the Southern coastal areas so that they would have the potential in supporting the growth of local tourism industry in the area. In order to achieve this, a structure for natural resource is to be administrated and managed in order to promote tourism development in some of the Southern areas³⁶. The second strategy is to improve the production potential, preparing it for the changing world market. With this strategy, developments in tourism industry, mostly in administrative work are focused. The overall objective of the strategies is to prepare the tourist destinations in order to support the growth in tourism industry (MSP, 2004, part 2, page 22).

The SP seems to have applied these strategies guided by the 8th NESD. As presented in the MSP: “the SP has policy to hire local labors, which will generate a labor market, which will further bring private enterprises such as tour companies, guide service, and restaurants. This will create economic opportunities for the local people and will also bring international money” (MSP, 2004, part 1, page 8). However, this holistic viewpoint does not support the present working environment around the SP.

According to Honey, actors who can help maximize the benefits of tourism includes inbound tour operators, ground transporters, guides, accommodation facilities, nation tourism bureau, national and private parks and other recreational sites, cultural and craft centers, and special concession such as providers of boat rides (Honey, 1999). It is likely that income from tourism will be distributed to different actors in different proportions. This is because in Thailand, although tourism has given new economic life into underdeveloped areas in the north and south of the country, not everyone can be expected to participate in and derive benefits from tourism on an equal basis (Hitchcock, King, and Parnwell, 1993). As they further claim, the role of local people is thus very often regulated to the more marginal and menial less well paid occupations.

By considering the Master Plan of the Surin Islands Marine National Park (MSP), it has revealed that it is affected by environmental principles of other governmental sectors. As such, the MSP is a result of influences entailing from other policies and plans, having the

³⁶ Phang-nga Bay, Phuket, and the sea area around Samui Island.

objective to generate income from tourism for the state and in the meantime protecting the coastal land and marine environment. It is obvious that the SP focuses more on economic development rather than on the other issues. The fourth chapter of the MSP is devoted to tourism on the SP. A range of tour destinations from the main land to the SP is presented in detail, including pricing, records of the number of visitors in 14 years, economic status and education level of the tourists, their travel methods, purpose of the visit, expenditure during the stay on the SP, interested activities during the stay, satisfaction of the facilities, and suggestion for improvement. However, the MSP fails to mention any plan towards the Moken. This implies that the SP considers tourism development as one of the most important responsibilities.

4.4.3 Outlook of the SP in working towards the Moken

After discussing the incentive in economic growth at the national level has affected the MSP, in this section I will discuss how the SP has marginalized the Moken in different ways.

According to the MSP (2000-2004) which has recorded the number of tourists who visited the SP in 1998, there were 12,226 visitors. The number is likely to increase in the coming years (MSP, 2004, part 4, p. 19). The attitudes of the tourists towards the Moken was studied and presented in a section of the MSP. It shows that (approximate) 53 per cent of the 26 tourists which have been recorded want the SP to conserve and maintain the traditional livelihoods of the Moken in order to create another tour spot, 19 per cent to improve their living conditions and to educate them about environmental preservation, 11 per cent to leave them the way they are, 7 per cent to generate them a source of income, 1 per cent to establish a permanent community³⁷, and the other 1 per cent to put them into one village. Although these numbers cannot be validated with 100% accuracy due to the small number of interviewees, they do indicate that most of the interviewed tourists are concerned about developing the community into an attraction of the SP.

³⁷ The permanent village has now been established after the tsunami. It is now inhabited by the Moken from the two villages.

With supplement data from the study of the needs of tourists on the SP (MSP, 2004, part 4, page 37), showing that 45 per cent of 120 tourists expected more tenting areas, the SP has responded to the needs for tour facilities, i.e. number of tents and camping areas. One of the obvious responses has been the increase in number of tents, which could host more tourists during some Thai holidays (see picture 4.2).

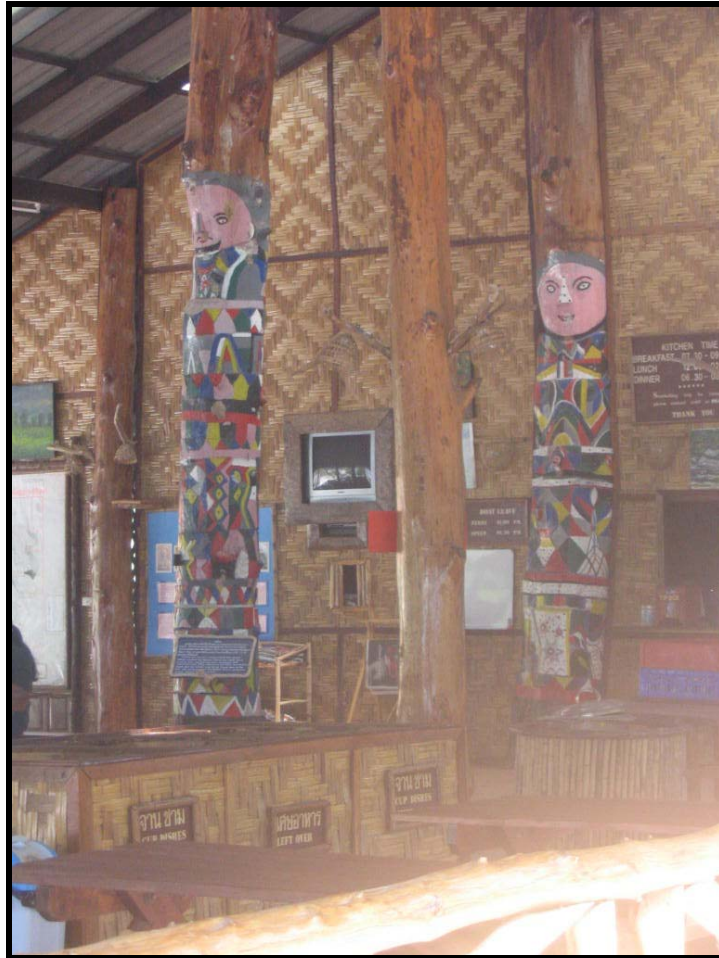


Picture 4.2: Tents for rent provided by the SP to support more visitors (own photo, taken on 08/02/06).

In response, the SP has turned the Moken culture into an attraction of the SP. For example, the pattern of the Moken's religious pole has been applied onto the poles of the dining area (see picture 4.3). However, some Moken seem to have negative attitudes about it.

Further, the amount of work of the Moken seems to be harder than of the tasks of the SP's staffs, which all of whom are Thai. For example, the Moken may be asked by the SP to help with riding boats for the tourists during the high-season, their main task is, of course, to ride boats. However, cleaning the tent areas is an additional task that they have

to do – “*they (the staffs) only ask the Moken to do this kind of extra task*” (interview with Yayoa Klatalay , 16/02/06).



Picture 4.3: The poles at the dining area that have the pattern of the Moken’s religious pole (own photo, taken on 08/02/06).

Derived from the two examples are at least two types of marginalization. Firstly, the Moken are being marginalized by the fact that they are not Thai and thus could not claim for the rights to equality of jobs and to respect of their culture, even though they are silent and shy of strangers in their nature. Although these are examples of small problems, it is likely not to claim for rights in any other circumstances, i.e. rights to settle on the same beaches after the tsunami.

The other type of marginalization is the limitation of jobs. Apart from labor work the SP does not have any long-term strategy to support the Moken towards a sustainable livelihood. One of the interviews I conducted with the Chief of the SP confirmed that

their working objectives with the Moken seem to limit hiring the Moken to work with the SP in a daily basis. This was confirmed by his statement saying that “*it is the strategy we can offer*” (interview with Chief Luangbumroong of the SP, missing date).

After all, it seems like the SP tries to push the Moken away when not needed, from their responsibility due to the fact that the Moken village is now situated in the Special Use Zone³⁸ (MSP, 2004, part 3, p. 6). The function of the Special Use Zone is “*to control activities that may cause harm to the conservational management of the SP*” (MSP, 2004, part 3, p. 6). According to this zoning strategy and the lack of development plans for the Moken, it is obvious that the SP perceives the Moken as a threat to the conservational management of the SP.

In reference to the intensive studies on the needs of the tourists presented in the MSP and how the SP acts towards the Moken, it shows that incentive in economic growth is related to the Moken in the sense that the Moken can provide a source of cheap labor for the SP. However, since the Moken have not yet become a main attraction of the SP, it is likely that they will still be marginalized in with other aspects in the near future.

To conclude this first part of the chapter, the influence of the incentive in economic growth favored by the Thai state as reflected in the MSP has led to the unbalanced emphasis between the issues of protecting the environment, including the Moken, and advancing towards economic development. The lack of real concerns from the SP has marginalized the Moken into a deeper corner of the Thai society. This explains how the Moken community can be affected by economic-oriented decisions and actions from the national level.

³⁸ The SP has seven types of use zones, which are Intensive Use Zone for tourists, Outdoor Recreation Zone for recreational activities, Primitive Zone for conservation, Strict Nature Reserve Zone that allows no activities, Recovery Zone for natural recovery, Special Use Zone for official use, and General Use Zone that anchoring.

4.5 Characteristics of the Andaman Pilot Project and the tourism activities

The objective of the Andaman Pilot Project in working with the Moken is “*to have the Moken able to sustain their community and culture in a manner that conforms with coastal protection*” (APP, 2003, p.12). In order to fulfill this objective, the APP has to cover issues ranging from political, economic and culture. For example, a zoning strategy was proposed, suggesting that the Moken should have a few habitat areas in cases of epidemic or conflict within the community. However, political issues got involved when considering the fact that the Moken live in the protected area which considers residency illegal, which became more complicated when cultural aspects have emerged be further considered because the Moken’s culture differs from the majority Thai’s.

In the following section a general structure of the APP will be presented. This will be followed by information about the tourism activities with a critical look about the nature of these activities. This chapter will end with issues pertaining to the activities.

4.5.1 Tourism activities of the APP

According to the APP, there are emphases in working with the Moken. The emphases are in 1) encouraging the Moken to depend on themselves, 2) maintaining and bringing out pride of the Moken, 3) sustaining the use of natural resources, and 4) improving the livelihoods. The tourism and non-tourism activities proposed by the APP will be provided in this section. They are regarded as the tools to achieve the community towards a sustainable goal. Some of the activities are not intended to generate income but to encourage the Moken to be empowered. I will present all the activities in this chapter with emphasis on the activities that are relevant to income generating and empowerment because these activities are expected to establish a sustainable livelihood strategy.

4.5.1.1 Tourism-oriented activities

Kabang-building (Boat-building)

In the past, *Kabang* used to be the home and naval vehicle of the Moken. Moken men were capable in building *Kabang*. A Moken man would build a *Kabang* when he got married. In the time after, the Moken have settled on land, which is why sea transportation by *Kabang* is rarely to be seen. One of the tourism activities is to support the Moken to build *Kabang*'s, having the objective to maintain the traditional boat-building knowledge and to transport tourists from place to place. Although the Moken are encouraged to build *Kabang*'s, the number of the participants in this activity is low. For instance, it is because some Moken already have jobs somewhere else.

Boat-building in itself is not expected to generate income but it is considered as one of the main activities that the APP intends to make it a part of the tourism package. The *Kabang* building team consists of seven young Moken men. They partly know how to build a traditional *Kabang* but finally they managed to finish it. There are a few elders who expertise in traditional boat-building. However, they are not participating in the team for other NGOs are hiring them to build two other *Kabangs*. The *Kabang* is expected to travel a group of approximately seven to ten tourists at a time to snorkeling spots. Further, building a *Kabang* is perceived by the APP as a cultural conservation strategy.

Trailing with Moken guides

The SP is well-known for the richness of the land and marine biodiversity. The Moken have been living off these resources that provide foods and herbal medicines. Before the trail was built, the Moken used to have their own unexploited forest trails which they followed to gather fruits, vegetables, and tubers. They collected wild fruit and leaves to consume them fresh or for their cooking. Herbal plants could also be gathered from the forest. According to a study of Hinshirana, an anthropologist who is an expert about the Moken from Chulalongkorn University, the tribe used some 80 plant species for food, 28 medicinal plants, 53 species for housing and other 42 for other purposes including handicraft (UNESCO)³⁹ .

³⁹ www.unesco.org/csi/act/thailand/moken_e.htm (accessed 8/04/06)

Because of the heritage of the extensive knowledge of the Moken, trailing became one of the ideas that are expected to generate income. According to the strategy, the tourists will be accompanied by trained Moken who would explain their traditional knowledge about plants along the trail. Along the trail are twenty stations that will explain some particular plants and animals that relate to livelihoods of the Moken since the past.

Trailing with Moken guides is expected to take up to 45 minutes. The length of the trail is about 800 meters, starting from the exhibition house and finishing at the other side of the bay where the *Kabang* is waiting to take the tourists to the snorkeling spots. At the moment the Moken guides are needed to be trained.

Making handicrafts

The Moken have been using plants extracted from the forest in making handicrafts. In the past before the establishment of the SP the product of handicrafts would be limited to baskets, caskets and mats. In the more present time, building *Kabang* models has become one of the main products.

Handicrafts produced by the Moken can be considered as one of the main income generating sources. I have mentioned earlier that official support in this activity has not been operated. However, the Moken have been producing handicrafts for tourists for many years in order to earn income. This can be considered as a good strategy because the number of visiting tourists can be around hundreds. The handicrafts that can be produced include small traditional Moken fishing boats, different shapes of caskets, and mats. According to my observation, wooden boats are normally made by the male Moken while women would take care of making caskets and mats, in which the process would start from cutting down pandanus trees to weaving.

4.5.1.2 Non-tourism-oriented activities

Exhibition house

The exhibition house has been established in the beginning of January, 2006. The house consists of boards presenting livelihoods and culture of the Moken in the past and present. The aim is to present Moken knowledge to the visitors

Site-visit to other Moken communities

This activity was conducted a few months ago. The members of the APP took a few Moken men and women to visit another *Chaolay* community that live closer to the Thai culture and do not remain traditional as much as the Moken who live in the SP. However, some of these communities such as the Moklen communities (another sea nomad group) have got together in groups to generate products that would support their new lifestyle. The objective of the visit was to encourage the Moken from the SP to get together in order to be learn to work in group.

Camping of the Moken children with Thai children from the mainland

In this activity the members of the APP took fifteen of the Moken children from the village to participate in camping with school children of the same age from the mainland. The camp expected the children from both groups to exchange knowledge by participating in a range of activities.

4.5.2 Issues pertaining with the APP tourism activities

As I discussed before, the APP will be confronting a range of issues relating to the implementation of the tourism activities. These issues will involve obstacles caused by the Moken community, i.e. how the Moken respond to the tourism activities and how they can **adapt** to the environmental impacts of the tourism activities.

In addition, the APP will also have to consider the feasibility of the tourism activities whether they can implement a sustainable project for the Moken. The aim of this section

is to point out institutional and cultural constraints and might contribute to/ after the implementation of the tourism activities.

4.5.2.1 Institutional constraints

It is expected that the tourism activities will provide the Moken with a new source of income. In order for the APP to achieve that point, effective cooperation with the SP has to be established. However, this might be difficult because the SP is influenced by economic incentive which may result in establishing a relationship between them.

According to the APP, the tourism activities are not aimed to generate profit to the APP or to anyone but only to support the Moken to generate their own income by not working with the SP or in other places. It is because, as Arunotai claims, “*the Moken will be taken advantage easily because they are illiterate*” (interview with Arunotai, 04/02/06). In this sense, it is likely that the APP will not be cooperated by the SP due to the income distribution issue.

Moreover, the involvement of the APP may lead to many other issues such as the elimination of the compromising period. Considering one of the roles of protected areas in Thailand is to protect the natural resources in the area, which are the materials for all of the activities proposed by the APP. Thus, gathering of natural resources cannot be done freely. Although the Moken are allowed to cut trees or gather natural resources for household use, the tourism activities have an objective in generating income and thus the compromising agreement of the SP to the Moken may be reconsidered.

Further, the process of preparation for these tour facilities requires extraction of natural resources. For example, the trail would require the clearance of the forest. This activity is in paradox with the attitude of the SP which the nature in the area has to be conserved.

Moreover, there are certain areas for snorkeling sites. Snorkeling and riding in the traditional vessel with the Moken may draw interest from the tourists. This is possible because the traditional vessel attracts great interest from international and national

tourists. I had chances to take a few trips on the traditional vessel to the SP headquarter at the North Surin Island where most of the tourists on the beach came together to the vessel with cameras every time. According to this, it is likely that the number of tourists taking snorkeling trips with the SP may decrease when the more vessels are built and the tour is fully operated by the Moken.

4.5.2.2 Cultural constraints

It is expected that the APP tourism activities will establish a sustainable livelihood. However, it is still a question whether the Moken can adapt to this new livelihood strategy and whether they can cope with the new environment created by the tourism activities. Although some of the key persons of the APP have extensive experience in working with the Moken, consequences after the implementation of the tourism activities may be unpredictable. Because working with the issue of livelihoods is difficult to deal with as it is rich in details and aspects, the lack of careful social impact assessments may lead to an unexpected condition of a future livelihood.

The tourism activities designed by the APP suffer from insufficient consideration of negative outcomes. Although it is holistic to assume that tourism activities would bring about a sustainable community and that participation is always one of the best practices to achieve a goal, the process along the way is as much important since it plays a central role in shaping an outcome of the accomplishment.

For instance, the tour package may or may not, generate the amount of income expected, or may not succeed in empowering the Moken for worse, i.e. the rise of consumerism that will occur along the process of implementation is real and it will last. Finally, the tourism activities cannot be operated during the storm season when the SP will be officially closed for months. The storm season prohibits tourists and any other activities within the SP. Considering the tourists as the main source of income, the economic feasibility may be temporary. This issue will be elaborated further in Chapter 6 where data from the case study will be presented.

4.6 Summary

This chapter has presented the demographic, political, historical, and economic, characteristics of the SP, whose descriptions seem to identify a range of factors that might contribute to factors preventing the APP to implement the tourism activities. The described conditions might even encourage the SP to implement a development project on their own due to the lack of beneficial income that the Moken could contribute to the SP. Likewise, I have described the characteristics of the APP with the aim of arguing that while there is intention to create an economic opportunity, cultural and political concerns should be taken into consideration. The lack of thorough study of a range of factors that might impact the traditional livelihoods of the Moken seems to pose problems to the Moken community in a long term.

In addressing the issues of the lack of interest in livelihood development, the NWPD should be the key institution responsible for providing a more suitable living condition of the Moken. The SP targets the management of the area mainly in economic development and protection of the natural resources, which has been adopted as a major strategy to fulfill economic achievement objectives. Although plans towards the Moken are partly mentioned in the MSP, concerns of lacking technical, administrative and financial capabilities have been raised, arguing that the capacities of the SP to manage living conditions of the Moken have not been materialized. This raises uncertainties as to the extent to which the relationship between the SP and the APP has been developed. When examining the present relationship between the SP and the APP, it also further emerges that challenges are present in order to address livelihood concerns. These include the lack of interest of the SP, challenged by not targeting the livelihood of the Moken and regarding economic concerns as large prospect. In this sense, we may understand that challenges are present in co-operating the SP with livelihood concerns.

The next chapter will take a closer look into what changes have taken place in the Moken community with an emphasis on the period after the establishment of the SP and of the

involvement of the APP. Besides, it will present how the Moken respond to the environment created by the emergence of the alternative tourism activities with an emphasis on changes and impacts on their production system in each period.

Chapter 5: Impacts of tourism on livelihoods of the Moken

“Beautiful but unlucky”⁴⁰,

Unknown tourist visiting the Moken village

This chapter will introduce the case study, starting with a general description of the livelihoods of the Moken before the establishment of the SP. Then I will turn to a presentation of their livelihoods and how they have changed in various aspects of livelihoods with emphasis on the period after the establishment of the SP till the APP came in 1997 including the period after the APP got involve. Then, I will examine capital feasibility of the tourism activities and other relevant issues.

5.1 Introducing the traditional livelihoods of the Moken

5.1.1 Archeological backgrounds

The meaning of ‘Chao lay’ or ‘sea people’ or ‘sea gypsy’ in Thai is twofold. It may refer to fishermen who live close to the sea or indigenous people who live along the coastal areas in the South of Thailand and speak a language that belongs to the Austronesian family. In this research I refer to the indigenous nomadic group who sometimes wander from island to island and spend most of their time living in the boat. There are three groups of ‘Chao lay’ in Thailand, which are the Moken, the Moklen and the Urak lawoi. Each group has its own language but similarities in their traditional ways of life. However, in more present time the Moklen and the Urak lawoi have been assimilated into Thai culture more than the Moken has, and are recognized as ‘Thai mai’ (new Thai). The

⁴⁰ I overheard this statement from a tourist who was walking in the Moken village He was mentioning about condition of the village. I think the word ‘beautiful’ he mentioned was referring to the natural environment of the SP. This statement shows how the living condition of the Moken appeared to outsiders.

Moken is the last ‘sea gypsy’ whose livelihoods have been regarded to remain very traditional.

The Moken can be divided into two subsets, which are the Pulau Moken that can be found in Ranong and Phang-nga province as well as in Burma. The other group is the Tamub Moken who lives in the same provinces but can also be found in Phuket⁴¹. The Moken in this research is the Pulau Moken who lives in the SP in Phang-nga province.

The Moken have no historical record and thus have their origin remained unknown. However, archeologists, after having gone through archeological documents, tend to believe that the Moken and the other groups immigrated from China to Malay Peninsula and coastal areas of Burma.



Figure 5.1: Malay Peninsula (source: th.wikipedia.org/, accessed 23/03/06)

5.1.2 Traditional socio-economic trends and social settings

Food gathering and trading

Traditionally, the Moken’s world consists of two seasons. *Tagon* can be considered as the dry season (December-April) while *Balad* is the stormy season (May-November). *Tagon* in the past was the time when the Moken would spend most of their time in *Kabang*, the vessel that they used for transportation and home. According to respondents, the Moken spent their time traveling from island to island, collecting sea-shells, catching fish, gathering forest products, trading with the main land people, and storing basic needs for the *Balad*. The *Balad* is the time when they leave their *Kabang* and build temporary

⁴¹ The provinces mentioned are in the South of Thailand.

shelters on shore. Traveling would be limited only to the nearby areas. The Moken spend this time of the year building a new *Kabang* or repairing the old ones.

The traditional socio-economic trends based on gathering natural resources. The Moken started from gathering food and other natural products like sea shells, which would then be traded partly for other foods such as rice and meats. In the past, the Moken were able to travel freely between islands, across the Burma's sea border or even to Nicobar Islands (interview with Salama Klatalay⁴², 18/02/06), to gather sea shells, which would be traded with the middlemen in Thailand for money, foods and medicines. The Moken rarely practice farming and did not base it as a main source of diets (interview with Ngok Klatalay⁴³, 18/02/06). According to this, the Moken seemed to have their own economic pattern which had not been changed for decades.

Roles of the Moken men and women in the past were clearly distinguished. The Moken men were responsible for gathering fish (by spearing, fish-netting, ring-netting, hooking) in the far side of the sea. This included labor and (re)construction works of houses and boats. The Moken women were house-keeping, including care of the children, preparing food, and gathering food such as clams on the seashore. In the spare time, the Moken women worked on weaving baskets, mats, and other objects of a kind for household use.

In the sense of Cultural Ecology, the trends were suitable for their ways of life for a number of reasons. According to Arunotai, she points out that gathering food from the sea allowed the Moken to access fertile and diverse sources of food. In the meantime, the extracting spots would be various, and this allows time for the extracted spots to be recovered (Arumotai, 2003 quoted in na Pombejra, 2003).

⁴² Klatalay is the family given to the 'sea people' by the Princess Mother. The sea people do not have family name in their culture, which is different from the Thai majority. Thus, a person who has a family name can, in a sense, be considered as a Thai. In case of the Moken, they could be considered as Thais, theoretically. However, their status and rights are far too different from the Thai majority, i.e. no citizenship.

⁴³ All the interviews were conducted in the Moken village. Interview at other location will be specified.

Housing

In the past before the SP was established in 1981, the residence of the Moken were in the *Kabang*, or the traditional sea vessel (see picture 5.1). After the SP was established, the Moken moved on to the shore, settling almost permanently on Ao Sai Ean (Sai Ean Bay) and the Ao Bon Lek (Bon Lek Bay) (see picture 5.2). The characteristics of the traditional villages were that they had to be sheltered by the cliffs and bay in time of storm and the boats had to be able to be anchored. Secondly, the village had to be located near a fresh water source. Lastly, the village had to be located in the sea and close to the forest area. According to the empirical data, the Moken would prefer settling in a bay so that they would be able to detect unfamiliar any sea vessels that enters the area (interview with Nguey Klatalay, 20/02/06).



Picture 5.1: *Kabang* as the residence. The source did not identify the time when this photo was taken. However, this is the traditional house of the Moken in the past (Source: www.cusri.chula.ac.th/andaman, accessed 17/05/06).



Picture 5.2: The temporary settlement before the tsunami took place in 2004 (Source: www.cusri.chula.ac.th/andaman, accessed 17/05/06).

Social networks

The traditional social structure is defined by na Pombejra (2003) as “*Band Level Societies*” where no one ‘own’ a natural resource (na Pombejra, 2003, p. 67). The characteristic of this type of society is that the hierarchy is small. Further, the limited types of occupation make people in the society have similar wealth and power.

In past times of wandering, the nuclear family would make up a flotilla of about seven or ten boats, and these extended families or flotillas would correspond to a specific space of nomadic life (Ivanoff, 1997). In this “*given space*”, Ivanoff⁴⁴ states that *potao*, “*elder*”, who know the dangers of the sea and the places where collecting can be done, were the chief (Ivanoff, 1997). With supplement information from interviews, the chief leaders in the past were also in charge of practicing ceremonies and positioned themselves as the sorcerer (interview with Salama Klatalay, 14/04/06).

Religion

The traditional faith of the Moken is animism. However, the traditional faith is different from the present one. In the present time, I see that Buddhism has been taking part in the Moken community but does not seem to be taking over the traditional religion. Small Buddha statues on their necklace are believed by the Moken as a powerful talisman that would protect them from evil spirits rather than as a religious item. Ceremonies are still being practiced in the Moken way.

The next sections will be the examination of the changes that have taken place in the Moken community by emphasizing to the change in their production system and in their culture after the establishment of the SP.

⁴⁴ Jacques Ivanoff is the world’s foremost authority on the Moken. He’s been living with them on and off for more than 20 years (CBS News, accessed 24/03/06).

5.2 Changes and impacts in livelihoods of the Moken after the establishment of the SP

I have discussed how the economic growth incentive of the state has affected livelihoods of the local communities as a whole in the previous chapter. In this section I will go further into discussing how the establishment of the SP has affected the Moken in various aspects but with emphasis on change in their production system and culture change.

5.2.1 General settings in the present

The most recent record conducted by the APP shows that there are 195 Mokens residing in the SP in 53 households. The number consists of 41 men, 72 women, 40 boys, and 42 girls. Before the tsunami took place in December of 2004, there were two Moken villages settling on the Ao Sai Ean (Sai Ean Bay) and the Ao Bon Lek (Bon Lek Bay). After the disaster struck the two villages were rebuilt and joined together on the Ao Bon Yai (Bon Yai Bay). Basically, this is two villages in one. According to respondents most of the Moken are relatives and dwelling in one village would rarely cause a conflict (interview with Ngok Klatalay, 13/02/06).

The average household size is varies. Normally, a Moken family consists of parents and two children. However, grand parents also reside within the same household and some households may also consist of grandchildren and relatives. Widows with children are a big group in the Moken community. It is not different from their family in the past.

5.2.2 New Socio-economic and socio-culture trends

According to na Pombejra, gathering food can be regarded as the most important activity of the Moken (na Pombejra, 2003). This notion was confirmed during my time in the SP. February is the beginning of the tourist season. Thai and international tourist visited the SP ranging from small packs of couples to a large group of 200-300 persons. The high season would go on until the SP takes the seasonal close in May.

Although the tsunami did affect the number of tourists ever since, for less than half of the normal tourists have visited the SP. However, the number is on the rise due to a several governmental campaigns which have the main objectives in improving the environmental coastal condition and to bring back the tourists. Tourism in the SP can be considered the main source of income of the SP and the Moken. Thousands of tourists from around the world visit the SP. Although the number of tourists should be limited to 600 persons per day, during my stay I experienced a few hundred more of tourists.

Because of the enormous number of tourists, the Moken are asked to work with the SP as the boatmen for the tourists throughout the tour period. According to my observation, tourists can come in as a small group or a very large group consisting of approximately 200 persons. This does not only contribute to the SP but to the Moken. The SP takes this as the opportunity to generate income for the Moken by hiring Moken men to ride *Hua-thong* or long-tailed boats for the tourists. According to respondents, their tasks are not limited to boat-riding but extend to other things like carrying heavy stuff and whipping the beach. Although the Moken are provided with meals and coffee, an income of 100 Bath per day is too little for them when comparing to the all-day work which would start from 08.00 until late 17.00.

Because most of the high numbers of visitors, the SP seems to concentrate around providing accommodation and other types of services for the tourists rather than for other functions. The Moken then were perceived as a source of labor and were asked to take part in tourism. Having the Moken participate in tourism was a good strategy for they would depend on their income generated and less on the gathering of natural resources.

In this sense, we can understand that taking part in tourism is a new production system of the Moken. I see that the Moken had to take part in tourism as a new production for one reason. It was because the natural resources were limited to be gathered, and some of them were even banned, i.e. sea cucumbers and shells⁴⁵. These marine resources in the

⁴⁵ www.cusri.chula.ac.th/andaman/en/ (accessed 17/05/06)

past were the main sources of income for the Moken. Thus, the Moken had to find a new source of income when the gathering of those marine resources was banned.

This change of their production system would affect their culture. From a broad perspective, the Moken have started to rely on income from tourism instead of the gathering. Tourism can be considered as a new thing system in the Moken community. Thus, I consider that their production system in the period during 1981-2004 was based on small-scale trading, making crafts, temporary work with the SP, and less on extraction.

Considering the information of their livelihood in the past, the Moken are unaccustomed with coming in contact with people from the outside. The consequence of this was that the Moken did do well in socializing with other people. The next section will go into detail of changes and impacts from tourism in their livelihood as reflected through their production system. By doing so, I will look at the change in production system in a holistic perspective, paying close attention to changes of the whole livelihoods, ranging from lifestyle to values. However, changes and impacts in the Moken livelihoods presenting in the following sections will not be based on the result of tourism alone. I perceive that the prohibition of natural resource gathering was also responsible for the changes and impacts.

5.2.3 Changes and impacts in livelihoods of the Moken as a result of tourism and resource limitation after the SP was established

In reference to Cultural Ecology, I have elaborated that there are three main areas within society that are particularly affected by the environment. Changes resulting from the limitation of natural resource extraction and participating in tourism have affected the division of labor, size and stability of people, and distribution in space. In the following section I will point out changes and impacts with an emphasis on the areas mentioned.

Division of labor in the Moken community

There are changes and impacts on livelihoods of the Moken that have taken place since the SP was established. According to my empirical data, the system of sexual division of labor has been slightly changed since the SP was established. In the past, the Moken men and women had distinctive tasks. The main responsibility of men was hunting, fishing, collecting and extracting. On the other hand, the women would work around the house in order to keep things in place. From this, we can see that the main task of men was to support the family. It was not necessary that the income had to be money as it could be foods or other sources that could support the family. Money was necessary in time of storing food or when other necessities needed. Although the women might accompany with the men to sell their collected products at the mainland⁴⁶, their main task was not to support the family with income, but to have things prepared for the man when he needs, i.e. meals and clothes. One of the main tasks of the women was gathering food in the near-shore areas.

Presently the division of labor remains the same as it was in the past. The men consider generating income as the first priority, while the women would focus mainly on working around the house. However, the men could not hunt openly for food because such activities were considered illegal. Instead, they would have to journey off to the far side of the sea occasionally to gather sea shells. In the meantime, the role of the women in generating monetary income has risen, but did not reach the point that they have to consider generating income as a very important activity. Thus, their main tasks remain the same.

However, some changes have already taken place in the women's group for they would spend most of the time everyday in playing cards and bingo in a gambling basis. According to an interview with a gambling woman, she said that "*the women would have nothing else to do when all the house work was done*" (interview with a Moken woman⁴⁷,

⁴⁶ It can be Thai or Burmese mainland. The Moken can travel more freely across Thai and Burmese border.

⁴⁷ There are few reasons explaining why some of the participants cannot be identified. These reasons are 1) they do not want to be identified, 2) They do not understand when I was asking for their name, 3) I could not get their name right, 4) Some Thai people do not want to identify their name when giving information.

18/02/06). It seems that the limitation of natural resource gathering has impacted the Moken women, who in the past were responsible for gathering natural foods and other marine resources in the area.

Concerning changes and impacts in the age division of labor⁴⁸, I could not find information suggesting that the Moken had a system of age division of labor and even a form of age division of labor in their tradition.

Gathering size and food stability of the Moken

There has been no record of the exact territory size (including habitat and gathering areas) that the Moken used to gather food and other natural resources. However, due to the Thai security policies that established national borders, the gathering size of the Moken had been dramatically decreased into this village. Change in the gathering size has forced the Moken to concentrate their gathering on the same areas around the village.

According to a study by na Pombejra (2003) conducted between 20/5/02 – 28/10/02, the most used area by the Moken was the beach in front of the village that was used for netting. It is likely that the excessive use at the same natural resource gathering spot has led to the decrease in number and size of fish, even though they could be netted throughout the year (interview with Yayoa, 14/02/06). According to the empirical data and the study of na Pombejra, the main gathering areas of the Moken during the period before the tsunami were⁴⁹:

1. Front beach – The Moken had been using the front beach for gathering foods like small fish (mostly *sardinella*), shellfish, oysters and other clams, which could be gathered all year round. Thus, this area was considered as the main and the closest source of foods.

⁴⁸ In Moken society, the working group would consist of adult Moken men (15-45), elder Moken men (46-60), adult Moken women (15-45) and, elder Moken women (46-60). Approximate age range.

⁴⁹ These gathering are still in used in the present time (2006).

2. Jaak Bay – Because of the growing number of the visitors, souvenir like small boats were considered as one of the main sources of income. Dead woods were gathered from this bay.
3. Chok Madah – According to na Pombejra, this was one of the bays where the Moken women spend most of their time gathering clams. It has been considered as one of the most important gathering areas for it is situated in the back of the mountain behind the village. During tourist visits, the Moken will be asked by the SP not to gather foods in front of the beach because “*it does not look good if the tourists see*” (interview with Kru Jo⁵⁰, 18/02/06). Thus, this has been one of the most important areas for the Moken for it would provide them a food source instead of the front beach.
4. The mountain at the back of the village – this area in the present was rarely used to gather herbal plants. However, as honey and mountain crabs have been considered as valuable foodstuffs, making this area valuable as a food source. Honey is less gathered than the mountain crabs because it was rare and difficult to find. Further, a certain plant (*Pandanus furcatus*) that grows naturally on the mountain are the material for baskets, mats, and caskets. Making handicrafts was a new source of income for the Moken during that time.
5. Similan Islands – These Islands are one of the Marine National Parks which is located further south of the SP. According to respondents, the Moken would go there occasionally in order to gather a particular kind of seashell (*Turbo marmoratus*) which can be traded in the mainland. This activity has been illegal. However, most of the Moken had no Thai citizenship, and that would make them be released when they got arrested. The collected shells had to be released and the Moken would come home empty-handed. On this island, collecting bird nests was one of the activities that can generate a very high income. The Moken would save

⁵⁰ There are two teachers (Kru) in the Moken village. They are Kru Jo and Kru Yuth.

them little by little and then sell it all at once (interview with Nguey Klatalay, 22/02/06).

Although the gathering size was smaller than it had been, it was replaced by skilled activities. According to respondents, the Moken saw handicraft production as an alternative source of income. The pattern of these products derived from the real traditional patterns. As the tourism boomed, access to market of these products was bigger than it had been in the past. Tourists came to the village and bought these items as souvenirs. Some Moken even practiced small trading on the mainland with these products (interview with Salama Klatalay, 23/02/06). In this sense, we can see that tourism founded its role in the Moken community during the period of 1981-2003.

Because of the improvement in income, it has led to a new trend of food availability for the Moken can manage to buy. Traditional diet consisting of edible plants and prey that could be found in the territory was replaced by junk food, soda, and alcohol (interview with Kai Klatalay, 16/02/06). As Kai went on, he said that “*rice is the main source of nutrient, but the Moken from all age-group also enjoyed junk foods, snacks and instant noodles*” (interview with Kai Klatalay, 16/02/06). He also said that food gathering activities did still exist during that time.

Further, the improvement in their income also makes some of the Moken men spend their money for entertainment in the mainland. According to interview with a Moken, his statement about this issue is presented as followed:

The income from tourism and from other sources stabilized financial status of many Moken, making them spend for pleasure in the mainland. They even spent money on prostitute.

(Interview with a Moken, 16/02/06)

However, this interviewee claimed that they do not spend money on such things (prostitute) anymore. He said that many Moken have died from incurable diseases. He said that it was the reason for quitting.

Distribution in social and environmental spaces

As I have mentioned in Chapter 2, spaces include physical distance to the environment and distance between groups, kinship, marriage and rules. In the past before 1981 the physical vicinity of the settlement to the environmental resources was considered close. For example, the Moken in the past would settle close to a river or where they could get the water easily. Further, the fact that they lived in their vessel, which was used to wander in the sea for months, can be considered that the Moken always lived close to the environment where they could gather resources.

Physical space - After the SP was established the Moken had to settle on the beaches, and the distance to the natural resources could be considered as still being close to resources. However, according to interview with Salama, he said that the Moken were not allowed to gather the resources, even though they lived close to the sea, they (interview with Salama Klatalay, 18/02/06). In this sense, regulations also gave a space between the Moken and the environment.

Derived from this issue is the problem with the physical distance. With regard to this issue, I came across some information indicating changes and impacts of this issue on the livelihoods of the Moken. Because resources have been limited by policies and regulations, a garden system emerges again in the Moken community. According to na Pombejra, the Moken used to garden centuries ago and such activity has just reemerged again after the tsunami (interview with na Pombejra, 5/02/06). From this statement and the emergence of the gardening system, I see that it is a new method that the Moken expect to provide another source of nutrition. However, I discovered a new issue came out of this situation.

There was an unorganized gardening system allocated in the back of the village. The gardens of kitchen vegetables and fruits⁵¹ have been unofficially allocated for every family, supposedly. An event took place with an issue that contradicted with Moken traditional value; the rise of sense of ownership. There was a big yellow pumpkin

⁵¹ The vegetables and fruits I found were pumpkins, papayas, chilies, and a few kinds of herbal plants.

growing in the unofficial allocation of a Moken woman, and it was taken by a Moken man who did not know that he was 'intruding' into someone else's space. The final outcome was that the woman got the pumpkin back, the man complained that "*it never happened to me before*" (interview with Kai). Although the pumpkin debate that took place was not a serious matter, it indicates that a new kind of environment, the allocated garden in this case, contributes some affects on the Moken. It was contradicted with the value that allowed them to wander freely.

The next finding of the result of limitation in natural resource extraction and tourism is that the distance between the Moken and the mainland people have been reduced and brought closer. The limitation in resource gathering has forced the Moken to rely their income on the growing number of tourists who would spend money on the handicrafts. According to interview with Kai, he said that "*I prefer making crafts for tourists because the work is lighter that working with the SP*" (interview with Kai, 15/02/06). I see it as a threat for some of the Moken. It is because they would not be able to earn income from this kind of activity during the close season of the SP. With supplement data from the fact the Moken have no tradition of saving, they will have to find a new source of income during the close season, which is the time of storms and depressions.

The last finding of the changes and impacts in this issue of physical space is the mismanagement of space. This issue does not seem to relate to tourism or limitation of resources. However, I consider it as a new issue in the Moken society. I assume that the Moken in the past did not have problems with the use of space for activities. For example, after the tsunami this present village was established with a structure of the settlement designed and provided by the state. This structure the village is different from what it was in the past where the houses were constructed above the sea. Household waste such as food and human waste was released into the sea, which would turn into foods for fish. The new settlement did not consider this issue during the planning process. Instead, they built actual toilets in the back of the village, which Moken had been using until they were full. A problem arose here when the Moken had to find a new replacement for the toilets. The front beach has been the new replacement. The problem

of smell is considered small when compared with contentious diseases in the past. However, I do not have further information about the relationship between the mismanagement of space and its impacts, even though it seems to be a new threat in the Moken community.

Societal space - As far as I am concerned, issues in relation with the social distance has already taken place which the following findings indicate. As I have mentioned, the roles of the elder Moken in the past consisted of various functions and the person would be regarded as the 'wise man'. According to respondents, the 'wise man' was respected in the past. However, presently, the role of the elder leader has been changed for he prefers to 'catch up' with the changing environment, in this case the income generating pattern. According to the interview with Salama, the unofficially assigned⁵² leader of the village, he seems to understand what the community is about to be going through. Salama said that "*we just cannot live like the ways we used to be*" (interview with Salama Klatalay). The attitudes of the young adult Mokens towards Salama's are presented in no words. They still regard Salama with respect but the changing role of their leader seems to have affects on them.

According to this, the space of relationship between the elder leader and the younger villagers was widened as a result of difference in ideas. The roles of the leader seems to have less in spiritual and traditional 'wise man' functions, putting forward to a more mercantile roles. As a result, the roles of the leader are not regarded as much as before. One might argue that the traditional ceremonies are still being practiced and the key person to lead is still the leader. However, an imitation ceremony is practiced as a show for the tourists and the performance will be charged in form of donation.

⁵² By the term 'unofficially assigned', I was told by a young Moken man that "Salama is not the leader but he knows a lot of people and he can speak Thai" (interview with Ngok Klatalay).

5.3 Changes and impacts in Livelihoods of the Moken members who participate in the tourism activities

The main issues discussed in this section will be dealing with effects in livelihoods of the Moken who participate in the tourism activities. In general, tourism products can be built on natural resources and culture, which are assets that some of the poor have. It has high income elasticity, and therefore offers a relatively rapidly growing market.

Tourism in the SP is likely to provide opportunities for income generating diversification. Tourism provides labor work opportunities for the Moken and in the meantime the Moken can generate a new source of income in manufacturing its relation to the economy as a whole, therefore, depends on the relative weights of natural resource collecting, tourism and manufacturing.

The earlier section has revealed that tourism could pass effects on their livelihoods indirectly. In the following section I will present and discuss in more detail about effects on livelihoods of the nine Moken members who participate in tourism activities provided by the APP.

5.3.1 General participant profiles and their reasons to participate

Currently, nine Moken participate in the tourism activities. Among some of them I had chance to get acquainted with a number of them. The approximate age-range of the group members is between 17-38 years. The two women in the group are widows; six men are married with at least one child. The remaining one is single and is the youngest in the group. Their motivations for participation are various, but interviews with each of them indicated one thing in common which is they have more freedom than in working with the SP.

When I traced back for their initial inspiration to participate, all of them have been with the APP since it came to the village and some of them have seen Assoc. Prof. Naromon Arunotai since they were young when she was doing her research in the SP many years

ago. Thus, we can see that one of the reasons of their participation is that they are familiar with one of the APP's team members. Further, the nine Mokens initially inhabited in the same bay, Bon Lek Bay, and they have been friends from the beginning. According to another reason to participate, most of them gave similar statement – *“I won't get lonely because all of my friends work here”* (interview with Duling, Toh, and Yayao Klatalay, 18/02/06).

This response reveals a contradiction with the fact that in the past they were more independent for they would wander only in group of families. According to na Pombejra, in the past it was normal for a group of Moken family to disappear into the open sea for months and come back in time of the storm season. Thus, it is normal for the Moken not to say 'good-bye' or any word of farewell. According to na Pombejra, *“even in now a day I never hear (and overhear) 'good-bye' or 'good-luck' before they leave”* (interview with na Pombejra, 29/03/06).

In this sense the Moken can be considered as very independent people. This is different from the present times when they live in one community and have closer contact to one another. There is no information indicating in what level friendship is an important factor to inspire a Moken to participate. However, having a Moken friend in the group may improve the probability of a Moken to participate.

Another reason for participating might be perceived from what I found out when they work with the SP. The Moken and the local Thai workers would sit in separate groups. The Thai group was out-speaking while the Moken remained dead silent. The space between the two groups was invisible but was powerful enough for the Moken to feel the difference. This might explain why the present members decided to participate.

To end this part, having more freedom and a friend in the group seems to be a major factor to the Moken to participate. In the next section I will present and discuss how their livelihoods might be affected from participating in the tourism activities.

5.3.2 Potential changes and impacts in livelihoods of the Moken members as a result of participating in the tourism activities provided by the APP⁵³

Division of labor in the families of the participants

I have presented that sexual division of labor of the Moken men and women has not changed much as the major tasks of men and women are still similar to the way it was in the past. In general, tourism employs a relatively high proportion of women and can contribute to gender equality. However, the traditional roles of Moken men and women seem to remain the same for the men do not require their wives to participate, while their wives seem unwilling to do so. The interviewees confirmed that assumption as they would prefer their wives to work around the house and to take care of the children (interview with the Moken male members). Referring to one of the respondents, he said that “*she should have a meal prepared when I get home*” (interview with Yayao, 19/02/06).

A similar response was given by a Moken who does not participate in the group. He is one of the two Mokens in the village who has the second highest education level (grade 9) and works as a fisherman at the mainland. He said that “*when I get home it is important that she should have a meal prepare for me, or at least a cup of hot water would do*” (interview with Nguay, 22/02/06).

According to the responses, the tourism activities do not seem to affect the traditional task of the Moken men. The interview with Nguay also suggests that the traditional value in this aspect does not change. However, changes and impacts can be seen from watching the women playing cards

According to my data, the women are separated into three groups, situating in the left side, middle, and right side of the village, playing cards or Bingo in a gambling basis. Each group would spend 5-6 hours throughout the day (the Moken have no lunch break

⁵³ The information presenting in this section was collected from most of the Moken members, seven men and two men, who participate in the tourism activities.

tradition). However, this is typical only for the women whose ages are between 15-45 years old. The female elders do not join any of the game groups but would spend most of their time preparing leaves and weaving caskets.

Although the women do not seem to appreciate taking part in any of the tourism activities, they maintain their tradition in gathering near-shore foods, taking care of their children and the house.

Gathering size and food stability of the participants

I have presented earlier that although the natural gathering size is smaller due to the policies and regulations enacted by the SP, tourism industry is also responsible for it. Because of the exposure to tourism introduced by the APP, the size of the habitat and gathering territories will be explored within the SP and the Moken's habitat area. Although in the present time the gathering territory includes the beaches around the South and North Surin Islands, ranging from the seashores to the mountains, a number of the interviews have revealed that it is likely to explore more of the same natural resources, the mountain in particular, in order to make a better natural trail for the tourists.

For instance, an impact from building the existing trail has arisen. One of the two teachers, who has been in the Moken village for one year, said that "*in the past the Moken would take longer time to catch a couple of the mountain crabs, but now they are less because the trail is accessible to their habitat, as well as to the honey*" (interview with Kru Jo, 19/-2/06). However, this impact may not affect only the Moken members. The whole community has potential to face a range of problems due to the condensed use of natural gathering sources. The type of gathering territory will be changed from the vast space of oceans and islands to a few spaces within the SP.

However, within the SP is the expansion of gathering space. According from my empirical data, I had a chance to participate in a trip to one of the prohibited beaches on the SP where only the Moken are compromised to cut gather dead woods, which are the

principle material for model boats. The need to build more boats will be is a direct result from the growth of tourism which brings more tourists to the village. The search for the wood is now not limited on in the village area but dead wood will be gathered from the beaches. Thus, in this sense we can see that the gathering size is expanded from area to the areas around the village, including the prohibited beaches.

In terms of food stability of the participants and their families, the APP provides the same amount of salary as the SP (3,000 Bath per month or \$77). With this same amount of salary, the Moken who work with the SP and with the APP do not have financial differences. Further, the expense on snacks and other foods, as well as on cigarettes and liquors, are common for groups. The division of their income is broadly organized. The major proportion is dedicated for storage of rice and dry food in time of the storm season.

Distribution in social and environmental spaces of the participants

As a result of the implementation of the APP tourism activities, changes in the social and environmental spaces are not different from what already has taken place as a result of tourism promoted by the SP and of the conservation policies. This is because the environmental space did not undergo any specific change after the APP project came.

However, I noticed during my fieldwork that the social space between the elders and the young adults got wider from what I had known. I think the establishment of the tourism activities has highlighted the direction of the community, and this persuasively attracted the elders, especially Salama, to take this opportunity as an alternative strategy for the community. Because of this opportunity, Salama always asked me during my stay to interpret the conversation between him and the tourists, which were always about asking for donation for Moken ceremonies. However, the donation was always spent on liquor and amongst his family and relatives.

On the other hand, the young participant and non-participant Moken who see an opportunity to generate income from the growth of tourism would treat the opportunity in a different way. They have not decided to participate or to consider tourism as an

effective alternative. So they only work along with it, seeing some elders enjoying themselves with tempting benefit from tourism. As a result, respect that he would normally have gained from young Moken was replaced with cold silence, negative gossip, and they even gave him a bad name. This is not because the attitudes of some elders in seeing tourism as the alternative but it is also because of their misbehavior in taking 'too much' advantage from it.

5.4 Sustainability of the tourism activities

From this section on will be a presentation of the finding on the feasibility of the project which I will focus on the feasibility of the capitals in the tourism activities whether they can be considered as a sustainable project to implement for the Moken.

5.4.1 Human capital

At the moment, one of the problems challenging the APP is related to with human capital. The rise in income may attract the Moken to participate but there is no guarantee that this nature of participation which is based on capital will lead to an increase in effectiveness of the tourism activities. According to na Pombejra, "*the level of participation of the Moken to the project in my opinion is low because participating in one thing as a group is new to the Moken*" (interview with na Pombajra).

The amount of income generated from working with the APP by itself is not a tempting factor for the Moken to participate because it is not different from the amount they would gain from working with the SP.

A bigger problem regarding human capital is individual skills of the participants. One of the most required skills is traditional boat-building. Currently, there are three traditional boats in the village, which each belong to different NGO supporters. The participants have built one traditional boat to transport the tourists to diving spots. Within this group, the levels of ship-building skills are slightly different. All of the participants need to be

supervised by a Moken expert. According to an interview with a participant, there are only a couple of the Moken in the village who know thoroughly about the traditional ship-building. Before the tsunami, there was one participant who knew thoroughly about ship-building and was practical. Sadly, he passed away from illness after the tsunami.

5.4.2 Physical capital

Because the traditional products, i.e. boats and handicraft objects, were handmade and the heritage has been passing down to the existing generation. The traditional tools used in the making of these objects still exist and are normally used by the participants and the other groups, i.e. the women still use traditional tools to clam.

The main traditional tools⁵⁴ for boat-building presented in this thesis are *Kapa*, *Aayai* and *Lamae* (na Pombjra, 2003, p. 120). These tools are simply made, having iron and wood as the principle materials. According to my observation with the three boat-building groups, the tools are still being applied in the production process. However, as said by Arunotai, these tools are difficult to make nowadays because the ironsmiths on the mainland do not know their original shape and function (interview with Arunotai).

Although the wood material can be found on the island, felling trees in the SP is considered an illegal act. This only contradicts with the function of the SP in protecting the environment. In this sense, we can see that the tourism activities are against the role of the SP in the environmental protect. This will be discussed further in the following section.

⁵⁴ *Kapa* is simply the modern axe which is one of the tools that the Moken use the most in daily life only second to *Padto* or the traditional knife. *Aayai* is another kind of axe that the Moken use for digging wood. *Lamae* is used for polishing the wood skin and to control the thickness of woods.

5.4.3 Natural capital

Although the SP compromises the Moken to extract natural resources, the APP have to undergo all the official processes in order to implement the tourism activities. The trial, to begin with, is the most obvious invention that the SP perceives as a threat to the environment.

The trail of approximately 800 meters in length starts from the back of the village passing across a hill and finishing at Chok Madah. The permission to build the trail was given by the Department of National Park, Wildlife and Plant Conservation. However, according to an interview with an SP officer, “*the SP, of course, has to go follow the order of the Department but they do not have to cooperate enthusiastically*” (interview with na Pombejra, 03/02/06). Referring back to the statement showing how the SP strongly perceives having the Moken working with them as a best solution, it makes more difficult for the APP to implement any further implementation.

The other tourism activities also require wood as the principle material and which can be found on the North Surin Island. Thus, the tourism activities are the two-edged sword for both the SP and the APP. For the SP, Jaak Bay is normally prohibited to the tourists because there are corals under the shallow water. According to an interview with a Moken who had just been cutting dead woods at Jaak Bay, he said that “*although the woods are dead, the SP will not like it*” (interview with Nguey, 16/02/06).

The use of natural resources for the tourism activities has led to degradation which affects the Moken community as a whole. The condensed use of natural resources as a new production territory will affect the whole community. Although the majority of the Moken are non-participants, they take this advantage of the growing number of tourists by making souvenirs which are made of natural materials. In return, spending money on luxurious items is encouraged. According to an interview with the head of a Moken family who normally earns approximately 100 Bath per day, he said that he would spend about 150 Bath daily in total. The expense includes daily foods and snacks for the

children. Traditionally, the Moken have no practice in saving money and the stable income earned from participating in the tourism activities is overspent on buying both necessary and luxurious items. In this sense, the tourism activities are not feasible in economic terms. Further, the non-participants will share results of the preparation for tourism activities which in return does not decrease the nature of natural resource gathering in the area.

5.4.4 Financial capital of the tourism activities

An estimation of job creation out of the tourism activities has not been studied, and is difficult at this time to estimate because the activities are in the early process. However, touring is expected to be the main source of income.

At this point, it is doubtful if things would work out as planned. For one reason, the trail across the hill is tough. I experienced few tourists coming down without having a start. According to tourists, one said that it was too difficult for him to get to the other side of the trail, while the other one said he came to SP for the sea, not for trailing (interview with tourists). During my stay, there was only one group of four tourists who succeed the trail.

According to the tour strategy, the tourists who succeed trailing to the other side will be transported by the *Kabang* to the diving spots. However, the unpredictable weather may cause rough sea, preventing the *Kabang* to anchor or the tourists to swim. The only solution then is to walk back on the same tough trail and the dive may have to be cancelled.

Further, at the moment the tourists have to rent a boat from the SP headquarter in the North Surin Island to the Moken village. The rent that covers 1.5 hours is not enough for the tourists to take the trail. The APP is strategizing on-line booking and considers the opportunity to host the interested tourists directly without depending on the SP's rental system. However, as I have mentioned about the economic-oriented purpose of the SP

and its overwhelming role in the area, the strategy for direct admission of tourists has to be carefully considered. According to these criticisms, the issue of financial assets may impose an obstacle to the APP in the process of implementation.

5.4.5 Issues pertaining with Thai citizenship

One of the non-tourist activities that is pursued by the APP is to encourage the government to give the Thai citizenship to the Moken. The citizenship will cover the Moken with social welfares and other benefits. On the other hand, Thai laws will be fully applied to the Moken. This means the compromising habitat on the SP may be reconsidered. Besides, natural resource gathering may be prohibited. I have pointed out that the Moken will be released when caught during the seashell hunt at the Similan Islands. It is because they have no Thai citizenship and the Thai laws cannot be applied on them. In this sense we can understand that the nature of compromising is likely to change.

5.5 Summary

Central for this chapter has been the explorations of changes and impacts that have taken place in the Moken community in different periods and of the capital feasibility of the tourism activities.

For the first part, the theory of cultural ecology's adaptation has been employed in order to help in locating the areas that should be focused to understand changes and impacts in livelihoods of the Moken. With thread from ethnoecology, I was able to identify changes and impacts on the production system by investigating effects on the Moken's traditional knowledge and values. Further, ethnomethodology directed me with explication of data from interview and observation on members' methods. I also employed the idea indexicality by trying to receive and interpret information with a Moken's point of view, even though I could not avoid being bias in reality.

The main findings of this part have pointed out that the changes have been taken place in the Moken community as a result from tourism and the limitation of natural resources. The production of the present time, including traditional knowledge and values, has pointed out effects as they were contracted with all the things that are changing in the community.

For the second part of the findings, the capital feasibilities of the tourism activities have also pointed out some concerns that could obstruct the APP to establish a sustainable livelihood for the Moken. This includes the issue of institutional constraints that I have presented in Chapter 4.

In the next chapter, I will go into the analysis of these results, exploring aspects that may impose potential threats to the Moken community.

Chapter 6: Feasibility of the tourism activities proposed by the Andaman Pilot Project

According to findings from my fieldwork, changes taken place in the livelihoods of the Moken are calling for increased attention to improvement of the tourism activities. Therefore, in this chapter I will examine the constraints surrounding changes in livelihoods of the Moken and how these may have an influence on the livelihoods after the implementation. In doing this, I intend to elaborate on the main constraints related to livelihood means and how the Moken interact with the changing environment. Following this, I will examine the livelihoods related to the new environment and elaborate on the issue of ineffectiveness of the tourism activities in this respect, followed with an examination of the various causes related to this.

The chapter then proceeds to examine the approaches in establishing a sustainable livelihood through the various activities. In doing this, the existing activities will be assessed with the aim of identifying the limitations in improving the implementation of the tourism activities. Finally, drawing on the various perspectives of the Moken I will examine the reasons for why the tourism activities are considered *partly* unsuitable of establishing a sustainable community.

6.1 Adaptability of the Moken to changes and impacts in livelihoods as a result of tourism

In a very broad sense, the Moken can adapt to the new environments because they still exist. However, changes have taken place in all aspects of life. The livelihood context of the Moken in the SP is in a dynamic process of change since development plans and conservation policies were implemented. This section will point out changes and impacts in the livelihoods of the Moken that have been perceived through empirical data gathered in the area of division of labor, gathering size and food stability, and distribution in spaces. The emphasis will be put on discussion of how the Moken have coped with them.

6.1.1 Changes and impacts perceived in the area of division of labor

Tourism as promoted by the SP and the tourism activities as promoted by the APP have resulted in changes and impacts in the livelihoods of the Moken. According to my empirical data gathered with emphasis in the area of division of labor, there are no major changes and impacts on the sexual division of labor in the Moken community. On the other hand, the change in their production system, from resource-gathering to tourism, as a result of conservation policies seems to have prepared the Moken to live in the new environment that the APP proposed later.

However, there is an impact on the role of the Moken women. As I have presented, one of the main roles of the Moken women in the past was food-gathering and house-holding. In the present time, although the housework is done, food-gathering activities seem to be no longer a main role of the women. Gambling seems to be the replacement for many Moken women.

In my opinion, tourism as the new production of the community has to be employed by the community members in order to replace resource gathering as their former production system. By referring back to a statement made by Sutton and Anderson (2004) claiming that food and subsistence have been centered of human ecological work, I perceive that Moken women have failed to adapt to tourism as their new production system.

However, it is important to consider the aspect of institutional constraints. As I have presented in Chapter 4, the Thai state that never had a real concern in livelihoods of the minorities has rarely been implementing policies and plans that would support a better quality of life of these people. As a result, they are suppressed by the major Thai and lack of opportunity to seek for a job elsewhere. In this sense, I perceive that tourism is not an appropriate strategy for the Moken community, in the women group in particularly.

6.1.2 Changes and impacts perceived in the area of gathering size and food stability

6.1.2.1 Issues with natural resources and crafting as a production system

Since the Moken have been relying on the resources since before the SP was established until the present, the Moken will continue relying on the resources as a part of their production system as I observed that the Moken still live off of the natural resources in the area. However, because of the policies that limit the gathering, the Moken will concentrate the gathering on the same areas, which most of them are out of sight of tourists or prohibited to tourists.

Although the Moken are not relying on natural resources as much as they did in the past, in many circumstances they still rely on natural resources in order to meet basic food needs. However, the Moken community is located close to the natural resources and thus holds portions of people depending on these resources.

As with the concern with the gathering of resources, the interviewed Moken did not perceive such activities as harmful to the environment. This issue was not considered problematic when discussing with the Moken, even though it was contradicted with the views of several Moken who pointed out that the fish were caught in size smaller than before. This is possibly related to the fact that there are some other food sources on the SP that the Moken can rely on.

However, inconsistencies were identified from the SP when inquiring about actions of the Moken in relation to environmental impacts. Throughout all the conversation with people from the SP the issue of perceiving the Moken as the main source of environmental impacts was always presented. In this regard, my data revealed clear conflict of the perceptions related to environmental impacts. However, there was no evidence of quantitative data regarding environmental degradation. In this sense, I understand that the Moken are being perceived as the main cause of environmental degradation, whereas the consideration of impacts caused by tourism is failed to be addressed.

In order to live with limited resources, I perceive that one of the methods the Moken have employed as their production system was making crafts. It is the most common activity that is perceived by the income generating source by the Moken in the village. In my opinion, having employed craft-making is a good method that seems to be able to replace resource gathering. However, there are points from employing method that I consider weaknesses.

Although the Moken can be considered as skilled crafters, they have limited knowledge of marketing (picture 6.1). In the photo, we can see that the products look the same, and lack variety. In addition, according to interview with Yayoa, he said that the Moken do not want to leave the village to do trading on the mainland (interview with Yayao, 14/02/06). From this statement, I see that the only market for these crafts is the village. I also perceive that the intention to create income from these products only depends on fate because they do not seek for outside markets.



Picture 6.1: Similar products lying in front of a Moken house (own photo, taken on 19/02/06).

However, I have to take the fact that the Moken's lack of opportunities into account. They have no Thai citizenship, making them at risk if dubious with authorities on the

mainland. In this sense, I see that the Moken do well at some point with employing crafts as a new production. However, they need to be acknowledged more with help from institutions in order to be able to make a better income from these products.

6.1.2.2 Impacts from the improvement in income

Although the Moken cannot consider crafts as their main income generating source, they have already taken advantage of the income generated by this production system as well as from working with the SP or with the APP. The income from working with either with the institution or from making crafts can guarantee financial security as long as they work with them. As a result, the Moken overspend their daily income⁵⁵. According to an interview with na Pombejra, he said that many Moken would overspend their income on snacks and other appetizers, especially the Moken who work with the SP for they can get free food during the day and can also bring home and have extra money for other junk food (interview with na Pombejra, 04/02/06).

Further, the APP has established a grocery store in the Moken village, which is taken care of by the two Moken women. The goods in the store will be bought from the mainland by the APP or by some of the Moken. When the two women were away I was the person responsible for the key and the selling. The Moken came to me all day for snacks and other junk food such as instant noodles and canned food. Goods such as tobacco and batteries were also sold by the store. These products would be sold out quickly when they were transported to the store.

As we may understand from the statement above, tourism has provided a new source of income, directly and indirectly, to the Moken throughout the periods. The direct income for some household comes from the merchandize of handicrafts, while the indirect income comes from working for the SP or the APP. According to the findings, the APP

⁵⁵ They are paid on a monthly basis, which is 3,000 Bath (100 Bath per day). But many Moken spend more than 150 Bath per day for food and other appetizers.

tourism activities in the Moken community would generate two types of cash income as followed:

Firstly, it creates regular wages for those with jobs. The APP tourism activities at this moment rarely generate permanent jobs for more than a small proportion of households in a community. However, these are important as a cash security to those families, which can lift them from insecure to secure status socio-economically.

Secondly, tourism has created casual earning opportunities from selling crafts. Many Moken become casual craft makers who sell their products to tourists. They can earn much less income from these products than by those in waged employment because of the lack of variety of the products. However, these additional earning opportunities are likely to benefit a higher percentage of local households than the full-time jobs and are most important for the poorer Moken who have few other options for earning cash. However, the value of these incomes are limited within the household and do not distribute to setting a local institution, i.e. education centre, healthcare centre.

According to this result, I perceive that the Moken cannot handle the improvement of the income. Some Moken are careless to overspend the money they have on liquors. However, the result of consuming junk food, liquor and smoking on health is not new because the Moken have been consuming them long before the APP came. Compared to the physical health condition in the past (after the establishment of the SP), some Moken claim that their health was in a better condition during that time. This was confirmed by statements from interviews which claim that they could dive deeper. Smoking habits have decreased their ability in diving, which is a skill that has been one of the main practices in their daily life. Further, the increase in the amount of liquor consumption has led to serious addiction amongst the Moken whose financial status was secured.

According to the empirical data, impacts from tourism on physical health in the Moken have started before the establishment of the SP and have lasted till the present. Although there is no specific incident regarding impacts on physical health that appeared after the

APP got involved, we cannot conclude that impacts on health will be improved because many Moken have better security in their financial status. Thus, it is likely that the complete operation of the APP tourism activities may lead to more excessive assumption of junk food and other addictive substances, which in return will lead to a worse condition in physical health. In my opinion, such results derive from the fact that the Moken have no tradition of saving and the resources in the area are still available, even though they are limited.

6.1.3 Changes and impacts perceived in the area of distribution issues in space

6.1.3.1 Issues in relation with physical space

Through my research it appeared that an amount of impacts in relation to distribution issues in space is taking place in the Moken community. It was beyond my thought to go further into gathering data about this issue when I was in the field. This makes me realize that I have no rights claiming that everything in the village was not in the wrong place. However, there are two evidences claiming that the Moken did not adapt well with the structure provided by the state.

It is my impression that the Moken were allocated back on the SP, even though they did not choose the location. However, I was confronted with a result of the lack of consideration of the importance of space. An explicit case exists where all kinds of garbage was thrown at the front beach, including waste from human. In this case, I see that the Moken had cooperated well with the Thai state that built toilets for the Moken because the Moken used them. However, the Moken did not find other solutions for dumping waste when the toilets are full but to find a spot that is out of sight, which is either in the far side of the front beach or in the back of the toilet. The point is that I perceive this situation in the way that the Moken have adapted to the living condition provided by the state and could not be managed by the Moken if the provided system went wrong.

Dumping practice is also another good example. Because of the improvement in their income, the Moken can manage to buy junk food and snacks. These products are wrapped with plastic package or container, which will be dumped on the fall. Although the APP has built a dumping site for the Moken so that they can burn all the trash, I still saw many Moken throwing trash at the front beach every morning.

6.1.3.2 Issues in relation with social values

One of the impacts derived from the investigation in the area of distribution issues in space is traditional values of the Moken. As a result derived from the incentive in economic growth from tourism of the SP, the clear objective of the implementation of the APP tourism activities highlighted the line between the two Moken age groups – the elder and the young adult. Previously in Chapter 5, one of my findings pointed out that the elder Moken are not respected by the young adults. It was the result of differences in the growing attitudes towards implementation of development projects, saying that some of the elders, especially the chief, are more active and interested in development projects than the young adults are.

It is a contradiction of the fact that it is the young Moken adults who participate in the APP tourism activities and they should be the one who supports the development project. However, the different is that the young Moken participate in order to earn income but some of the elders try to benefit from tourism, i.e. asking tourists for donation. In this sense, we can see that the involvement of the APP tourism activities has an effect on a traditional value of the Moken. The response to this bitter relationship as reflected in their lifestyle is that the young Moken adults stay away from the elders. According to this, it is likely that the gap between the two age groups is getting wider.

I consider that this evidence is indicating changes in traditional values of the Moken community that is likely going to happen. Further, according to this evidence, I recognize that even though the Moken's culture is vulnerable to changes in the society, traditional values still inhabit their culture. For instance, they still pay high respect to the elders. This is similar to the way the majority of Thai people treat their elders.

6.1.4 Changes and impacts in general

6.1.4.1 Impacts on spiritual values and traditional knowledge

Parts of the Moken culture as presented through their traditional ceremonies are exposed to tourists in form of a cultural attraction. For example, *Lor-bong* for the Moken is regarded as one of the most important ceremonies that would take place once a year for them to worship the spirits of their ancestors. However, as the number of tourists grows, the demonstration of the ceremony may be practiced to please the tourists and other television crews.

Further to the transformation of the ceremony from a cultural identity to a tourist attraction, tourism has distinguished the status of the Moken (indigenous) and the tourists (civilized). Although interviews revealed that the Moken did not have negative attitudes toward the tourists, the fact that the Moken village is a tourist attraction contradicts the attempts of the APP and many other institutions to maintain Moken traditional values.

In reference to the fact that the Moken do not reserve spiritual values as a holy regard, it is skeptical if a promotion of tourism will lead to a greater risk in cultural loss. However, I perceive that the Moken can take advantage out of these spiritual values by turning it into an income generating source, which is important for their living condition that bases on day-to-day earning.

Furthermore, I consider impacts on their traditional knowledge as a greater threat, because the Moken did not seem to handle well with the changes that took place. In the present time, the Moken rely more on modern medicine in time of sickness. This is a very crucial contradiction to their financial limitation and their nature of not wanting to seek medical care in the mainland. According to interviews with Moken from various age groups, no one wants to leave the village for medical treatment on the mainland. As a result, the condition of patients always gets worse and ends up with loss. To make the situation worse, the APP always has medicine in storage in time of sickness. However, misuse of modern medicine amongst the Moken seems to increase. During my stay I was

asked by many Moken for the stored cough syrup, which was always finished up quite quick because some Moken would mix it up with liquor in order to get drunk faster.

We can see that impacts on spiritual values and traditional knowledge would lead the Moken to depend more on new technology, which is always misused. This suggests once again that the Moken are vulnerable to the new environment provided by tourism. Further, I see that any tourism plans expecting to give a quick outcome should be more careful when implementing because long-term outcomes or side-effects of the strategy may be irresolvable, especially when traditional knowledge is forgotten and cannot be resurrected.

Summing up: the potential of the Moken in employing tourism and the tourism activities as the main production system

This chapter has been an analysis of how tourism promoted by the SP has affected the Moken and how the implementation of the tourism activities of the APP has potential to expand those impacts. According to the analysis, I have tried to conclude for the major weaknesses representing the characteristic of the Moken as pointed out from the analysis. They are presented as followed:

1. Cultural weakness – As one of the results of the analysis has pointed out, the Moken seem to have adapted tourism and its products as their production system in order to replace the dependency on natural resources. However, tourism as a new production system, at this point, only seems to stabilize the living condition of the Moken with monetary income, but taking away traditional values and knowledge (playing cards, addiction to substances and junk food, widening of space between age-group, earning income from spiritual values, and relying on modern medicine).

2. Reliance on natural resource gathering and tourism as the production systems – As the analysis has pointed out; the value of money has been slowly replacing the value of natural resources, but has not yet replaced it completely. Although the Moken are gathering fewer natural resources from the area, tourism and tourism-oriented jobs can also generate supplemental income. As a result, the Moken can rely on both activities as their main production systems. In my opinion, this is only slowing them down from in making a progress in either way.

3. Capacity of the Moken – One of the weaknesses that obstruct the Moken from employing tourism as their main production is their capacity. This aspect ranges from the difficulty to communicate with the outsiders, the lack of education that shall encourage them to develop a long-term plan or a strategy that would fit with their living condition.

At this point, it has become clear that tourism and tourism activities have impacts on the Moken in various aspects, which seem to be difficult for the Moken to handle changes taking place in their community. In reference to the analyzed information that I have pointed out, it seems that the cultural weaknesses are obstructing the progress of employing tourism as the main production system.

Based on the information of the weaknesses above, in the following section I will try to understand why the Moken did not give an effect result in participation in the APP tourism activities.

6.2 Main obstacles of the Moken to participate in the tourism activities

6.2.1 Main cultural factors impeding to participation

6.2.1.1 Lack of participation sense in culture

Further to Moken's attitudes, several cultural constraints impeding the participation were brought up. Broadly clarified, the Moken have no ideology about participation that the

product will not lead to the benefit of the whole community. Although some of the activities can be participated by twenty Moken or more, the outcome generated as a result of the participation will not be contributed to the whole community but to the individual who will further contribute it to the family. For instance, the seashell gathering trip to the Similan Islands Marine National Park can take up to twenty people. The hindering reason is to save the fuel. Further, as I was told by one of the Moken who participated in the trip that the hunt was individual. The collected shells belong to the collector. In this sense, we can see that the sense of participation amongst the Moken is weak for it only limits to the participants. Another example to support this analysis is the boat-building activity. In the past the Moken would come together to fall a tree and to join in the building process. Once again the boat belongs to an individual, and in return the person who accepted the help will join the task of the helpers. As we can see, the product of the participation only limits to the participants and not further to the people who did not participate.

6.2.1.2 Lack of skills

The tourism activities require skills that the Moken are unfamiliar with. Before the establishment of the SP interaction with people from the outside was rare. Their livelihoods were dependent on natural resource gathering and less in communicating with other people. This trait seems to have lasted until the present and is different from skills they need in tourism activities. Tourism activities, guiding in particular, would bring the Moken into close contact to the tourists. However, the Moken are well-known for their shyness, and this was confirmed with an interview with the APP field officer, saying that *“they just do not talk if they are not asked, and I have to encourage them to talk”* (interview with Mr. Taksin, 19/02/06). Further, according to an interview with a Moken, he said that most of them are shy when confronted with a stranger (interview with Nguey, Ngok, Toy Klataly, 10/02/06)⁵⁶. Therefore, it is a cultural factor impeding the participation because the Moken are afraid to talk to strangers, which is an important act in guiding.

⁵⁶ Most of the interviews with the Moken were conducted in the dark when they did not see my face.

Thus, the differences between skills required in the past and in the present for making a living are very different and this is one of the impeding factors that made the Moken decide not to participate, which can in turn add to the pressure on the implementation of the tourism activities.

6.2.1.3 ‘Women don’t participate’

One of the cultural factors impeding the participation is that ‘women don’t participate’. The answer towards this given by a Moken woman is simply “*we never did*” (interview Kareng Klatalay, 06/02/06). This fact was confirmed when one of the women participants of the APP tourism activities exclaimed immediately during a meeting with other participants about setting a workshop for the Moken women that “*No way! They are not going to do (participate in) it*” (interview with Kareng Klatalay, 06.02.06). To elaborate on this, the overall role of the Moken women in the community is to look after things around the house. These activities do not relate to income generating and neither do they contribute to the whole community. In this sense, it is understandable that the Moken women do not have a sense of participation.

Since the past, the main income generator of a Moken family has been dominated by the men. In the present time, the role of men still remains even though the need to earn more income has increased. However, considering into the activities around the house that the Moken women have to do, there are plenty. Although income is distributed to buy food, it is not enough and the gathering of natural food is still one of the most important practices.

Gathering for food is rather time consuming and is an exhausting activity. For example, claming is a common activity that would take up to half of the day for the best gathering areas are not at the beach in front of the village but it is in the backside, at the end of the trail, and the others are at the different beaches. The practice is still based on using the traditional claming tool, which would take some time to extract a clam. Further, the claming team would go in group which can take up to twenty or thirty people. Therefore,

the claming area will be shared amongst them. One individual Moken woman would take longer time to extract enough clams for meals.

However, the Moken women would dedicate themselves in spare time to gather in groups, playing games and gambling. Considering this with the number of Moken women in the village, which remains the majority of the community since the past, the participants who would contribute to the participation is obviously low. Thus, one of the hindered reasons contributing to non-participation, with emphasis on the Moken women, is the role of women which is dominant by food-gathering activities and leisure.

6.2.1.4 Moken's attitudes towards outsiders

To begin with, a point that often rose during my inquiries about their participation is that the Moken' attitudes are many times limiting the successful engagement in tourism activities as a new livelihood strategy provided by the APP. Many interviews describe factors often hindering the implementation of the tourism activities is the skepticism towards participating in this alternative income generating activities.

Tracing back to its original root of this problem, the Moken in this village, as I have presented, are the villagers of the initial two villages which was put together by the SP after the tsunami. Among them are those who are not familiar with the people from the APP nor understand the objective of the tourism activities. Further, it is difficult to ignore the fact that the Moken have not been receiving real interest from the major Thai. In the past, the Moken always had tragic experience with pirates and this explains why the Moken are sensitive to the appearance and sound of unfamiliar vessels entering the village bay. This assumption is based on my experience seeing many Moken men and women wake up during the middle of the night when they hear the engine of an unfamiliar vessel. Further, the skepticism was also created by recent bad experiences for many development teams left before the development project is completed (interview with Arunotai, 04/02/06).

Another major issue that contributes to the nature non-participation is the establishment of the SP. Although the incentive in economic growth of the SP, as discussed in Chapter 4, has contributed to limited resources and other hardships, it has also created a sense of security amongst the Moken. According to interviews, in the past the area around the Surin Islands was a free land, allowing people to wander without fear or favor. The establishment of the SP brought along supervisions of the Thai authority to monitor natural resources in the area. The sense of having a protection amongst the Moken was then initiated. This does not imply that the Moken favor the roles of the SP more than the APP's. It is the acceptance of the things as they are. According to interviews, the non-participant Moken imply that although they prefer living their life like the old days, they cannot do it and they satisfy with things at the moment.

As such, one of the major reasons is the non-participants depend on Moken's will and trust towards the tourism activities. Thus, the further implementation of the tourism activities can be hindered by peoples' attitudes toward the alternative.

6.2.2 Economic factors

Related to the above-described natural and physical constraint to the participation, the need for other better economic opportunities has become one of the main factors impeding the participation. The salary provided by the APP has been mentioned as being equal with the amount of salary a Moken would earn from working with the SP. As described previously, there is a lack of rights to social welfare amongst the Moken, the economic constraints can in some instances lead to the Moken turning to seek economic opportunities elsewhere.

To elaborate on this issue, economic concerns of the Moken can become critical in some instances. In the Moken community, although life and death are a part of their society, the traditional practices may not guarantee the result; death is always a tragic moment. A Moken had to leave his wife who had just given birth in order to join the shell-gathering

trip. The reason for his departure was that “*I did not have any money to buy a baby’s stuff*” (interview⁵⁷ with Kai Klatalay, 24/02/06).

However, the need to improve the economic status is not always about health-oriented issues. Since the Moken have come into contact with people from the outside, the consumption behavior has now changed. The need to own modern inventions, i.e. radio, television, has increased. This was confirmed by interviews conducted with Moken who do not work with the APP revealing that “*I can earn more*” (interview with Nguey Klatalay, 15/02/06). Many Moken men and women, young and old, are working at a construction site where they can earn 150 Bath per day. In this sense, an economic constraint can lead a Moken to seek for a job at another place where the constraint can be relieved.

The next section will take a closer look on the capital feasibilities and the sustainable feasibility of the APP whether the implementation of the tourism activities will have potential in establishing a sustainable livelihood to the Moken. The analysis will base on the empirical data with emphasis on institutional constraints presented in Chapter 4 and the result of the feasibility of five capitals presented in Chapter 5 that have been presented according to their theories.

6.3 Potential of the APP tourism activities as a sustainable livelihood

6.3.1 Creation of working days

One of the elements of a sustainable project presented in Chapter 2 is that the project should create working days for the community members. According to findings discussed in Chapter 5, the potential number of jobs generated has not been studied and is difficult

⁵⁷ It was not an actual interview. I was told when I came to visit him after he came back from the trip. No disturbing questions.

at this point to estimate. According to this reason, I have also pointed out reasons criticizing the possibility of the APP whether it can generate a number of jobs for the Moken.

However, at this point I am concerned more about the continuation of the project instead. It is because the Moken at the moment do not seem to understand what is more important than earning income in a daily basis. Thus, I am concerned with how long the APP will keep monitoring this project.

By continuation I mean; 1) the continuation between periods of the implementation of the project and, 2) the continuation within each period of the implementation of the project. Projects that would work with the Moken are a kind of project that shall require close monitoring along with the implementation in each period and after the present project is achieved, the next should be implemented not long after.

According to the findings, the lack of continuation, including abandonment of projects, has affected the Moken mentally in the sense that many developers never kept their promises. This characteristic of projects has resulted in discouraging the Moken to give afford in other development projects, or even to participate in.

I consider continuation of projects as one of the most crucial issues often related to performance of projects. According to perspectives of the Moken, several negative thoughts towards development projects are presented. Throughout my talking sections with many Moken I encountered how development projects are referred to as being ineffective in their performance and in return ends up with distrust.

Two of the example projects were the boat building project supported by international NGOs and the other was the construction of toilets in the back of the village. For the first case, I did not have chance to talk with any member from both NGOs because they were not present during my 3-week stay, and months before that. According to interview with Arunotai who had conversations with members from the NGOs, the objective of the first

boat-building project was to encourage the Moken to live on their traditional vessel they way they did in the past (interview), while the other expected to film the Moken building the vessel whenever the NGO prefers. It is not clear whether the Moken knew the purpose of the project, which is very likely impossible. However, the boat building teams were finishing their boats while I was there with complaints about their future and the boats afterwards.

Although the toilet construction project was achieved before I first arrived in December, the toilets were in a very bad condition because they were full. This is because they were not built in a way that would last long. As a result, many Moken went back to their traditional natural practice. Some interviewees stated that the toilets were good, but they wondered why they did not do it better (interview). Derived from the two development projects, the first impression towards development projects was stirred up with doubts whether people really do care about the Moken.

According to the empirical data, the APP put afford into the implementation of tourism activities. However, the lack of continuation in both respects might prevent the efficiency of the implementation. The visit on the monthly basis is presumably enough because there is a field officer in the village all the time. However, this may affect on the efficiency of the project implementation.

6.3.2 Poverty reduction

There are two forms of poverty that I have discussed in Chapter 2, which are economic poverty and non-economic poverty. Non-economic poverty is related to the term ‘voicelessness’ that I have elaborated in Chapter 2. By referring to ‘voicelessness’ in Chapter 2, it was limited to being an invisible to formal structures. However, after reviewing the empirical data collected from the field, I perceive that voicelessness of the Moken community did not limit to being invisible to formal structures but being invisible to the community itself.

In other words, I perceive that the Moken do not have anything that can draw attention from the state except that fact they are the last group of sea nomad that live in the traditional ways of life. Some Moken told me that they could not think of anything that can be considered as pride in their culture (interview with Nguey, Ngok, Toy, Yayoa Klatalay, 24/02/06). On the other hand, according to opinions from tourists and guides, they do not see anything special in the Moken that should be conserved because they see that the Moken do nothing and play cards all the time.

Some tourism activities can be considered as tools that can improve the condition of voicelessness in the Moken community for it may raise pride amongst the Moken from this activity. I found that the Moken showed some excitement and pride when giving me information about their traditional vessels. They were willing to show me around the vessel, explaining its parts and experiences they had with the vessels used in the past.

Thus, the boat-building activity can be considered as beneficial for the participants for it seems to have a potential to bring about pride of the community, which may help the Moken draw attention from the state and for the Moken to be proud of their culture.

However, the participants at this point have limited boat-building skill and knowledge. The Moken participants are expected by the APP to be a role model for other non-participant Moken, hoping that that they would get together and try to achieve a task as a group. Thus, this makes a fruitful result of this activity difficult to see at this point.

After all, I think the APP has covered this element of poverty reduction in form of non-economic poverty. However, it is doubtful if the APP has fulfilled the area of economic-poverty. It is not only that the APP generates the same amount of income with working with the SP. Other issues that would derive from the improvement in income are critical to deal with, i.e. getting junk food, addictive substances.

For economic poverty issues, the amount of income that the Moken participants can earn from tourism are around 3,000-5,000 Bath per household per month. However, there are

only nine Moken who participate in the APP tourism activities, which can be considered as the only group who has direct economic benefit in the form of income from the tourism activities. Further, it seems that those who do not benefit directly from the APP, which is the major proportion (186 Moken) will be affected by negative impacts caused by the tourism and the tourism activities.

Cultural impacts do not limit to those who participate in the APP tourism activities but instead indirect impacts, i.e. impacts on spiritual values, language; will affect the whole community. As we can see from the earlier discussion about the cultural impacts, it is obvious that the Moken are very sensitive to new cultures and values. This problem may become worse especially when the Moken community have no strong ties to their traditional culture. This was made clear with the *Lor bong* ceremony that was presented as an attraction for tourists.

Environmental impacts will also affect the whole community, considering the fact that tourism facilities, especially the trail, have created an accessible path into the forest, which makes the extraction for natural resources more convenient. This path is used not only by the participants but many Moken use it as a passage to convenient extraction. Indirectly, tourists are perceived as a new source of income for they are expected to purchase crafts which are made of natural resources in the area. This would lead to a more excessive extraction, especially during the tour season. From this, we can see from the differences in proportions between those who benefit and who do not are making the issue of economic poverty reduction ineffective.

6.3.3 Well-being and capabilities

My reference to well-being and capabilities in Chapter was based on Sen's "*What people can do or be with their entitlements*" (Sen, 1987), which is related to one of my findings about the attempt of the APP to encourage the Moken to be dependent on themselves. Further, the APP also encourages the government to give rights of Thai citizenship to the Moken,

However, according to potential institutional constraints presented in Chapter 4, the SP has power over the implementation of the APP in many ways. In order to understand this issue I will refer back to the historical background I have mentioned with supplement confirmation from empirical data collected.

As I have discussed in Chapter 4 about the issues behind the establishment of national parks, we can understand that the APP who has no economic agreement contract with the SP may face a difficulty in implementing the project. Although the APP seems to realize and has granted the permission to operate the tourism activities on the SP, the lack of effective cooperation between the governmental sectors is likely to result in a personal issue.

Although the SP has to accept orders from the Department of National Park, Wildlife and Plant Conservation (DNWP), the high-rank officer of the SP can slow down the process of an order. According from my experience in contacting with the SP, personal attitudes towards the APP were an issue that always came up during conversation. I first identified myself to an officer, including my contact with the other contact institution – the APP. The response referring to the APP was not a complementation. However, responses from the APP referring to the SP were similar.

The research has been pointing out impacts from the APP tourism activities on both the SP. Regarding the institutional constraints issues presented in Chapter 4, one of the SP's roles is that it has to conserve and protect the environment in the area. The implementation of the APP then can be described as a sensitive and critical issue because it challenges the role of the SP.

At a general level, national parks' key function is to conserve the environment that should be regarded as the first priority of the national parks. In this sense, we can understand that the implementation made by the APP, a non-governmental institution, may challenge this role. The SP in response has to get involve when a project is

implemented by a non-governmental institution in order to protect its role as the authority in the area.

During my stay I was always asked by tourists why the Moken are still able to gather and extract natural resources. This may give a negative reputation to the SP. Coupled with the fact that most of the tourism activities required natural resources as the principle material, i.e. trail, the vessel and the traditional wooden tools; it seems that the tourism activities can become a threat to the principle objective of the SP.

To the Moken, at this point the negative impacts seem to be more presented. Only a small proportion of the Moken are generating income from working with the APP for a short-term outcome. However, due to a range of obstacles it is doubtful if the implementation will benefit the community economically. Further, cultural issues seem to be one of the biggest obstacles that the APP has to confront with. One of the objectives of the APP is to increase the number of the participants. However, the APP may need additional adjustments of the strategy in order to achieve all the objectives. These impacts question the sustainability of the project. Thus, it seems that although the APP does afford the supporting the Moken, the issue of institutional constraints might obstruct the implementation of the activities.

6.3.4 Natural resource base sustainability

In order to analyze the sustainability of the resource use of the APP tourism activities, especially in the trailing and boat-building activity, I will base the analysis on the empirical data presented in the natural and physical capitals presented in Chapter 5.

According to the definition the natural resources base sustainability presented in Chapter 2, which is “*natural resource base sustainability refers to the ability of a system to maintain productivity when subject to disturbing forces, whether a stress or a shock*” (Conway, 1995), I intend to analyze environmental and cultural impacts in order understand the natural resources base sustainability of the tourism activities.

Environmental impacts from the tourism activities occurred mostly during the period of preparation of the tourism facilities. Environmental degradation at present can be seen from 1) clearing trees in order to build the trail, 2) felling trees to build the vessel, and 3) gathering of tree leaves to make crafts, including boat models and basket-like objects. These activities can be perceived as causes of environmental degradation caused by the APP tourism activities because all of the wood resources will be cut down from the SP. When the period of preparation was finished, it was likely that the degradation would recover, especially the degradation caused from building the trail. However, traditional vessels will last only for five to six months and then they would need to be repaired or rebuilt (interview with Nguey Klatalay, 24/02/06).

In this sense, it is possible to see that the tourism activities will cause environmental impacts. We can also see that more Moken participants may lead to the increase of cutting down trees. On the other hand, another serious impact will occur on the Moken's culture, and is rather a long-term impact because the change in their culture will last.

Throughout the report has been a discussion of impacts on culture. The sensitiveness to other cultures will not allow the Moken to return to their traditional culture and, in addition, it is likely that the Moken will never stop assimilating to new cultures. Impacts are likely to take place on the culture as well as on the environment. This makes the question of the sustainability of the tourism activities skeptical.

Summing up: The feasibility of the APP tourism activities

The second part of this chapter has been an analysis of feasibility of the APP tourism activities as a sustainable livelihood strategy. The APP tourism activities have highlighted changes that have already taken place in the Moken community since the SP was established and tourism promoted, and the Moken do not seem to have applied well with the tourism activities for there are potential cultural and environmental impacts have been pointed out.

Although it is obvious that the APP tourism activities have capacity to establish a livelihood for the Moken, a range of impacts are as much obvious. The major problems of the tourism activities seem to be the fact that the outcome impacts are bigger than the outcome benefits to the community. The major problems will be pointed out through this following scenario: “The APP at this point does not seem to have potential to generate more jobs or even improve economic poverty condition for the majority Moken. However, many Moken seem to have begun to take advantage from tourism that brings tourists to the village, which the Moken perceive as a convenient income generating source. This brings changes to the community culturally and environmentally. The income earned from tourism directly and indirectly increases the value of money in the community, which the Moken would spend for necessities and non-necessities. Further, these tourism activities require woods as the main material, which will be cut down from within the area of the SP”.

Throughout this chapter has been a hint that in order to implement a project that should result in a more feasible outcome, the APP has to become more concerned with various aspects, in particular, potential impacts on their culture. Parts of the analysis suggest that the project implementation should consider more than short-term benefits because long-term impacts are likely to impose a greater threat to the whole community.

6.4 Summary

This chapter has analyzed the main constraints related to the project implementation with an emphasis on potential impacts in the Moken community and the feasibility of the project itself. These effects confirm that the APP has to come up with a more careful strategy to improve the implementation that shall result with lesser impacts.

The hindering impacts surrounding the Moken has uncovered that a range of changes are likely to affect the Moken if the implementation of the same strategy is about to advance with the same stance. The sensitivity of the Moken to modern culture explains why the

implementation of the project is confronting cultural aspects of the project and requiring reconsideration of the tourism activities. Without an educational background or other supporting mechanism that would prevent the Moken to live, or to over-joy, with the new livelihood strategy, it is likely that the expected outcomes of the implementation may result in the opposite way. Based on these results presented in this chapter, the next chapter will discuss for recommendation.

Chapter 7: Discussion and recommendations

This chapter will focus on recommendations to strengthen the implementation of the APP through a discussion of possible solutions related to livelihoods and the potentials of the project implementation. My intention is to highlight the main obstacles relating to the project implementation and to suggest solutions that shall be in the scope of the APP.

7.1 The precondition for introducing the recommendations

Over the time of my research I came to understand two conflicts between the APP's development objective and the Moken's perspective of the same project. To begin with, the Moken do not perceive these tourism activities as an alternative livelihood means but a temporary income generating source. On the other hand, the APP that expects to establish the tourism activities as a sustainable livelihood means for the Moken does not seem to have taken this issue into account as well as other potential negative outcomes.

According to the major weaknesses in the characteristics of the Moken pointed out in Chapter 6, it seems that the Moken are still deeply connected to the environment, as we can see from the fact that the Moken still rely on foods and other necessities gathered from the environment, even though the importance of money is growing in the Moken community as the mediator that can provide them basic needs. Although the Moken are limited to the resources as a result of conservation policies, the importance of the natural environment are still connected tightly to the environment the way they used to be in the past, as we can see in their beliefs, lifestyle and all the elements that inhabit in the community.

In my opinion, this is the reason why the Moken did not cooperate well with the tourist activities or any other development projects that do not try to combine the 'connection with the environment' into the working objectives of the project. As a result, the Moken perceive these projects as deviant.

Thus, in order to provide a development that would give an effective result, I purposed that it is important for the developers, especially the APP, to consider in detail the underlying principle of the project that should fit with the characteristics of the community. This is quite different from the tourism activities that the APP has been doing by designing a range of activities that would only relate to the lifestyles of the Moken in some ways, but overlooking other important issues such as the adaptability of the community and its potential negative impacts. For example, the trailing activity that would be accompanied with Moken guides will only use their botanic knowledge, but overlooking the fact that guiding in front of people may be a very difficult task for the Moken because this activity never existed in their culture.

Thus, the tourism activities in my definition are not defined as a feasible strategy, even though it makes use of culture, traditional knowledge and expertise in making traditional objects. The recommendations will be elaborated in the following section.

7.2 Recommendations

7.2.1 Recommendation for the Andaman Pilot Project

What steps should the Andaman Pilot Project take in order to improve the livelihood of the Moken living in the Surin Islands Marine National Park in a sustainable way?

In order to improve the condition of the tourism project implementation, efforts should be paid on the adaptability of the Moken. Considering the information gathered from my fieldwork and the analysis that showed potential negative outcomes from the implementation, the APP should consider more about the suitability of the project and Moken culture. Before that, it is important to conduct a thorough study of the cultural characteristics that should be the foundation for a project development. Throughout my research I was confronted with evidence pointing to potential changes in the community, which confirms that the APP should be considered about this suggesting issue before advancing the project. Following are the recommendations drawn from information gathered from the fieldworks and the analysis.

7.2.1.1 Linking development project and culture

The only recommendation I will propose to the APP is to consider about the role of participation. After having analyzed impacts in livelihoods of the Moken from the two periods, it is clear that the Moken can take advantages from tourism. However, the results in return are changes and impacts in their livelihoods, culture and the environment. Although they seem to be able to cope with the tourism and the new environment, traditional livelihoods and culture are likely going to disappear. It is because there is no strong tie between the Moken and their traditional culture, even though the culture still plays roles in their livelihoods.

In my opinion, according to the lack of a strong tie to their traditional culture, participation of the Moken in any activity will always lead to a loss of something in their culture, even though a well-designed project may give a fruitful result in term of economic improvement.

In case of the Moken, keeping balance between improving the condition of livelihoods and preserving culture at the same time is a difficult task. An alternative livelihood that is successful in generating income may invite the Moken to accept easily because, as I have mentioned, earning daily income can be considered as their first priority. On the other hand, an attempt to maintain their traditional culture from changing into a new culture may affect the project that aims to establish an alternative livelihood without considering impacts on culture.

In order to maintain the traditional culture of the Moken while keeping the objective in establishing an alternative livelihood, I propose that the community, the Moken in this case, should not have to participate in a project but a project should be designed in order to have the tourists participate in the daily activities of the Moken. This idea is based on the analysis of the adaptability of the Moken and the analysis of the obstacles to participation of the Moken.

Although the Moken have changed extensively in their culture, many aspects in their culture are not forgotten, but still exist in forms of traditional knowledge and ways of life. For example, they still have extensive knowledge of the sea and marine fishes, as much as of the forest. In my opinion, this is the departure point of the APP to design the tourism activities based on this advantage.

Based on the analysis of the weaknesses of the Moken, which are cultural weaknesses, reliance on natural resource gathering and capacity of the Moken, I perceive that a development project should **leave the community a distance and interact with them as least as possible**. How then can we really implement this strategy?

During my fieldwork I accompanied many of them to fish - spearing, lining and other fish hunting activities. Fish-spearing was one of the most amazing activities for me. They would disappear into the deep blue sea, diving around a great size of the area, spearing. When they came up, they would bring with them speared fish of different sizes and types for meals. They also knew all kinds of them. Further, the Moken children also have this kind of knowledge. One day, I was hunting for crabs in order to make them my dinner. Coming along with me was a boy around 6-7 year-old, a great crab hunter who knew which kinds were edible. The Moken also know to cook globefish. They are deadly poisonous fish that a cook in Japan must obtain a special certificate in order to cook them. Further, I also had a chance to go clamming with the Moken women. Most of the women in the village would gather in a few boats, wandering off to another rocky beach to clam. Because the boat could not anchor close to the shore, all of them jumped from the boats, swimming to the shore. It was a very fascinating sight to see.

Those were only a part of their lifestyle that I was participated in without disturbing the flow of the activities. Derived from this was the idea that the APP may consider to function as the mediator between the Moken and the tourists. This may include the screening for the tourists who are interested in participating in the daily lifestyles of the Moken. Further, the APP should also control the entire budget and marketing carefully

because it is likely that the Moken might be overjoyed by the improvement of the financial status.

In order to distribute the income from tourism to the community equally, I also recommend the APP to consider establishing a group that will be responsible for making crafts for the tourists. We have seen that the mass of handmade products lack of variety of shapes and patterns as a result of working individually. Thus, establishing a crafting group that shall distribute income to the overall members, or even community, may be a solution to the production problem. This might also persuade the women from the gambling groups to participate in it.

According to this strategy, the tourists and the APP would not have to interact much with the community. Tour facilities may not have to be built because the tourists will take part in the daily activities of the Moken instead.

In my opinion, this should add value to the Moken culture because the tourists are actually participating in the Moken culture. According to this idea, I expect that the process of cultural change may slow down for the Moken will not have to approach the development project revealingly, but the tourists, instead, will approach them. The APP has to keep ‘a space’ between the Moken and the world outside them if they and the Moken want to work with the tourism.

7.2.1.2 Improving the condition of the institutional constraints

Improving the current institutional problems of the national park in Thailand is a very difficult task. However, improving the network or partnership between the SP itself and the APP might be considered as an alternative. According to the empirical data and the analysis of the hindering economic force of the national parks in Thailand, it is not possible for the SP or the other parks to participate fully in community development. Although it was not my intention to go into detail of ‘who gains what’ on the SP, many times I came across information that unintentionally came out from the interviewees

about this issue. National and local efforts with appropriate assistance of the strategy recommend above should be made.

In my opinion, collaboration of non-governmental agencies may strengthen the power in negotiating with the governmental agencies. It is my thought to improve the partnership of institutions in order to help the community to claim their rights, or even their existence, so that they would be able to make their own choice or to cooperate with the institutions for some assistance.

7.2.2 Recommendation for the Surin Islands Marine National Park

The SP has been doing a fine job in protecting the environment. However, it would have been better if the issue of the Moken living in the park was considered. Same to the APP, the SP may consider investing in study of the traditional knowledge, which in some ways may have a potential to draw a framework that combines economic and livelihood development together.

Improving the administrative and the working network systems

For an administrative suggestion, the responsible governmental departments in association with affairs of the national parks should make clear about the management of the local communities with a real interest in the culture instead of economic interests. The expected result is that the SP, and other agencies in the protected areas in Thailand, should have a clear framework in working with the local communities. The objectives of the economic development and livelihood development should be integrated.

Further, a more effective network with the APP or with other institutions is necessary to be established because these institutions can share the duty in development of the people in the area. They can be the moderator between the Moken and the SP for they have the extensive knowledge about and experience in working with the Moken. However, it is a must that the SP has to approve, support and monitor all of the activities proposed by

these agencies. A contract should be required to ensure that these agencies will follow the plan.

7.2.3 Possible constraints to the proposed recommendations

I realize that changes in the culture will always take place regardless to 'who approach who'. In my opinion, this can be prevented by giving a space between the Moken and the tourists, saying that in most of the activities the tourists may not be allowed to get into close contact with the Moken in some activities. I am aware that in either way the Moken will have to face the change in their culture. However, this project idea expects the Moken to live like the way they did, believing that it will slow down the process of change.

Further, as we also have seen the hindering objectives and motivation of establishing protected areas in Thailand, the process of proposal may give the applicant a very difficult time over the issues of the distribution of the benefit, which might open a window of opportunities for corruption to anyone involved in the project.

7.3 Summary

This chapter has elaborated on the recommendations based on the qualitative empirical data and the analysis from the previous chapters. One of the main recommendations expecting the APP and other institutions to reconsider the function of the community participation may lack of a harder and stronger evidence supporting my finding on the impacts of the tourism activities and their adaptability. Thus, the major areas that should be researched before this strategy will be implemented are on the adaptability of the Moken and the potential impacts that may take place as having this strategy a production system.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

The project has achieved to understand the adaptability of the Moken and the feasibility of the tourism activities. In order to recommend the APP the next steps to be taken, the thesis first has elaborated on the adaptability of the Moken whether they can cope with the environment provided by the APP. Secondly, it sought to understand the feasibility of the tourism activities whether they have potential to establish a sustainable livelihood for the Moken. These findings have been pointed out via the sub-questions designed to navigate the direction of the project.

With the use of the theories, fieldwork methods, and a range of discussions and analysis, all the sub-questions have been fulfilled as presented in their identifying chapters. The results will be drawn again as followed:

Chapter 4 has presented the hindering objectives of the Thai state in establishing protected areas and the effects on livelihoods of the local resident. We have come to understand that the conservation policies in Thailand were in the past designed with the lack of interest in environmental protection. On the other hand, economic benefit seems to be the first priority to be considered as the state perceived as the method to develop the country. As a result, it seems that the conservation policies do not have any supporting policies to work hand in hand with livelihoods of the local communities. Further, these conservation policies do not seem to work effectively with the environmental protection because of the same reason. This scenario of conservation policies has passed down from the past to the present in a form of tourism development instead of the concession. However, issues in relation to livelihoods of the local people have not yet been reconsidered. This scenario seems to be reflected on every conservation policies, which as a result contributes to the institutional constraints impeding any implementation that seems to contradict with the hindering role of the conservation policies.

Chapter 5 has covered issues relating to the Moken and the implementation of the tourism activities and their impacts. The characteristics of the traditional livelihoods of the

Moken have been presented in their strong tie to the environment. Every aspect in their life, i.e. beliefs, culture, knowledge etc. was constructed in relation to the environment. However, this tie does not seem to exist in form of pride but in form of traditional knowledge that is present in every interaction of the Moken to the environment through daily activities.

The weakness of the tie presents the result when the tourism was promoted by the SP as well as when the APP came. Natural resource base livelihoods were forced to change into tourism base. The change has affected the livelihoods in many aspects as presented in Chapter 5. The Moken seem to have tried to accept participation in tourism as their new production system. However, a range of cultural constraints is impeding their participation as well as the lack of support from the SP. These constraints have contributed to the ineffectiveness of the implementation of the APP. Further, the study on the capitals of the APP has also pointed out a range of impacts. This suggests that the tourism activities at this moment are not feasible to establish a sustainable livelihood for the Moken.

Chapter 6 has presented the analysis of the adaptability of the Moken to the new environment created by the tourism and the tourism activities. It has analyzed also the feasibility of the tourism activities by taking the issue of institutional constraints and the sustainability of the tourism activities into account.

The conclusion for the adaptability is that the characteristic, i.e. culture and behavior, of the Moken culture does not support the Moken to live with the new environment created by tourism in many aspects. The cultural weakness, reliance to the natural resources and capacity of the Moken are regarded as particularly critical to the project implementation at this stance and are considered to be one of the most critical issues to work with. Things got harder for the APP for the analysis has pointed out that the ineffectiveness of their participation is related to the characteristics of their culture and their need in financial improvement. However, the issue of the Moken's characteristics cannot solely be considered, but the strategy of the project has to be taken into consideration when the establishment of a sustainable livelihood is the objective of the project.

The current tourism activities implemented by the APP are challenged by the lack of considering these issues, but considering more on the issue of economic improvement, which the results are also skeptical. Thus, although the tourism activities may have a better potential to establish a livelihood for the Moken, it is skeptical at this moment whether they could be considered as a sustainable livelihood because the analysis of the sustainability of the elements has pointed out a range of possible impacts.

Thus, it is likely that the APP may fail to achieve their overall objectives in establishing tourism activities as a sustainable livelihood, or even to alleviate the living condition of the Moken. However, the results for both areas are skeptical because they limited the consideration on the adaptability and potential impacts, and also it is difficult to see if they would alleviate the economic and other living conditions for the Moken.

Furthermore, external factors such as institutional constraints that also affect the process of the implementation should be considered. The SP, the considerable key actor, is likely not the supporters of implementation regarding sustainable livelihood establishment for the Moken, but on the other hand they can be considered as parts of the problem obstructing the advancement of the project.

This study has revealed that the Moken, whose traditional livelihoods were depended on the natural resources as their central means of livelihood, are encountering changes in their livelihoods as a result of tourism. Tourism, as promoted by the SP and that is expected by the APP to be a main part in livelihoods of the Moken, is the practice that affects the Moken community in all aspects of life, ranging from the change in their culture to the surrounding environment, which the Moken do not seem to cope well with these changes.

Therefore, the recommendations, as suggested in Chapter 7, have covered the framework of the issues relating to adaptability of the community, the strategy of the project, including the institutional constraints, which will influence the viability of the progress. Thus, increasing efforts have been suggested to be focused on the adaptability of the

Moken when working towards sustainable livelihood establishment. This is because the impacts deriving from changes in the environment as a result of tourism will affect many aspects of the livelihoods, ranging from losing traditional culture to the changes in the way of life. In this regard, the APP should target adaptability correspondingly with the project implementation in reducing potential impacts from the implementation of development projects. The issue of strengthening the working network with other institutions should also be taken into account for it may relieve the institutional constraints caused by the SP.

Finally, as culture will always make constant adjustments to the environment, it implies that the culture of the Moken will always change fast because their environment is surrounded by things that are deviant to their culture, which are easy for the Moken to accept them into their world. Thus, in working towards a sustainable livelihood establishment, a clear objective has to be made whether to focus on cultural preservation or on entirely adjusting them to the changing environment, or both. Otherwise, the project may lack of direction and will affect the whole Moken community in return.

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Appendix 1: Relevant plans and policies

The State's policy

The National Act B.E. 2504 (1961) can be considered as the 'national framework' for the other national park policies. One of the main objectives of the act determines that the national parks are the areas reserved natural resources protection, education, research and other uses for the public. In the mean time, the land in the area can not be owned. The act is addressed to all land, which has been determined as national parks. In this manner, it covers areas such as mountains, creek, swamp, canal marsh, basin, waterway, lake, island and seashore. The park flora and fauna is protected, and any trade or transport of species out of the park is prohibited.

According to the Act, 1) 93 areas have been announced as the national parks, 2) it is clear that no activities should make any distraction to the nature in the Parks (e.g. bringing in alien species or bringing out origin species or establishing a research station in the area), 3) a visitor center is established in the national parks in order to educate and provide accommodation facilities for tourists. Finally, 4) other touring facilities (e.g. trail, environmental-friendly activities, camping space) will have to be provided and must not distract the environment. We can see that a contradiction has been presented in the policy. Although the policy does concern with no-disturbance of the nature in the park, tourism may not prevent those disturbances.

The 8th National Economic and Social Development Plan

The framework of the Plan aims to make use of the natural resources and, in the meantime, to improve the degrading so that they are sustainable and supportive to economic growth. The other objective is to encourage the public to participate in resource management and environmental protection of the local area. This is to be supported by the government, academics, private organization, or business organizations.

The strength of the Plan is the emphasis in livelihood development of the local communities. Participation of the public and the local people is one of the strategies. In order to achieve this, the government encourages the local communities to participate in the planning period, decision-making, and evaluation. According to the Plan, public hearing for projects will be opened to the public throughout the process.

The Royal Forestry Department's policy

The policy enacted by the Royal Forestry Department mainly deals with 1) forest protection, 2) conservation area and tourism management, 3) forest land management, 4) forestation, and 5) forestry research. I would like to emphasize on the forest land management. This provision promotes cooperation among governmental sectors in forest protection and the attitudes and strategies in working with the local people have to be changed in order to implement effective forest protection plans.

The Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives' policy

The main responsibility of the Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives relating to forestry is to keep the growth of the agricultural sector stable according to the 8th National Economic and Social Development Plan (1997-2001)⁵⁸. Thus, the Ministry deals with forest, land, coastal and biodiversity management and development. This policy, although it emphasizes environmental protection, is primarily directed towards agricultural land management and the farmers.

The National Forest Policy

The policy enacted by the cabinet of the Government on the 3rd of December 1985 included 20 objectives. The overall focus of the policy is on the national level in a broad perspective. The policy has objectives in 1) zoning of the forest areas⁵⁹, 2) managing the forested lands, 3) improving the administrative works of the policy, 4) forestry development, 5) research, and 6) protection.

The Natural Resources and Natural Resources and Environmental Management of 1997-2016

This plan was enacted by Office of The Natural Resources and Natural Resources and Environmental Management Division of the Ministry of Science Technology and Environment. The Policy has its purpose in 1) improving the condition of the environment, quality of life, and health of the Thais, 2) preserving natural resources in a sustainable respect, and 3) improving the administrative work of the environmental management and of decentralization.

The National Master Plan for Coral Reef Management

This Master Plan is a framework for the area to be managed according to the condition of the coral reefs in that area which must be relevant to the growth of the national economy and the need of the local communities. In addition, this plan encourages participation of the local in coral reef management.

(Source: MSP 2004)

⁵⁸ The present plan is the 9th.

⁵⁹ The country should have 40% of the forested area, having 25% as the preserved areas and the rest of 25% for economic forest or commercial forest.

Other regulations for the Marine National Parks

<p>Forest Act B.E. 2484 (1941) is the basic law enforcing the forest areas and resources. The Act concerns logging concession operation, non-wood forest products collection. Timber stamp, wood and non-wood forest products during transportation and protection of forest resources.</p>
<p>National Reserved Forests Act B.E. 2507 (1964) is another law enforcing MNPs, especially, the areas which have been the reserve forests before becoming the MNPs. The act controls the utilization and protection of forest areas and resources of the national reserved forests.</p>
<p>Wildlife Preservation and Protection Act B.E. 2535 (1992) concern general provision, hunting, propagating, possessing and trading of wildlife, their carcasses and carcass products, importing, exporting, passing through, Transporting the wildlife.</p>
<p>Fishery Act B.E. 2537 (1994) is the additional legislation concerning seawater. The act has especially been used to regulate fishing and marine resources gathering including issues related to encroachment of trawlers into protected seawater areas.</p>
<p>Harbor Act B.E. 2456 & 2535 (1913 & 1992) is the additional legislation concerning the controlling of seashore development and seawater transportation. The Act also controls the securities of seawater activities, and provision of boat permits.</p>
<p>Environment Act B.E. 2535 (1992) is the additional legislation concerning environmental impact assessment to control any development projects within the MNPs.</p>

(Source MSP 2004)

Appendix 2: Summing up of the field notes

What did I do?

The fieldwork methodology which based on the questionnaires did not give a fruitful result. The methods then were shifted to informal and formal interview, which also was not very successful. The best methods for my fieldwork were informal conversation and participation observation. The formal interview with the key members from the APP gave a fine result.

The first obstacle I encountered was that the questionnaire method did not seem to work well with the Moken community. Although I was welcomed to travel to the village with the team from the Andaman Pilot Project and it was my second visit, getting acquainted by them from the first visit did not allow me to break the ice into the level I wanted to achieve. I thought it was because they were not sufficiently open for a discussion about their life. However, at some point I thought I might be wrong because during my stay I have been welcomed occasionally with friendly hospitality in form of food, dinner and other appetizers. Considering the fact that the Moken are shy in their nature, jotting down notes in the questionnaire or recording conversations always put in a wall between me and the Moken interviewees. I then put away my recording tools, except the camera and a notebook that I would use to note down points after the conversation.

The questionnaires during my stay became the guideline for informal interview I conducted with the Moken. Another thing to break through was that the Moken men normally worked all day with the national park at the other bays. Thus, I had little chance to sit down and ask them questions. I then participated in their lifestyle, went fishing (in the national park!), oyster-knocking, crab-chasing, shrimp-catching and fish-spearing in order to steal their time, bit by bit, asking things I wanted to know. I was invited and well-welcomed to participate in those activities. It was a great chance for to gather information because conversation always came up by a Moken and then would open a space for my questions. I did not cover all the questions in my questionnaire but I learnt more than what the questionnaire would offer me.

The formal interview method worked out fine with the two key interviewees from the APP and the field officer. I did not have a chance to interview the Head of the Surin Islands Marine National Park for his base was on the mainland and he did not come to SP frequently. However, I did have succeeded to conduct an informal interview with an officer from the Forestry Department who has been working with the SP for more than ten years.

Who did I see and what subjects did I ask them about?

The interviewees can be divided into three groups – the Moken, three members from the APP, and some officers of the SP. During the period of my three-week stay, the numbers of interviews I have conducted are presented as followed.

The Moken

During my first days I tried to collect empirical data from the Moken by using the questionnaire method. Although I were not satisfied with the results as the answers given were limited to 'yes' and 'no'. In addition, the language barrier was one of the obstacles in data gathering.

I wanted to start the conversation with basic Moken words. The Moken speak Moken, the language unique to the people. The language is different in dialect from the Moken in Myanmar. I tried to learn basic Moken but it proved to be difficult since the language has no writing form and is thus very difficult in pronunciation so to write in Thai. Many of the Moken can speak Thai but nonetheless it was difficult to understand their accent.

I used the questionnaire method with twenty of the Moken. Among these interviewees, I had the chance to conduct informal interviews (approximately 45-60 minutes per person in total within the period of three weeks) with seven of them.

The objective of collecting data with the Moken was to get the overall picture of their livelihoods influenced by the SP. From this, I wanted to see: A1) if societal and cultural values are still important to their livelihoods and what have changed in order to see their overall livelihoods as a whole, A2) what affects did the SP have on livelihoods of the Moken particularly in term of socio-economic opportunities and cultural aspects, A3) what their attitudes towards the tourism activities are. With this information, I expect to analyze it with what might the tourism activities proposed by the APP be more feasible in term of socio-economic development and cultural suitability.

For the participation part, I was looking for B1) what factors could contribute to the nature of participation and no-participation of the community. I was trying to identify for obstacles to participation and what contributes to these factors. In addition, B2) I was looking for a part of the Moken culture and that the Moken are very proud of and a socio-economic opportunity in order to suggest a future project that makes them more enthusiastic to participate in more than in the existing tourism activities.

I found that A1) although in the present livelihoods of the Moken are marginalized by the SP; the lack of cooperation among the stakeholders, and the lack of clear policy that would encourage the Moken to move towards a direction, the Moken in most aspects can maintain their traditional livelihoods. They still hunt in the sea and on the island in order to have meals and other resources necessary for their daily activities. Many of their societal and cultural values have not been much changed. For example, a case of stealing, although the punishment for it in the community is not serious, rarely exists for the Moken consider themselves relatives to each other and they do not take things that do not belong to them. Religious ceremonies are still being practiced and norms are still playing a major role in the community.

For A2, I found that the SP, of course, has power in making the Moken towards a direction only if there was a clear policy. The major role that the SP plays in the Moken community is that the SP is the source of income generation. Hiring the Moken to work

in the SP is a direct opportunity. The Moken realize that they cannot fish openly or for merchandising and working at the mainland requires Thai literacy. Thus, this seems to be the only way out for the Moken to generate income. In directly, the Moken would cut dead trees (most of them died from the tsunami) to make small traditional boats for souvenirs for the tourists who visit the village. However, the SP has no clear policy to limit the amount of tourists to visit the village. These tourists bring things to the community with good will but sometimes this only contributes to a 'more' expectation of the Moken. Although I have claimed that the Moken can maintain most of their livelihood aspects in a traditional way, external cultures are now taking part in their community. For example, funeral chant and music have been replaced by music from loud speakers. Some of the respondents stated that they would like to have a small radio of their own.

For A3, the attitudes towards the tourism activities proposed by the APP are various, mixing with those who participated and did not participate (will be elaborate in Chapter 5). Further, I found that skills needed in tourism activities are far too different from their traditional ways of life and the Moken are not familiar with them. I observed their behavior, daily lifestyles, thoughts, and personality in addition to their future perception of participating in these activities, pre-concluding that they might work well in these tourism activities but I doubt that these activities will become a long-term livelihood strategy because the SP does not seem to cooperate well and the activities themselves are different from their traditional characteristics, culture, and lifestyle. In term of economic opportunities, it does not make a difference from working with the SP as the total salary per month is equal (3,000 Bath per month).

For B1), I found out that need for income is the main factor for the Moken to participate in the APP (and to work with the SP). All of them have to work in something in order to get by. Obstacles to participation in the APP I found are that the Moken do not see what the tourism activities will contribute to them. In addition, the attitudes are different from age groups, the level of education, the time they have lived on the mainland and etc.

In addition, the numbers of women who were interested in participation are low because income generating has never been their main task. They would spend most of the day sitting in groups playing games, such as gambling, and chatting.

For B2, I did not have a chance to emphasize in observing for an aspect that would make them want to participate in more enthusiastically. However, I found that there were certain things that the Moken are proud of when speaking about. Those are their traditional Kabang boat which is unique in characteristic and remains in traditional structure⁶⁰ and their diving skill (for fish-spearing and shell-collecting). I think if a future project highlight these activities, it might make the Moken be more enthusiastic to participate. However, policies addressing to their activities in the park have to be reconsidered and go through many political processes.

⁶⁰ One Kabang was funded by the APP, the other two by two different internal NGOs. None of them were built according to the Moken's initial intention. The reasons to this will be elaborated in Chapter 5.

Three members of the APP

I had a chance to conduct formal interviews with three key persons from the APP. They were 1) Assoc. Prof. Dr. Narumol Arunotai, the leader of the APP, 2) Mr. Paladej na Pombajra, a key team member who conducted his Master Thesis a few years ago in the Moken community⁶¹, 3) Mr. Taksin, the field officer who spends most of his time in the Moken village, operating works for the APP and living closest to the Moken.

The purpose of interviewing Dr. Narumol was that I want to have the overall pictures of the APP. These pictures included the source of funding, her objective as the team leader in working with the Moken in the APP, the possible continuation of the APP, the main difficulties in working within the protected area and with the local community, her perception of their participation, and the obstacles to participation of the Moken according to her opinion.

For Mr. Paladej, I expected more on his opinion of the Moken's participation, where they obtain the materials for boat-building and trailing, the management of the activities, how he gathered people to participate, who supports the APP and who does not, the APP's relationship with other involved stakeholders etc.

For Mr. Taksin who has been working closely with the Moken, I had information about his experience in working with the Moken. I had chance to ask detailed questions like what the Moken do when they are free from work, what they spend money on, their absents and punctuality, their working behavior etc.

The Governmental officers

I did not have an opportunity to interview the Chief and the assistants of the SP formally. However, I could feel the atmosphere changing when they or I mentioned the APP. I earned information from an officer instead. Obviously, they have different objectives in working with the Moken. Many activities and regulations of the SP do not support the Moken to build a sustainable livelihood in a long term. For example, hiring the Moken in boat-riding seems to be their main alternative in sustaining livelihoods of the Moken. Business management is rather seems to be more emphasized.

How well did I succeed in seeing and observing what I had planned - who did you want to see, but had no opportunity to see?

As I have mentioned, I did not have opportunity to interview the Chief and the assistants. In addition, I was unfortunate to arrange an interview with people from NGOs. As I was told, an NGO group encouraged a few Mokens in the village to build a Kabang, wishing that the Moken will remain on this boat. However, due to various obstacles, the Moken have been settled on this village by the Government and thus have no opportunity to

⁶¹ At the time of his study a few years before the tsunami, the two Moken villages were not combined yet. He took his study mainly in the village on the Ao Bon Lek (Bon Lek Bay) and spent less time in the village on the Ao Sai Ean (Sai Ean Bay).

reside on boat in the dry season. The funding NGO has not come to see the progress of the Kabang for four months already.

The other thing that I missed was the opportunity to sail with them to the Similan Islands Marine National Park that situates six hours away in the South. I wanted to experience the seashell gathering activity that can be regarded as another main source of their income and their diving skill. I wanted to experience the activity, wishing that I would experience their feelings, thoughts, and other atmospheres and values about this activity. However, the boat provided no shelter and this is an illegal activity. Even though the Moken will get free and released for not being caught due to not have the Thai citizenship, and the collected shells must be released, I have no information what would happen to me as a Thai citizen.

Main findings

One of the main findings is that the Moken are still the Moken who rely their daily life heavily on natural resource gathering, even though they have been influenced by the changing environment and external cultures. New values have already existed in the Moken culture but the traditional ones have not been ignored just yet. Instead, they are the parallel lines whereas the Moken resides in the middle. They seem to accept the fact that the sea is no longer to be wandered freely as well as the natural resources to be gathered. In addition, they seem to realize their status as one of the minority groups living on Thai land and have no Thai citizenship. However, they have been cooperating with most of the opportunities offered, working with the SP for instance. They are always ready to participate in any chance offered. Thus, even though the tourism activities may not fit into their culture as much as working with the SP, the Moken have the potential to work with it if they want to. However, I found out that the community lacks of long term prospect and I do not have a clear evidence of a direction the Moken want to proceed.

The second finding is the mechanism of the APP, which is composed of opportunities to generate income and its suitability for the Moken to participate. Tourism activities seem to work in providing a new livelihood opportunity, but I assume that the long-term consequence to their culture may pose a greater threat. The activities proposed by the APP seem to bring in tourists and to generate income. However, their potential consequences have not been sufficiently taken into account. The traditional livelihoods might get lost if the project proceeds without any impact assessment.