A Rough Guide to *Simulacrum* in Thailand

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If an exotic place only offers simulation of local

culture, will you be interested in going there?

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I have almost come to the end of the long PhD journey with a new chapter of my life

beginning with me working as a university lecturer in Bangkok, Thailand.

Abstract

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This thesis concerns the effects of globalisation and tourism in Thailand. There is no single way to conceptualise globalisation, for it is not an independent concept. The emergence of globalisation is dependent upon the existence of other social events; or rather, it is other social events that constitute the idea of globalisation. To better understand globalisation, this thesis contextualises it in the setting of Thai tourism, with the research focusing on the two case studies of Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets.

These can be seen to epitomise the relationship between the global and the local, and between globalisation and the system. This thesis uses Baudrillard's theory to capture globalisation and analyse data. The three main issues highlighted are the circulation of value and signs, the play of differences, and globalisation and simulacra. These are consequential orders producing representation and simulation in the floating markets. These issues pertain to the ways in which the floating markets become tourist attractions, the cultural contents of the floating markets, and action in the floating markets respectively. With globalisation and tourism, the distinction between real Thai culture and the contrived culture for tourism has become blurred.

Keywords: globalisation, simulacrum, tourism, floating market, and Thailand.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Though Bangkok's usual icons are tuk-tuks and traffic, its waterways are the true symbols of a city that was known as the 'Venice of the East' during much of the 19th century (Bodry 2012)

The three-wheeled taxi known as the tuk-tuk, or samlor in Thai, features in many guidebooks and on many tourism websites about Thailand. Prospective tourists may get the impression from the media that the traffic in Bangkok is terrible. The city itself is big and busy and this is one of the most common images of Bangkok and Thailand. However, the waterways within and outside Bangkok are a unique symbol of the country. In the capital, they are still used for transportation, providing people with the opportunity to travel by motorboat to many places around the city. But what was the true importance of the waterways for Thai people? According to Cohen, the 'rivers and canals were a main source of food; they were the main mode of transportation as well, and on the larger rivers and canals, stores nucleated into waterfront market places, markets on water, called Talad Nam in Thai, consisting of land-based Chinese shop houses and Thai farmers floating on boats' (2016, pp.62-63).

Thus, waterways contributed greatly to locals' daily life, with floating markets being a big part of it. Rivers and canals were not only used for transportation, but were also trading places. But due to a transition from water-bound to land-based motorised transportation and the creation of market facilities along the new land-based routes,

waterborne travel and trade in the markets along rivers and canals declined and, in many cases, disappeared (Cohen 2016, p.63). With road construction and transportation, the Thai way of life changed forever. Pongajarn, van der Duim and Peters state that, following the development of road-transportation systems in the 1950s and 1960s, many floating markets disappeared, although some were relocated as tourist attractions (2016, p.1).

Floating markets nowadays are not an authentic representation of traditional Thai culture and local way of life, but rather a simulation. They display an image of the country. Through this careful selection of culture for tourists, Thailand has been able to establish a particular image for tourism that may captivate a wide audience and attract them to visit the country. However, it is not the Rough Guide to real Thailand, rather a simulation of the country as a product to be sold to tourists.

In 2017, the Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT) reported that, 'Thailand welcomed over 28.8 million international visitors from January to October 2017 and earned 1.47 trillion baht[1] in tourism revenue' (TAT News). According to Debbage and Daniels, tourism is not a single product, but a wide range of products and services that interact to provide an opportunity to fulfil the tourist experience that comprises both tangible and intangible products (cited by Judd 2006, p.325). A combination of various products and services is important for Thailand's tourism, as visitors enjoy Thai food, visiting islands and receiving friendly service from locals.

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[1] 1 GB pound = 43.55-44 baht; 1.47 trillion baht is approximately 3,375,430.54 GB pounds

Thailand has become reliant on tourism-based development, which targets an increase in the number of tourists. Tourism Authority of Thailand recently reported, 'Thailand's quality tourism strategy, which attracts higher quality tourists, has become successful' (TAT News, 2017). This is similar to tourism strategies used in other less-developed countries: 'Indonesia, for example, continues to place emphasis on attracting quality tourism, which is conventional tourism in four- and five-star hotels rather than small-scale tourism such as backpackers, and as in many less developed countries the backpacker subsector is ignored' (Hampton 2003, p.96). This is because high-quality tourism seems to generate a larger amount of revenue than small-scale tourism.

A country's tourism is dependent on the flow of capital and international-tourist arrivals. Tourism is part of globalisation and vice versa. As a product to be sold to tourists, a place does not inherently become a tourist attraction, rather it is socially created as tourist attraction. To become a tourist attraction, a local place, or a destination country, needs to reinvent its cultural content as well as tourist-orientated activity.

Thailand has established a reputation for cultural tourism, which is the main focus of this research. Cultural tourism has been promoted for several decades and, according to Peleggi, during the 1980s, 'cultural heritage' appeared to be the promotional catchphrase, as seen during the Bangkok Bicentennial in 1982, when several of the city's monuments were renovated (1996, p.435). In addition, several major tourism events were held in the 1990s, including the Amazing Thailand campaign of 1998-

1999, which was introduced to mark the 72nd sixth-cycle birthday of King Bhumibol

Adulyadej, and also to help recovery from the 1997 Asian financial crisis, resulting in

an increase in visitor arrivals (TAT 2014).

The recent marker of culture tourism in Thailand is 'Thainess'. TAT states Thainess is

identified as the unique characteristic of the land, along with the population's strong

adherence to traditions that have evolved over more than 700 years, and the

remarkable blend of the old and new (cited by Peleggi 1996, p.441). Thawatchai

Arunyik, governor of TAT, states, 'We launch Thainess to show the Thai way of life

and to enable visitors to experience something new, including participation,

creativity, community and idealism (Wood 2013). Furthermore, the governor

identified four experiential Thainess products: 'ecotourism, weddings and

honeymoons, health and wellness, and experience of Thainess products, e.g. Thai

boxing, Thai cooking classes' (Wood 2013). In this way, the creation of signs and

images enables Thailand to become a tourist destination. This also produces cultural

value of Thainess and offers an experience of Thai culture for tourists. The emergence

of place and the production of cultural value and activity are important steps that

may help us understand the effect of globalisation and tourism on the local.

1.1 Discussion of justification of the case studies and the research questions

As presented earlier in this chapter, after road systems became the main channels of transportation in Thailand, floating markets that used to be part of the real local way of life were reconstructed as tourist attractions. These markets are the case studies of my thesis, in particular Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets. The social life of these local markets is an interesting area of research and the following works are examples. Bestor proposes market and place can be connected through the globalisation of economic activity, and yet they are reconnected in different ways; he investigates the interrelatedness of Tokyo's Tsukiji seafood market with other local markets in different places in terms of global flows of economy, information, cultural images and orientations (2001, p.78). His work shows how global flows make the local place connect to and reconnect with distant others, and locates the local market in a broad context (Bestor 2001).

Regarding the interconnection of the global with the local market, Rhys-Taylor introduces a 'sensory turn', exploring how 'local culture looks, smells and tastes very different to that which appears in many accounts of interaction between migrants and host communities' in the context of Ridley Road Market, a street market in northeast London (2013, p.1). The differences in feelings, flavours and smells between migrant and host communities foster the interactions between these two groups. Lyon and Back research fishmongers in a south London market using multi-sensory ethnographic research, and they examine how global connections are threaded through the local economy within a landscape of increasing cultural and

racial diversity (2012, p.1). Using a multi-sensory approach enables us to perceive the influence of global flows on the local market. However, the effect of global flows may vary according to the local context. In order to contextualise the effects of globalisation and tourism in Thailand, my thesis only looks at floating markets, in particular those of Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya, with the aim of investigating the following three points.

Research Questions

- In what ways are Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets tourist attractions?

- Is there any difference between the interpretations of Thai workers and those of tourists in regard to Thai culture?

- What are the cultural consequences of globalisation for the floating markets?

Why have these two case studies of floating markets been chosen? Cohen says, 'The considerable body of sociological and anthropological research on tourism in Thailand has more or less neglected the study of floating markets as a tourist attraction, although these markets have, in the last few years, attracted the attention of mainly Thai researchers from other fields' (2016, p.60). For example, in the field of tourism and hospitality management, Wattanacharoensil and Sakdiyakorn explore the potential of floating markets in Nakhon Pathom Province as creative tourism destinations (2015, p.1), while Vajirakachorn and Nepal examine the processes of

engaging the local community in the development and promotion of the Amphawa

Floating Market, near Bangkok, as a tourist attraction (2014, p.1). But recently, there

have been two pieces of sociological research on floating markets in Thailand. The

first one, conducted by Cohen, is a study of the permutations of 21 local floating

markets under the influence of tourism, in which he orders the contemporary floating

markets into a sequential typology of continuously active floating markets, revived

floating markets, new, neo-traditional floating markets and new, innovative floating

markets (2016, pp.60 and 65). In relation to my research, Cohen categorises

Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets as a revived floating market and new,

innovative floating market respectively.

Pongajarn, van der Duim and Peters also undertake sociological research on five

floating markets in Thailand, including Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya, by using actor-

network theory for the method of analysis and investigating how relations between

humans and non-humans/objects bring about different paths of development in

these floating markets, especially regarding appearing and reappearing as tourist

attractions (2016, pp.1-2). These two works run parallel to my study in terms of

having chosen Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets as case studies.

Additionally, they share a general purpose of study similar to my research, which

examines the influence of tourism on the local floating markets in Thailand.

However, I have never found any studies of floating markets in Thailand that look at

signs and cultural simulation, especially signs and the emergence of floating markets

as tourist attractions. Also, there is no research on the production of value and the

cultural content of the floating markets in Thailand. These are the focal concerns of research questions 1 and 2 respectively.

Regarding social interaction in markets, Watson explores the multiple forms of sociality that can be observed in eight UK market sites and the potentiality of markets as social space (2009, pp.1577 and 1581). Different forms of social interaction can occur in a local market. In addition to being a public and social space, interaction between the global and local in Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets can be seen as a reciprocal process, in which global flows reconstruct the floating markets for tourism, while the local places offer differentiated representation of Thai culture to different tourist groupings. We can understand this by investigating the cultural consequences of globalisation and tourism in Thailand and how interactions between the global and local constitute an experience of Thai culture in the markets. Despite the context of floating markets in Thailand, globalisation and tourism affect simulation of culture differently in each floating market. This is the main focus of research question 3.

Undoubtedly, there is no research on tourism and floating markets in Thailand based on Baudrillard's concepts[2] of signs and simulation. 'Jean Baudrillard is widely recognised as one of the leading lights of post-modernist theory. Yet students of leisure appear to be oddly impervious to the significance of his ideas for their work' (Rojek 1990, p.7). Baudrillard is one of the most outstanding post-modern theorists, yet scant attention is given to his work, and his concepts are rarely seen in

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[2] His theory will be introduced, explained and discussed in chapter 4

sociological work in a non-Western context. It is worth investigating to what extent Baudrillard's theory can be applied to a non-Western society, particularly Thailand. In order to fill the gap of knowledge, my thesis applies Baudrillard's theory to a non-Western context, namely tourism in Thailand, and his theory will be thoroughly discussed in the thesis.

I selected these floating markets rather than looking at other spaces of cultural tourism and globalisation, e.g. shops and restaurants, because floating markets are a must-do for tourists when travelling to Thailand, or floating markets represent their experience of Thailand in general. Floating markets appear on Thailand's tourism websites, as well as in guidebooks, brochures and the media. I only researched these two floating markets since these two are apparently orientated towards foreign tourists, yet display different representations of local Thai culture. Damnoen Saduak Floating Market, which is widely popular among foreign tourists in general, reflects local Thai culture, while Pattaya Floating Market specifically matches Chinese tourists' preferences (see also Cohen 2016, and Pongajarn et al 2016) and only offers simulation of local Thai culture.

1.1.1   Damnoen Saudak Floating Market

Damnoen Saduak Canal used to be the major transportation route in Ratchaburi Province, as well as its centre of trading. In this case, 'floating market' refers to a type of market where people can exchange, sell and purchase products on water, or it refers to water trading or water market. The Tourism Authority of Thailand states that the Damnoen Saduak Floating Market first caught tourists' attention as the image of tourism in 1967 (2014).

In the past, floating markets constituted the economic activity of local people. The area of Damnoen Saduak is known for its abundance of fruit farming, and the floating market offered local crops and produce such as fruit and vegetables. Being located by the canals, water trading in Damnoen Saduak Floating Market became central to the way of life and culture of local people, yet the old market disappeared because of developments in transportation and road construction. Later, the market was moved across the canal to be close to the main road, so that it was more convenient for tourists travelling there by car.

This market has featured in two famous Hollywood films: the 1974 James Bond film *The Man with the Golden Gun*, and 2008's *Bangkok Dangerous*, starring Nicolas Cage. The current form of Damnoen Saduak Floating Market differs from the original floating market, since the canal is no longer the main means of transportation in the area. The floating market has also changed in accordance with the needs of tourism,

in terms of its purpose, products, pattern of trading and more besides, in order to

target tourist arrivals and meet demand.

- Map showing Damnoen Saduak Floating Market's location within Thailand

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Damnoen Saduak Floating Market, also known as Khlong Ton Kem Floating Market,

has existed for more than 100 years and was the original traditional floating market

where local people came to sell and exchange local produce. It is located in

Ratchaburi Province in the west of Thailand, which is about a 1½ -hour drive (80km)

from Bangkok. Tourists can travel there by bus and car. The market covers both sides

of the canal, meaning tourists can take a boat ride to look around the market or walk

along the canal. If tourists travel to the market with a group tour, tour guides park

their cars in the market car park, where tourists can directly board the market's boat

services.

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3 The map of the market is taken from https://junusdavid.wordpress.com/2013/02/28/damnoen-saduak-floating-market

Below is a map[4] showing the walking directions from the bus stop to the market. If

tourists travel to the area by bus from the Southern Bus Terminal in Bangkok, the

map shows the walk from the nearest bus stop to the market is approximately 1-2km.

There are two boat services outside the markets, which are overpriced. Tourists

should ignore these and use the services in the market.

- **The ownership structure of the floating market**

Before moving next to the main road, the old floating market used to be run by the

local municipals. In about 1972, the Damnoen Saduak Floating Market changed its

location from the Ludplee to the Tonkem Canal in order to be accessed by road

(Pongajarn, van der Duim and Peters 2016, p.5). Interviewees stated that ownership

of the floating market changed after it moved close to the main road; currently the

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[4] This map is taken from http://www.diytraveltips.com/2012/07/damnoen-saduak-floating-market-bangkok.html

market is privately owned by boat-service owners who provide this service for

tourists visiting the market, with different parts of the market being run by different

owners. The services in the market that offer standard prices are Yuwanda Boat

Service, Poschawan (J Muay) Boat Service, Paew Boat Service and Pichi Boat Service.

There are 14 other boat services outside the market.[5]

- **Visitor numbers and the characteristics of tourism**

I could not find the exact visitor numbers for Damnoen Saduak Floating Market.

Interviewees said the market saw a decrease in the number of tourists because they

can go to other floating markets in and outside Bangkok. From my observation, the

amount of foreign tourists outnumbers that of Thai tourists. It is reported that

Damnoen Saduak Floating Market used to be a popular destination for Chinese,

Japanese, American and European tourists, but the number of these foreign tourists

has reduced slightly because the market lacks uniqueness, and many countries have

been experiencing economic slowdown (Prachachat 2015).

- **Turnover and product types**

The floating market has been experiencing a lower turnover than in the previous five-

six years due to a decrease in the number of foreign tourists. Product types on boats

and from shop houses available to buy include agricultural products, fruit, vegetables,

various souvenir products, clothes, wooden crafts, Thai paintings, souvenir T-shirts,

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[5] A list of boat services in and around Damnoen Saduak Floating Market can be found at
http://www.dnd.police7.go.th/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=24&Itemid=152. The
information is only available in Thai.

Thai cloth, general Thai food and local Thai food on boats, such as noodles, spring

rolls, glass jelly, coffee and Thai tea and fresh coconut juice.

- **Everyday rhythms**

The current floating market is open daily from 8.30am to noon or 1pm. When I

conducted interviews, I arrived at the market at 8.30-8.45am. Some shop houses

were open and some boat vendors were fixed at the piers. Food stalls and clothes

shops on the wooden banks were open in the morning. At 9.00-9.30am, tourists

arrived and the market was packed with floating vendors and tourist boats. The noise

of boat engines along with people's chatter was loud. The tourist boats were

switched on and off as the stopped at vendors and shop houses along the canal.

- **The presentation of the market on websites**

Access in Thailand to officially sanctioned websites in Thai and English is not allowed

due to the Thai military government, therefore, I cannot see them when I am in

Thailand. I can only access normal websites, and the following are examples.

According to the Tourism Authority of Thailand website, Damnoen Saduak Floating

Market is one of the most famous floating markets in Thailand, and pictures on the

website show the ambience of Thailand water markets, which have existed for more

than 100 years (2018).

The Thaiways Magazine website has photos of vibrant market scenes. They predominantly feature small boats that are laden with fruit and vegetables and paddled by Thai women wearing bamboo hats, and are typical of the photos most often published in travel magazines and brochures (2018). Meanwhile, another Bangkok travelling website states Damnoen Saduak Floating Market is the most famous floating market in Thailand and is great for photo opportunities, food and for giving tourists an insight into a bygone way of life (Bangkok 2018). The latter website regards the place as giving the floating market experience, although it does not feel that authentic (Bangkok 2018).

These tourism websites present Damnoen Saduak Floating Market as being the most popular one in Thailand, connecting to the local way of life and offering traces of the traditional water market. Currently, the re-invented Damnoen Saduak Floating Market is one of the most recognisable images of tourism in Thailand.

1.1.2 Pattaya Floating Market

Unlike Damnoen Saduak Floating Market, Pattaya Floating Market was originally created as a cultural place for tourism. Officially known as the Pattaya Four Regions Floating Market, it was established as a tourist attraction in 2008 when the owner constructed beautiful waterways on a natural swamp to build a floating market. Pattaya city has no history of floating markets or riparian way of life, but instead is famous for its beautiful beaches, variety of entertainment and its vibrant nightlife. The Lonely Planet guidebook states, 'Pattaya's reputation as a sex capital is well-

deserved, with its hundreds of beer bars, go-go clubs and massage parlours, yet

Pattaya is attempting to re-build its image, with many of its 10 million annual visitors

instead coming for the mega shopping centres and amenities' (2017).

The Indian travel agency TripFactory even says, 'Pattaya today is a schizophrenic

experience, part package holiday experience, part prostitution central' (2017).

Although this area was popular for nightlife and various kinds of entertainment, the

owner of Pattaya Floating Market introduced his business project as an alternative

tourist attraction in Pattaya city, one of culture tourism. The floating market features

the Thai architectural style Baan Ruen Thai, or ancient Thai houses and wooden shop

houses.

- **Map of Pattaya city within Thailand**

Map of Pattaya Floating Market's location within Pattaya city[7]

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[6] The map of Pattaya city is from
https://www.tripmasters.com/asia/Thailand/Itinerary_pk90855_Bangkok_-
_Pattaya.aspx?relItin=90857

[7] The map of the market is from http://www.pattayatalk.com/forums/topic/62245-need-way-to-
pattaya-floating-market-d

The floating market is located in Pattaya city, Chonburi Province, in the east of Thailand, about a 2½-hour drive (153km) from Bangkok. Now set over 23 acres (Pongajarn, van der Duim and Peters 2016, p.10), it gradually expanded over three phases. Tourists can travel to Pattaya by bus and minivan from Bangkok, though the market is not on a list of day trips from Bangkok. Tourists who stay in Pattaya city visit the floating market, with this being sold to tourists as one-day package tour while in Pattaya. Interviewees said most tour groups arrive in the afternoon, having already visited other attractions in Pattaya. The market's main customers are Chinese tourists who come here as part of tour groups, though there are also Thai tourists and some Western tourists. The market has a big car park in front of it.

Map of the floating market

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[8] http://www.pattayafloatingmarket.com/?page_id=768&lang=en

The map shows the different zones of the market – the Southern Zone, Northeastern Zone, Northern Zone and Central Zone – and indicates activity points in the floating market. The map is available in Thai, English and Chinese.

- **The ownership structure of the market**

The floating market is privately owned by a Pattaya-based businessman who is a former real-estate businessman. It was established as Pattaya Four Regions Floating Market Company Limited. After buying land over a swamp, he constructed a beautiful pond and floating market. Although it is called a floating market, it is a well-organised place. Interviewees said there are different departments in the market, or company, including marketing, product design, human resources, public relations, and market and management positions.

- **Visitor numbers and type**

Interviewees state visitor numbers are normally 5,000-7,000 per day, with Chinese tourists outnumbering other Asian and Thai tourists. They said the foreign-visitor numbers reach up to 10,000 during Chinese New Year and Loy Kratong (a Thai festival in November). In 2014, the market was receiving about 200,000 visitors per month (Pongajarn, van der Duim and Peters 2016, p.10). When I conducted interviews, some interviewees said the number of Chinese tourists decreased because tour agencies experienced problems dealing with the market, especially regarding commission. The types of tourists are mainly Chinese, Asian, Thai and Western.

Some interviewees complained about cheap Chinese tour groups known as Tour Soon Rien, or zero-dollar tours, which they regard as bringing in low-quality tourists who do not have purchasing power. Zero-dollar tours do not benefit the market at all. It refers to tours in which 'Chinese visitors pay Thai-based operators low prices for their package holiday, yet once in Thailand, they are often pressured into buying overpriced food, gifts and accommodation' (Sriring and Temphairojana 2016). It is also reported that 'Thailand's military government says the packages known as zero-dollar tours, aimed at Chinese tourists on a budget, are tarnishing the country's image, and the tourist police have moved to shut them down' (Sriring and Temphairojana 2016). Zero-dollar tours have thus increased Chinese tourist arrivals into Thailand, while simultaneously destroying the country's tourism image. Thailand has gained notoriety for coaxing tourists into buying overpriced items.

- **Turnover and product types**

Again, I cannot give the exact turnover rate since it is confidential data. It can be calculated approximately by looking at the number of foreign tourists coming to the market per day, since only foreign tourists have to pay an entrance fee, which is about 200 baht per person (about 4.58 GB pounds). From my interviews, the visitor numbers in Pattaya Floating Market are 5,000-7,000 per day, so the market has an approximate turnover of 1,000,000-1,400,000 baht per day (22,564-32,259 GB pounds).

Regarding product types, the floating market offers a variety of souvenir products, regional Thai products, souvenir T-shirts, key rings, trinkets, local handmade products (e.g. herbal soap), yellow oil and fashionable clothes. The market also has a variety of foodstuffs, such as Thai food, regional Thai food, Thai snacks, Thai desserts, fruit, coffee and Thai tea, as well as an air-conditioned food court in phase 2. There is also a 'Top Shop Zone' in phase 2 and about 500 shops in the whole market.

- **Everyday rhythms**

Pattaya Floating Market is open daily from 10am to 8pm. When tourists arrive in the market at the front, they are guided to the entrance gate, where only foreign tourists have to pay for admission fee; entrance is free for Thai tourists. Tourists can walk through different zones of the market or take a boat ride around the market and purchase food and souvenirs. Traders here do not stop tourists to ask them to buy things from their shops. Tourists can walk comfortably in the market and watch a cultural show arranged by the market.

Therefore, tourists are able to enjoy not only the floating market, but also entertainment and activities. For example, they can see the herbal garden, a herbal-ball massage demonstration and a monkey show, as well as visit a branch of the Royal Craftsmen College and Agri-nature Learning Centre (Tourism Authority of Thailand 2018). Although there are no floating vendors, vendor boats are stationed by the banks. Cohen regards Pattaya Floating Market as a new, innovative floating market that is a business enterprise established by private company and themed as old

Thailand, yet still displaying features that disconnect it from Thai traditions (2016, pp.74-75). Pattaya Floating Market seems to be a combination of business and old culture.

- The presentation of the market on tourism websites

I cannot access officially sanctioned Thai websites when I am in Thailand because of the military-government rules. Therefore, the following are examples of random tourist websites I have been able to visit. According to the Tourism Authority of Thailand, Pattaya Floating Market offers surprise and a delightful atmosphere that merges the local Thai culture of four regions (2018). Oriental Escape says Pattaya Floating Market is the biggest floating market in the world, featuring several cultural performances and representing the four regions of Thailand (2018), while the Pattaya Floating Market website describes the place as a riverside attraction in Pattaya displaying and showcasing the ancient Thai riverside living community and authentic ways of life (2018).

The homepage of the Pattaya Floating Market website shows information and pictures of amphibious-boat excursions, long-tail-boat excursions and a Thai food buffet (a new offer) (2018). This floating market is presented on tourism websites as connecting with the four regions of Thailand, meaning elements of Thai culture and floating markets are mixed up with other cultures.

From the two case studies, what is displayed in the two floating markets is only a

representation of local Thai culture, which presents a selective image to visitors.

Globalisation and tourism foster representation of local places, with the

representation of the two floating markets promoting an increase in tourism. What is

important here is managing local culture and creating representations that lead to

the floating markets becoming tourist attractions.

1.2 The positive value of the topic and purposes of the research

As stated previously, scant attention is paid to Baudrillard's theory in the realm of the sociology of tourism. This thesis uses Baudrillard's theory to study representation and globalisation along with tourism in Thailand. Globalisation happens locally and its effect varies, depending on the locale. Without a theoretical framework and an empirical study, we might be unable to fully capture globalisation.

This thesis aims to make a critical inquiry into globalisation, and contextualises the effect of globalisation on Thailand's tourism. Also, Baudrillard's theory is applied to two case studies in order to view to what extent it can describe the complexity of representation in Thailand. This thesis aims to study how local Thai culture is reconstructed in globalisation in which packages of Thainess and Thai culture are produced to be sold to tourists in the two floating markets.

1.3 Thesis structure

The thesis contains nine chapters including the introduction (the first chapter). Baudrillard's theory is used in each chapter. Differences between Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets will be presented in each data chapter on the basis of relevant themes and theory. What follows the introduction is a literature review of globalisation, looking at the apparatus of globalisation depending on causal factors, generalised impacts and the binary opposition of the global and local. In Chapter 3, literature on tourism will be discussed, and examples of value of Thai culture that can be created by different processes of tourism will be presented.

Chapter 4 introduces Baudrillard's theory and all the concepts that will be used and developed throughout the thesis. This includes critical discussions of Baudrillard in the context of globalisation, tourism and related themes of the empirical chapters, along with relevant literature. Also, the chapter will present critiques of his work.

Chapter 5 presents the methods and research techniques. This thesis will employ qualitative research, which seems to be a suitable method for delving into the multiple experiences of the interviewees, namely the workers in Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets, and the tourists who visit the floating markets. Qualitative research techniques, including interview, documentary research and survey, will be used.

The next three chapters are thematic and analytical, and incorporate data taken from in-depth theoretical analysis. Each chapter shows how the floating markets develop into simulacra and move away from reality; additionally, they each discuss the limitations of working with Baudrillard's ideas. Chapter 6 presents the first theme of the research, namely circulation of value and signs, focusing on the form of the floating markets and looking at how they are tourist attractions.

Due to the flow of capital, together with the flow of tourism, Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets appear to be tourist attractions. Exchange-value takes the form of use-value. Local people set the scene of the floating markets in order to attract tourists and earn a living. The floating markets involve circulation of value and signs, where commodity-sign value legitimises use-value and exchange-value. The tourist-orientated floating markets are commutable with a combinatory system of signs.

Chapter 7 highlights the second theme of the research, which is the play of differences. This chapter looks at the cultural content of the floating markets. Baudrillard's theory on the system of objects will be used to challenge Ritzer's criteria of something form/nothing form. There is no fixed criterion for differentiating unique cultural content from generic cultural content. This is because the cultural contents of the places become inessentially different. The cultural contents of the floating markets do not depend on functional essence.

Chapter 8 is the final theme of the research, which looks at action in the floating markets. The cultural consequences of globalisation make the floating markets enter different orders of simulacra. Damnoen Saduak Floating Market involves the first-order of simulacrum, whereby the place is counterfeit and a reflection of the original local Thai culture. Pattaya Floating Market, meanwhile, changes from a series object in the second-order of simulacrum, presented in Chapter 7, to the model in the third-order of simulacrum. It generates a variety of social forms. Thai culture can make sense only when it accords with the models of the floating market. Action in Pattaya Floating Market makes local Thai culture move further away from reality.

The last chapter is the conclusion of the thesis and restates all of the important points of each chapter. It restates the contribution to knowledge. It also presents the implications and limitations of the thesis and makes some suggestions for future research on globalised tourism.

Chapter 2

Literature review on globalisation

2.1 Introduction

Globalisation is an established area of research and there is a variety of theories addressing it, but there are limitations in these. Globalisation can be perceived from different angles. No theory can claim totality of globalisation exists. Globalisation varies in different contexts. A big picture of globalisation literature will be discussed. This will enable us to see the effects of globalisation on the local in general, and to critically understand globalisation. The purpose of this chapter is not to refute existing literature, although I would like to present the old story in a new way.

There is a wide range of globalisation literature that offers us a good understanding of the global phenomenon, but it might be insufficient for exploring the complexity of social events. What constitutes globalisation is still unclear. To better study the complexity of social events, we need to understand how globalisation is constituted. Regarding the context of Thailand's tourism and data, which will be elaborated on in the other chapters, the thesis suggests globalisation refers to a complexity of social dimensions. In contemporary globalisation, we are unable to separate one social dimension from another. This is because all social dimensions implode. Globalisation

is a multidimensional phenomenon and its structural forms vary according to

different contexts.

There are three points to be addressed in this chapter. Firstly, globalisation theories

seem to consist of a one-size-fits-all-approach, which refers to causes of globalisation.

Secondly, globalisation triggers changes in social process, which refers to a

generalised impact of globalisation. Thirdly, the idea of the local is an alternative to

globalisation.

2.2 Globalisation according to a one-size-fits-all approach

This section presents globalisation literature that reduces globalisation to either single or multiple causes. These refer to the one-size-fits-all approach to globalisation. Numerous globalisation theories are economic reductionism. Much of the globalisation literature uses an approach that proposes the economic system affects the emergence of globalisation, and the following literature is an example of this.

Harvey's conception of globalisation offers us a wide-angle view of the evolving geography of globalisation. He introduces time-space compression and characterises capitalism as the speeding-up of the pace of life and overcoming spatial barriers, with the result that the world seems to have collapsed inwards upon us (2001, pp.240-298). Capitalism accompanied by time-space compression affects our way of life, although the time-space relationship hardly matters in this era of contemporary globalisation. For example, a British client of Lloyds Bank is able to manage his own banking account via the internet banking system no matter where he is, and so the expansion of capitalism renders spatial barriers irrelevant.

> Harvey views capitalism as a system of accumulation, which generates a highly dynamic and expansionist system that unleashes a permanent revolutionary force that continuously and constantly reshapes the world (2001, p.237).

Capitalism and time-space compression precede globalisation, with the system of accumulation facilitating the extension of social relations. Harvey's theory is an

economically driven approach to capture social change. For him, the shift in social relations, along with the expansion of capitalism, homogenises a world that is shrinking. In this case, globalisation is accorded a greater global, as opposed to local, extent in which globalisation relates to the expansion of the capitalist system, which imposes on the local context. Although capitalism is associated with the spread of globalisation, economic factors do not function alone. Looking back at the example of the Lloyds Bank customer stated above, flows of capital and the expansion of capitalism rely on development in communication technology. This enables the bank's clients to access and manage their accounts online, regardless of place and time.

Further, capitalism does not evenly affect locality. For instance, Superdry clothes sold in the UK are made in India because of the cheap labour costs. It was reported that the British company was exploiting factory workers in India in order to maximise profit, with workers being paid as little as 28p an hour and having to work in sweltering conditions in order to meet unrealistic targets (Flynn 2015). Different localities seem to unevenly and unfairly benefit from the global market because of their social and geographical context. In this way, the apparatus of globalisation does not only depend on an economic approach, but also local context.

Some of the most debated works on globalisation centre on three schools of thought: globalism, scepticism and transformationalism. However, this section will only focus on the first two. Proponents of these regard the global economy as the main driving force of globalisation. Globalists propose that the present global capitalist economy,

which is different from that of the previous era, has been transformed into the era of the weightless economy (Held and McGrew 2002, pp.52-53). Globalists introduce an economic approach for studying the global phenomenon, by which they perceive the influence of the global capitalist economy as unprecedented. Globalists additionally assert that both productive and financial capital have been liberated from national and territorial constraints, and markets have become globalised to the degree that domestic economies have had to adapt to global competitive conditions (Held and McGrew 2002, p.53).

Therefore, the first group see the weightless economy, along with the liberation of financial capital, as the cause of globalisation. Unlike this group, sceptics think that the current international economy is not new, and national boundaries still matter in the world economy. Hirst and Thompson contend that, 'The present highly internationalised economy is not unprecedented, rather it existed before as one of a number of distinct conjunctures of the international economy, and most companies are based nationally, and the globalised economy is an open world market relied on by trading nations' (in Held and McGrew 2000, pp.68-75). Sceptics therefore do not think that the present global economy is new. The appearance of globalisation relies on economic factors, whereby globalisation is the consequence of a transnational economy, and the global economy is dependent on trading nations.

Thus, globalists note the unprecedented transnational economy causes de-territorialisation, while sceptics believe that the international economy is based upon nation states. An important thing is that globalisation cannot be reduced to economic

factors. Flow of capital and the expansion of the market are, to some extent, subject

to political regulation and agreement among trading nations. The influence of the

global economy is thus dependent on social and political factors.

Some theorists speak of a political factor. Scholte argues, 'Little if any territoriality

today exists independently of supraterritoriality, and most contemporary regional,

national, provincial and local conditions coexist with – and are influenced by – global

circumstances' (2002, p.26). Indeed, territoriality is changed by its encounters with

supraterritoriality (Scholte 2002, p.26). Territoriality still matters, albeit in connection

with the emergence of supraterritoriality, and the political factor becomes another

cause of globalisation. The expansion of the global economy, as well as

supraterritoriality, is one of the preceding events and conditions of globalisation,

where globalisation is the outcome of the global market and global politics.

Unlike the aforementioned theorists, some use a cultural approach to capture

globalisation. The term hybridisation, or creolisation, is used to denote the culture of

globalisation. In this process, the meanings of externally originating goods,

information and images have been 'reworked, syncretised and blended' with existing

cultural traditions and forms of life (Featherstone 1995, pp.116-117). The cultural

blend, the mixture of different cultures, is the precondition of globalisation.

Wang and Yueh note hybridity as the generation of new ways in which to understand

and produce possible new cultures (2005, p.188). 'The hybridisation thesis states that

cultures borrow and incorporate elements from each other, creating hybrid forms'

(Holton 2000, p.140). Hybridised culture refers to the interpenetration of one culture

into another. This facilitates the spreading of globalisation. One culture mixes with another culture so as to create a new cultural form, or cultural blend. For hybridised culture, therefore, national boundaries are irrelevant and locale is not constitutive in globalisation.

In addition, Hannerz talks about cosmopolitan inclinations that aim to make selective use of their habitats to maintain their expansive orientation towards the wider world, and sees today's cosmopolitans and locals as sharing common interests in order for cultural diversity to be able to survive (2004, p.249). The term 'cosmopolitanism' is literally different from 'hybridised culture'; the former widens opportunity for people in different places to receive other cultures, whereas the latter, a cultural consequence, is the mixture of one culture with others that generates a new cultural outcome. Although they are different terms, people situated in one place can experience both, as seen in the example of Thai food in the UK. British people are able to have Thai food in their home country (cosmopolitanism), yet it might not be authentically Thai, as the taste of the food is adapted in order to suit British people (hybridisation). Therefore, cosmopolitanism and hybridisation both affect the circumstances of people's lives.

When local people become de-traditionalised and allowed to adapt to other cultures, cosmopolitanism can assist locals in adhering to their own culture; cosmopolitanism places value on diversity, since it cannot exist without locals and vice versa (Hannerz 2004, p.249). Cosmopolitanism is thus the incorporation of the global into the local, and the adaptation of the local to global culture.

Additionally, Smith denotes global culture as standardised commodities, generalised

human values and a uniform scientific discourse of meaning that can operate at

several levels simultaneously (1990, pp.176-177).

Consequently, global culture is not tied to any place or period, but is context-less and

a true melange of disparate components drawn from everywhere and nowhere

(Smith 1990, pp.176-177).

Global culture relates to standardisation processes that traverse national boundaries,

whereby global and local components are interwoven with each other. For global

culture, the differentiation of the global from the local might not be clear. The

following are examples of global culture: a special menu choice of Kentucky Fried

Chicken (KFC) in Thailand is Kao Yum Kai Sab (spicy Thai rice with spicy fried chicken);

another example is that MTV Thailand shows a variety of foreign and Thai-genre

music. At first glance, KFC and MTV seem to have been standardised in global culture,

but they have not. They get adapted by the local context. The spread of global

culture, to some extent therefore, is subject to local context. Also, the prevalence of

global culture varies according to local contexts. It may become widely accepted in

one context, whereas it may have a low impact on other locales. Inevitably, global

culture is entangled in other social events.

Global culture and hybridisation are not independent processes, for they are

implicitly subject to the economic system, whereby the spread of global culture is, to

some extent, associated with the expansion of the capitalist system. The economic

system is the precondition of global culture. Looking back at those examples, the transnational companies (KFC and MTV) facilitate the spread of global culture and vice versa. Or rather, capital feeds on culture. There is no boundary between economy and culture in globalisation.

As well as those approaches, Castells seems to stress that information and technological development are the principal causes of globalisation.

> Castells focuses on the information-technology revolution as an instrument that has allowed the implementation of the fundamental process of restructuring the capitalist system, and how the communicative power of the internet, along with new developments in telecommunications, have led to a major technological shift from decentralised to pervasive computing (2010, pp.13-52).

Information technology has become individualised and has facilitated the capitalist economic system to expand across space and time. The developments in information and technology bolster the capitalist economy to expand across space and time. With the development in technology communication, globalisation is not economic reductionsim, but relates to the emergence of other social events.

In contrast to mono-causal theories, others argue that globalisation is a multi-dimensional phenomenon. Unlike globalists and sceptics, transformationalists connote globalisation as moving ahead at unprecedented levels in recent times, and that globalisation might have a differentiated effect, depending upon the dimension (economy, politics, culture, and so on), or location, wherever it is experienced

(Martell 2007, p.4). Transformationalists' stances concern multidimensional globalisation that can produce different effects. As a multi-causal phenomenon, globalisation can extend its effect to many different locales. However, transformationalists do not further elaborate on the intermingling of social dimensions.

To look at this more closely, Appadurai highlights the interplay between different social dimensions, and theorises global cultural flow as disjuncture. He depicts the new global cultural economy as complex, overlapping and disjunctive by introducing the framework of five landscapes – ethnoscapes, technoscapes, finanacescapes, mediascapes and ideoscapes – along with disjunctive relationships among these dimensions of global cultural flows.

> Appadurai denotes the framework of five landscapes to explore such disjunctive relationships among these dimensions of global cultural flows The five landscapes are explained as follows: ethnoscapes, the landscape of persons as tourists, exiles, immigrants, and so on; technoscapes, fluid technology and information; financescapes, the more rapid and complicated disposition of global capital; mediascapes, the flow of large and complex repertories of images and narratives; and ideoscapes, sequences of images along with ideologies (1996, pp.33-36).

Multiple imagined worlds are created by the historically situated imaginations of persons and groups. Those landscapes overlap and are rearranged in disjunctive order. Appadurai's concept of disjuncture does not produce a clear shape of geography, yet it enables us to see complicated configurations of globalisation, and to

unfold other social driving forces behind this global phenomenon. The spread of globalisation depends on the overlapping of the five landscapes. The multi-causal factors, including the transnational movement of people, financial flows, the media, technology development, and the spreading of global ideology, are not new events, but already exist in the capitalist system. Although the interplay between the different landscapes underpins the emergence of globalisation, it may not be sufficient to understand the complexity of social phenomena. These are important causes of globalisation, yet they do not make globalisation become something in itself. Instead, the spread of globalisation is dependent upon these causal factors and the interplay between them. In contrast to these mono-causal and multi-causal factors, have we ever doubted that globalisation actually exists?

Rosenberg argues that globalisation is not a process sui generis that is misunderstood by globalisation theories as having both the direction and momentum of a historical process. 'This is a historical process that Marx already identified as the spreading scope and volume of transnational relations, which is technologically orchestrated and depends on spatio-temporal integration according to the "laws of the motion of capitalist development" (Rosenberg 2005, pp.6-22).

For Rosenberg, what is termed globalisation is the same process as capitalism that brings about transnational relations, and so globalisation might not even exist. He also outlines 'the problem of globalisation' along with social theory in three steps.

> First, globalisation in itself connotes no particular kind of society at all, just a process
>
> of worldwide spatial expansion and integration per se; and second, with an attempt

to provide the explanation of large-scale social change, it happens to incorporate a

social theory drawn from elsewhere (what is being globalised and with what effect)

because none of these is inherent to the term (Rosenberg 2005, pp.11-12).

Thirdly, the attempt to capture sociological explanation in a spatio-temporal

definition of social structures causes a systematic reification of space and time

themselves (Rosenberg 2005, p.13).

Rosenberg's work enables us to undertake critical inquiry into globalisation theory,

and to perceive the phenomenon. According to this view, globalisation does not

inherently happen, but its appearance depends on the spatial expansion of

capitalism. However, he overestimates the uniformity of globalisation; he sees

capitalist development as uniform, as in worldwide spatial expansion and integration,

but he does not pay attention to its different impacts upon each locality. As stated

previously, the economic factor does not function alone. Rather, it is affected by

other social dimensions and the local context. For example, Western countries

benefit from the global economy to a higher degree than African countries, and

different locales are not evenly integrated into capitalism. What is termed as global

does not mean uniformity.

Instead, what constitutes globalisation is contingent upon different local contexts.

The effect of spatial expansion and incorporation varies with different locales.

Rosenberg's main problem is that he overlooks the dynamics of globalisation,

especially the interaction between the global and the local, and the interplay

between one social event and another. This might be the reason why he claims

globalisation does not actually happen. The second problem, in which globalisation

integrates with other social theories drawn from elsewhere, does not come as a

surprise, as there is no single way to theorise and fully understand globalisation, as

most theorists connect globalisation with other events. Other systems, including

modernity, capitalism and spatial-temporal reconfiguration, all result, to some extent,

from the emergence of the apparatus of globalisation.

Brown proposes that 'globalisation is entirely what we make of it, in that globalisation

appears as many things with various manifestations, meanings, connections and

interrelated complexities' (2008, pp.42-43). The complexity of social events fosters

the existence of globalisation. Globalisation does therefore happen somewhere, and

it can exist in a variety of social forms. In this way, what is termed globalisation is a

consequence of other social events, or the effect of globalisation varies when applied

to different contexts. Again, globalisation is not an independent process, but created

socially.

2.2.1 The limitations of the existing literature

One of the most important gaps in the literature is that globalisation theories are

reduced to either economic or cultural determinism. 'Much of the contemporary

discussion about the global scene is conducted by interpreters operating under the

umbrella of cultural studies, with exceedingly little attention paid to the issue of

global complexity and structural contingency, except for frequently invoked clichés

about late capitalism, or the salience of multinational corporations' (Robertson 1990, p.18).

Much of the literature on globalisation focuses on the dimensions of culture and economy separately, while ignoring the influence of other structural forms. According to Robertson, 'Both the economies and the culture of the global scene need to be analytically related to the general structural and actional features of the global system' (ibid.). We must pay close attention to the connection between the economy, culture and other structural forms of globalisation, and we cannot treat any of them separately. In most cases, the economy and culture of globalisation overlap, or even implode. Apart from this, much of the literature on globalisation perceives it as totality. For example, globalisation causes the interconnectedness of the economy, or it produces significant changes in society, including time-space distanciation (Giddens), global disjuncture (Appadurai), the network society (Castells) and more besides.

To better study this, this thesis will use Baudrillard's theory to study globalisation, with his concepts being introduced and discussed in Chapter 4. His theory highlights the implosion of economy and culture, and this offers us insight into changes in contemporary society. For instance, the system of signs does not only pertain to communication, language or culture, but also has implications for the economy. The implosion of culture and economy also affects structural forms and agents in society. Globalisation is a multi-dimensional and complicated process, thus we cannot separate one dimension from another.

2.3 The homogenised effects of globalisation

2.3.1 Globalisation as a social process

This section presents theories that view globalisation as a process, which is a generalised impact of globalisation. To begin this section, Giddens's work will be presented.

> Giddens says globalisation is restructuring the ways in which we live, and in a very profound manner. Additionally, he argues that globalisation is a truly global reduction in everyday life, and that it is a phenomenon that has too much influence over the intimate and personal aspects of our lives, particularly traditional family systems (2002, pp.4 -12).

For Giddens, globalisation reshapes our everyday life. It affects individuals and family life, for example social identity no longer has binding restrictions to family and tradition, and most people who tend to be exposed to multiple choices freely choose their identity. People do not strongly connect to tradition and family; instead, these turn out to be choices for individuals. This is because people are bound to the influence of global flows and global culture. For instance, some Thai families raise their children in a Thai-Western style, and usually send them to study at international schools, or to study bilingual programmes (English-Thai), from which they can learn about Thai and Western cultures. Due to the prevalence of Western culture and values, Thai students are taught to express their opinions and engage in discussions,

whereas previously, arguing and disagreeing with teachers was deemed unacceptable.

Giddens suggests it is important to look at the relationships between micro and macro that indicate one's personal life, along with global life and institutions, are very much connected with each other through globalisation (in Rantanen 2005, p.65). Globalisation causes a change in social process, whereby one's personal life and global institutions become more interrelated than they previously were. What constitutes social identity and personal life, to some extent, depends on global flow.

> Moreover, Ray notes that everyday life is the site of reproduction of global relations and the space, where a recognisable social order is rendered meaningful through social practices (2007, p.42).

> Social actors sustain globalisation through patterns of interaction and construction of social orders, even where these are enmeshed in networks whose nature and consequences will not be fully known (Ray 2007, p.42).

The idea of globalisation causes commitment in everyday life where social interaction and social relations retain the idea of globalisation. Globalisation is an ongoing social process whereby the apparatus of globalisation is actioned by social practices.

 Globalisation might cause a change in the social process and, as seen in everyday life, might somehow relate to the term 'liquid modernity'.

> Bauman proposes the passage from the solid to a liquid phase of modernity, that is
>
> into a condition in which social forms (structures that limit individual choices,
>
> institutions that supervise repetitions of routines, patterns of acceptable behaviour)
>
> can no longer keep their shape for long, for they decompose and melt faster than the
>
> time it takes to cast them, and once they are cast for them to set (Bauman 2007, p.1).

Liquid modernity refers to a generalised impact of globalisation, and shows the

interpenetration of the global into the local, which liberates social forms from

structures and institutions.

> Bauman proposes this kind of social condition, as light or liquefied modernity is not
>
> constructed, administered and managed, but conversely is diffuse, all-permeating
>
> and all-penetrating, which leads to the release of individual freedom, as well as the
>
> processes of deregulation, liberalisation and flexibilization, and triggers the radical
>
> disengagement of free agents from the system, and the unlocking of individual
>
> choices (in Gane 2001, pp.268-269).

A diffused and permeated social form affects individuals' lives. Bauman's theory of

liquid modernity as a social condition focuses on change in individuals' everyday lives

that become freed from social structures and social institutions, as a result of

individuals engaging in multiple choices. Bauman's viewpoint is similar to Giddens's,

with both paying attention to changes on a micro level. Individual lives and choices

appear to be more fluid and flexible, and social forms can be deconstructed and

reconstructed. But Giddens perceives this as an ongoing social process whereby

globalisation becomes embedded in personal life, whereas Bauman sees it as a social

condition that makes individual lives adapt to changes induced by global flow. Individuals are not tied to tradition and local context, and have the freedom to choose and adapt to other cultures, or recreate their own cultures. In other words, with the disengagement of social institutions and traditions, local people are exposed to globalisation to a greater extent than before.

Some characterise globalisation as a trans-phenomenon. Bartelson views globalisation as 'transference', which means exchange across existing unit boundaries, and between units and systems, yet this presupposes that this system, along with the units, are remain the same throughout the globalising process (2000, p.184). 'Transference' refers to the interaction between social units and is an ongoing process. Globalisation seems to be a homogenised process in which there is exchange between identical units. Globalisation can de-spatialise and de-temporalise human practices and the conditions of human knowledge, which can project onto the global as a condition of its existence (Bartelson 2000, p.189). Human practices and human knowledge facilitate the existence of globalisation. Our consciousness of identical units and systems across space and time enables social practices and knowledge to expand. In other words, globalisation depends on how we perceive it. With exchange across units and systems, globalisation pertains to plurality rather than singularity. According to the aforementioned theories, globalisation has a significant and generalised impact on society. As an ongoing process, it happens to reshape social forms, social practices and individuals' way of life. The influence of globalisation permeates into social units and everyday life, which change according to the global flow. However, to what extent does globalisation have a homogenised impact on

society? Globalisation that refers to the complexity of social phenomena and the implosion of social dimensions may affect social forms and social practices differently.

Looking back at Giddens, he seems to treat globalisation as isolating, something that happens to change everyday life, and is dependent upon the emergence of other social events. Globalisation is a homogenised yet fragmented process. Concerning Ray's work, patterns of social interaction and social practices reproduce the apparatus of globalisation. Although these retain the idea of globalisation and contribute to the commitment to the apparatus, they may be part of a homogenised yet fragmented process. For instance, social communication on Facebook is the outcome of global communication and fosters extended networks. Social community on Facebook may include some groups of people while excluding others, such as those who might not have access to the internet or who are prohibited from communicating with one another on Facebook due to political authorities and national regulations e.g. people on mainland China and in North Korea. In this case, globalisation does not bring about a homogenised social process.

Regarding Bauman's liquid modernity, it is the consequence of globalisation, or, where the former proceeds from the model of the latter, globalisation restructures the law of value, which renders everyday life uncertain. Social forms and value are not fixed, but are exchangeable with sign and reference. They can be deconstructed and reconstructed. But does globalisation liberalise all social forms? Some social forms may be affected by global flow, while others, such as indigenous culture and national identity, are fixed and not changed by globalisation. Globalisation is thus a

homogenised but fragmented process. It has a different impact depending on the

context.

In relation to 'transference', globalisation facilitates exchange between different

social units, which makes human practices and human knowledge expand across

space and time. These social forms support the existence of globalisation and its

causes, and reproduce ideological commitment. But, again, the exchange between

units and systems may be uneven, depending on the context. The generalised impact

of globalisation does not only appear as a social process, but also the interaction

between the global and the local.

2.3.2 Globalisation as the binary opposition of global and local

Globalisation may refer to the binary opposition between the West and the non-

West. Oke suggests the tendency to keep the temporal and the spatial as a parallel

discourse is dependent on a dualistic understanding of the relationship between the

West and the non-West, and that the non-West is necessary in theorising

globalisation as the site of expansion and spread in the scale of social processes

(2009, p.323). In this case, globalisation only refers to Westernisation, and the non-

West is the receptive site of the prevalent globalisation.

Globalisation constitutes the dualism of the West and the non-West. The apparatus

of globalisation generates binary opposition. However, globalisation as the model

might be able to create other social forms that do not restrict this to binary

opposition, particularly the relationship between the West and the non-West, such as

the spread of Korean pop culture in Asian countries. Globalisation affects the

occurrence of a variety of social forms, which depends on the local context. Since

globalisation permeates the local, social forms are not tied to locality, but are rather a

mixture of the global and the local. Globalisation involves the adaptation of the global

to the local and vice versa. Globalisation therefore constitutes the binary opposition

of the global and local. The following literature discusses this issue.

Giddens introduces the conceptual framework of time-space distanciation, which

involves the complex relations between local involvement (circumstances of co-

presence), and interaction across distance (the connections of presence and absence)

(1990, p.64).

> Local transformation is as much a part of globalisation as the lateral extension of
>
> social connections across time and space, and the outcome is not usually a
>
> generalised set of changes acting in a uniform direction, but consists of mutually
>
> opposed tendencies (Giddens 1990, p.64).

For Giddens, globalisation refers to the extension of social relations and social

interaction between one locale and other distant locales. The consequences of local

transformation do not happen in a uniform direction, but rather have divergent

tendencies. What happens in one locale can affect other distant locales and vice

versa. A change in tourist arrivals in Thailand can be an example. Due to the

extension of social relations across time and space, and the stagnant economy in

Western countries, there has been a decrease in the number of Western tourists visiting Thailand, while at the same time, the number of Chinese tourists has been rising, as Thailand is seen as a film location and is geographically close to China. This might relate to what Giddens calls 'local transformation', in which changes do not occur in a uniform direction, but have various tendencies, such as the decrease of Western tourists and the rise in numbers of Chinese visitors. The impact of globalisation on Thailand may be different to what occurs in other countries.

In terms of time-space distanciation, Giddens stresses the dimension of locality, which is the interaction between presence and absence, and yet we still cannot see how the idea of the local is developed. Giddens does not show how the local becomes constitutive in globalisation. His separation of the global from the local, in which he emphasises 'local transformation', is part of globalisation. His work offers us another version of a dualism between the global and the local. In this case, the local might not have a meaning as a single unit, for its existence relies on its involvement in global events, or it needs to be present in globalisation in order for it to exist.

Moreover, there are different concepts of capturing the cultural consequence of globalisation that stress the importance of locality. In order to stress the importance of locality, 'glocalisation' is introduced. Glocalisation is the interaction between the global and the local that maintains the dimension of locality. Robertson proposes, 'A lifted locality which refers to a sense of locality that is communicated from above has to be a standardised form of the local, and this standardisation diminishes the notion

that localities are things in themselves, albeit rendering meaningful the very idea of locality' (2012, p.195).

For Robertson, locality is constructed from above. Although the idea of locality exists, it does not mean something in itself and is subject to the influence of globalisation. The idea of local thus accords with globalisation. Glocalisation results from the interaction between the global and the local, and seems to be a social form that incorporates the dimension of locality into the global form. However, glocalisation depends on the interaction between the global and the local. Locality is a sub-process of globalisation, or the outcome of globalisation. Therefore, what constitutes glocalisation and the idea of local is here global, and the idea of local proceeds from globalisation.

In addition to Robertson, Ritzer views global as opposed to local.

> Glocalisation can be coined as the interpenetration of the global and the local, which can result in unique outcomes in different geographical areas in favour of cultural heterogeneity, while grobalisation is defined as the imperialistic ambitions of nations, corporations, organisations and other entities who desire to impose themselves on various geographic areas (Ritzer 2003, pp.193-194).

The binary opposition between 'grobalisation' and 'glocalisation' does not show how the local becomes constituted in globalisation, in which only affiliation to globalisation makes sense of locality. Again, the binary opposition of global and local might not add anything new to globalisation. The local has no agency.

Ritzer also claims the glocal is modified from the very beginning by a variety of forces that makes it acceptable to a wide range of consumers; consequently, linkages to the original place and things are progressively lost, and this may lead to the view that we have been witnessing the death of the local (2007, p.32).

To go further than Robertson, Ritzer believes that the idea of locality disappears and that the local is subverted by globalisation. With the interpenetration of the global into the local, the local becomes modified. The relationship between the global and the local is an imbalance. The interaction between the global and the local engenders a causal relationship, where only globalisation causes a change in local is therefore the outcome of globalisation.

Khondker also uses the concept of glocalisation to show a transformation of locality in globalisation, by pointing out that 'glocalisation involves blending, mixing and adapting two or more processes, one of which must be local, and glocalisation needs to include at least one component that addresses the local culture, system of values and practices in order to become meaningful' (2004, p.6). For him, the glocalisation process integrates local culture into other cultures.

Khondker, building on Robertson's framework, suggests we can view globalisation or glocalisation as an independent process, where the problem of simultaneous globalisation is of the local, and we can express the localisation of globality as the twin processes of macro-localisation along with micro-globalisation (2004, p.4).

He coins macro-localisation as the expansion of local boundaries, and the making of

some local ideas and practices global, whereas micro-globalisation refers to

incorporating certain global processes into the local setting (Khondker 2004, p.4).

Using these two terms enables us to reposition the local upon the global stage.

Although his terms reflect dimensions of locality, 'macro-localisation' as well as

'micro-globalisation' seem to be tautologies of glocalisation. Glocalisation is the

adaptation of the global to the local and vice versa, which sustains the dimension of

locality. Macro-localisation is implicated in glocalisation as the expansion of the local

boundary in order to adapt to the global. For example, a Thai restaurant in

Windermere[9], UK, where Thai food is cooked by a local English chef, offers Thai food

that suits Western tastes rather than that of Thais.

This shows how local culture is practised and experienced globally. Observed globally,

local culture might be adapted and altered to suit a diverse group of people. Micro-

globalisation is also similar to glocalisation, as it focuses on how global components

become integrated into a locality. What is incorporated into the local might generate

a new cultural form that includes local culture, such as rice with spicy fried chicken, as

served in KFC restaurants in Thailand. The fried chicken is KFC's own recipe, while the

rice is a staple food for Thai people.

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[9] There are many Thai restaurants in the UK, most of which are run by Thai, or Asian people, while some are franchise restaurants e.g. Busaba Eathai and Chaophraya. I was really impressed with the Jintana Thai Restaurant in Windemere, where European waitresses who dressed up in traditional Thai costume could pronounce the names of Thai food. Of course, the food was not authentic Thai, but it was great to see how Thai food was adapted to the UK context.

To differentiate the local from the global, Kellner proposes how the idea of the local

gets constituted.

> He posits that globalisation from below is the way in which marginalised individuals
>
> and social movements can resist globalisation, and use its institutions to further
>
> democratisation and social justice (Kellner 2002, p.293).

> Globalisation from below bolsters an eruption of forces along with subcultures of
>
> resistance that aim to preserve specific forms of culture and society so as to create
>
> alternative forces of social and culture that fight against globalisation (Kellner 2002,
>
> p.294).

In terms of globalisation from below, the local can resist and react to globalisation,

which might constitute globalisation which might affect how globalisation is

constituted in a different way. Kellner seems to offer another binary opposition of

globalisation, that globalisation from below is implicitly juxtaposed with globalisation

from above that is regulated by the system. Globalisation from above might widen

the opportunity for the local to form a group, or reinvent a subculture, through which

the world can hear their story. An example of this is when people in Okinawa

protested against American military presence in Japan. The Guardian newspaper

reported, 'Tens of thousands of people on the Japanese island of Okinawa have taken

part in one of the biggest protests against US military bases in recent years, weeks

after the arrest of an American base worker in connection with the murder of a 20-

year-old local woman' (2016). Local people on Okinawa demonstrated against global

security led by US military bases, with the murder of a local woman and other

controversial issues having encouraged them to stage a rally against the military

presence.

The idea of local, or globalisation from below, only emerges when the preceding

global event and the right conditions take place. Without a global event, there might

be no reason for the local to group together. Looking back at the example, there

would not have been a local protest if there had not been any American military

presence in Japan. But US military bases that cause problems for the local fill people

with outrage and lead to demonstrations. The presence of the local is dependent on

the condition of global events; thus the idea of locality is not free from the influence

of global events.

Globalisation from below also implies the co-operation of multiple localities across

boundaries rather than a particular local context, meaning its effect might vary within

a different local context, such as the environmental movement in developed

countries compared with its presence in developing countries. We might doubt to

what degree globalisation from below can generate the idea of the local in itself.

Again, the idea of the local only becomes meaningful when it corresponds with

globalisation. These theories emphasise the importance of the binary oppositions of

global and local, however, is the local really an alternative to globalisation? In

contrast to the concept of the binary opposition between the global and the local,

Scholte contends that differentiation between the global and the local is a problem.

The interrelatedness of dimensions of social space suggests that it is a mistake to set

up opposition between the global and the local, and events are not global or national

or local, but rather an intersection of the global and other spatial qualities (Scholte 2002, pp.26-28). In this sense, the global seems to be the same process as the local. Or rather, what is global implies local.

Scholte views the fact that global flows engage with people's everyday lives (listening to the radio or having brand-name fast foods), yet various local cultures are contrived, thus there is nothing intrinsically alienating about the global and nothing inherently liberating about the local (2002, p.28). The differentiation between the global and the local seems to be a problem, for globalisation inevitably affects the creation of locality. Rather, Scholte emphasises globalisation as the intersection of the global and the local, with the two overlapping. What constitutes people's everyday lives might not be either inherently global or local, since people are able to indigenise cultures, an example being Thai people using a spoon and a fork to eat pasta. They do not only adapt Italian culture to the local, but also indigenise culture. Using a spoon and a fork to eat pasta is neither intrinsically Italian nor Thai, and so global and local cultures are overlapping.

2.3.3 The limitations of the existing literature

The literature on social process and the binary opposition of the global and local enables us to study this global phenomenon and allows us to see different aspects of globalisation. However, there is limitation to be found in the literature. Globalisation theorists believe that there is a homogenised effect of globalisation, in that it affects

everyday life, causing changes in individual lives, social practice, social order, choices, etc.

Also, globalisation is opposed to the local. The local is modified by the global. Although globalisation is termed global, it does not produce a homogenised effect. The effect of globalisation varies according to the conditions as well as the context of locale. In order to discuss and conceptualise the effects of globalisation, this thesis uses Baudrillard's theory, which will be presented in Chapter 4. Although Baudrillard is not a globalisation theorist, his work is based on an economic-cultural approach that enables us to see how globalisation is constituted, and how it impacts upon each locale differently.

2.4 Conclusion

Globalisation seems to be an independent event that causes significant change in contemporary society, however there is no single way to capture globalisation, for it is not something that happens independently but, rather, is something that is dependent upon the emergence of other social events. The existing globalisation theories offer us insightful and critical views on globalisation, although they still treat it as a totality. Forms of globalisation can vary according to different contexts.

In some cases, globalisation is an ongoing social process that has generalised impacts on locales. It embeds in the social order, social practices and everyday life of individuals. Despite its global attribute, globalisation does not have an uneven effect on locale. It turns out to be a homogenised but fragmented process. The effect of globalisation is subject to the conditions of the local context, such as religious faith, political regulations and more besides. Additionally, globalisation triggers a social form, which is the binary opposition of the global and local, whereby there is a differentiation between the global and local. Still, is local an alternative to global? What appears as globalisation implies local and vice versa. In this manner, the idea of locality does not exist independently, but is created socially in conjunction with the complexity of structural forms of globalisation, and with the implosion of the global and local. Having elaborated on globalisation literature, the next chapter will discuss tourism in Thailand.

Chapter 3

Literature review on tourism in Thailand

3.1 Introduction

This chapter concerns tourism in Thailand. Since tourism is an aspect of globalisation, what happens in globalisation parallels what happens in tourism. Similar to what happens in globalisation, the complexity of social events and the implosion of social dimensions are embedded in tourism. The effects of globalisation and tourism vary according to different local contexts. There are many ways to conceptualise tourism. This chapter first discusses the relevant literature on tourism that focuses on the dichotomies and performance in tourism, and then looks at examples of Thailand's tourism and the limitations of the existing literature.

When the dichotomy of home and away experience and tourist performance is present, a place becomes a tourist attraction. These aspects also make that place produce and reproduce cultural value in tourism. This chapter suggests that the value of Thai culture in tourism can be recreated in different processes of tourism. The relevant literature on floating markets and Thailand's tourism will be discussed.

3.2. The division between home and away experience

Tourism can be regarded as a social process that is the division of working time and free time, or that it anchors itself in the dichotomy of home and away, or leisure and work. Urry's first work on the 'tourist gaze' contends that tourism is a leisure activity, presupposing its opposite is regulated and organised work; work and leisure, therefore, appear organised as separate spheres of social practice in modern society (The Tourist Gaze 1990, p.2). As a leisure activity, tourism seems to offer us free time in opposition to the regulated time that is present in the realm of work. In Urry's second edition of The Tourist Gaze, he proposes the rapid flows of tourists across national borders cause the making and re-making of places as recipients of such flows, the de-differentiation of corporeal travel from virtual travel, and the growth of tourism reflexivity that allows places to monitor, evaluate and develop their tourism potential within the emerging patterns of global tourism (2001, p.1).

Globalisation and flows of tourism make a place enter or re-enter the tourist stage. People do not have to physically travel to a faraway place, they are able to gaze upon that place virtually. So globalisation facilitates multiple forms of tourist gazes (Urry 2001, p.8). The difference between these two editions of Urry's The Tourist Gaze is the influence of globalisation on tourist gazes. However, what remains significant in the tourist gaze is the division of the home experience and 'other' experience. The 'other' experience has different meanings in different contexts, for example an Oriental gaze upon a Western site and vice versa (Urry 2001, p.2). Whether people see a site as interesting and distinctive depends on their home experience as well as

their presupposition. For example, foreign tourists view floating markets in Thailand

as exotic because they offer local Thai ambience, which is different from what they

have back home.

> Additionally, Urry's latest edition, The Tourist Gaze 3.0, stresses tourism results from
>
> a basic binary division between the ordinary/everyday and the extraordinary, with it
>
> necessarily entailing daydreaming, along with the anticipation of new and different
>
> experiences from those normally encountered in everyday life (Urry and Larsen 2011,
>
> p.51).

Urry and Larsen's latest work on the tourist gaze is thus anchored in the division

between the ordinary/everyday and extraordinary. Tourism is the act of experiencing

something new and different from everyday life. In this case, tourism can emancipate

people from the regulation of work. When they travel to a new place, they are able to

do things they are not able to do in everyday life. Tourism allows people to enjoy

their time and have freedom. The emphasis placed on gazing upon 'the other' marks

Urry's work as postmodern tourism (see further in Uriely 1997, p.983).

Regarding 'the other' in postmodern tourism, Munt notes postmodern tourism

pertains to 'otherness' characterised by the growth of interest in non-Western

cultures, religious traditions, ethnicity, environment and ecology in Third and Fourth

World countries (1994, pp.102-112). Non-Western cultures in less-developed

countries become the objects of tourist gaze. A place becomes a tourist attraction on

the condition that it maintains its aura of 'otherness'. Regarding floating markets in

Thailand, Cohen says the recreation of them serves the image of nostalgia, including

that felt by middle-class Thais who long for a romanticised, quieter and simpler way of life similar to that seen in the period before Bangkok was expanded and modernised, especially with regards to the old riverside culture and houses of water-bank markets (2016, p.67). Visiting floating markets enables Thai and foreign tourists to gaze upon 'the other'. The markets remind Thai tourists of old Thai culture, while foreign tourists see an outdated way of life. Floating markets are different from what they experience in their everyday lives.

In this way, 'otherness' is associated with extraordinary experience. However, MacCannell argues that Urry's tourist gaze posits the tourist as a kind of subject that does not experience something extraordinary at home and does not have 'interest value' in his daily life (2001, p.25). MacCannell does not see tourism as an extraordinary experience, for people can encounter extraordinary things at home. What we face in our daily lives may include usual things and extraordinary things.

In addition, we may question what extent of 'otherness' tourists expect to see. People might not want to experience something that is too extraordinary, or completely 'other', but rather, something in between. According to Ritzer and Liska, 'For many of those who desire to see the extraordinary, there is also a desire to have McDonaldised stops (standardised experiences) along the way, and to retreat to non-McDonaldised and McDonaldised elements' (1997, p.101). To some extent, it might be true that tourist attractions juxtapose with a McDonaldised (standardised and homogenised) experience, and a non-McDonaldised or diversified experience.

Tourists might want to have something that is similar to their everyday life, while expecting to see some differences. For instance, they might prefer travelling to floating markets outside Bangkok as part of a group tour, rather than travelling independently. Not only might this be a more comfortable way to travel, and it might be convenient, but they might also want to stick together. Sometimes they want to have an ordinary experience with other foreign tourists so that they can feel more at ease and not experience a complete culture shock.

As Haldrup and Larsen say, 'Tourists never just travel *to* places: their mindsets, routines and social relations travel *with* them, thereby the imaginative geographies of tourism are as much about "home" as faraway places' (2008, p.27). With presupposition and the backgrounds of tourists, tourism engages the interplay between home and away experience. Unlike the sign-consumption of the tourist gaze, material objects remain crucial in tourism, suggested by Haldrup and Larsen.

> Leisure and tourist practices are much more tied up with material objects and physical sensations than traditionally assumed, and emblematic tourist performances involve, and are made possible and pleasurable by, objects, machines and technologies (2006, p.275).

Tourist performance is a combination of materiality and the senses. Tourist practices depend on the material culture of a place, and tourists perform in accordance with objects and physical sensations of the place. 'Tourist things can acquire use value through being employed in embodied practices, in and through the sensuous materiality of the body' (Haldrup and Larsen 2006, p.278). Use-value of tourist

objects is subjective, in that they can be used for different ends. It also depends on how we sense the object. But is use-value dependent on exchange-value? This will be further discussed in the Baudrillard chapter and empirical chapter. Apart from the home and away experience, does tourism have other implications?

3.3 Tourism as performance: tourist performance or performance of local people

In this section, literature on tourism that focuses on performance in tourism is discussed. In contrast to Urry's tourist gaze, MacCannell proposes a second gaze in favour of tourist agency and consumption. He says the human subject, or tourist, can perform the second gaze, whereby they know there is always something hidden from the fore, and the gaze is a work in progress combining the way to re-read and interpret what is presented at a tourist site (2001, p.36). Tourists are able to exercise agency in gazing upon each object and site, or not gaze at all. They may not follow the script of the holiday place.

Tourist performance is not merely about tourist agency, but also informs everydayness and routine. Larsen notes we should redirect our attention to a 'performance turn' that looks at embodied, multi-sensuous, collaborative and technologised doings and enactments (2008, p.26). He proposes that tourism is embedded with everyday practices, ordinary places and significant others, such as meeting someone at a distance, meaning tourists always travel to places with their own mindsets, routines and social relations (2008, p.26-27). Tourist performance involves everyday practice and sense. Tourism makes social relations in everyday life extend, and people can acquire a sense of place from being with a significant other in a different place.

Also, Edensor sees tourism as a process involving the ongoing reconstruction of a space in a shared context, as this is not determined by the prevalence of codes and

norms, since tourist conventions can be deconstructed by rebellious performances, as well as by multiple simultaneous actions on the same stage (2001, p.60). For Edensor, tourist performance varies according to the context. Although codes and norms of tourist practice exist, tourists do not have to follow the script. They can interpret norms and codes of practice differently. Tourist performance can be resistant and improvised.

Moreover, tourism concerns a form of performance where we can understand its imbrication in the everyday (embodied practice), rather than as a special field of activity (Edensor 2001, pp.59-61). As a consequence, the organisation, materiality, aesthetic and sensual qualities of a tourist space influence, but do not determine, the kinds of performances that tourists undertake (Edensor 2001, p.63). There is no separation of the everyday from tourism, for these two overlap. On the one hand, tourist performance is conditioned by the everyday, ordinary, or home experience, whereas on the other, the norms and codes of holidays and tourist places affect their performance. Thus, tourist performance is something in between.

Additionally, performance in a tourist space makes a place become a tourist attraction. Sheller and Urry present 'the playfulness of place', in other words, 'the ways in which places themselves are always "on the move". Places are "performed", often on a kind of global stage, and in these performances they are put into play in relation to other places becoming more or less desirable, more or less visited' (2004, p.1). With flows of tourism, places are performed and reshaped. This may cause the emergence/re-emergence of the place, or the disappearance of the place.

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Thailand, as the destination country, attracts different groups of tourists. According to Kontogeorgopoulos, 'Traditionally, travellers from the US and Western Europe (Britain and France in particular) made up the majority of tourist arrivals in Thailand, yet from the mid-1970s onwards, tourists from Japan and other countries in Asia, including South Korea, Hong Kong, Singapore and Taiwan, came to form the dominant group of tourists in Thailand' (1998, p.228). Western tourists and Asian tourists may have different expectations. Additionally, the latter are generally little concerned with authenticity (Cohen and Cohen, in Cohen 2016, p.69). Between 1990 and 1995, Thailand became the destination for Chinese tourists who principally wanted to visit their relatives and friends after the Mainland Chinese government added Thailand to the list of Approved Destination Status (ADS) countries, which included Singapore, Malaysia, Russia, Mongolia and the Philippines (Guo, Kim and Timothy 2007, p.314). The arrival of Chinese tourists facilitated by the political factor and the growth of Chinese economy reshaped tourist sites in Thailand to meet their expectations, which in the case of Pattaya Floating Market will be presented in the empirical chapter.

Different places are interconnected with one another on the tourist stage. For example, different floating markets in Thailand attract different groups of tourists. The revival of Damnoen Saduak Floating Market, the best-known floating market internationally, targeted foreign tourists, and has seen a rise in Asian tourists visiting the site in recent years, while Amphawa, Sam Chuk and Taling Chan Floating Markets are among the most popular sightseeing and culinary places for Thai weekend excursionists (Cohen 2016, pp.67 and 69). However, the main target group for Pattaya Floating Market is tourists who visit Pattaya city, particularly Asian and

Chinese tourists (Pongajarn, van der Duim and Peters 2016, p.10). Domestic and international tourism has caused different floating markets to become tourist attractions.

However, some argue that production is central to tourism.

> Judd highlights that the current definitions of tourism are insufficient because they define tourism as a system of consumption rather than production, and people treat tourism as if it arises spontaneously, without producers and a production process. Yet we need to understand the tourist experience as a product that is consciously produced and marketed, since its value is determined by the costs of the inputs necessary for its construction (2006, p.324).

We need to see tourism as a production process, for it does not inherently happen. Rather, it is socially constructed. What becomes a tourist experience is intentionally valued and marketed. However, we might be unable to reduce tourism to either production or consumption as it simultaneously involves production and consumption.

Not only does tourist performance reproduce a place, but also the performance of local people. Some theorists view that tourism causes disadvantage to local people. For instance, Azarya asserts that 'the economic incorporation opportunities are dependent on a continued representation of cultural marginality, as an ultimate paradox of globalisation' (2004, p.965). Although natives do stand to gain economically from certain touristic encounters, they can only do so by performing a

set of traditions derived largely from the Western imagination (Silver 1993, p.310). Economic benefits from tourism paradoxically represent the cultural marginality of local people. With tourism, the cultural performance of local people is framed by Western expectations and imaginations. Local people become subordinated to the flows of tourism.

> MacCannell also saw the form of ingesting the other into the self and then eliminating it as contemporary cannibalism, where tourists consume and destroy local culture in developing countries (in Wearing and Wearing 2001, p.152).

Tourism thus results in cultural marginalisation and even the absence of local culture. The arrival of tourists waters down and destroys local culture. Culture, along with the identity of local people, is affected by tourism flows; in this way, local people are deprived of agency. However, tourism does not necessarily water down local culture. Rather, it might widen opportunities for local people to reinvent culture so that they are able to adapt to tourism flows. With the construction of local culture, some theorists argue there is agency of local people in tourism. Judd emphasises that the tourist experience is manufactured by institutions and actors, then it is priced within a market system, which the tourist experience receives the highest value-added inputs to the commodity chain of tourism, flow from design, marketing and information technology management (Judd 2006, p.328).

Tourism does not spontaneously occur, it is an ongoing process of production. Local people are able to exercise agency so as to construct culture and add value to a place. Instead of being disadvantaged by tourism, local people are a productive force in

manufacturing tourist objects and tourist places, where they can play an important role in marketing, managing information technology and advertising. The interaction between the global and local brings about the production of cultural meaning.

> Gotham sees tourism as an uneven and contested process involving a set of global forces imposed from above, in conjunction with localised actions and organisations that attempt to preserve place difference and local traditions, along with indigenous cultures. Also, local people can get involved in the production of meaning (2005, pp.311 and 322).

Tourism is not externally imposed on by the global, rather it is simultaneously mediated by local people as they can re-invent the cultural meaning of a place. In this way, tourism seems to involve both globalised and localised processes. Global flows adapt to the local and vice versa. Local people can produce cultural meaning, while preserving local culture at the same time. Likewise, Wood speaks of tourism that is appropriated by local people and used to symbolically construct culture, tradition and identity; globalisation always gets mediated by local factors so as to produce unique outcomes in different locations (in Teo and Li 2003, p.288). Globalisation of tourism does happen locally, and results in different outcomes in different places because local people are able to mediate globalisation and reinvent local culture through the manipulation of cultural signs such as symbols, ideas, meaning and more besides.

In stressing the importance of local people in production,

> Dicks says culture is central to the production of visibility, for it enables a place to
>
> become somewhere to go, whereby spaces are turned over to viewability and
>
> visitability (2003, pp.1 and 17).

> She thinks local people are capable of re-appropriating some of the surplus value for
>
> themselves by engaging in the selling of tourist services, and in self-display for an
>
> audience (Dicks 2003, pp.61 and 65).

The production of culture makes a place become a tourist attraction, and this marks a place as viewable on the tourist stage. As producers, local people are able to benefit from tourism when they sell tourist objects, offer tourist experiences and involve themselves in manipulating local culture for tourists. In this manner, local people are able to exercise agency in producing and retaining local culture. Due to the agency of local actors, a productive force and production process are important in tourism. Globalised tourism does not only affect a local place, but is also mediated by local people. Local people are productive in creating tourism objects and places, and they include in them the production of meaning and cultural value.

There is no tourist experience without a producer and a production process. Looking at floating markets in Thailand, the revival of Amphawa Floating Market in Samut Songkhram Province is based on production and local-people performance. As Vajirakachorn and Nepal state, Amphawa Floating Market, known for its community-based tourism product, became Thailand's primary tourist attraction thanks to the mayor's vision, leadership, network, entrepreneurship and influence (2014, p.8). The floating market had previously entered decline because of the development of roads

and inland markets, but the mayor revived the floating market in 2004 and local residents regarded this as improving their livelihood opportunities (2014, p.8). In this case, local people have played an important role in recreating the value of the floating market in Thailand's tourism.

Rather than juxtaposing tourism with the consumption-production axis, Milne and Ateljevic state that tourism is a phenomenon that comprises a collage of producing and consuming moments, which is essentially a global process, manifesting itself locally and regionally, and explicitly causes the construction of a place (2001, p.386). Tourism is dependent on the interplay between production and consumption, which can reproduce a tourist space. As a social process, tourism involving in the consumption-production axis can re-create value of Thai culture. The following example can show how local-people performance and tourist performance reinvent value of Thai culture in tourism.

3.4 Packages of Thai culture in Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets

My thesis only looks at Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets. The former used to be a real floating market about 100 years ago before moving to the other side of the canal. The latter is a market that was constructed in 2008: Pattaya Floating Market has only ever served the purpose of tourism. Damnoen Saduak Floating Market is now a tourist-orientated place. It claims to be the first and original floating market in Thailand, making it widely popular for foreign tourists.

Tourists who visit Damnoen Saduak Floating Market either as part of a group tour or as an independent traveller may or may not know that the place presents Thai culture for tourism, with most tourists wanting to go there in order to be able to say 'been there' and 'done that'. They can get a glimpse of local Thai culture, which looks different from what they have in their home countries. Thai culture, along with Thainess, must thus meet tourists' expectations. As argued in the previous section, tourist arrivals reproduce the value of Thailand's tourism products as exotic, unique and authentic culture. Damnoen Saduak Floating Market can offer the unique Thai culture that tourists want to see, namely water trading, water transportation, boat vendors, floating vendors, floating shop houses, boat drivers, local people, boat noodles, local food, local produce and Thai ambience.

However, what is sold to tourists is not original Thai culture, but rather Thai culture for tourists. In other words, Thai culture in Damnoen Saduak Floating Market is carefully and intentionally selected by local workers. They choose what tourists

should see and what products they should sell to tourists. When tourists arrive at the market, they are guided to take a rowing boat ride to go sightseeing around the market, and it is suggested they buy general Thai food and souvenir products. Although they are aware these products are tourist-orientated, they enjoy seeing a variety of souvenir products on boats and buying them from floating shop houses.

Unlike Damnoen Saduak Floating Market, Pattaya Floating Market is not a real floating market, but has been a tourist attraction since its creation. However, despite being a tourist-orientated floating market, Pattaya Floating Market has the purpose of preserving Thainess and regional Thai culture. Pattaya Floating Market presents simulation of four regional Thai cultures, from which tourists are able to experience authentic Thai culture. When tourists arrive at the market, they have to queue up at the entrance gate to pay an admission fee. They can walk freely around the floating market by following green arrows on wooden paths. They can view the floating market, boat vendors, Thai ambience and regional Thai cultures, and buy general Thai food, regional products and souvenir items. If they want to go for a rowing-boat ride, they have to pay for a boat-tour package. Pattaya Floating Market was also the setting for a famous Chinese film called Go Lala Go. In addition to the discussions above, tourism is inevitably associated with globalisation. The following section will look at this.

3.5 Conceptualising globalisation and tourism

The existing literature discusses the interrelatedness of globalisation and tourism, and the following examples expand on this. Reiser proposes globalisation and tourism are connected in many different ways, particularly the movement of people, the movement of ideas, and the movement of capital across borders (2003, p.310). Globalisation and tourism share common ground with each other in these domains. Tourism becomes global, for it is involved in flows of people, flows of images and flows of capital. Some use the term 'global tourism' to highlight the interrelatedness of globalisation and tourism.

Smith views global tourism as visitor flows, tourism advertising, flows of spending by visitors and tourism enterprises, with tourism having become a truly global phenomenon in the 1950s because of the development of commercially viable jet aircraft capable of trans-oceanic flights (2004, p.25). In this way, technological development in transportation is the main cause of global tourism. For Urry, global tourism makes people and places get caught up with each other, with the 'global' and 'tourism' being part of the same set of complex processes in which infrastructures, flows of images and people, along with the emerging practices of tourist reflexivity, can be captured as a 'global hybrid' that makes global tourism expand and reproduce itself across the globe (Urry, 2000) (Urry 2001, p.3). These processes enable tourists to connect with different places. They can travel to different places corporeally and virtually, and experience 'other' cultures. Each place adapts itself to flows of tourism and connects with other places.

Tourists can pass over their cultures into other places, while a local place can display local culture before tourists. Hence Urry suggests 'culture becomes so mobile', meaning tourists, objects, cultures and images can travel (2001, p.6). Therefore, global tourism pertains to flows of culture across nations. In some cases, tourists do not have to travel to a faraway place, but they can expose themselves to 'other' cultures via the media and the internet. Tourism cannot be separated from the global, although tourism itself is not entirely global. Meethan contends 'what marks tourism as a distinct area of activity is that it is, on the one hand, the most globalised of social activities, while on the other hand, it is bound to the specificity of locales, and both globalised and localised elements are related through the cycle of production and consumption of commodities, services and places' (2004, p.118). Due to flows of tourists, and of capital and of culture, tourism becomes global, yet it is a localised process in which a local place recreates culture and produces local products to be sold to tourists.

In the same vein, Chang and Huang argue tourism becomes global, for it entails the movement of people and of capital on a transnational scale, but simultaneously it is rooted in the local as tourists are attracted to visit different places and see distinctive cultures (2004, p.223). Tourism is inherently local, whereby a local place becomes connected to global flows, and these trigger changes in a destination place. With the consumption-production axis, tourism inextricably has global and local elements.

These works enable us to understand globalisation and tourism, yet they pay attention to their interrelatedness in terms of scale of tourism. The scale of tourism is

expanded as it changes from the local to the global. However, the term 'global tourism' may not indicate the effect of globalisation on tourism clearly. To define its effect, I would introduce the term 'globalised tourism'. This will be further discussed in the Baudrillard chapter.

3.6 The limitations of the existing literature

Regarding the sociology of tourism, much literature focuses on the binary oppositions of work time and free time, as well as tourist performance and the effects of tourism on the local, on local culture and on local people, such as the commodification of local culture, the passivity of local people, the erosion of local culture et al. Although tourism receives much attention from social theorists, there may be some issues that are left unattended. Dann and Cohen suggest 'the sociology of tourism requires contextualisation, meaning we cannot treat tourism in isolation, but rather, see it as nestling with wider applied domains' (1991, p.157). We need to locate tourism in a specific context, and so the thesis only looks at the case studies of floating markets in Thailand.

In addition, Cohen says, 'work on the sociology of tourism can be categorised into four main areas, namely tourists themselves, interaction of tourists with locals, the tourism system, and tourism impacts' (in Dann and Cohen 1991, pp.158-159). The four main issues in the sociology of tourism implicitly revolve around either structure theory or agency theory. For instance, the issues of the tourist, and the interaction between tourists and local people, concern agency, whereas the tourism system, along with tourism impacts, relates to structure.

Although these four main issues are central to the realm of tourism, they might be

insufficient to study the effect of tourism on locale, for they treat structure and

agency in tourism separately. To further understand the interaction between

structure and agency, this thesis mainly focuses on representation in globalisation

and tourism, which will be explained and discussed in the next chapter using

Baudrillard's theory.

3.7 Conclusion

Tourism fosters the creation of packages of Thainess and Thai culture. We can see there are many ways a place can become a tourist attraction. Tourism may offer tourists a new and differentiated experience from their everyday life at home, or their social relations in everyday life may extend to tourism, for instance, people travel to a faraway place to meet a significant other. Tourism may anchor itself in a sign whereby a tourist place becomes the object of tourist gaze. Additionally, the production of cultural value in a local tourist site involves both consumption and a production process. Tourist performance also reproduces a place. Tourists may follow the norms and codes of holidays, or their performance may be improvised depending on their presupposition. Local people also play an important role in recreating a tourist place and producing cultural value.

Tourism is thus a globalised process on the one hand, by which flows of capital feed on Thai culture, and what is presented as 'Thainess' meets tourist expectations and pre-suppositions. Simultaneously, on the other hand, tourism is a localised process and local Thai culture can exist in tourism, and local people can adapt themselves to flows of tourism. Tourism is a part of globalisation, and the effect of globalisation and tourism may vary according to local context.

The next chapter will move on to a specific theoretical theme of the research, and introduce Baudrillard's theory.

Chapter 4

Baudrillard and Globalisation

4.1 Introduction

Having presented literature on globalisation and tourism, this chapter will look at

Baudrillard's theory. The arguments of this thesis are developed specifically in the

context of his theory. This chapter introduces Baudrillard's concepts, which will be

used throughout the thesis, and discusses his ideas using the relevant literature. It

also sketches the conceptions of simulacra, tourism, sign and value, and the play of

differences, as well as poses critiques of Baudrillard's theory.

4.2 Baudrillard and his contribution to the knowledge of globalisation

This thesis uses Baudrillard's theory to study globalisation. Baudrillard is not a globalisation theorist, but I would suggest his theory can be used as an alternative way to conceptualise globalisation. It is just a way of thinking outside the box, as there is no single way to capture globalisation. Looking back at the literature review of globalisation, there are different thoughts on the concept, and one thing the authors have in common is that they treat globalisation as a totality. Globalisation seems to be an independent social phenomenon.

However, this thesis questions to what extent globalisation is an independent phenomenon. In order to argue the points discussed in the literature review chapter, this thesis suggests the apparatus of globalisation is dependent on the emergence of other social events. It is constituted differently, depending on other social events. Globalisation does not exist independently. Instead, it refers to the complexity of social events and the implosion of social dimensions. Or rather, the apparatus of globalisation is the simulation of other social events. To elaborate on this issue, Baudrillard's orders of simulacra will be extensively employed to critically approach globalisation. His concept enables me to think outside the box and tell the old story of globalisation in a new way. His theory will be discussed in the order of each section from the literature review chapter on globalisation.

4.2.1 Globalisation as a one-size-fits-all approach

Although Baudrillard is not a globalisation theorist, his theory of orders of simulacra is an economic-cultural approach that is premised upon the implosion of the economy and culture, rather than economic or cultural reductionism. Based on Baudrillard, the dimensions of the economy and culture are not interlaced, yet their boundary tends to collapse and implode. The implosion of the economy and culture that brings about changes, and affects structural forms and agents in contemporary society, constitutes the apparatus of globalisation. Globalisation does not cause changes in social dimensions, as many globalisation theorists propose, rather, the implosion of social dimensions creates the idea of globalisation. Globalisation pertains to a multidimensional and complicated social process, thus we cannot separate one dimension from the other.

The implosion of the economy and culture facilitates a change in the law of value, which parallels each order of simulacrum. This can be used to explain how the idea of globalisation develops and reproduces in contemporary society. Baudrillard presents a change in the law of value in each order of simulacrum as follows.

> Three orders of appearance are parallel to the mutations of the law of value. The first order of simulacrum, governed by the natural law of value, saw the end of the obliged sign, and started welcoming the emancipated sign, through which we could transfer value or sign from one class to another and pass into counterfeit (Baudrillard 1983, pp.83-85).

In the first order of simulacrum, signs show the natural value of an original: where signs proliferate, those that used to be limited to class and the realm of tradition become arbitrary. In the first order of simulacrum, the counterfeit still represents an original, or rather, sign is the representation of originality.

> The second order of simulacrum, embedded in the commercial law of value, occurred during the industrial revolution and saw a new generation of signs that can be produced all at once on a gigantic scale (Baudrillard 1983, pp.83-96).

The second stage of simulacrum marked out by the commercial law of value refers to the capitalist economic system. The diktats of the market cause a liquidation of the sign, which does not restrict it to its initial form. A sign can be reproduced and mass-produced. The transition from the first order of simulacrum to the second order can explain a significant change in society, where social form, value and signs do not necessarily tie up with the realms of tradition and original culture. The sign becomes proliferated and exchangeable.

In connection with globalisation, those orders do not show the chronological stages of globalisation, instead each one shows how the idea of globalisation is developed, reproduced and exchanged; there is no fixed definition of globalisation. Each stage of globalisation can happen simultaneously. The apparatus of globalisation can be categorised into the following orders of simulacra: the first order is that globalisation represents other systems, such as the capitalist economy. Baudrillard suggests, 'What is globalised is first and foremost the market, the profusion of exchanges and all sorts of products, the perpetual flow of money' (2003, p.1).

In the first stage of simulacrum, globalisation is associated with the economic system. Globalisation appears to be the representation, or the counterfeit, of the economic system, where the form of globalisation bears a resemblance to the system. Globalisation then enters the second order of simulacrum, whereby the apparatus of globalisation is mass-produced and reproduced as a series in which it becomes equivalent to single and multiple causes.

The apparatus of globalisation does not restrict it to the capitalist economic system or its original form. Rather, the idea of globalisation is exchangeable with causal factors through which it is equivalent to the global economy, global politics, global culture and technological development. Or rather, the apparatus of globalisation is constituted by the emergence of other social events. It can be drawn out from different causal factors, and so does not exist independently. The emergence of globalisation is dependent upon the complexity of social events whereby different social dimensions implode into each other.

4.2.2 The homogenised effects of globalisation

Globalisation as a social process

By contrast with the globalisation theorists, Baudrillard proposes a brief genealogy of globalisation, especially its relationship with the singular and the universal (2003, p.1). 'Universalisation relates to human rights, liberty, culture and democracy, whereas globalisation is pertinent to technology, the market, tourism and information' (2003, p.1). Globalisation is not an independent process, rather it relies on the preceding social event. Prior to globalisation come singularity and universalisation. Baudrillard thought, 'The passage from the universal to the global leads to a constant homogenisation, but also to an endless fragmentation, in which the spread of globalisation destroys all forms of differentiation and singularities, and all the universal values that used to advocate difference' (2003, p.2).

Universalisation is not the same as globalisation, instead it becomes the precondition of globalisation, and differentiation in universalisation precedes homogenisation in globalisation. So how does universalisation change globalisation? Referring back to the first section, Baudrillard states, 'What is globalised first are the market and flows of money' (2003, p.1). Globalisation causes a change in universal value. An important thing is that social value is not fixed, but rather is exchangeable with sign and reference.

For example, democracy, universal value, ensures that people have a certain degree of freedom in their lives, but with globalisation, freedom is subject to uncertainty, in that it gets fragmented and becomes an exchangeable value, as seen with the freedom and rights of the members of the United Nations. The permanent members of the United Nations Security Council, which includes China, France, Russia, the United Kingdom and the United States, have different opinions about North Korea's nuclear weapons programme. Although North Korea is subject to economic sanctions implemented by the United Nations, it is supported by China and Russia. Freedom and the right to side with North Korea or to be against the country appears to be exchangeable for political power in the Asia-Pacific region, where the United States is attempting to reduce the influence of China in the region.

Instead of a homogenised social process, globalisation seems to be a paradox, whereby it is homogenised but simultaneously fragmented. This depends on the conditions of the social context when the apparatus of globalisation is applied. Or rather, the effect of globalisation varies according to the local context. To better capture the paradoxical attribute of globalisation, we can look back at Baudrillard's orders of simulacra. As previously noted in the literature review chapter, globalisation is a social process that permeates the way of life of individuals and reshapes social units. This may refer to the third order of simulacrum. To put it extremely, Baudrillard stresses, 'We are now in the third order of simulacrum, the structural law of value, where only affiliation to the model has any meaning; hence everything proceeds from the model, the "signifier of reference"' (1983, pp.83 and 101).

In the third order of simulacrum, only the model produces social forms and structures the relations between things. Social forms are signifiers of reference to the model. It does not represent and mass-produce its origin as it does in the first and second order of simulacra respectively. In the third stage, globalisation that used to represent the economic system turns out to be an independent phenomenon that happens to structure other parts of society and everyday life. Or rather, globalisation appears to be a model that generates social process and social form. Globalisation itself can be used to explain other social events. It forgets its original form of the capitalist system and its root in different causal factors. Social process produced by globalisation does not have a specific end, for it is homogenised, yet simultaneously fragmented.

Martinelli introduces globalisation as a multifaceted process with far-reaching consequences that can impose constraints and open up opportunities for individual and collective action (2003, p.95). Some groups of people may benefit from global flow to a higher degree than others. Although globalisation impacts on everyday life and social action, it is not a homogenised process. The effect of globalisation varies in social conditions, and the far-reaching consequences for people's lives correspond with global flow and local context. For instance, virtual communities on the internet come from a homogenised process, in which people from different parts of the world are exposed to global culture and cosmopolitanism. Paradoxically, the internet enables people to reconstruct sub-cultures and indigenous cultures. Global communication does not bring about homogenisation because of fragmentation. Value and cultural meanings are exchangeable with sign and reference.

Globalisation as the binary opposition of the global and the local

Baudrillard argues there might be no single contributor to globalisation.

> Baudrillard states globalisation has no single creator and its real locus is the world;
>
> not even America can claim to be the creator of globalisation (Sassatelli 2002, p.521).

This implies globalisation cannot be reduced to either Westernisation or Americanisation. Globalisation does not necessarily mean a Western phenomenon, but its effect varies according to the locale. Globalisation is differently constituted. As presented in the literature review chapter on globalisation, capturing a generalised impact of globalisation as the binary opposition of the global and the local does not add something new to globalisation, and does not make globalisation happen independently. Baudrillard's theory may enable us to perceive this differently. According to him, 'The great simulacra constructed by man evolve from a universe of natural laws to one of forces and tensions, and finally today to a universe of structures and binary oppositions' (Baudrillard 1983, p.103). There is a change in the structural law of value, whereby simulacra proceed from social forms. In the third order of simulacrum, globalisation itself turns out to be a model, or an independent social phenomenon that generates the binary opposition of the global and the local.

Although the binary opposition of the global and the local proceeds from the model of globalisation, it is not a homogenised impact of globalisation. As previously discussed, globalisation seems to be homogenised, yet paradoxically fragmented (Baudrillard 2003, p.2). The binary opposition of the global and the local does not

homogenise all social forms, but it may not bring about differentiated locality either.

The effect of integration of the global and local may vary according to each context.

When encountering globalisation, on the one hand, the idea of locality accords with

the global, while on the other hand, local people indigenise global flow. The

interaction between the global and the local constitutes different social forms in each

context, which allows globalisation to permeate everyday life and social practice,

reinforcing the spread of globalisation.

Additionally, what happens in globalisation is not only the interaction between the

global and the local, but also the implosion of the global and the local. There is no

local that exists without the influence of globalisation, albeit one with an uneven

impact. The idea of the local, to some extent, accords with the global, while the

influence of the global cannot be realised without a local context. In this way, the

boundary of the global and the local gets blurred, or they implode on each other. The

idea of locality may not be an alternative to, or opposed to, globalisation, because to

some extent, the existence of the local is conditioned by globalisation.

Besides, what is termed global is not opposed to the local. Baudrillard calls this 'A

reversal of origin and finality in the third order of simulacrum in which social forms

can be diffracted from the model' (1983, p.100). The idea of locality loses its finality.

It becomes open to combinatory systems of sign and reference. Rather than

differentiation and singularity, the apparatus of locality can be deconstructed and

reconstructed in globalisation. It becomes exchangeable with other signs and

reference. The apparatus of the global does not have a specific end, but depends on

the context it is applied to. It is thus likely that only simulation of the local exists in

globalisation, while simulation of the global only appears when it meets with the

local.

4.3 Baudrillard and his contribution to contemporary tourism

'The study of tourism, which appeared as a distinguished sociological subject field

mainly during the 1970s, is dominated by a modern tendency and postmodern

tendency, in which the former stresses the modern tourist experience as a superficial

activity (Boorstin), or a quest for authenticity (MacCannell), while the latter highlights

simulation (Baudrillard) and other postmodern tourism (Munt)' (Uriely 1997, pp.982-

983). Baudrillard is one of the postmodern theorists, for whom simulational

experience is one of the elements of contemporary tourism.

Baudrillard does talk about tourism and leisure in his book *The Consumer Society*. His

perspectives on tourism and leisure are more or less influenced by Marxism. He views

tourism and leisure as constrained time that causes the production of value. To

expand on the aforementioned literature in the previous chapters, this thesis

highlights the value of Thainess and how Thai culture is created in accordance with

the diktats of the market and tourism. For Baudrillard, pre-established systems affect

the prevalence of tourism, namely the economic system and the system of signs.

Baudrillard's theory is, again, an economic-cultural approach.

According to Baudrillard, 'Time is only the product of a certain culture, and of a certain mode of production. Thus time is subject to the same status as all the goods produced or available within the framework of that system of production, that of the object' (1998, p.152). Free time in leisure and tourism is not inherently free, rather it is a social construct that makes leisure and tourism discursive social practices. Free time in tourism is affected by the exchange-value of the economic system. For Baudrillard, tourism is regulated by economic exchange-value, therefore tourism is implicated in the dimension of the economy. The following points will elucidate this.

4.3.1 The division between working time and free time

If tourism relates to the economic system, is tourism really any different from ordinary working time? By contrast with the chapter that covers the literature on tourism, this thesis will suggest ordinary working time and tourism are not different from each other, for they accord with the framework of the economic system. Both ordinary working time and free time are exchangeable with money. They are bought and sold in the market. People have to spend money when they travel somewhere or engage in a leisure activity.

With the consumption-production axis, tourism involves both globalised and localised processes, and reflects the implosion of economy and culture. What is produced to be sold in a tourist market has cultural meaning and value. Value and meanings of tourist commodities are exchangeable with money.

> Baudrillard proposes time is a rare and precious commodity that is subject to the
>
> laws of exchange-value, where working time is bought and sold, and free time needs
>
> to be directly and indirectly purchased in order for it to be consumed (1998, p.153).

For Baudrillard, the division between working time and free time is a false division,

for free time is subject to the same regulations as working time. People think holiday

time is free time, yet it is not free. They have to pay for it in order to spend free time

doing something or travelling somewhere. Capital feeds on free time just as it does

on working time. Both working time and free time are exchangeable. Due to the law

of exchange-value, free time can be reproduced and maintained. In addition, free

time that is consumed by leisure and tourism simultaneously is a productive force of

constrained time. Rather than a home and away experience, free time in leisure and

tourism bolsters the production of value.

> Baudrillard highlights that free time is the freedom to waste one's time and, in this
>
> manner, it shows consumed free time is in fact the time of a production of value –
>
> distinctive value, status value and prestige value (1998, pp.154-157).

For Baudrillard, wasting one's time in leisure and tourism is, in turn, a production of

value. Free time is doing something that is economically unproductive, but

paradoxically a productive force of maintaining and reproducing value, namely the

status value of holidaymakers. In the case of Thailand's tourism, a production of value

refers to the cultural value of the destination country. The value of Thai culture, to

some extent, is inevitably subject to tourism and the diktats of the market. Or rather, tourist arrivals enable the country to recreate and repackage Thai culture.

4.3.2 Constrained labour

Although tourist performance and local people's performance can re-create tourist space, their performances are subject to the norms of holidays and the diktats of the market respectively. In this case, their performances refer to 'constrained labour'. Tourism seems to be freedom, but paradoxically is a constraint. Tourism and leisure do not fulfil one's own need, but rather reproduce the system and its norms, particularly the searching for distinctive value. As Baudrillard puts it, 'Despite its apparent gratuitousness, leisure reproduces all the mental and practical constraints of productive time and subjugated daily life' (1998, p.155). People need to sacrifice their real time so that they can spend free time and do nothing on holiday. For tourists, their daily life is subordinated to the mental and practical constraints of free time in tourism.

Tourists are subject to the mental and practical constraints of productive time during their holidays. Regarding tourists, Baudrillard says,

> We find in leisure and holidays the same eager moral and idealistic pursuit of
>
> accomplishment as in the sphere of work, and the same ethics of pressured
>
> performance. For example, the obsession with getting a tan, that bewildered whirl in
>
> which tourists 'do' Italy, Spain, all the art galleries and the smiles all attest to the fact

that tourists conform in every detail to the principles of duty, sacrifice and asceticism

(1998, pp.155-156).

In the realm of leisure and tourism, tourists are subject to a constrained performance

just as they are in the realm of work. People might think tourism and leisure help

them break the cycle of work, but actually, they are not freed from the system. They

may think they are able to spend free time in tourism, yet actually their time is not

free. For Baudrillard, tourists become labour and the productive force of time rather

than the performers and consumers. Pressurised tourist performance varies with

different locales, or destination countries, for example, sun, sea and sand are tourist

expectations when they holiday in Thailand.

Apart from tourists, another group of labour is local people, or producers, who in

turn, sacrifice their free time to work for tourists. Local people work in producing

tourist objects to sell to tourists. Thus, holidaymakers' free time is the working time

of local people. This refers to the division of labour, in which tourists are the

performers and consumers, while local people are the producers. Holidaymakers are

not responsible for the working time of local people and workers in tourism.

The commodity-law of value that governs the production system applies to the

division of labour in tourism. Local people are able to produce the meaning of a place

and local culture in order to attract tourists to visit a place. Thus, the production of

meaning and culture is conditioned by the exchange-value of the economic system.

This leads to what Baudrillard calls 'the very possibility of production' (1983, p.97).

Capital makes it free from its own realm. Human labour and production do not signify

the distinctive skills of people and the natural usage of commodity respectively,

although they become exchangeable with money and are subject to the diktats of the

market.

The natural value of human skill and the use-value of commodities are substituted for

economic exchange-value. In terms of local people, to a large extent they work in

constructing meaning and culture in conjunction with global demand and tourist

expectations. This is a mere equivalence of agency, not agency itself. The

construction of tourist places and tourist objects is, inevitably, dependent upon the

demands of the tourist market. Production thus turns out to be equivalence.

 In addition, both tourists and local people experience alienation in tourism. Putting it

at its most extreme,

> The alienation of leisure and tourism relates to the very impossibility of wasting one's
>
> times, whereby free time is the freedom to waste one's time but actually is simply
>
> the time necessary to reproduce labour power (Baudrillard 1998, p.154).

The division between working time and free time triggers the alienation of tourism.

People are unable to waste their time in tourism as that time only allows them to be

a productive force. Holidaymakers become labour in producing distinctive value and

reproducing the division of working time and free time. Wasting time on holiday is

therefore the productive time of the economic system.

Local people also become alienated labour in tourism. Tourism is their working time to manufacture tourist objects and create tourist places. The free time of local people is exchangeable with the holiday time of tourists. This is because of the commodity-law of value that regulates the division of time and labour. Although local people can produce the meaning of local culture and of tourist places, they are inextricably subject to global demands and tourist markets. Local people are alienated from what they produce, such as a cultural commodity for sale. In tourism, both tourists and local people appear to be alienated labour.

Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets will now be discussed in relation to Baudrillard's theory.

Packages of Thai culture in the floating markets

Based on Baudrillard's theory, free time as a tourist is regulated by the law of exchange-value just as it is in working time. Tourists who are involved in the alienation of tourism do not spend and waste free time in tourism, for they turn out to be labour power, reproducing the division of working time and free time, along with the distinctive value of tourism or of a destination country. They think of their tourism time as free, but it is not. Tourist arrivals recreate and reproduce the value of Thailand and of the floating markets.

Tourists become alienated labour who cannot waste their time, but rather are a productive force in their free time. To some extent, they follow the norms and codes

of tourism, in that they expect to see unique, exotic and authentic Thai culture. They are sometimes governed by the so-called pattern of 'things-that-must-be-seen'. In this scenario, tourists are consumers of the floating markets, whereas local people are producers who offer activity and service to tourists. It seems that both tourists and local people are able to co-produce the floating markets.

For Damnoen Saduak Floating Market, the place may have use-value for some local people who go there to purchase local produce and food. Local people seem to mediate globalised tourism, in that they are able to select some parts of Thai culture to display in the floating market. But with the law of exchange-value, local people turn out to be constrained labour. Thai culture in the floating market is commodified, whereby it is exchangeable with money, and tourists need to purchase it by spending their free time seeing Thai culture in Damnoen Saduak Floating Market.

In Pattaya Floating Market, workers present four regional Thai cultures, as well as the image of ancient Thai culture. They recreate a floating market to preserve Thainess and to serve the purpose of tourism. Again, workers can select some parts of Thai culture to be sold to tourists and, thus, Thai culture becomes commodified and exchangeable with money. In this way, the cultural performance of workers is constrained by the flows of tourism and the diktats of the market. Workers are alienated labour, whereby labour skill is objectified by globalised tourism and the flows of capital.

Both tourists and workers turn out to be alienated labour, and their performances reproduce and retain the value of culture tourism in Thailand. The holiday time of tourists is the working time of local people. Free time is not free for tourists, since they have to pay local people for access to Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets and to obtain an experience of Thai culture. Thus, the value of Thai culture is recreated in accordance with global demand and tourism.

4.4 Baudrillard and globalised tourism

As discussed earlier in the literature review chapter, the term 'global tourism' emphasises a change in the scale of tourism, but gives scant attention to the effect of globalisation on tourism in a local place. I therefore propose the concept of globalised tourism that is developed based on Baudrillard's idea. To define the term 'globalised', we can look at his concept.

> Real globalisation involves a global hyperculture in which the effacing of differences, up to and including what is between the real and the imaginary, annuls also the distance necessary for a relation of identification/distinction (Sassatelli 2002, p.522).

Similar to Urry and Meethan, Baudrillard sees 'global' as the flows of cultures and images. The culture of a local place is subject to global flows. Unlike the aforementioned theorists, Baudrillard elaborates on globalisation's effect further, asserting that it is associated with hyperculture. With globalisation, culture is not there to make a singular difference in each place. Instead, the recreation of culture in a local place for tourists causes the distinction between real culture and contrived/staged culture to disappear. What is globalised in tourism, therefore, refers to the erosion of the difference between real culture and simulated culture. What is constructed to be sold in tourism appears as real culture. Local people may internalise the effect of globalisation, meaning contrived culture for tourism may later become and act as real local culture. Additionally, real and traditional local culture is reduced to being an element of simulated culture. This is the stage where

tourism in a local place is globalised. In the case studies of Damnoen Saduak and

Pattaya Floating Markets, tourism in these places is not entirely globalised, although

to some extent they are. This will be discussed further in each empirical chapter.

4.5 The circulation of value and signs in the recreation of the floating markets as tourist attractions

In what way are the floating markets tourist attractions? As discussed earlier, in constructing the 'other', tourist performance, home/away experience and materiality in tourism are central to understanding tourism. But I would suggest tourism inextricably involves signs. Signs affect our perception of 'others', performance in tourist space and our sense of the place. Material objects are not valued as objects, but cultural messages. In studying signs and value, we can better capture tourism in a local context. The floating markets do not inherently become tourist attractions, so what works in creating the places? This thesis proposes that, with the circulation of value and signs, Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets become tourist attractions.

As Crang says, 'Sacralisation often depends on texts and stories that circulate elsewhere or around the site, so that our sense of having visited somewhere special is premised upon other signs and texts' (2004, p.77). A sign is not about the way to gaze upon an object and a place, but a cultural message that values them. Signs make a place become somewhere to go. In his book *For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign*, Baudrillard introduces that an object of consumption pertains to the logic of significations. Not all objects have sign-value. The sign-object is different from symbolic exchange-value.

Baudrillard says that the object given, or the gift that has symbolic exchange-value, is not autonomous and not codifiable as signs, for they do not depend on economic exchange (1981, p.65). The object given has a specific meaning, and associates with the subject who gives that object. For example, a thank you card has symbolic exchange-value that expresses the feeling of appreciation of the giver. The meaning of the card associates with the giver. It is not exchangeable with money and not codifiable as sign. The card is thus not a sign-object.

> According to Baudrillard, the object-become-sign assumes its meaning in its differential relation to other signs. Thus, only when objects are autonomised as differential signs, and thereby rendered systematisable, can one speak of consumption and of objects of consumption (Baudrillard 1981, p.66).

This implies that signs are dependent on economic exchange and must be autonomous from the subjects. A sign-object does not have a specific difference and meaning, for its difference is exchangeable with other signs. Differential signs work in constituting the meaning of objects only when the object disassociates itself from the subject and the context. In other words, what becomes a sign must be context-less, which opens itself up to relationships with other signs.

> An object is not an object of consumption unless it is released from its physic determinations as a symbol, from its functional determinations as an instrument, from its commercial determinations as a product, and is hence liberated as a sign to be recaptured by the formal logic of fashion (Baudrillard 1981, p.67).

For Baudrillard, the meaning of an object is not restricted to the material of the object. The sign-object becomes an object of consumption that does not have physical or functional determinations. It is neither used as a symbol nor as a functional object. It is not used as a commercial product. The sign-object is only used for significations. In the floating market case studies, meanings of places are not inherent attributes. Instead, the markets derive meaning from cultural signs; or rather, what makes the places become tourist attractions is the circulation of value and signs. The stages involving the circulation of value and sign will be introduced now.

4.5.1 Desire and needs

Desire is the first stage of producing value. According to Helgesson and Muniesa, 'Valuation is tied to the conditions of desire and desirability, to the entanglements that are created between people and things, and between people themselves' (2013, p.7). The production of value is dependent on desire, and valuation is embedded in the relations between people and things. In this way, valuation is not an inherent attribute of the object, rather it is created socially. Baudrillard took this further, saying both desire and needs accord with market demand.

As Baudrillard states, 'Needs can no longer be defined adequately in terms of the naturalist-idealist thesis, as innate, instinctive power and spontaneous craving. Conversely, they are better defined as a function induced (in the individual) by the internal logic of the system' (1981, p.82). Needs are not innate, they are socially

constructed. In the floating markets, people's needs are constructed in accordance with tourism. The interaction between the global and the local, together with an unequal flow of cash, constitute the desire for recreating each floating market.

4.5.2 Use-value and exchange-value

The next stage of the circulation of value and signs is a change in the use-value and exchange-value of Damenoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets. Debates on exchange-value and use-value are now touched upon briefly. Marx and Engels differentiate use-value from exchange-value.

> They suggest that use-value is the utility of a thing that is limited by the physical
>
> properties of the commodity, or what it is used for, whereas exchange-value turns
>
> out to be a quantitative relation, meaning the proportion in which values of one sort
>
> are exchanged for those of another sort, for example, a quarter of wheat is
>
> exchanged for y silk. The exchange of commodities is evidently an act characterised
>
> by a total abstraction of use-value (Marx and Engels 1970, pp.44-45).

For Marx and Engels, the exchange-value of the commodity is independent from use-value, whereby the latter is an intrinsic attribute of the commodity. The differentiation of use-value from exchange-value, which only sees use-value as embedded in the physical property of the commodity, might be insufficient to understand the circulation of value in the floating markets. What becomes commodified is not only subject to exchange-value, but also is dissociable from subject and context. As Callon states, 'In order to transform something into a

commodity, it is necessary to cut the ties between this thing and other objects or human beings, and this thing must be de-contextualised, dissociated and detached' (1999, p.189). A commodity needs to be dissociated from the context in which it is produced, and from the subjects who produce it. Only when the thing is freed from context and subjects is it assigned with economic exchange-value so as to be sold in the market.

What is produced in the market is not only exchange-value, but also other forms of use-value. This makes the issue of valuation much more complicated. Goods do not derive value from the market, yet the actor can play an important role in producing value (Vatin 2013, p.47). To explain this, Vatin proposes, 'All along the chain of production, valorisation is present in acts of evaluation, in that they are provisional modalities for establishing a value that is under construction' (2013, p.45). The act of assessing the value along with that of increasing the value happens simultaneously in the production process. The producers do not only produce goods according to the market, but they are also able to determine and modify the value of the commodities. This seems to contrast with Marx and Engels, who view the production process as unproductive, and the skills of workers as constrained by market demand.

Additionally, Böhme suggests materiality can manifest itself in three dimensions: physical character, synaesthetic character (aesthetic) and social character. The first refers to the practical and functional dimensions of the material, while the second is about the character of atmosphere that is perceived through different senses and produced through different material qualities, such as the cold through the colour

blue, the effect of being warm, gentle, reserved, etc (1995, p.97). For the third

dimension, materials have a social character, through which they can be used for

culture and tradition, and this kind of character is presented as a code that must be

decoded (Böhme 1995, pp.97-98). Materials are not only produced for functional

application, but also for staged value, in which they can serve the purposes of

aestheticisation and atmosphere, along with culture and tradition.

However, aesthetic value may be dissociable from economic exchange-value, for

what becomes exchangeable is aestheticised and vice versa. The two overlap.

Baudrillard contends, 'The status of use-value in Marxian theory is ambiguous, for

there could be no exchange-value without use-value – the two are coupled, but

neither is strongly implied by the other' (1981, p.130). For Baudrillard, the use-value

of the commodity is dependent on its exchange-value and vice versa. Baudrillard

argues, 'Use-value is an abstraction of the system of needs that is cloaked in the false

evidence of a concrete destination and purpose, an intrinsic finality of goods and

products' (1981, p.131). Use-value here does not relate to the needs of people, but is

socially constructed by the system of production.

> Use-value and exchange-value are controlled by an identical abstract logic of
>
> equivalence, an identical code. The code of utility is also a code of abstract
>
> equivalence of objects and subjects, and use-value can be fetishised, but not as a
>
> practical operation (Baudrillard 1981, p.131).

Both use-value and exchange-value are subject to systems of codes and signs. Use-value and exchange-value are equivalences. Use-value is not the practical utility of the object, but is subject to differential signs. Hence, use-value is the code of utility.

> In terms of exchange-value, products must be thought of and rationalised in terms of utility in order to be abstractly and generally exchangeable. Therefore, the reduction to the status of utility is the basis of economic exchangeability (Baudrillard 1981, p.131).

In contrast to Marx and Engels, Baudrillard sees exchange-value and use-value as being closely connected with each other. Use-value does not derive from the materiality of the object, or a practical application, instead the code of utility, or the equivalence of use-value, legitimises exchangeability of the objects, and economic exchangeability determines use-value. This generates the system of need along with desire for goods. When use-value is abstract, this triggers fetishism.

4.5.3 The fetishism of code

I think fetishism happens after economic exchangeability has come into play. Economic exchangeability implicitly relates to the commodification process, in which the object is not produced to be used and sold as an object but for its cultural connotation instead. Fetishisim is a stage where the production of commodities involves aestheticisation. It is a process that links together exchange-value and use-value with sign-value. Concerning fetishism, Marx and Engels elaborated on this concept.

There, the existence of the things qua commodities, and the value relation between the products of labour which stamps them as commodities, have absolutely no connection with their physical properties and with the material relations arising therefrom (1970, p.77).

The fetishism attaches itself to the products of labour as soon as they are produced as commodities, and is therefore inseparable from the production of commodities (1970, p.77).

The value of commodities is not dependent on their physical properties and human skill. The products of labour do not relate to the needs of labour. They become commodities that are priced and sold in accordance with the exchange-value of the market. Those commodities, in turn, control the needs of humans and the ability of labour. The value of commodities constitutes social relationships between men and between things. For Marx and Engels, labour fetishises the value of the commodities and the exchange-value of the market.

In contrast with Marx, Baudrillard thinks it is insufficient to contextualise fetishism in the contemporary consumption era. Baudrillard further contends,

By refusing to analyse the structures and the mode of ideological production inherent in its own logic, Marxism is condemned to expand the production of ideology, and the fetishistic theory of infrastructure and superstructure must be replaced by a more comprehensive theory of productive forces, for these are all structurally implicated in the capitalist system (1981, pp.89-90).

> Marx still attaches fetishism to a form (the commodity and money), yet today the
>
> concept of fetishism is exploited in an empirical fashion, such as object fetishism,
>
> automobile fetishism, vacation fetishism, and so on (Baudrillard 1981, p.88).

For Baudrillard, fetishism does not only involve commodity and money, but also other social spheres of everyday life in the consumption society. Marx fails to theorise the fetishism that is inherent in the logic of production, and he only views fetishism as ideological. To develop the concept of fetishism, Baudrillard proposes that, 'It is not the passion for substances that speaks in fetishism, it is the passion for the code, which by governing both objects and subjects, and by subordinating them to itself, delivers them up to abstract manipulation' (1981, p.92).

Baudrillard goes further than Marx, and sees the production system as fetishised. Hence the production of commodities parallels the production of the signifier and the code. Codes that are embedded in objects condition the desires and needs of the subjects. For Baudrillard, fetishism is not only about the passion for an object in exchange for money, but also the passion for the code of an object.

For example, people do not like Burberry clothes because of commodities and value, they are obsessed with the brand as wearing it shows you have good taste in fashion and signifies the upper-middle class. People fetishise the codes of production and the code of the object. Baudrillard states fetishism is contemporaneous with the generalisation of exchange-value and is propagated with it (1981, p.92). Thus,

exchange-value accompanies and facilitates fetishism. Due to the generalisation of exchange-value and the fetishism of code, sign-value comes into play.

4.5.4 The sign-value turn

According to Baudrillard, the system of value is interrelated with the system of significations and signs due to economic exchangeability. What is produced as commodities has significations. The logic of signs is inherent in the logic of production.

> Ideology has seized all production, material or symbolic, in the same process of abstraction, reduction, general equivalence and exploitation, since the logic of the commodity and of political economy is at the very heart of the sign, in the abstract equation of signifier and signified, in the differential combination of signs, meaning that signs can function as exchange-value (the discourse of communication) and as use-value (rational decoding and distinctive social use) (Baudrillard 1981, p.146).

At this stage, exchange-value and use-value are subject to the logic of the sign, whereby the sign turns out to take the form of exchange-value and use-value, and renders exchange-value and use-value generalised and rationalised. Since the logic of the commodity relates to the logic of the sign, exchange-value becomes the discourse of communication that produces the rationalisation of use-value. A sign can function as exchange- and use-value, whereby communicative exchange-value produces social use.

The commodities function as a system of communication that regulates exchange-value and use-value. The logic of commodity is equivalent to the logic of the sign. The commodity becomes a code where sign-value can function as exchange-value and use-value.

> Use-value and signified do not have the same weight as exchange-value and signifier respectively. Use-value and needs are only an effect of exchange-value, while signified are only an effect of the signifier (Baudrillard 1981, p.137).

Exchange-value refers to the signifier, while use-value refers to the signified. Exchange-value and signifier constitute use-value and signified. Use-value and signified are alibis of exchange-value and signifier, which might mean the latter can be realised in forms of the other two. These are all stages of the circulation of value and signs that enable the floating markets to become tourist attractions.

4.6 The production of value and the play of differences

In his book called *The System of Objects*, Baudrillard offers an insightful view on the operation of objects. This thesis will examine Ritzer's study of the cultural content of tourist places and tourist objects, since his work may represent the whole strand of globalisation. Ritzer's theory will be discussed alongside Baudrillard's system of objects. This section concerns how unique and authentic cultural content is constructed. Prior to introducing Baudrillard's concept, Ritzer's theory on the globalisation of something and nothing will be looked at. Ritzer reduces the global phenomenon to the dichotomy of 'something' and 'nothing'.

> Nothing means a social form that is generally centrally conceived, controlled and comparatively devoid of distinctive substantive content, while something is a social form that is generally indigenously conceived, controlled and comparatively rich in distinctive substantive content (Ritzer 2003, p.195).

Apart from 'something-nothing', Ritzer develops another continuum of grobalisation-glocalisation.

> Grobalisation is the imperialistic ambitions of nations, corporations and organisations, and their desire to impose themselves on various geographic areas, including through sub-processes such as Americanisation and McDonaldisation, while glocalisation is the interpenetration of the global and the local that results in unique outcomes in different geographic areas (Ritzer 2007, pp.15 and 193).

The concept of 'something-nothing' implicitly refers to the cultural content of an object and a place. 'Something' means distinctive local cultural content, whereas 'nothing' is the generic cultural form. Ritzer uses the continuum of 'something and nothing' with that of 'grobalisation and glocalisation', and discussion of the terms 'grobalisation' and 'glocalisation' will be dealt with in the next section. The differentiation of something from nothing fosters what Ritzer calls 'an elective affinity'.

> Ritzer proposes that there is an elective affinity whereby grobalisation (nothing) and glocalisation (something) mutually incline to combine with one another (2007, p.121). For him, one of the best examples of the glocalisation of nothing is to be found in tourism, such as in souvenirs, local performances and local meals, and in particular where global tourists meet the local (if they still exist) manufacturer and retailer in the production and sale of glocal goods and services (2007, pp.130-131).

What involves globalisation and tourism is devoid of unique cultural content. It might be true that most tourist places are filled with generic cultural content. For example, Damnoen Saduak Floating Market waters down its local cultural content, as it does not appear to be a fruit market any more. As already discussed, since the advent of road transportation and the arrival of tourists, what is being sold is tourist-orientated.

However, this seems to be a normal process of globalisation, with the global meeting the local, whereby such a locale, in this case the floating markets and local people, must adapt themselves to globalisation in order for their culture to continue to exist. Can we completely see this as nothing? Can it be said that Pattaya Floating Market, as

a constructed place lacking distinctive cultural content, appears to be nothing? If it is

nothing, then what attracts tourists to visit the market?

Although Ritzer's theory enables us to study the cultural content of a tourist place, his

criteria are a unidirectional way of approaching global phenomena. Social forms that

are endowed with the distinctive content of a place, thing, person and service are

'something', whereas those lack in distinctive cultural content appear to be 'nothing'.

But can we really separate the original place from the copy? What about staged

original content? Do we perceive it as either 'something' or 'nothing'? The

differentiation between 'something' and 'nothing' seems to be overdrawn. This is

because distinctive cultural content and generic cultural content can overlap. Since

the two floating markets regard themselves as authentic, it seems impossible to

differentiate one market from the other. The dichotomy of 'something' form and

'nothing' form is false. This is because both distinctive and generic cultural contents

can be authentic.

To better understand the cultural content of tourist places, Baudrillard's theory will

be used to challenge Ritzer. This thesis does not present Ritzer's approach as a straw

man argument, since Ritzer does not place himself in opposition to Baudrillard.

Elsewhere, he views the 'nothing' form as similar to Baudrillard's simulation. 'It is

"something", that is, it is originals that have distinctive content, whereas all forms of

"nothing" are simulations, or copies, which are, by definition, lacking in such content'

(Ritzer 2007, p.94). Globalisation and tourism cause the disappearance of distinctive

cultural content, or rather, cause the emergence of generic culture. However, they

are not the same. Distinctive cultural content and generic culture can be authentic. In other words, both 'something' form and 'nothing' form can be distinctive cultural content.

> As Baudrillard introduces, the system of differentiation does not operate in terms of real or singular differences between persons, yet what grounds it as a system is precisely the fact that it eliminates the specific content and specificity of each human being, and substitutes the differential form, which can be industrialised and commercialised as a distinguishing sign (1998, p.93).

> Thus, differences are no longer exclusive, and it is the exchange of differences that clinches group integration, and differences coded in this way become the matter of exchange (Baudrillard 1998, p.93).

Baudrillard attempts to theorise the social phenomenon where 'the system of differentiation' affects the cultural content of consumption objects. For Baudrillard, there is no singular difference, but the particular content is replaced with differential signs. Differences between each group of people act as distinguishing signs. These are not concrete differences, but the differences function as the matter of exchange or communicative signs. Differences are exchangeable. In contrast with Ritzer, we might not be able to differentiate the cultural content of one object or place from another, since differences become communicative signs rather than functional specificity. In *The System of Objects*, Baudrillard looks at various types of objects, though this thesis only uses the elements of his work that are relevant to the floating markets case

studies, namely 'the non-functional systems' (antique and authenticity) and 'the

socio-ideological system of objects' (models/series and the personalised object).

4.6.1 Authenticity

Antique and authentic objects

Authenticity is a cultural value that is socially produced in tourism. Prior to talking

about the value of authenticity in Thailand, some literature on authenticity will be

discussed.

> Walter Benjamin emphasises that authenticity is connected with aura, since they
>
> both result from and are embedded in ritual and tradition, in that authenticity of the
>
> object/site is a result of its embodiment in a tradition of which tourism is a ritual. The
>
> authenticity of the experience is a part of an engagement with aura (in Rickly-Boyd
>
> 2012, p.271).

Thus, the value of authenticity is linked with aura, and authenticity relates to

tradition and ritual. In order to obtain an authentic experience, people need to be

involved in aura. Authenticity does not inherently occur in an object or place, it is

socially constructed.

> Furthermore, Wang differentiates types of authenticity, with objective authenticity
>
> referring to a museum-linked usage of the authenticity of the originals that are also
>
> the toured objects to be perceived by tourists. Whereas constructive authenticity is

something that appears authentic because it is constructed as such in terms of points of view, belief and perspectives of power (Wang 1999, p.351).

When visiting a tourist place, tourists can delve into authenticity that adheres both to objects and experiences. Authenticity appears to be subjective and is based upon the perception and interpretation of individuals. Authenticity is socially created in objects and activities. Looking at Wang's work, it is not clear how objective authenticity works in tourism. Although she links objective authenticity to the museum-tourism context, toured objects in a museum might be constructive and subjective, depending on how the tourists perceive and interpret them. Benjamin and Wang view authenticity differently, yet they share one view in common: authenticity is constructed socially in tourism, depending upon the interaction between the global and the local.

In contrast, MacCannell thinks the quest for authenticity is the quest for real culture. He proposes the desire for authentic experiences makes tourists enter the settings of front stage and back stage, which are arranged in a continuum starting at the front and ending at the back (2013, p.101). The front stage is openly set up for tourists, while the back stage is more or less composed of authentic and real culture. The problem is that tourists always end up in settings decorated to look like the back stage, or even a false back, which present copies of real culture that disclose more realness than real culture itself does (MacCannell 2013, p.102). MacCannell believes tourists search for authentic and real culture, and it seems that they may simultaneously encounter the front stage and back stage in one tourist place. Or rather, what they see as authentic culture may merely be a staged authenticity or a

false back. A tourist setting may look authentic, but it may be set up for tourists. If a place offers real authentic culture, will it be enough to attract tourists to visit that place?

Authenticity might not be the top priority of the tourist experience. Boorstin contends, 'The tourist rarely likes the authentic product of the foreign culture, he prefers his own provincial expectations' (1962, p.114). In this case, authenticity may not be the most important goal for tourists, but rather, they expect to see spurious objects and places. Contrived culture and spurious objects may look attractive to tourists and they may be impressed with contrived culture that is set up and well presented in a place rather than searching for the real culture itself. Authenticity is thus all about producing the cultural value and cultural content of the place/object.

Unlike MacCannell, Eco states, 'What counts is not the authenticity of a piece, yet the amazing information it conveys' (1998, p.15). Authenticity pertains to the production of cultural value and meaning. Baudrillard also views authenticity as socially constructed rather than the quest for real culture. Authenticity is not inherently found in an object, place or tradition, as Benjamin and Wang state. Baudrillard thinks authenticity remains enchanting in contemporary society, but he does not place authenticity against pseudo-events and contrived culture as Boorstin does. For Baudrillard, authenticity is the exchange of signification and is embedded in a combination of references. Baudrillard talks about authenticity by looking at an antique object.

The antique object does not have any practical application and is not functional. On the contrary, it pertains to a very specific function within the system, which is merely to signify, in particular to signify time (Baudrillard 1996, p.77).

The existence of some objects does not depend on practical application, yet it responds to other demands, such as witness, nostalgia, etc. These objects are significations of time. Authenticity acts as a differential sign. In addition, Baudrillard stresses,

> No matter how authentic it is, there is always something false about it, and indeed, it is false in so far as it puts itself forward as authentic within a system whose basic principle is by no means authenticity, but rather the calculation of relationships and the abstractness of signs (1996, p.78).

What becomes authentic is embedded in the relation between the object and subject. Authenticity does not mark that object out as singular and distinctive, but rather, shows the play of differential signs. To stress, authenticity is associated with the antique object.

> The antique object constitutes the mythical evocation of birth in its temporal closure, with beating a path back to the origins meaning regression to the mother, while the demand for authenticity is reflected in an obsession with certainty as to the origin, date, author and signature of a work. Thus, authenticity always stems from the Father, which is the source of value (Baudrillard 1996, pp.80-81).

We might be unable to mark out the cultural content of the antique object as either distinctive or indistinctive. Instead, the antique object features a sign of origin, which shows regression to the past, and authenticity is the search for value, such as the moment of creation. An object does not intrinsically become authentic, but is socially created as authentic, depending on its origin and value. In the case of the two floating markets, authenticity is the important cultural content of the places that attracts tourists to visit them.

Furthermore, authenticity seems to be enmeshed in the relations between objects and context. As Baudrillard says, 'The quest for authenticity (being-founded-on-itself) is very precisely a quest for an alibi (being-elsewhere)' (1996, p.81). Again, authenticity does not inherently occur, but depends on the existence of others. Baudrillard uses an article titled *How to Fix Up Your Ruin* as an example, which shows what an architect does with an old farm in Ile-de-France (Baudrillard 1996, p.81). He talks about a warming pan in an oil-heated house.

> In an oil-heated house, a warming-pan is obviously quite superfluous. If it is not used it will no longer be authentic, it will become a mere cultural sign: the cultural, purposeless warming-pan will emerge as an all-too-faithful image of the vanity of the attempt to retrieve a natural state of affairs by rebuilding this house, and indeed, an all-too-faithful image of the architect himself who has no part to play here, since his entire social existence lies elsewhere; his very being is elsewhere. For him, nature is nothing but a cultural luxury (Baudrillard 1996, p.83).

The quest for authenticity seems to be the quest of others whose presence does not fit in that context, as seen in the example of the warming pan (outdated style) in an oil-heated house (modern style). An authentic object must be used to serve some purpose, albeit being present in an irrelevant context. Why does an authentic object need to be used? The search for authenticity is the search for an alibi that implicitly refers to the co-existence of a functional object with a mythological object in one context.

> A functional object that configures the loss of Father and the Mother is rich in functionality yet impoverished in meaning, whereby its frame of reference is the present moment and its possibilities do not extend beyond everyday life (Baudrillard 1996, pp.85-86).

A functional object does not inherently have meaning, but that does not mean the object has no meaning at all. The existence of a functional object is tied to its present context. A functional object is thus born with the loss of meaning and value.

> In contrast, the mythological object has minimal function and maximal meaning, while its frame of reference is the ancestral realm – perhaps even the realm of the absolute anteriority of nature (Baudrillard 1996, p.86).

The cultural content of the mythological object is embedded in the realm of tradition. A mythological object might have a practical application, but what significantly constitutes its existence is that it is rich in meaning. A mythological object dissociates itself from its context. The existence of the object should have appeared elsewhere,

where the signifying of its value or origin would be evident. Although the object must

be used to serve a purpose in order to become authentic, the usage of the

mythological object does not endow it with a practical application. Rather, its usage

depends on the existence of functional objects in the same context.

Baudrillard stresses, 'On the plane of direct experience, the antithetical traits of the

mythological and the functional can co-exist in complementary fashion within one

system, for instance, the architect has a peasant-style warming-pan in the oil-heated

house' (Baudrillard 1996, p.86). The mythological and the functional attributes of the

object can co-present in a complementary way in one system. Although the

mythological object has minimal function, it has maximal meaning, which may

associate it with the realm of tradition or the myth of origin. To ensure its being, the

mythological object searches for the existence of the functional object and vice versa.

In other words, the search for authenticity is the search for an alibi that lies in

another object. Constructing authenticity is dependent on the relations between

objects and context. Authenticity involves both social usage and a sign (value).

4.6.2 Series object

Apart from authenticity, the play of differences can be found in series objects. Some

places or objects tend to be inessentially different from others, whereby they pertain

to a model and a series of dynamics, or a socio-ideological system. Baudrillard notes,

The psycho-sociological dynamic of a model and series does not operate at the level

of the object's primary function, but only at the level of a secondary function, at the

level of the personalised object. That is to say, at the level of an object grounded

simultaneously in individual requirements and in that system of differences that is

the cultural system itself (1996, p.51).

Model and series do not rely on the objective function, rather the personalisation

function that involves the cultural system. Personalisation does not mark one object

out as distinctive, for the difference does not depend on practical application. The

object pertains to differential sign (value).

Regarding personalisation and integration, Baudrillard articulates,

> The model is discernible everywhere in the series, with the status of a model showing
>
> relative differences, which refers to how all the others create the idea of absolute
>
> difference (1996, pp.154-155).

A model presents relative differences between the series, but integrates all series.

Each series can refer back to the model. Again, this is not a singularity or specific

difference. Model and series are differential signs that are a matter of exchange. In

terms of cultural nostalgia, the model/series dynamic can also come into play. A

series object can also refer to serial time.

> By comparison with the model, the series does not stand only for a loss of
>
> uniqueness of style, of nuances and of authenticity, it stands also for the loss of the
>
> real dimension of time. The pure-series, the unmarked term, is located not exactly in
>
> the present, but instead in an immediate past, and serial time is always the time of

the wave before, whereby most people live in a time that is not theirs, a time of

generality, of insignificance, a time that is not modern but not yet antique

(Baudrillard 1996, pp.163-164).

Establishing value that relates to past tradition is another form of series.

Serial time thus dissociates itself from the real dimension of time, in that it does not

pertain to the present time or the past. Serial time, as differential signs, becomes

inessential time used to create inessential content and personalised difference.

Authenticity and model/series are the play of differences that make the floating

markets non-essentially different from each other.

4.7 The cultural consequences of globalisation

4.7.1 Simulacrum

Some theorists finalise the cultural consequences of globalisation and tourism, or think globalisation and tourism lead to different ends of culture, as seen in the following examples. Do globalisation and tourism lead to homogenisation? Ritzer and Liska propose the 'McDisneyisation' of the tourist industry, where tourist attractions not only look more like a Disney theme park, but also embrace the four basic principles of McDisneyisation: efficiency, calculability, predictability and non-human technology (1997, p.98). For Ritzer and Liska, tourist attractions engage with the McDisneyisation processes that trigger a standardised, or homogenised, tourist experience.

> Similar to Ritzer and Liska, Bryman introduces the term 'Disneyisation', which is deliberately set up as a set of changes that run parallel to those associated with McDonaldisation (2003, p.154).

> Bryman views Disney theme parks, and all theme parks modelled on them, as providing predictable tourist entertainment and exerting considerable control over their guests, such as through the use of non-human technology, and that those theme parks are highly efficient in their processing of guests (2003, p.155).

Bryman uses the Disney theme parks to exemplify patterned tourist places and standardised tourist experiences. Predictable tourist activities, together with efficient

tourist services, may be necessary to enable tourist attractions to meet travellers'

expectations, but can we separate homogenisation from diversification?

Diversification may be a homogenised tourist experience. For instance, Damnoen

Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets, which have both become popular tourist

attractions, offer different packages of Thai culture, namely local Thai culture and

four regional Thai cultures. Although the floating markets are patterned tourist

experiences, they offer different packages of Thai culture. Therefore, in the case of

these two floating markets, homogenisation and diversification overlap.

In contrast to homogenisation, Lash and Urry argue that, 'The mass holiday in which

all customers were treated as relatively similar has declined in popularity' (1994,

p.273). The two floating markets do not provide tourists with a mass holiday, but one

of the floating markets might specifically respond to a different group of tourists. For

instance, Pattaya Floating Market is orientated towards Chinese tourists, and thus

Thai culture is tailor-made for them. The effect of globalisation is not homogenised,

but instead varies according to the locale. As Baudrillard states, globalisation is

homogenised yet fragmented. Therefore, we may not be able to finalise the cultural

consequence of globalisation.

> Baudrillard's analysis is not a matter of the disappearance of differences, rather the
>
> erosion of their strength and their reciprocal incommensurability (Sassatelli 2002,
>
> p.521).

Globalisation does not trigger the disappearance of different social and cultural

forms. Rather, with globalisation, social forms and cultural forms become

exchangeable and replaceable with one another. Instead of finalising the cultural

consequence of globalisation, this thesis suggests that globalisation leads to

simulation. Simulation is not a new concept. It has been discussed by some leading

theorists in the areas of globalisation and tourism. For globalisation, Ritzer, as stated

in the previous section, proposes a similar concept to simulation – 'the globalisation

of nothing', which means social forms lacking distinctive cultural content.

Although these two concepts sound similar, they are not the same. A simulacrum

does not have to be a 'nothing' form, however, conversely, both distinctive and

indistinctive cultural content can be simulacra. Cultural simulation makes local culture

exist and retain an enchantment in globalisation and tourism. Another theorist whose

work parallels Baudrillard's is Eco, as seen in his collection of essays called *Travels in

Hyperreality*. Eco uses America to exemplify hyperreality.

> America enters hyperreality in search of instances where the American imagination
>
> demands the real thing and, to attain it, must fabricate the absolute fake, meaning
>
> falsehood is enjoyed in a situation of fullness (Eco 1998, p.8).

The absolute fake turns out to be the real and acts as the real. Although Eco's

viewpoint is generally similar to Baudrillard, Baudrillard is more pessimistic.

Baudrillard does not see the fake as the real and does not even use the word 'fake' in

opposition to the real. For Baudrillard, simulation is not about the fake becoming the

real. This is because the fake can imitate the real, yet simulation is not about

imitating the real. Instead, it becomes the real itself. As Baudrillard states,

'Simulacrum involves substituting signs of the real for the real itself; that is, an

operation to deter every real process by its operational double, whereas simulation

threatens the difference between true and false, between real and imaginary'

(Baudrillard 1983, pp.4-5).

Simulation is not about being a copy, or fake, as if it is a copy or duplication, the

difference between the real and the false still appears. A copy that is about imitating

the real does not, and never will, become the real, as is the case with a real iPhone

and a fake one. We are able to tell the difference between these two although they

look alike, as a fake iPhone might not function properly, or might be a different colour

from the real one. Unlike a copy, simulation attempts to devour the real. Signs of the

real eclipse the real so as to become the real itself. The difference between the real

and unreal becomes blurred, or even irrelevant. Simulation corrupts the original,

whereby the purpose of the original becomes exchangeable with, and substituted for,

signs.

In his book *Simulations*, Baudrillard proposes three orders of appearance that run

parallel to the mutations of the law of value, including counterfeit, production and

simulation (1983, p.83). In addition, the way Baudrillard talks about the orders of

simulacra makes him different from Eco, in that Baudrillard views simulation as a

process that causes changes in contemporary society.

> Baudrillard proposes that, in the first order of simulacrum, based on the natural law
>
> of value, counterfeit (and fashion at the same time) is born with the destructuring of
>
> the feudal order by the bourgeois order and the emergence of open competition on
>
> the level of the distinctive sign (1983, pp.83-84).

The sign that used to tie in with social class and mark a specific meaning in the age of feudalism and ancient culture is no longer restricted to the realm of traditional culture. It is de-traditionalised and free from its own realm.

> This marks the end of the obliged sign and the beginning of the reign of the emancipated sign, with us passing from a limited order of signs to a proliferation of signs, according to demand (Baudrillard 1983, p.85). The first-order of simulacrum never abolishes the difference, rather it presupposes an always detectable dispute between semblance and reality (Baudrillard 1983, pp.94-95).

The sign becomes arbitrary, in that the signifier does not refer to the specific signified. The capitalist economic system, along with market demand, bolsters the proliferation of signs. Signs of the object, and of the tourist places, are modified and reconstructed in globalisation and tourism. Simulation does not make original local culture disappear, rather the existence of the original culture depends on simulation. In this stage, original culture is one of the elements of simulation. In the first order of simulacrum, the counterfeit still displays reference to the real.

In contrast to the first order of simulacrum, the third order of simulacrum sees the emergence of the hyperreal, in which signs of the real become more real.

> Here it is a question of a reversal of origin and finality, for all the forms change once they are not so much mechanically reproduced but even conceived from the point of view of their very reproducibility, diffracted from a generating nucleus we call the

model. Here we are in the third-order simulacra, playing with the structural law of value, and here are the models from which proceed all forms according to the modulation of their differences (Baudrillard 1983, pp.100-101).

In the third order of simulacrum, it is not about the disappearance of the real, rather it is that the real can be generated and reproduced indefinitely. This stage is marked out with a reversal of origin and finality. The real is not fixed, but deconstructed and reconstructed according to the model. The model of the real and sign of the real that substitute the real turn out to produce social forms. This leads to the precession of simulacra – 'Simulation is the generation by models of a real without origin or reality. For instance, the territory no longer precedes the map, instead the map comes to precede the territory, or it is the map that engenders the territory' (Baudrillard 1983, p.2). Simulacrum generates the real, which does not bear any relation to the origin.

4.7.2 Simulation and media

Moreover, the third order of simulacrum is the stage at which the media plays an important role in reconstructing and disseminating reality. Concerning film tourism, Buchmann, Moore and Fisher interestingly propose, 'Film tourism has two layers of complexity that combine representations, simulations and contrivances with real-world travel to specific destinations that are either associated with the production of a film or have been depicted in a film' (2010, p.233). Although what we see in a film is a representation and constructed image, corporeal travel enables us to experience the real place. It implies simulated travel is a supplement to corporeal travel to the

real place and vice versa. However, in some cases, film or the media do not represent

reality, rather they recreate reality.

> Baudrillard highlights that, today, the object is no longer functional in the traditional
>
> meaning of the word; it no longer serves you, it tests you, and both objects and
>
> information result from a selection, a montage, from a point of view (1983, p.120).

> They have broken down reality into simple elements that they have reassembled into
>
> scenarios of regulated oppositions (Baudrillard 1983, p.120).

In this case, the media do not produce the real. Rather, reality is selected to be

presented via the media. What we see is the mediated reality. Reality can be

rearranged into different scenarios.

4.7.3 The deterrence model

 Another element of the third order of simulacrum is the deterrence model.

Baudrillard notes that, 'Hyperreality and simulation are deterrents of every principle

and every objective, they turn against power the deterrent that it used so well for

such a long time' (1994, p.22). Deterrence means inability to access the real.

Baudrillard discusses Disneyland and Beaubourg[10] as examples of the deterrence

model. Baudrillard is not the first person to talk about Disneyland in this way, though.

Eco also perceives Disneyland as hyperreal, in that he regards Disneyland as a falsified

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[10] 'Beaubourg centres on the Centre Pompidou, and it is one of the most city's popular and
recognisable landmarks, and one of the twentieth century's most radical buildings' (Rough Guides
2018)

experience. Disneyland can present its reconstructions as masterpieces of falsification, for what it sells is genuine merchandise, not reproductions, but what is falsified is our will to buy, which we take as real (Eco 1998, p.43). Disneyland is the absolute fake that reproduces the real, and what is presented there is falsification. Although the goods that are sold there are real, our needs for those goods are false, and the value of them is fabricated. We go to Disneyland and purchase goods because they are Disneyland items, not items themselves. In this case, an object is not valued as an object, but rather decoded to give a cultural message.

In this way, Disneyland represents consumer ideology (Eco 1998, p.43). Disneyland as the falsified experience affects our will and need to buy goods. Disneyland is a falsified place that reproduces the real world, yet still separates itself from the real. It does not become the real, for outside Disneyland is still the real country. A falsified experience for Eco is not the same as a hyperreal experience for Baudrillard, although it is very close. For Baudrillard, a hyperreal experience causes a reversal of origin that does not relate to the real at all, as seen in the case of Disneyland creating the experience of America rather than the other way round. To put it further than Eco, a hyperreal experience acts as deterrent that even denies us the ability to access the real. Disneyland is the totality of culture. Baudrillard elaborates on Disneyland.

> Disneyland is there to conceal the fact that it is the real country, all of real America, which is Disneyland. It is presented as imaginary so as to make us believe that the rest is real, when in fact all of Los Angeles and the America surrounding it are no longer real, but of the order of the hyperreal and of simulation (Baudrillard 1983, p.25).

This implies an inverse relationship between Disneyland and America, where Disneyland turns out to represent the real country and America is not real. There is also a reversal of origin, whereby America, the real country, becomes the simulacrum of Disneyland. In other words, miniaturised units of Disneyland constitute the reality of America. 'The Disneyland imaginary is neither true nor false, instead it is a deterrence machine set up in order to rejuvenate in reverse the fiction of the real' (Baudrillard 1983, p.25). We cannot see Disneyland as either true or false, for the distinction between true and false is unclear. Disneyland as a deterrence model causes a reverse of reality, hence any access to reality is impossible.

Apart from Disneyland, another deterrence model, called The Beaubourg Effect, is illustrated in Baudrillard's work.

> The whole social discourse is there, and both on this level and that of cultural manipulation, Beaubourg, the space of deterrence, is – in total contradiction to its staged objectives – a brilliant monument to modernity (Baudrillard 1994, pp.4 and 62).

> Granted, the entire cultural contents of Beaubourg are anachronistic, since only an interior void could have corresponded to this architectural envelope. The culture itself is dead. One should have erected a monument, or anti-monument, equivalent to the phallic inanity of the Eiffel Tower (Baudrillard, Rosalind and Michelson 1982, p.4).

As a deterrence model, Beaubourg does not only deter any attempt to access the real culture, but also causes the real culture to be neutralised. This is a further stage of the hyperreal. Beaubourg looks like a cultural centre that absorbs all of its surroundings and surrounding culture, which leads to the destruction of all its cultural contents. The place produces social discourse by manipulating culture. Its cultural contents are anachronistic. The incongruence of its cultural contents, especially the re-construction of the Eiffel Tower in Beaubourg/ the centre Georges Pompidou, makes the place become a completely creation (hyperreal).

> Furthermore, Baudrillard, Rosalind and Michelson stress that Beaubourg actually illustrates the fact that an order of simulacra is maintained only by the alibi of a preceding order, whereby a body entirely composed of flux and surface connections chooses for its content the traditional culture of depth. Thus, an anterior order of simulacra now supplies the empty substance of a later order (1982, p.6).

For Beaubourg, each order of the simulacra does not independently exist, but interrelates with the others. The alibi of a preceding order maintains the existence of a subsequent order and a preceding order, giving cultural meaning to the empty substance of a subsequent one. Furthermore, the process of simulation produces the masses.

> One invites the masses to participate, to simulate, and to play with the models – they go one better: they participate and manipulate so well that they efface all the meaning. Thus, they become hypersimulated in response to cultural simulation and, in turn, become the agents of the execution of this culture (Baudrillard 1994, p.66).

The masses come to see and enjoy simulation of culture. Their participation in cultural simulation erodes the meaning of culture. Their response to cultural simulation is thus simulation of action. This is because what is produced is not a real social form but a simulated version. The deterrence model and simulation affect the agency of people. Hyperreality and the deterrence model lead to what Baudrillard calls 'the production of the masses' (1994, p.68). 'The masses are the increasingly dense sphere in which the whole social comes to be imploded, and to be devoured in an uninterrupted process of simulation' (Baudrillard 1994, p.68). Orders of simulacra, along with the process of simulation, produce social forms that the masses have to follow, which Baudrillard believes they are happy to do. Action of the masses maintains the process of simulation, while simulation produces social forms and meaning for the masses. Therefore, simulation is indefinitely reproduced in contemporary society.

4.8 Conclusion and critiques of Baudrillard

Both tourists and local people are regulated by exchange-value. However, travellers who come to spend their free time in a faraway place and consume tourist objects can co-produce a tourist place by gazing upon the place and objects, and following or recreating cultural scripts. Tourists are reflexive, yet sometimes un-reflexive, as their social practice in tourism associates with that found in the everyday/ordinary, such as social practice in working time. Likewise, local people can be reflexive and un-reflexive. The performance of local people is constrained by the diktats of the market, especially in accordance with tourists' imagination and expectations, though they are able to produce the meaning of local culture and manufacture tourist objects and places. Both tourists and local people, to some extent, can exercise agency in tourism.

Although Baudrillard's theory on leisure enables us to understand the impacts of the economic system on tourism, one important point is left unclear. Baudrillard states, 'Free time that is economically unproductive is the time of a production of value' (1998, p.157). Economically unproductive time means people having a break from their working time, or spending their free time doing nothing productive, such as not producing goods and earning an income. This seems to be right in the realm of leisure. Doing nothing productive in leisure turns out to produce value.

But is free time in tourism really economically unproductive? If this is the case, why does tourism generate a considerable amount of income for a destination country, and what feeds on the production of local culture? Tourists have to pay for free time

on holiday. In this manner, they can trigger economically productive labour that facilitates flows of capital in tourism. Tourist expenditure enables local people to produce, and reproduce, a tourist place and a tourist object. Tourists don't want to do anything productive during their holidays, yet paradoxically they may provide economically productive labour.

Baudrillard's theory enables this thesis to critically examine the way the floating markets are tourist attractions, and how they produce cultural value when encountering tourism. Globalisation and tourism construct simulation of culture in the local. Despite being subject to global flows, each place enters a different order of simulacrum. However, in Baudrillard's conceptions of signs, the system of objects and simulation has some limitations. Sandywell states, 'The splitting and differentiation of traditional images of the subject are institutionalised by the commodification of everyday life relations, fragmented lifestyle politics, targeted leisure cultures, with identity being marketed as a consumer process (commodities as identity confirming values, signifying social-status differences and power)' (1995, p.145).

Baudrillard appears to underestimate the importance of the subject in constituting its everyday life. The subject does not tie in with the realms of tradition, culture and institutions. People are liberated from traditions and structures. The everyday life of people is commodified by the economic exchange-value of capitalism, and their cultures and identities are subordinated to economic power and the commodification process. Baudrillard's theory is a one-sided take on structure that happens to

influence agency, while his theory does not allow us to see how agency reflexively constitutes social form and structure.

In addition, Gottdiener talks of a journey toward reductionism in pursuit of an extreme vision – the reduction of all life to the hyperreal in the culture of postmodernity (in Kellner and in Sandywell 1995, p.146). For Baudrillard, people's everyday life involves a hyperreal version of culture. People can only access representation of culture, or simulacrum of culture. He denies the existence of real culture, since culture is commodified when it encounters the capitalist economy and global flows. In this manner, culture is regarded as a consumption process.

However, Baudrillard does not take the dynamics of culture into account. Culture is not static but subject to change, according to other external forces, such as virtual identity, the media, power or authority. It may also be subject to internal forces, whereby people can modify and adapt their culture to global flows so that their culture can exist in a current context. To understand the dynamics of culture, we can look back at Hannerz's cosmopolitanism, for example[11], which emphasises cultural diversity (2004). People are able to experience other cultures while preserving their own culture in a changing context.

Regarding the orders of simulacra, it is not clear how these orders are developed and how the system of simulation is sustained. As Sandywell contends, 'Baudrillard is vague about these historical and sociological linkages, and the dynamic connections

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[11] Please refer back to the literature review chapter on globalisation

between simulacral orders and epochal systems are left untheorised' (1995, p.133).
Baudrillard does not state explicitly how each order of simulacrum connects with
different historical periods. Thus, it remains unclear how each order of simulacrum
overlaps in contemporary society.

Also, Baudrillard blames capital for being the primary cause of the emancipated sign,
whereby the sign proliferates in accordance with the diktats of the market.
Baudrillard's theory, to some extent, seems to be economic reductionism. Later in his
work, he treats simulation as a totality, which he generalises too much, especially
regarding its influence over other structures and agency. Therefore, we need to use
Baudrillard's theory carefully and not become overwhelmed with his pessimistic
imagination.

Having discussed Baudrillard's theory, the next chapter will present the research
methods.

Chapter 5

Methods

5.1 Introduction

Having elaborated on the relevant literature on globalisation and tourism, this chapter discusses the research methods used in this thesis. To begin this chapter, paradigm debates on research methods, along with possible research techniques, will be discussed, followed by a section on general ethical considerations. It then moves on to talk about data-collection phases, including preliminary research in Thailand and fieldwork in Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets. It also presents the data analysis and ethical considerations that have been employed and discusses the limitations in the research techniques.

5.2 Paradigm debates

Prior to presenting the research techniques, debates on qualitative and quantitative research will be discussed. Regarding the debate on paradigms, qualitative and quantitative paradigms are unlikely to be commensurable, since they study different phenomena. They come from different paradigms. The quantitative paradigm relies on positivism, characterised by empirical indicators, objective reality and independence of human perception (Sellitz, Wrightsman and Cook 1967, p.44). Indeed, quantitative methodology involves objectivity, replicability and causality, while qualitative methodology focuses on seeing the social world from the point of view of the actor (Bryman 1984, p.77).

Since the quantitative method presents empirical indicators, especially figures, people think it is more reliable than its counterpart. But although quantitative research makes people access objective reality, it might not be suitable in the study of some research topics. Indicators from different types of scale cannot measure the in-depth understanding of people. Qualitative research seems to be the more appropriate method to access people's lifeworlds than the quantitative method. However, we should not pit one technique against the other, and should not regard one as superior to the other. One of them will always be more appropriate for certain research topics than the other.

Unlike quantitative research, the qualitative paradigm is dependent upon interpretivism, as well as constructivism, which is enmeshed in multiple realities and one's construction of reality (Sellitz, Wrightsman and Cook 1967, p.45) (See also Altheide and Johnson 1994, Kuzel and Like 1991, Secker et al. 1995). Berger and Luckman argue that reality is socially constructed and also constantly changed (Sellitz, Wrightsman and Cook 1967, p.45). With people's construction of reality, qualitative research enables us to study their understanding and interpretation of this social phenomenon. There is no single criterion for judging one social event, rather one social event relates to multiple realities, in which reality depends on people's different interpretation and their backgrounds.

In addition, Bryman stresses the difference between these two methods, with each being designed to identify distinctive research questions (2007, p.9). This is because each of them has a different paradigm, and each paradigm allows us to answer different research questions. For instance, what are the factors that make the two floating markets tourist attractions? This research question fits in the quantitative paradigm, which gives empirical indicators to warrant replicability and causality. Whereas the research question that asks 'In what way are the floating markets tourist attractions?' matches the qualitative paradigm that helps me obtain multiple realities of the social event. This thesis does not need quantitative research, as it aims to study interpretation and an in-depth understanding of people. Looking back at the research questions of the thesis, they are designed to use qualitative research.

Qualitative research enables this thesis to grasp multiple social realities, meaning each social situation can be interpreted differently. Social situations, or social phenomena, might not inherently occur, but they are socially constructed. For example, workers might view the emergence of the floating markets as being about serving tourism or restoring local cultural value. The qualitative method is therefore suitable for this thesis, as it offers multiple social meanings and allows the researcher to understand people's construction of reality, for instance, via interviews that elicit social meaning from interviewees.

5.3 Discussion of possible qualitative-research techniques

There are two possible research techniques that can be used here, including participant observation and photo-elicitation. Beginning with participant observation, Bryman states that the participant observer's contact with a social setting can allow the context of people's behaviour to be mapped out fully and lead to uncovering unexpected topics (2012, p.480). Along with participant observation, photo-elicitation is another useful technique. I used visual evidence to formulate interview questions. Before undertaking preliminary research in Thailand, I contacted a key informant at Damnoen Saduak Floating Market to ask him about access to the place. He emailed me five photographs[12] of the original and real floating market from 70-80 years ago. I compared those photographs with the current Damnoen Saduak Floating Market and noted significant changes had occurred in the market.

The photographs enabled me to narrow down the scope of the interview questions, and identify the issues that should be addressed. For example, I saw floating vendors in the old photographs, yet in the current floating market most vendors are stationed by the river banks, and shop houses had been constructed alongside the canals. Only some vendors were floating on the canals. Therefore, one of my interview questions for local workers was, 'Why didn't some vendors row their boats?', and they replied, 'Those vendors did not come by boat to the market', and, 'They travelled to the floating market by car, then put products and food on the boats to sell to tourists.' I

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[12] Please see Appendix IV for these photographs

used visual evidence to formulate interview questions prior to conducting my

preliminary research and fieldwork, but I did not use it during my research.

Although participant observation and photo-elicitation enable us to immerse

ourselves in a research setting, these methods could be deemed inappropriate for my

thesis. However, it depends on each particular case. Participant observation has been

viable for other researchers in different contexts. Two other pieces of research

recently carried out on Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets were

undertaken by Cohen (2016) and Pongajarn, van der Duim and Peters (2016), using

participant observation as the research technique. Cohen was a foreign researcher,

while Pongajarn's work was co-written with two Western researchers.

In my case, however, I was a Thai researcher and single author. There is a difference

between conducting research in a Thai context and in a Western context. Thai people

are unwilling to give information to researchers. They do not care about participating

in research as it is not their business. They regard taking part in interviews and

research as a waste of their time. Additionally, in the context of Thai culture, it is

important to have consideration for others' feelings. In this case, it was a cultural

aspect that really worried me before entering the settings.

If I had accessed the settings as a researcher without being aware of this, I would

have been regarded as an obtrusive person and ill-mannered. I did not personally

know any informants in Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets prior to my

research, so I did not want to ask for too much help from them as I did not want to

bother or inconvenience them. When I was going to undertake participant

observation, I would inform the people in charge of the markets and gain permission

from them in advance, so they would know I was coming to the markets to research

and watch the local workers. Thai people, especially in these two markets, which are

regarded as a private space, do not like being watched by outsiders or being the

subject of research. When the key informant introduced me to workers in Damnoen

Saduak Floating Market, some of them looked at me suspiciously and said they were

busy and did not have time to take part in my research. Some always took note of

who I was talking to in the market, and how that interviewee answered my questions.

Thus, when I visited the market to conduct participant observation, I was watched by

the workers.

Similarly, if I had used photo-elicitation and taken photographs by myself and brought

photographs along to the interviews, I thought they would feel like 'this talk was too

formal'. It could make them wary and discourage them from participating in the

research. Additionally, producing photographs during an interview might have caused

them to take longer than just talking. People in the markets did not want to spend

much time talking to an outsider, or researcher. They thought it was not their job to

answer questions or talk about the market. Prior to the interviews in Damnoen

Saduak Floating Market, one worker told me, 'We have got nothing to tell you and we

are so busy with tourists.' Due to this cultural aspect, I chose to carry out interviews

with workers and documentary research and survey with tourists.

5.4 Chosen research techniques: interview, documentary research and qualitative survey interview

This thesis suggests that interview and documentary research are the most suitable techniques for its research purpose. What does the qualitative-research interview aim to do? According to DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree, it aims to form a body of knowledge that is conceptual, as well as theoretical, based on the meanings of interviewees' life experiences (2006, p.314). Similarly, 'The qualitative research interview attempts to understand the world from the subject's viewpoint in order to reveal the meaning of people's experiences and their lived world, prior to scientific explanations' (Kvale 1996, p.1).

Conducting an interview enables us to access the lifeworld of interviewees, and to see how they understand social events from their own perception. 'The interview is a research-gathering approach that seeks to create a listening space, where meaning has been constructed through an interexchange, and the co-creation of verbal points of view in the interests of scientific knowledge' (Miller and Crabtree 2004, p.185). The qualitative interview focuses on learning and understanding different meanings of social circumstances, as well as the experiences from the subject's viewpoint. By allowing the subject the space to talk, and by listening to their voices, we can obtain multiple social meanings and understand their life experiences.

In addition, an interview refers to the interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee. Rapley perceives the interview as an inherently social encounter that

relies on local interactional contingencies from which the interviewer and interviewee can draw, and co-construct broader social norms (2001, p.303). An interview is a way of co-constructing social reality, and interaction between the two parties affects the meanings of social events. In an interview, not only can I listen to the interviewee's voice, but the interviewee can also exchange opinions with me. The interview helps both parties to express and exchange their viewpoints.

To collect data from workers in Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets, this thesis employs the semi-structured interview – 'a technique where the researcher has a list of questions of fairly specific topics to be covered, referred to as an interview guide' (Bryman 2012, p.471).

> Bryman saw qualitative interviewing as a useful research method to access an individual's attitudes and values, particularly with regard to open-ended and flexible questions that tend to get a more considered response than closed questions. This enables the researcher to better delve into the interviewee's views and access their interpretation of events and opinions, together with their experiences (in Silverman 2011, p.167).

This thesis prepares a list of questions to be used as a guideline during interviews, and to allow for a variety of responses to come up. Interview questions should not be closed questions, but rather open-ended ones that facilitate relevant issues to emerge in the interviewee's answers and assist the interviewer's follow-up questions. To generate data concerning the interpretation of local workers, interviews were conducted with two groups of Thai workers, one at Damnoen Saduak Floating Market

and the other at Pattaya Floating Market. For example, they were asked how they were involved in tourism in the floating markets, how they perceived the floating markets, how they provided services to tourists, how each tourist activity related to their local culture, how they valued the markets, and so on.

Apart from interviews, documentary research and survey were used to study tourists' perceptions and experiences of the floating markets. Documentary research was the technique used for analysing a sample of online consumer comments. As mentioned previously, one of the aspects of Thai culture is that people have consideration for other people's feelings. I wanted to talk to tourists, yet I was very considerate. I did not want to bother them while they were sightseeing at the floating markets. Thai people regard foreign tourists as important guests. Also, I felt a bit awkward and shy about approaching foreigners and stopping them for an interview. Many tourists were wary of Thai strangers who approached them on street in case they turned out to be robbers, illegal tour guides, taxi drivers or even prostitutes. Therefore, I thought documentary research and surveys would be an appropriate technique for studying their perception of the floating markets without causing them any inconvenience.

The TripAdvisor website was researched to study tourist perceptions of the floating markets, with attention being paid to what they consumed in the markets, how the markets related to Thai culture, and so on. TripAdvisor is one of the best-known tourism websites, on which tourists can share experiences with one another and learn about different destinations. Data collected from interviews, along with evidence gleaned from TripAdvisor provided the basis for this thesis's research into

globalisation and tourism in Thailand, and how foreign tourists interact with local

people and vice versa. Researching comments on TripAdvisor enabled the researcher

to access tourist accounts of Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets without

bothering them during their tours in the markets. It also meant their accounts were

not framed by any questions.

Previous tourism research has also used TripAdvisor in case studies. Giousmpasoglou

and Marinakou explore how users in tourism accept and use technology based on its

perceived usefulness and perceived ease-of-use, in this case TripAdvisor (2016).

Another paper examines consumer-generated content on TripAdvisor, using the city

of Lisbon as a case study to explore how users collaborated to present an image of a

destination (Miguens, Baggio and Costa 2008, p.26). Tuominen also studies the

influence of TripAdvisor to address the consequences of user-generated travel

reviews and ratings that were largely undefined and unrehearsed within the

hospitality industry (2011). TripAdvisor has thus become an important source of data

in the research of a number of tourism issues.

However, although we are able to study informants' perceptions of issues through

comments on websites such as TripAdvisor, some scholars cast doubt upon the

authenticity of such an action. The authenticity criterion questions whether the

purported author of a document is the real author (Bryman 2012, p.545). It must be

pointed out that the comments that are posted on TripAdvisor might be made up, or

do not relate to the place the posters actually visited. In the case of the floating

markets, it might be hard to know whether or not all of them have actually been to

them, and they might not recognise which floating market they have been to. They may post comments about the wrong floating market and their comments might not relate to the one they have been to. For instance, a poster may write that one should get up early to see Pattaya Floating Market at its best, when they must have meant Damneon Saduak Floating Market, as this is the one that starts early in the morning, whereas Pattaya Floating Market does not open until 10am.

In order to study tourist perceptions of floating markets in Thailand, survey data were used in a complementary way with data obtained from TripAdvisor. This was because data from TripAdvisor reflected tourist perceptions and interpretations of the floating markets in general, rather than any specific tourist grouping. I therefore carried out qualitative survey interviews with Western tourists staying on Khao San Road, a place renowned for being popular with backpackers in Bangkok. This area is more popular among Western tourists than Asian tourists. The surveys allowed me to study people's experiences of the floating markets and Thai culture from the point of view of a specific tourist grouping.

In this case, it was not a quantitative survey that asked tourists to give scores or rate their experiences, instead it was a qualitative survey that contained semi-structured interview questions, where tourists could write their answers under each question. The survey enables us to directly learn about their experience as tourists, and about their interpretations. However, the survey did not allow me to discover whether or not their experience of the floating markets was recent. Some of them had experienced the floating markets during previous visits to Thailand. Additionally, the

hotel might have asked tourists to complete the surveys when they were in a hurry. Some answers were short and incomplete.

Details of the research techniques selected for data collection, as well as their limitations, will be further discussed in the fieldwork section.

5.5 How to connect existing literature to the research questions

My research juxtaposes the deductive and inductive approaches. I started my research by exploring a wide range of literature on globalisation and tourism. I found Baudrillard's theories worth studying and investigating because he offers insightful and critical views on contemporary society, particularly on representation and simulacrum. Baudrillard's theory is the constant theme of this research.

I then examined the theories by using the case studies of Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets, and although these theories are broad, I engaged with and investigated the parts of them that are relevant to the case studies. The relevant theories and fieldwork enabled me to formulate research questions in order to see to what extent the theories can fit into the context of Thailand, and vice versa. In other words, this thesis moves from the existing literature to empirical data, and then refers back and forth to both in order to strengthen arguments.

5.6 General ethical considerations

General personal information of the interviewees was used**,** namely their name, nationality and occupation, though pseudonyms for each participant were used in the research in order to protect the participants' anonymity. The interviews were voice-recorded, with all the data securely kept in a password-protected file. Prior to each interview, I clearly asked each participant whether they would like the end result to be sent to them. If they did wish to receive it, their email address was requested, with the reassurance that it would not be passed on to anyone else. Throughout the interviews, I made every attempt to ask participants to clarify any information that was unclear.

If participants refused to be voice-recorded, I would not insist. To secure participants' informed consent, in each interview the researcher signed the information sheet to guarantee that all personal data would be kept confidential, or they said they agreed to participate in the interview. This ensured that interviews were conducted in accordance with terms and conditions agreed by both the participants and the researcher. Prior to the interviews, participants were told they could withdraw from the interview at any time if they found that it did not meet the terms and conditions. Only people over 18 years old, who were able to give their own informed consent, were interviewed. Information about gaining access to the research settings and approaching each group of interviewees will be presented in the fieldwork section.

5.7 Processing and analysing data: coding

Data collected from the interviews, documentary research and surveys were codified in order to discover the significant themes of workers and of tourists. Grbich defined coding as a process that allows data to be grouped, differentiated and relinked, so as to consolidate meaning and explanation (in Saldana 2013, p.9). There are several ways to code data, yet this thesis applies mixed coding methods. The first step of the coding method is called 'descriptive coding'. Saldana explained this as summarising data in a word, or short phrases, which can lead to a categorised inventory as well as an index of the data's contents, and is also suitable when studying a wide variety of data forms (Saldana 2013, p.88). Descriptive coding is thus a way to group and categorise data.

The second step of the coding method, 'hypothesis coding', was then applied. Saldana suggests, 'Hypothesis coding is the application of a research-generated, predetermined list of codes, in order to access a researcher-generated hypothesis which is suitable for hypothesis testing and content analysis' (2013, p.147). The second step ensures that the data fits into the research assumption and theory-driven codes. These two coding methods enabled me to engage a broad exploration of the data in the first stage (descriptive coding), and critically investigate data in the second (hypothesis coding). Further details on coding different types of data are elaborated on in the fieldwork section.

5.8 Preliminary research in Thailand

I conducted a pilot study from July to September 2014, in order to try out research techniques, namely interviews and participant observation. At first, I thought participant observation was feasible, and so I chose four research settings: Damnoen Saduak Floating Market, Amphawa Floating Market, Pattaya Floating Market and Khao San Road. The first two settings are in Ratchaburi and Samut Songkhram provinces in the west of Thailand, while Pattaya Floating Market is in Chonburi Province, in the east of Thailand. All of these markets are popular tourist attractions and are always packed with Thai and foreign tourists.

Interview and research preparations

Before conducting the pilot study, I submitted an ethics form and all of the required documents to the Research Ethics Committee. I prepared each 10 semi-structured interview questions for foreign tourists and workers.

Data Collection

First, I went to Amphawa Floating Market to observe the place and people, and then to Khao San Road in Bangkok, and spent about a week at the Rikka Inn hotel, which was centrally located on Khao San Road. It was clear I was entering the setting as a researcher, for the hotel asked to see my passport when I checked in. I introduced

myself to the receptionists in Thai so the hotel knew that I was there as a PhD student

to conduct interviews with foreign tourists.

While I was staying there, I only managed to interview a few workers and two

tourists. Most tourists on Khao San Road were unwilling to talk and appeared to be

suspicious of my research. When I stopped them and asked for interviews, most of

them said, 'Sorry, I'm really tired', or 'I don't have time.' I interviewed one British

tourist at a bus stop, yet she was unable to finish all of the interview questions as her

bus came. I interviewed some workers, but again, most of them were suspicious of

my research. They were unwilling to talk to me, so I showed them my Kent student ID

card. Hotel workers, traders and Thai taxi drivers Road (tuk-tuk drivers) on Khao San

Road were not welcoming to Thai people.

I purchased a well-known half-day package tour from Khao San Road to Damnoen

Saduak Floating Market (a 90-minute drive away), for which a minivan picked up

tourists from various hotels in the area and drove them to the market. My younger

sister and I joined a group tour, and the tour guide assumed we were Asian tourists.

They spoke English with us. When we arrived at the market, we acted like foreign

tourists (Asian) to get an experience of the floating market from a tourist's viewpoint.

We spoke English to each other while we were there. A boat-service owner and a

boat rower spoke English with us.

After leaving Khao San Road, I went to Amphawa Floating Market and stayed in a

local homestay for almost a week and interviewed some local workers. They knew

the purpose of my visit, and I behaved as a researcher when I was there. I explained

my research purpose to the owner of the homestay, who advised me who I should

interview. While I was staying in Amphawa, I took a day trip to Damnoen Saduak

Floating Market (a 20-minutre drive[13]), and found that the workers' interaction with

Thai tourists was markedly different from that with foreign tourists. I also interviewed

some of the workers to discover the difference in how they interacted with Thai

tourists. They sold items at a lower price to Thai tourists and stated, 'This is a price for

Thai people.' With regard to Pattaya Floating Market, I did not have enough time to

carry out any interviews and so just observed the place. Field notes were the main

tools for recording all the interviews from the pilot study.

Samples of findings

Conducting the pilot study enabled me to realise which case studies were feasible

and which were not. I decided to conduct further research in only two settings:

Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets. This was because these two markets

exemplified the influence of globalisation over tourism in Thailand, and the changes

in these settings could be compared and contrasted with each other. I chose not to

study Amphawa Floating Market since it has many similarities to Damnoen Saduak

Floating Market, and was more popular among Thai tourists than foreign visitors. I

also ruled out studying Khao San Road, as it was a completely different type of tourist

attraction and could not be compared with the floating markets.

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[13] Amphawa Floating Market was pretty close to Damneon Saduak Floating Market, about a 20-minute drive away. Tourists could easily travel there by local minivan.

Examples of data collected from the preliminary research

Interaction between vendors and tourists

From the pilot study, I learnt about the different forms of interaction between tourists and local people (sellers and vendors). As stated previously, I bought a half-day tour from Khao San Road, Bangkok, to Damnoen Saduak Floating Market. When I arrived at the market, the tour guide informed us, 'You can pay 250 baht [about 4.5 GB pounds] for a 20-minute rowing-boat ride.' The tour guide arranged a meeting point and time for the boat ride outside of the market. We queued up at a boat-service point (called J'Muay Boat Service) where it had been arranged for four tourists to be seated in one boat. My sister and I were in the same boat as two Englishmen[14] and we were paddled around the market. We passed several shops where sellers tried to engage with foreign tourists in order to sell them souvenirs, beverages and typical Thai food.

During our boat trip in Damnoen Saduak Floating Market, tourist boats were constantly stopped by market vendors. Most were touting for foreign tourists to buy overpriced products, yet some of the tourists knew this and initially refused to buy from them. Negotiations would begin, in which vendors offered lower and lower prices. The following situation is an example of this. A floating vendor stopped our boat to sell silk bed linen for 1,800 baht (about 34.47 GB pounds). At first, one of the Englishmen refused to buy it, stating that it was too expensive, so the seller said she

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[14] I recognised their nationalities from their accents

would sell it to him for 1,000 baht (about 20 GB pounds), showing him the price on a calculator. The Englishman insisted it was still too expensive and entered a price on her calculator to show what he was willing to pay. He also examined the product and stated that he felt that it was not soft enough for the price, and so had changed his mind and no longer wanted it. At this point the seller said, 'Why don't you want it? OK, I give it to you for 450 baht. OK, happy day, happy you, happy me', and put it in a bag for him. The Englishman replied, 'What?! I didn't want it, but you said you would give me this price. That's amazing!' as he was paying for it and laughing with his friend.

How local people perceive tourists and tourism

Based on interviews with local workers in Amphawa and Damnoen Saduak Floating Markets, they saw that tourism has resulted in significant changes in the locations. Most viewed the changes as a good thing, or a good opportunity for them to earn a higher income. They said 'tourism improved local trading'. However, some spoke about the bad side of tourism, in that local people have become more selfish and only care about their own business. They described those people as 'money-minded'.

Local people in Damnoen Saduak Floating Market viewed tourist arrivals differently. Vendors and local tour operators divided tourists into two groups – 'high-quality tourists' and 'poor-quality tourists' – on the basis of their purchasing power, while local people at Amphawa Floating Market felt upset with some Singaporean and Taiwanese tourists, as they felt that they were both untidy and bossy. Pattaya

Floating Market was designed as a well-organised tourist attraction, where the aim is to offer a good service to visitors. There, most sellers were able to present their products well and communicate fluently with Chinese tourists, with directions and product signs on the site being translated into both Chinese and English.

Products and food

With regard to the food sold in Amphawa Floating Market, boat vendors and sellers offered fresh seafood, Thai food and Thai desserts that use local ingredients, e.g. coconut sugar, while some offered hybridised food, such as Japanese ice cream, Japanese food and desserts, Western desserts and Chinese food. Some Thai tourists liked to buy souvenirs rather than local products, and one interviewee at Amphawa said he would prefer tourists to buy local mackerel than souvenir T-shirts with 'Amphawa Floating Market' written on the front, which were very popular among Thai tourists.

Amphawa has gained popularity for its local homestay accommodation with live-in landlords, and most of the homestays are wooden houses built along the canal. Tourists stay in these in order to experience the local Thai ambience and join in with local activities, including viewing fireflies, sightseeing, boat tours and offering alms to monks in the early morning. Some interviewees said that, 'Viewing fireflies by night in motor boats risks the extinction of the insects because of the pollution created.' Nevertheless, local tour operators continue to offer this trip, which is one of the most popular tourist activities associated with Amphawa Floating Market.

Likewise, at Damnoen Saduak Floating Market, tourists did not buy local food, yet they bought other general well-known foods, such as vegetable spring rolls, and souvenir items such as miniatures of floating vendors, wooden craft dolls and Thai clothes that they could find in other tourist places in Bangkok. However, at Pattaya Floating Market, a variety of regional Thai food and products were sold.

5.9 Fieldwork in Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets

5.9.1   Interview

How were respondents selected and accessed, and what criteria were used? This research was based on interviews with market and associated workers, including managers, professionals, local authorities, traders, local tour operators, floating vendors, local people and boat vendors, in order to delve into the multiple experiences. These people were involved in the tourism of the floating markets. The total number of interviews is 35 (n=35), with 18 of them carried out at Pattaya Floating Market and 17 at Damnoen Saduak Floating Market. I will use pseudonyms and codes to represent the informants, for instance, Jack# n=1# male# workers# Damnoen Saudak. I decided to conduct spoken interviews with the workers in Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets to see how the places were constituted and marked out as distinctive tourist attractions.

I changed some of the questions from the pilot study and I contacted a key interviewee who could introduce me to other workers in Damnoen Saduak Floating Market, since if I had entered the setting by myself and asked for interviews, the workers would probably not have spoken to me. To conduct the fieldwork, I entered the setting as a researcher. Although the key interviewee introduced me to other workers, some of them were still suspicious of the research and unwilling to talk to me. Prior to the interviews, I explained the purpose of my visit and research to the workers. When I began to interview them, they said, 'Customers are coming', or, 'I'm

busy and I don't know anything.' One worker who worked for Paew Boat Service told me he would ask his boss, or the owner, to participate in the interview instead. Market workers were afraid that the interview might be used in other ways, or thought that I came from other floating markets who they regarded as competitors.

Also, some of them did not want to answer any question about the floating market, as their employers, the boat-service owners, did not allow them to do so. One informant said, 'I'm not sure I can come to the floating market tomorrow' after telling me about the price difference used for Thai and foreign tourists, even though I guaranteed her personal information would be kept confidential and the interview data would be used for study purposes only. Stall traders and floating vendors needed to have a good relationship with their employers so that they could work at the market. The municipal officers and police officers stated, 'Damneon Saduak Floating Market is privately owned and run by different owners of boat services, so they could not control the price of products sold in the floating market.'

With Pattaya Floating Market, my father asked one of his colleagues to contact the owner of the market[15]. I rang the owner prior to conducting interviews and asked him for permission to interview workers there. I advised him of the duration of the interviews in advance. The floating market is privately owned by a single owner, so every worker must conform to the regulations of the market. Workers there said that Thai and foreign tourists could buy food and products at the same price. At this market they were willing to participate in interviews, since members of staff from its

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[15] The owner of the market is a friend of my father's colleague

public relations department (PR) who accompanied me in the market kindly asked them to do so. PR staff were not present during the interviews, but they helped me approach informants. One member of staff asked me, 'Why do you need to talk to so many people and ask the same questions?' I replied, 'I need to analyse data and make sure the data are consistent.'

Interview preparation

I designed the interview questions based on the research questions along with the theoretical framework. For instance, some interview questions asked 'Why do you think this floating market has become more attractive than the others, and what makes it distinctive?' There were 10-12 semi-structured interview questions in order to allow possible follow-up questions to emerge during the interview. I also prepared a voice recorder and field notes to write down the key points of each interview question.

Table of data collection

	Pattaya Floating Market	**Damnoen Saduak Floating Market**
Preliminary research	July 2014	June-July 2014
Fieldwork and interviews of workers	2nd -9th April 2015	30th April- 8th May 2015

The table shows the timescale of data collection in the two research settings. I spent a week at each place to conduct the fieldwork.

Pattaya Floating Market

I began my fieldwork at Pattaya Floating Market in April 2015. I stayed in a hotel in

Pattaya city, which was about 20 minutes away from the floating market. As

mentioned, before entering the floating market, I had contacted the owner and asked

for his permission to interview workers there. I entered the market as an outsider and

researcher, therefore both the owner and the workers understood the purpose of my

visit and the purpose of my research. Since I was an outsider, the market arranged for

staff members to accompany me during my visit and introduce me to each

interviewee. As discussed, the interviewees were willing to talk to me, as the market

staff kindly asked them to do so, as the workers would have not talked to me if I had

approached them by myself. The staff were not present during the 18 interviews I

conducted. As stated previously in this chapter, Thai people would think it was not

their responsibility to answer questions and participate in research unless they had

been instructed otherwise. Their only concern is their job and business. The staff

arranged for workers who had the time, or were on a break, to meet and talk with

me.

I spent about a week in Pattaya city and commuted from the hotel to the market

every day. Prior to my visit, I informed the owner how many days I would be there. I

could not travel to the market back and forth as I did not want to bother them or

waste their working time. I would arrive at Pattaya Floating Market in the morning

and inform the reception desk that I had already informed the owner and was there

for the purpose of conducting interviews. He rang other staff members in the floating

market and a member of the PR department came down to meet me and took me

around the market, introducing me to workers. Due to it being a well-organised place, I was able to interview members of staff who were working in different positions, including managers, the owner, a vice-president, staff from the marketing and PR departments, the market's guides, staff from the area and product design departments, human resources officers, and staff from other positions, such as traders or sellers.

Each interview took approximately 30-40 minutes, although some were between 50 minutes and an hour, and all the workers allowed me to voice-record their interview. There was one worker, a trader, whom I approached by myself after my mother bought five scarves from her shop. However, the interview was interrupted as she had to talk to customers when they came in her shop to buy her scarves. During the interviews, I used memo writing to help me memorise key points and important issues. My mother had come prepared with a small token of appreciation for all interviewees, a UV-protection umbrella, which I gave to them on completion of the interview.

As a Thai viewing the experience of Thainess, it seemed to me that Thainess did not inherently occur in Pattaya Floating Market, but rather was well organised and well displayed. Actually, I had no idea what Thainess was. Before visiting the floating market, I thought Thainess was traditional Thai culture. I expected to see something old and ancient that was different from contemporary Thailand. Visiting Pattaya Floating Market enabled me to view four regional Thai cultures and a great array of traditional Thai culture that was hardly found elsewhere. I could see a variety of Thai

cultural shows that I could not see in Bangkok. For Thai food, I told a trader, 'I would like to have the same food that Thai people eat', such as spicy tom yum kung (king prawns in a spicy soup). In this case, Thainess was carefully created. Workers selected the parts of Thai culture that would be sold to tourists.

Damnoen Saduak Floating Market

As seen in Table above, I also spent a week in Damnoen Saduak. Having completed the interviews at Pattaya Floating Market, I started the process of collecting data at Damnoen Saduak Floating Market. I stayed in a local hotel, Maikaew Damnoen Resort, which was just a five-minute walk away from the floating market. I commuted from the hotel to the floating market either by row boat or by walking. I contacted a key interviewee before proceeding with the interviews so that he could introduce me to other workers. However, the workers at this market were unwilling to answer any questions and were suspicious of the research. Some of them said they were too busy, or that they knew nothing, and that I had 'better go and ask others'.

The current incarnation of Damnoen Saduak Floating Market is run by different private owners of boat services, and each part of the market belongs to different owners. The boat vendors, who are employed by the boat-service owners, are paid daily, and the stall traders have to pay rent to the boat-service owners that they work with. Conducting interviews here was harder than in Pattaya Floating Market, and I found it very difficult to approach workers since it was obvious that they did not want to talk to me. They stated that it was a 'waste of their time'.

I approached some of the workers by purchasing souvenirs and other items from their shops, during which transactions they would begin to talk and answer my questions. Some of them objected to being voice-recorded, as they thought the interview might affect the market or their jobs, as they were afraid of the boat-service owners. I conducted some interviews with floating vendors and boat rowers while I was being paddled around the market. Extraneous noise from the boat's engine from motor[16] boat in the market and people chatting acted as a block to conversation, meaning I was unable to record all of the interviews.

Instead, as much as I could, I tried to make notes of the answers, words, sentences and the key points that workers talked about, asking them to repeat their answers if I was unsure about their replies. I conducted 17 interviews with workers and gave them a UV-protection umbrella after each interview. Regarding the experience of Thainess, it refers to local Thai culture. I could see the floating market and way of life of local people, namely local fruit orchards, local wooden houses along the canals and local temples. People had ties to the local place and local Thai culture. Local Thai culture in the floating market was different from everyday life in Bangkok, as I rarely saw fruit orchards in Bangkok.

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[16] In Damnoen Saduak Floating Market, some workers use rowing boat, while some use motor boat, especially for taking tourists around the market. Extraneous noise from the boat's engine was really loud.

Processing data

Transcribing

Hammersley states that recording and transcribing can provide us with enhanced

detail and accuracy, and that these processes can supply a full or objective record of

what happened, or that they are always the best source of data (2010, p.555). If we

can voice-record an interview, we can go back to data and recheck the consistency of

the data and codes. I began by transcribing the interviews with the workers in Pattaya

and Damnoen Saduak Floating Markets, and writing them down in Thai before

translating them into English. As all of the interviews were conducted in the floating

markets and some of them were interrupted by extraneous noise, I had to rewind the

recorder several times in order to clearly understand what was said. Although

recording interviews in the busy floating markets was difficult, I was able to obtain

sufficient data to answer my research questions.

 Translation

All the interviews were conducted in Thai, except for two interviews with informants

in Pattaya Floating Market that were conducted in English. I translated the other

interviews from Thai into English. I encountered some difficulties of translation due to

sense of language usage. For Thai language, we seldom use passive voice, and not

change verbs according to different tenses. We just add adverb of times to show

different tenses, for example, we say 47 years ago people 'use' boat as the main

mode of transportation. Whereas, for English language passive voice is often used in both spoken and written languages. When translating from Thai to English, I thought I should use active, or passive voice.

Some interviewees repeated interview question, and I thought they hesitated to answer it. For instance, I asked workers in Damnoen Saduak Floating Market about different prices for Thai and foreign tourists. They said 'why different prices, umm…'. I did not translate repeated sentences. Even in the case of foreign interviewees in Pattaya Floating Market, they spoke English fluently, still they did not speak grammartically, and so it took me a while to put each sentence grammartically. The proof readers helped me with this. Also, I was not sure how to say some words in English, for example, 'Rok Tang Mo' in Thai means watermelon stall. But, when translating into English, I said 'the place offered watermelon'.

Concerning the word 'Thainess', there is a Thai equivalent to the concept of Thainess that has the same connotations – 'kwam pen Thai'. It means the uniqueness of Thailand and Thai culture. I did not translate this word from Thai. But this word, originally in English, was created and used by a worker in the market. Workers in Pattaya Floating Market used the same word in Thai. It means the same as 'Thainess'. At Damnoen Saduak Floating Market, the market workers described the place as representing original Thai culture, local Thai culture or the Damnoen way of life rather than Thainess. The original floating market signified the uniqueness of Thai culture.

Data analysis

In order to undertake content analysis, coding is the necessary first step. I used two types of coding: theory-driven code and data-driven code. Attride-Stirling suggests that, 'Devising a coding framework can be done on the basis of the theoretical interests guiding the research questions, on the basis of salient issues which arise in the text itself, or on the basis of both' (2001, p.390). I undertook coding based on the theoretical framework and recurrent issues in the data, whereby I could examine theory by relating data to the theoretical interests, and this analytical tool was also open for themes directly emerging from the data. There were two cycles of coding.

The data collection and the first cycle of coding were conducted simultaneously to discover significant codes and to review interview questions to make sure that they were relevant to the research questions. The first cycle of coding aimed to identify the important key words of the interviews. I started analysing data by transcribing and translating the first five interview transcripts regarding each floating market, and by highlighting all the key words in each answer and question. I wrote down codes that emerged from recurrent issues and highlighted text or sentences that related to predefined codes.

After that, I transcribed and translated the rest of the interviews. I also highlighted the key words that arose during the interviews. Some new codes arose in the text, while some resembled those in the first five interviews. 'We can code the text by matching the codes with segments of data selected as representative of the code'

(Fereday 2006, p.87). I separated the codes that were relevant to the research questions from those that emerged from the text. Then, I matched the codes with those text segments where the segments became descriptions of the codes.

Next, I undertook the second cycle of coding, which was the codifying of the interview transcripts, sentence by sentence, to further discover theory-driven codes and data-driven codes. I matched the codes with other segments of data in order to see the consistency of the codes, and to allow other codes to emerge. The second cycle of coding enabled me to develop categories from the coded data and compare them to those that emerged from the first cycle of coding. The two cycles of coding warranted the accuracy of the data analysis and reflected firm patterns in the data. Conducting two cycles of coding enhanced the reliability and the validity of the research.

To some extent, all the research methods seem to involve the interaction of theoretical concerns with empirical data (Downe-Wamboldt 1992, p.317). Data analysis is anchored in the interplay of the theoretical interests and recurrent issues in the interview text. During the second cycle of coding, I could identify issues that had evaded detection in the first coding. I was able to double-check the accuracy of what was recorded and transcribed to text. The codes that arose in the data were as important as the pre-established codes. It is also important to find connections between the data and the theoretical framework.

The next stage is 'abstract themes from coded text segments, whereby we need to go through the text segments in each code and extract salient and significant themes in the coded text segments' (Attride-Stirling 2001, p.392). I extracted the salient sub-themes in the coded text segments; sub-themes that were relevant to one another will be presented in the same chapter. I matched each group of sub-themes with a theoretical theme of each chapter. Below is a figure that shows an example of data coding.

Figure of an example of interview data coding

Segments of text	Codes		Sub-themes		Theme
'Foreign tourists do not come to the market to eat local Thai food'	Foreign tourists				
'Some of them have general Thai food, not local dishes'	General Thai food	➔	The co-presence of general Thai food and local Thai dishes	➔	Simulacrum and globalisation
'We sell Thai food that Chinese tourists like'	Local Thai dishes		Thai food orientated towards Chinese tourists		
'They don't eat sweet desserts'	Thai food				
'They don't eat spicy Thai food'	Chinese tourists				
	Taste of Thai food				

In this case, the codes directly emerged from the interview data, and the segments of text were descriptions of the codes. I extracted the sub-themes from the coded text segments and matched the sub-themes with the theoretical framework, which is simulacrum and globalisation. These steps helped me examine the relationship between the theoretical framework and the data. Most codes were derived from the

written text in the transcriptions, yet some codes were pre-established, namely

changes in the floating markets, contrived culture and cultural performance in front

of tourists.

Ethical considerations and problems

There were some problems while I was conducting interviews in Damnoen Saduak

and Pattaya Floating Markets. Some workers in Damnoen Saduak Floating Market

declined to be voice-recorded as they were unsure whether the interview would

affect the market. I explained to them that I would only be using the interviews for

study purposes, and that their personal details would be confidential. For some

interviews I could only use a memo-writing technique.

If there were any questions the interviewees did not want to answer, I did not force

them to. For example, I asked, 'What changes has tourism caused in the market?' and

some answered, 'I don't know, you had better ask others.' In addition, while I was

interviewing traders and sellers in the two floating markets, some of them stopped to

talk to customers who came into their shops, though when the tourists left, they

continued to answer questions. It was obvious that some traders did not want to

spend too much time talking to me and they tried to call tourists into their shops as a

way of bringing the interview to a close.

Saturation

There were 35 informants in total. I interviewed 17 workers in Damnoen Saduak

Floating Market and 18 workers in Pattaya Floating Market. The data was sufficient to

answer the research questions.

Limitations

The interviews enabled me to understand how the workers interpreted Damnoen

Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets with regard to Thai culture. But the interview

data obtained from workers might have shown more differentiated accounts of

floating markets if it had been possible for the interviews to last longer. As discussed

earlier in the chapter, Thai people possess a cultural trait that means they have

consideration for other people's feelings. I did not want to bother them and waste

their working time. This is the difference between conducting interviews in the

context of Thailand and in the context of other places, and between the interviews

being carried out by a Thai researcher and a foreign researcher.

5.9.2 Documentary research

I did not interview tourists, for the tourists who visited the two markets were from different countries. For example, most tourists in Pattaya Floating Market were Asian and therefore might not have been able to speak English fluently or at all. Although many tourism researchers have carried out interviews with tourists in other contexts, for example Turkey (Haldrup and Larsen 2010) and India (Edensor 2007), there is a difference between conducting research in the context of Thailand and in the context of other places, and between a Thai researcher and a foreign researcher. Tourists would be very wary of speaking with Thai strangers. My experience of approaching tourists in Khao San Road in Bangkok during my pilot study was that most refused to talk to me, saying, 'Sorry, I don't have time.' Therefore, I decided to conduct documentary research instead.

How to access informants

Regarding documentary research, the 30 most recent reports of each market on TripAdvisor were selected, and anonymity was used to conceal the personal information of the tourists. The total number of selected TripAdvisor comments is 60 (n=60). The respondents are represented in my research as numbers for research participants, such as comment no.2# Pattaya, since I could only access their comments on the website. Also, their personal information must not be disclosed in the research, and their comments were not made for research purposes. According to Markham, respondents can be selected on the basis of their appropriate fit within the

research questions rather than their physical location, or convenience to the

research, and complications concerning venue, commuting and scheduling conflicts

can be less restrictive when interactions occur on the internet (in Silverman, 2011,

pp.116 and 118). It seems convenient to conduct research on the internet, where the

researcher can choose a group of informants in accordance with the research

questions, as well as a suitable technique to approach informants who might not

have enough time for interviews, and to research sensitive issues.

Data collection

I conducted documentary research on TripAdvisor by retrieving and analysing

comments on Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets that were posted from

04/06/2015 to 20/06/2015**.** I initially selected the 20 most recent comments on each

market, but found that they were insufficient for analysis and so decided to retrieve

10 more posts on each market. The total number of posts regarding the floating

markets was 60 (30 each) and was sufficient to answer the research questions. All

tourists who made comments on TripAdvisor were willing to share their experiences

with others and told their stories in great detail. It was easy to access the data online,

where it was already available in written text that had been produced by the tourists.

Regarding the sampling of the different tourists, I chose to study tourists' posts on

TripAdvisor, with the 30 most recent posts during the time stated above being

retrieved. The tourists came from different countries and backgrounds. Documentary

research seems to be an appropriate way to access tourists' perceptions of the

floating markets in general. However, data collected from TripAdvisor only represents

the perception and interpretation of the tourists who were able to speak English,

while excluding non-English-speaking tourists.

Analysis and findings

I used content analysis as the method of analysis. For TripAdvisor, data were available

in English text. Most were data-driven codes, with only a few of them being

predefined codes, namely Thai culture, experience and perception, which enabled me

to see to what extent the findings were relevant to the theoretical framework and to

the research questions. I applied content analysis and printed out 30 comments on

each market, codifying the data by highlighting key words and phrases in each post

before writing them down next to each comment blog.

I then separated the pre-established codes from those that directly emerged from the

data, and did this sentence by sentence, for most of the comments were not too long

– 'Having devised a coding framework, the codes should be employed with the

textual data to dissect it into text segments' (Attride-Stirling 2001, p.391). I applied

both pre-established and data-driven codes to the data, and dissected them into text

segments. Text segments were then matched with the relevant codes. From the

coded text segments, sub-themes were identified and categorised into theoretical-

related themes. Below is an example.

Figure of an example of data coding

Segments of text	Codes	Sub-theme	Theme
'What was unique here was the labyrinth of canals that abounded along with the market stalls'	Unique Labyrinth of canals	Impression: the co-presence of unique and generic cultural content	The play of differences
'It was a rich culture where streets were made of water'	Culture rich		
'It was like nothing else, touristy, but those were the best things'	Market stalls Being different		

This table shows how the data from TripAdvisor was processed and analysed. Having identified the codes, I used the codes of the data to dissect it into text segments. The salient sub-theme of impression was extracted from the coded text segments and regrouped under the theoretical theme. This ensured that the coded data, sub-theme and theme could refer back to the theoretical framework, and were relevant to the research questions. Having analysed the data, I drew connections between the data and relevant theories to see to what extent they could fit in together.

Ethical considerations and problems

Development in technological communication enables researchers to access social-media text, or Big Data. Big Data are rich and easily and continuously available in huge volume for analysis (Herschel and Miori 2017, p.32). In this thesis, the data on TripAdvisor were Big Data, which were available and accessible online. But although social-media text is accessible, using it might not be ethical. Boyd and Crawford suggest, 'It may be unreasonable to ask researchers to obtain consent from every person who posts a tweet, yet it is problematic for researchers to justify their actions as ethical merely because the data are accessible' (2012, p.672). Regarding TripAdvisor, it was impossible to obtain informed consent from users. I tried to contact the tourists who had posted comments on TripAdvisor, but sending a personal message is not allowed on the website. Data on TripAdvisor were available and accessible, and what was posted was public, but as discussed, there might be some ethical problems.

An important problem is the lack of informed consent. 'Researchers are hardly in a user's imagined audience. Though data are public, this does not simplistically equate with full permission being given for all uses' (Boyd and Crawford 2012, p.673). Users of social-media websites may not realise their data and posts can be used in other ways. Or they never know their comments might be used for research purposes. Although data are public, no one really considers they will suddenly become the subject of research in Twitter or Facebook studies (Zwitter 2014, p.5).

Regarding Twitter or Facebook, users are not aware they may become the subject of

research, and they normally post personal photographs and stories on the platforms.

On the other hand, many people perceive Facebook and Twitter as personal spaces

where they can manage the privacy of their accounts. For Facebook, privacy can be

set at different levels, such as only me, close friends, friends, acquaintances and

public. They can control who can see their posts and profiles. Most Facebook users do

not share their accounts publicly, but only share them with a specific audience. Thus,

most users think Facebook is a public yet private space.

In the case of TripAdvisor, it may be seen as different from Facebook or Twitter, since

TripAdvisor does not have privacy settings. TripAdvisor seems to be more publicly

open than Facebook. Users of TripAdvisor, to some extent, therefore acknowledge

their comments and posts are widely shared and publicly accessible. The purpose of

TripAdvisor is to share experiences and opinions on tourist places. In contrast,

Facebook aims to build and strengthen networks of users who can send friend

requests to others and choose to accept or reject other people's friend requests. In

this manner, TripAdvisor accounts are more accessible than Facebook accounts. What

is posted on TripAdvisor is more public than what appears on Facebook. Therefore,

using textual data on TripAdvisor might expose research to ethical issues to a lesser

extent than using textual data on Facebook, which is regarded as a private space.

However, TripAdvisor is not a website that asks users to reveal personal information,

and users can keep personal data confidential by using the anonymous setting when

posting comments. Users of TripAdvisor need to register for an account in order to

post and reply to comments on the website, with their comments then becoming available and accessible publicly on the internet. Users may give personal information on TripAdvisor, such as their name, photographs and their country of origin, and I could see these personal data by their comments. If they chose not to reveal personal information and photographs, I could only access their comments and see their user names. I was able to access their comments on Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets when they were willing to share their experiences and opinions with others who wanted to travel to these two markets, rather than other markets. Despite the lack of informed consent, I have guaranteed their personal data will be kept confidential and anonymised by using numbers to refer to their comments.

Another problem is the pertinent context of Big Data.

> Boyd and Crawford say data lose meaning and value when taken out of context (2012, p.670). There is value to analysing data abstractions, but retaining context remains critical, especially for certain lines of inquiry (Boyd and Crawford 2012, p.671).

To ensure appropriate use of social-media text, researchers must be aware of the context of textual data. They must use and analyse data in the relevant context. In the case of TripAdvisor, I only content analysed their comments, or textual data, in the context of the two floating markets in order to understand their perceptions of Thai culture in these places. I only used their comments to study Thailand's tourism, not other, irrelevant issues.

To justify whether or not a researcher's actions are ethical, we may need to consider their intentions, along with purpose. Herschel and Miori note, 'Virtue ethics, which concern the agent who performs an action and the appropriateness of their actions, are dependent on what we conclude about the character and intent of those who employ Big Data' (2017, p.35). We should not say that all researchers who use Big Data and social-media text act unethically. It depends on their intentions and use of data. Evaluating the research ethics varies according to each case.

Limitations

Again, I was unable to identify the nationalities of the tourists, and it must be noted that tourists coming from different regions and countries will have different viewpoints. Additionally, 'When researchers access a data set, they need to understand not only the limit of the data set, but also the limits of which questions they can ask of a data set and what interpretations are appropriate' (Boyd and Crawford 2012, p.669-670). I could not specify the questions and issues I wanted address via TripAdvisor, as the tourists were free to talk about anything with regard to the two floating markets. Some issues were beyond the scope of the research, such as tourists' behaviour, souvenirs, and so on. Thus, we should bear in mind that we might not get what we had hoped to get from TripAdvisor, or other internet sources, and that it might take longer to collect the data than initially expected.

5.9.3 Qualitative Survey Interview

How to access the setting and approach interviewees

The purpose of conducting short surveys was to see how foreign tourists interpret the floating market with regards to Thai culture. This technique was used to supplement the data from TripAdvisor. As stated previously, there is a difference in carrying out research in the context of Thailand between Thai and foreign researchers. From my experience of the preliminary research, tourists were much more wary about talking to Thai people, and would give me a suspicious look when I approached them about taking part in an interview. To avoid the problem, I conducted short surveys with foreign tourists who stayed in the Khao San Road area, a place in Bangkok that is popular with backpackers. It is also a place where many tour itineraries start. Also, this area is more popular among Western tourists than Asian tourists.

Most foreign tourists here were able to speak English, and as mentioned, a large variety of tour itineraries start from this location. Not only is the Khao San Road packed with pubs and hotels, there are also many tour agencies, some of which are operated by the local hotels. They are able to offer tailor-made packages to suit tourists' needs, such as half-day tours to places outside Bangkok, day package tours, and package tours to the south or north of Thailand.

To gain access to tourists on the Khao San Road, it was necessary to have a connection with the hotels, tour agencies and tour guides in order to get permission

to distribute the survey interview forms to tourists. I had heard that hotels and tour guides here are not welcoming to Thai tourists or Thai people. My father introduced me to the owner of two hotels in the area: Buddy Lodge, centrally located on Khao San Road; and Hotel De Moc, a 10-minute walk from Khao San Road. My father contacted the owner and I made an appointment to meet him. Then I went to Hotel De Moc to meet him, which is when I asked for his permission to distribute the survey forms.

I entered the setting as a PhD researcher and made the hotels' staff aware of the purpose of my study. The owner asked the hotels' receptions to distribute the survey interview forms to tourists who checked in and out of the hotels. Similar to documentary research, the survey data showed the experiences of floating markets of English-speaking tourists while excluding other groups. This is because the survey was conducted in English. I left the survey interviews at the hotels and came back about two weeks later to collect them.

Qualitative survey interview preparations

I decided to conduct the survey after completing my documentary research. This will be used to supplement the other data collected. There were eight semi-structured interview questions, where tourists could write answers under the questions. Tourists could express their views in written text. Conducting these surveys enhanced the accuracy of the research, since tourists were able to describe their experiences

directly. I used codes that were derived from content analysis to formulate the eight survey questions.

There were two groups of tourists: those who had previously been to a floating market, and those who had not been to one before. The survey data could reflect the actions of tourists in the floating markets, which will be used in the last thematic chapter. Each survey question contained a significant key word, or issue, that I wanted to learn from the tourists, such as impressions, expectations, perceptions of Thai culture, and the like. Those key words were pre-established codes that I had obtained from content analysis.

I cut back on the questions that were inapplicable to tourists, such as those addressing change in the markets, and also did not want to ask too many questions in case it increased their motivation to not complete the survey. I attached a one-page paper interview to my information sheet and an informed consent form. I divided the questions into two categories: 'Been to floating markets' and 'Never been to floating markets', and prepared small tokens for the tourists, which were souvenir purses with the Thailand logo on, as a thank you for completing the form.

Data Collection and findings

The timing of the research was 25th July to 31st August 2015. To begin with, I did not know how many survey forms I would need and initially asked the hotels to distribute 22 survey interview forms to residents. When I came to collect them I found some of

the answers were too short and did not contain much detail. The data were

insufficient to answer the research questions and so I decided to conduct more

survey interviews and distributed 14 more survey interview forms to Hotel De Moc.

The total number of short surveys is 36 (n=36). The respondents will be represented

in my research as numbers for research participants, such as survey no.13# Talinchan.

I did not ask the participants to give any personal information, so using numbers for

research participants seems more appropriate than pseudonyms, where gender,

nationality and career might be identifiable. When I collected the forms two weeks

later, I found that the data appeared to be saturated due to the repetition in the

answers to the research questions. From the survey interviews, I saw that some

respondents had talked about other floating markets and not Damnoen Saduak and

Pattaya Floating Markets.

Data analysis

With the survey interviews, data was available in written text and in English.

Analysing this data took less time than the oral-interview results. I used content

analysis, the same method of analysis as I used in the interview and documentary

research. I began to codify, sentence by sentence, each survey question. The sub-

theme that emerged from the surveys with tourists resembled the ones from the

content analysis, namely expectations, impressions and perceptions. Below is an

example of coding.

Figure of an example of data coding
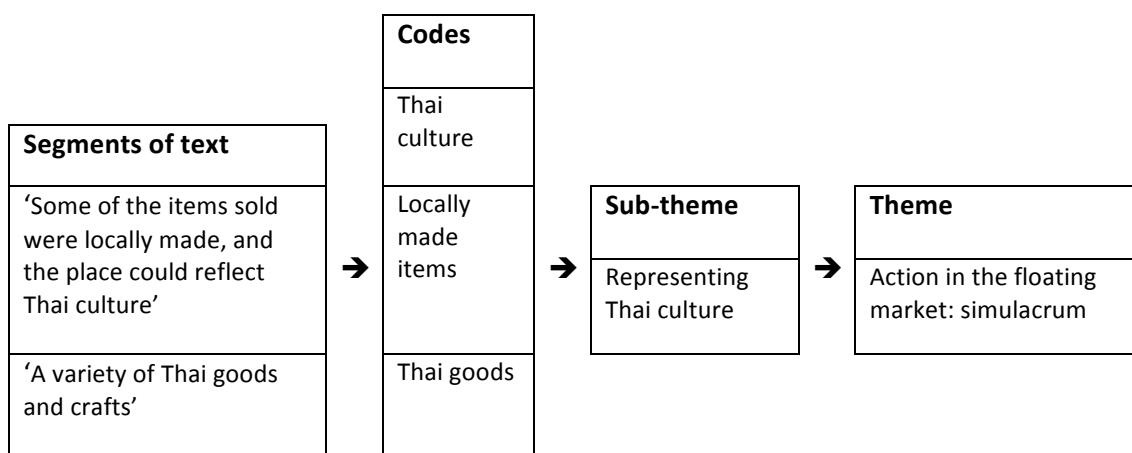
I applied the predefined codes of the content analysis to the survey data in order to dissect it into segments of text. From the tabulations, the sub-theme of representing Thai culture was extracted from the coded text segments. I connected the sub-theme to the theoretical framework. The survey data were sufficient to answer the third research question, which concerns action in the floating markets and the simulacrum in globalised tourism.

Ethical considerations and problems

The hotel staff were initially hesitant about distributing the survey interviews to tourists as they did not want to bother them. They suggested that I stopped tourists on the streets and ask them to complete the survey-interview questions. I told them that I had tried that method but found it unsuitable, as the tourists did not want to waste their time. Additionally, the staff were suspicious of the research until I

informed them that I needed the information for my PhD thesis. On discovering this, they became far more compliant.

Limitations

There were some limitations to the survey interviews, although they were a suitable research technique to learn about tourist experiences. With 36 surveys, the findings may not represent tourists' experiences of floating markets in general, but the data were sufficient for examining theoretical issues, particularly simulation of Thai culture. Also, I was unable to ascertain how recent their experiences were, as some of the tourists might have visited the markets on a previous trip to Thailand that might have been some time ago, and so their memories might not have been that fresh. Furthermore, conducting the survey interviews excluded some groups of tourists, particularly non-English-speaking ones, because the questions were in English.

I was unable to conduct the survey interviews in Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets, as not all the tourists could speak English. There has been a significant increase in Chinese tourists travelling to the floating markets, but unfortunately, I could not conduct the survey interview in other languages. In addition, some answers were too short and unclear. And some tourists misunderstood questions and gave inapplicable or irrelevant answers, especially those who were non-native English speakers. For example, there was a French tourist who answered '*Non*' under the first question, which asked, 'Have you been to a

floating market before?' However, the French tourist then continued to complete

questions for tourists who have been to a floating market.

5.10 Conclusion

All in all, we can see that the oral interview, documentary research and survey seem to be the most appropriate research techniques to study the perceptions and experiences of workers and tourists in Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets. It is impossible to conduct interviews with tourists, as when they are busy they will not stop to answer questions. However, documentary research and survey reflect some of the tourist experience, and show how tourists preceive the floating markets with regard to Thai culture.

Having interviewed workers in Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets, the interview data were transcribed and then translated into English. This was then processed and analysed to see how codes and segments of text connect to the theoretical framework and the research questions. Unlike the interview data, the data on TripAdvisor and survey interviews were in written text. Qualitative survey interviews were only used as supplementary to the data collected from TripAdvisor.

The interview data was framed by a list of questions, and it is likely that qualitative research involves the co-construction of social reality. The interaction between the interviewer and interviewee might affect an account of the interview. For instance, workers were prompted to express their viewpoints on each question, and their answers helped me form follow-up questions. Therefore, the perceptions of workers and tourists of Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets, to some extent, were guided by the interview/survey questions. There might have been something

important that they did not speak about if they seemed irrelevant to the questions.

An account of an interview can thus appear to be co-constructed.

Regarding TripAdvisor, tourists were able to write about anything on TripAdvisor.

They could express their opinions on Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets,

or they could talk about other things regarding their understanding and perception of

the places. Data retrieved from TripAdvisor were not framed by any questions. This

facilitates the emergence of recurrent issues, for example, some tourists thought the

floating markets were touristy, yet they still enjoyed them, or that price haggling in

the markets was a fun experience. Since the data were not framed by questions,

some of them contained irrelevant information. Although there were some

limitations to these research techniques, they were the most suitable way to study

workers and tourists in the floating markets within the limited timeframe available.

What follows now is the first thematic chapter.

Chapter 6

Circulation of value and sign

6.1 Introduction

Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets did not spontaneously occur, and did not intrinsically become tourist attractions. Rather, they are tourist-orientated places, and the utilities of the places are subject to economic exchange-value and sign-value induced by tourism. Referring back to the theoretical chapters, holiday time in the floating markets is non-working time for tourists, yet it is not free. It depends on economic exchange-value, with tourists having to pay for services as well as an admission fee.

To see how the places became tourist attractions, this chapter answers the first research question, namely in what ways are the markets tourist attractions? This thesis suggests the circulation of value and signs works in creating the tourist-orientated markets, though they are tourist attractions in different ways. Damnoen Saduak Floating Market has changed from being a site of local water trading to a tourist site, whereas Pattaya Floating Market is a tourist-orientated market that has been gradually developed and expanded. Regarding signs, Baudrillard's theory of political economy of signs will be employed to see how the circulation of value and signs works in creating tourist-orientated places. Throughout this chapter, there will be an in-depth analysis of Baudrillard's theory and discussions of data and his theory.

Prior to presenting the interview data, brief descriptions of each market will be presented. Damnoen Saduak Floating Market is located in Ratchaburi Province, in the west of Thailand. It is situated on Damnoen Saduak Canal, where the labyrinth of the canals connect to other adjacent provinces in the west, including Bangkok. Surrounded by fertile soil and water resources, the local people are fruit farmers, famously producing orchards of guava, banana, coconut, watermelon and pineapple. This market has existed for more than 100 years, and local people voluntarily come to it to sell and exchange locally grown produce. Damnoen Saduak Floating Market was then relocated to the side of the canal next to the main road, in order for it to be convenient for tourists travelling to the market by car.

Pattaya Floating Market is located in Pattaya city, Chonburi Province, in the east of Thailand, which is widely popular for its beautiful beaches, vibrant nightlife and ladyboy shows. In terms of its geography, there is no canal in Pattaya city, just islands, sea and beaches surrounding the area. However, there was a natural swamp in the south of Pattaya that used to be the site of a restaurant. The owner of Pattaya Floating Market, a former real-estate businessman, bought the land and constructed the floating market in 2008. Named the Four Regions Floating Market, it is well known among Thai and foreign tourists, especially Chinese tourists. The reinvention of the floating market was not a tie-in with traditional culture, though, rather it was created just for money and the arrival of tourists.

This chapter presents how circulation of value and signs is developed through the stages of the floating markets, and gives a discussion of globalised tourism, elaborating on the limitations of working with Baudrillard's ideas.

6.2 Interview data

6.2.1 The purpose of the floating markets

This theme derives from an interview question that asked, 'How did the floating market occur?' Looking first at Damnoen Saduak Floating Market, Damnoen Saduak Canal was ordered to be dug and built during the reign of King Rama IV in 1866 to connect with the Tha Jean and Mae Klong rivers in adjacent provinces in the west of Thailand. The canal was finished in the reign of King Rama V in 1868 and named Damnoen Saduak Canal, which translates as 'convenient transportation' in Thai. The canal is 32km long and links with 200 other small canals. The first purpose of the canal was transportation, when boats were the main mode of getting around. Living by the canals formed a riparian way of life, especially water trading, resulting in a floating market where local people came to sell and exchange local produce. As mentioned, the floating market has existed for more than 100 years. Interviewees were then asked, 'When did tourists first appear at the market?' Most of them said they could not remember, but it was a very long time ago.

> Before moving to the side by the road, tourists were only able to access the floating market by boat. Boat rowers collected tourists at the bus stop and took them to the market. I'm not sure when tourists first visited the market. I have seen tourists there since I was born (Ms. Wang# n=22# female# Damnoen Saduak).

From the interview data, the occurrence of water trading and the floating market at first related to the physical location, since it was surrounded by canals; also, boat

transportation and the canals facilitated floating markets to emerge, so that local

people could exchange and sell produce to each other. Damnoen Saduak Floating

Market saw an increase in the number of tourists after the market was relocated to

another area of the canal.

As Pongajarn, van der Duim and Peters assert, the floating market changed its

location from the Ludpee canal to the Tonkem canal in a non-residential area, which

has been accessible by road since 1972 (2016, p.5). The relocated market is now next

to the main road, making it more convenient for tourists travelling to the market by

car. Because of road construction, cars have become the main mode of

transportation for tourists and local people, and have thus replaced water

transportation. This was the first stage of the global reshaping desires and needs for a

floating market. Needs are not innate but socially constructed.

Regarding Pattaya Floating Market, the place is a tourist attraction that was

constructed and is run by a private owner. It has a different purpose from its previous

incarnation. When asked 'How did Pattaya Floating Market occur?', informants

stated, 'The floating market is run by a single owner and was constructed in 2008.'

> **Me:** Could you tell me how did the market started?
>
> **Interviewee:** Prior to the construction of the floating market, this place was a natural
>
> swamp, and Mr. A owned this land. He wanted to see Thai boat vendors like it was in
>
> the old days.
>
> (Mr. B# n=1# male# Pattaya)

I also interviewed Mr. A about the establishment of the market.

> **Me:** How did you get involved in the tourism business?
>
> **Interviewee:** I came from Ayutthaya city [80km north of Bangkok, and the capital of Thailand about 250 years ago]. I often went abroad and thought about what I wanted to see in each country. In Thailand, there were many stories that we did not pay attention to and didn't value them. Why didn't we present our Thai way of life or our identity? When tourists come here, they might want to see Thainess, but they did not have the chance to view it in Pattaya. For tourists, Pattaya city was popular for entertainment and nightlife. I wanted to change this by displaying the Thai way of life in Pattaya. I decided to build the first privately owned floating market in Thailand. I looked at the original floating markets, such as Amphawa and Damnoen Saduak, places that used to be part of the way of life in the past. But the nature of those places has been changed by the arrival of tourists, especially group tours, meaning the old way of life has disappeared. So I focused on presenting the Thai way of life in [Pattaya] market. (Mr. A# n=8# male# Pattaya)

According to the interview data, on the one hand, the desire and need for Pattaya Floating Market came from a nostalgic idea of Mr. A who wanted to see Thai boat vendors just like it was in the old days, and he thought the original floating markets had changed. On the other hand, globalisation and tourism had brought about the desire for the floating market, as the owner said, 'Tourists do not have the opportunity to see the Thai way of life in Pattaya.' The market thus presents the Thai way of life that he thought tourists might want to see. Again, the need for Pattaya Floating Market was not innate, but socially constructed.

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Referring back to Baudrillard, the needs of people are not their innate needs, but rather are subject to the regulation of the economic system, about which he said, 'There are only needs because the system needs them' (1981, p.81). People's needs are socially constructed by market demand, and this enables the capitalist economy to continue to exist. In the case of the two floating markets, tourist arrivals facilitated the recreation of Damnoen Saduak Floating Market, whereas nostalgia for the Thai way of life, along with the arrival of tourists, shaped the need for a floating market in Pattaya city. The needs of tourism influenced the needs of local people to construct the floating markets. Or rather, tourist arrivals constructed people's needs for the floating markets. The social construction of needs makes globalisation and tourism prevalent. This paves the way for the next stage: that the markets are tourist sites because of the circulation of value.

6.2.2 Forms of exchange-value and use-value

We need to study the form of value in the two floating markets as it will enable us to see how sign-value eclipses exchange-value and use-value at a later stage. Looking back at the discussion in the Baudrillard chapter, Marx and Engels see use-value as different from exchange-value, in that the former is the utility of the object, while the latter is the quantitative attribute. However, this might be insufficient in understanding how exchange-value and use-value exist in the floating markets. For Baudrillard, economic exchange-value determines the use-value of the object. In this case, the exchange-value of the floating markets is derived from the opposing gaze

upon tourists as the 'other'. Employing the opposing gaze, Damnoen Saduak Floating

Market uses different pricing of goods for tourists, whereas Pattaya Floating Market

collects an admission fee from foreign tourists.

Forms of exchange-value and use-value of the floating markets will now be

presented.

Exchange-value and the opposing gaze upon otherness

This sub-theme emerged from the interview data collected from workers in the two

floating markets. Economic exchangeability refers to 'commission and price for

foreign tourists', which implies unequal flows of cash between the global (tourists)

and local. Starting with Damnoen Saduak Floating Market, the interview data about

unequal economic exchange is shown as follows: workers refer to foreign tourists as

'them'. Foreign walk-in tourists, or foreign group tours, have to pay for rowing-boat

services.

Each boat service pays wages to their boat rowers (employees), while traders pay

rent to the boat-services owner, and commission to a boat rower if they bring tourists

to their floating shop houses where tourists purchase things. A boat-service owner

pays commission to a tour guide (group tours) or a taxi driver (walk-in tourists). Boat-

ride services involving economic exchange are useful for taking tourists around the

market. A boat ride is exchangeable with a fee. Thus, economic exchangeability

determines the code of utility of boat-ride services. Economic exchangeability affects

their local workers' views of tourists and their uses of the floating market.

'We do not use price tags here, as we offer different prices for foreigners and Thai

tourists, in that we expect them [foreign tourists] to pay a more expensive price than

the Thai tourists do, as the first group has more money for travelling, so they should

pay a higher price' (Ms. Aey# n=29# female# Damnoen Saduak).

Me: Are most tourists here foreigners?

Interviewee: Yes, we have cheap tours visiting the market from June to August, and

expensive/rich tours coming here from November to December.

Me: What do you mean by 'cheap tour' and 'rich tour'?

Interviewee: Cheap tours are tourists who buy nothing in the market, just sightsee.

But rich tours [are tourists who] buy lots of souvenirs, [spending] up to 10,000 baht

(about 232 GB pounds).

Me: How do you know the difference between these two groups?

Interviewee: The tour guides tell us what grades/types of tourists they are.

(Ms. Aey# n=29# female# Damneon Saduak)

Workers also used the terms 'Thai price' or 'foreigner price' to differentiate between

Thai tourists and foreigners.

'They are not able to ask for high prices with Thai tourists because Thais know [if they

are too high] and refuse to buy things. Thai and foreign tourists pay a different fee for

the boat-ride service, which costs 450 baht (about 4 GB pounds) for a one-hour

rowing-boat ride for Thai tourists, whereas it costs 600-650 baht (about 13-15 GB

pounds) for foreigners' (Ms. Aey# n=29# female# Damnoen Saduak).

Another example of 'Thai price' and 'foreigner price' is shown as follows.

> **Me:** If I bought this product [made from coconuts], how much would it cost?
>
> **Interviewee:** I would sell it to you for 90 baht [about 1.5-2 GB pounds].
>
> **Me:** But how much would you sell this for to foreign tourists?
>
> **Interviewee:** Perhaps 500 baht [about 11.6 GB pounds]. We don't use price tags
>
> because of price haggling. Some items are sold for 500 baht, but they [tourists]
>
> sometimes only offer to pay 50 baht [about £1].
>
> (Ms. Pam# n=21# female# Damnoen Saduak)

Due to the status of the utility of the floating market being subject to the economic

exchange-value, or unequal flows of cash, Damnoen Saduak Floating Market is

definitely a tourist attraction. What becomes use-value must accord with exchange-

value, as seen in the boat-ride service. This service is useful because it can be

exchangeable with money. Hence, use-value does not relate to the physical place. In

the case of Damnoen Saduak Floating Market, use-value is not different from

exchange-value, as it implies the economic exchangeability with income from

tourists. The use-value of the floating market is partially regulated by the economic

exchange-value, especially regarding income from tourists and commission, hence it

becomes only the code of utility.

Regarding Pattaya Floating Market, it was created as a tourist attraction where the exchange-value is generalised and use-value is abstract. The use-value of Pattaya Floating Market does not relate to its physical location, a natural swamp, but rather to the economic exchange due to tourism. Unequal flows of cash also affect the use-value of Pattaya Floating Market. The economic exchange-value of Pattaya Floating Market refers to the admission fee, commission, rent and salary. The floating market becomes a tourist attraction because of the admission fee.

When tourists arrive at the market, there are two entrances: the first one, which has 'We are Thai, free entry' written in Thai over it, is only for Thai tourists; the other one, where 'Entrance' is written in English, is for foreign tourists, who have to pay 200 baht (about 4 GB pounds) for admission. Traders pay rent to the market, and the market pays commission to tour guides and salary to staff. Similar to Damnoen Saduak Floating Market, foreigners are regarded as 'others' or 'them'. So why do foreign tourists have to pay an admission fee, while it is free for Thai tourists? The following interviews may elucidate.

> **Me:** I had heard from TripAdvisor that some foreign tourists were not happy with the admission fee. What did you think about this?
>
> **Interviewee:** At the entrance, there is a sign written in Thai, saying, 'We are Thai, free entry'. When you travel abroad and visit a church, you pay an admission fee, right? So, when you [foreign tourists] visit my place, we ask you to pay a cover charge. What's wrong with that? You visit my country, you have to pay. If not, what is the point of having a visa?
>
> (Mr. A# n=8# male# Pattaya)

Workers see foreigners as 'them', or 'others', so the market requires them to pay an admission fee. The emergence of the market depends on the admission fee. As well as this, the market uses the admission fee for insurance and maintenance.

> **Me:** Why do foreign tourists have to pay for admission?
>
> **Interviewee:** We explain to them [tourists] that if an accident occurs, medical treatment would be terribly expensive. We ask foreigners to pay 200 baht for the admission fee so that they are covered by insurance. Before [two years ago], we did not collect a fee. But there was an accident in the market and they [the tourist involved] asked for compensation. Foreign tourists have to go to a place like Bangkok-Pattaya Hospital, which offers the best medical service in Pattaya and is terribly expensive. But Thai tourists are fine with any local medical treatment, which makes it easier. If foreigners drop their mobile phones into the water, or fall over, we are able to provide them with insurance.
>
> **Me:** How often does an accident occur?
>
> **Interviewee:** Not that often, once in a blue moon. We like to make sure that we can take good care of our customers when they visit our place
>
> (Mr. Sam# n=3# male# Pattaya)

The use-value of tourist insurance depends on the admission fee. Admission fees, commission and rent are economic exchanges that constitute the status of utility of the market. The economic exchange-value of the floating markets produces the code of utility, and the circulation of value enables the market to be a tourist-orientated place.

Having presented a form of exchange-value, a form of use-value will be presented in the next section.

Staged culture (use-value)

Baudrillard uses the term 'the code of utility' to show how use-value is equivalent to exchange-value. In this case, the code of utility refers to staged culture. The use-value of the two floating markets accords with the economic exchange-value. Use-value is not inherent in an object or place, yet it is implicated in the relationship of workers with tourism. Also, it accords with the exchange-value of tourism. In this section, we will see how exchange-value takes the form of use-value. People do not need objects because they are useful objects, but rather because of the code of the object. Therefore, both use-value and exchange-value are abstract, and turn out to be equivalence.

To exemplify this stage, the staged-culture sub-theme will be presented. In this context, staged culture refers to made-up culture that becomes the code of utility of the markets, and justifies the floating markets as tourist attractions. For Damnoen Saduak Floating Market, the place was formerly a real market where local people came to sell and exchange local produce,

> In the past, floating vendors wore fruit farmers' clothes, which were blouses with bright colours and farmers' hats, and would row boats from their orchards to the market. This place used to represent a more natural way of life.

Me: Don't they dress in farmers' clothes now?

Interviewee: Only a few people do, but most people wear typical blouses and hats because of fashion and the media.

Me: How long ago did it change?

Interviewee: About 20 years ago. The construction of the boat service replaced some local people's houses. There used to be wooden houses alongside the canals.

(Ms. Nat# n=24# female# Damnoen Saduak)

From the time that Damnoen Saduak Floating Market entered globalisation and tourism, use-value has become abstract and, thus, the equivalence of exchange value. For instance, the exchange-value of boat services eclipses use-value, and triggers the code of utility. The boat service does not connect to the physical location of the place. As previously stated, the market was relocated to another side of the canal because of road construction. Boats are not the main mode of transportation any more, rather they are reduced to a code of utility that helps the floating market function as a tourist-orientated place and meet tourist expectations.

Some boat vendors travel to the market by car, then transfer to rowing boats that are stationed at different positions along the canal so as to act as floating vendors. Vendors come here by car as they want to avoid boat traffic with tourist boats on the canals. It's easier for them to use a car (Ms. Pam# n=21# female# Damnoen Saduak).

In addition, the market changed its opening times.

In the past, fruit farmers started selling produce before dawn and finished in the

morning (9/10am). But now the opening times have changed for tourist arrivals,

starting from 9-9.30am to 12 or 1pm (Ms. C# n=28# female# Damnoen Saduak).

Based on the interview data, the functionality of Damnoen Saduak Floating Market is

abstract, with its opening times being dependent on tourist arrivals, and floating

vendors coming to the market by car, not only to sell produce and other things, but

also to act as floating vendors. The use-value and the existence of the floating market

depend on tourism. The opening times are useful for tourists who come to see the

market in action. Also, since the construction of the road, boats do not provide the

main mode of transportation, they have been replaced by cars. Boat transportation

turns out to be the code of utility that enables vendors to act as floating vendors,

meaning the use-value is the equivalence of exchange-value and vice versa.

As a constructed market, the use-value of Pattaya Floating Market is abstract as well.

The function of boats in Pattaya Floating Market does not relate to its material

properties, or objective function, instead they become the mere code of utility,

We [Pattaya Floating Market] provide our traders with rowing boats, though the

traders don't row them. Boats are stationed at different positions and floating

vendors don't travel around the market. All they need to do is just sit on the rowing

boats to sell food, namely roti, noodles, grilled-fish balls and the like (Mr. Sam# n=3#

male# Pattaya).

The use-value of boats in Pattaya Floating Market does not seem to relate to its material properties (using boats for transportation), or to have a connection with the subjects at all. The below is an example.

> At first, sitting in a rowing boat was tough and uncomfortable, but I got used to it. It took me, like, a week to manage to sit on the boat. It doesn't wobble that much now (Ms. Som# n=14# female# Pattaya).

The code of utility of boats in Pattaya Floating Market enables vendors to properly perform as floating vendors in order for the place to become a floating market. This is because a floating vendor is one of the important components of a floating market. Pattaya Floating Market provides some traders with rowing boats. The utility of rowing boats is determined by economic exchange, including commission, admission fee and income, from tourists. Therefore, floating vendors and rowing boats here are examples of staged culture that is orientated towards tourists, and their use-value is dependent on the economic exchangeability of tourism.

Regarding its opening times, Pattaya Floating Market is open from 10am to 10pm,

> Foreign tourists, especially group tours, arrive in the market from 4pm to 7pm, but Thai tourists usually come here from 12pm to 4pm (Mr. Nat# n=9# male# Pattaya).

The opening times of the market are dependent on the arrival of tourists. In this way, Pattaya Floating Market is a tourist attraction, in that tourist demand affects the code of utility of the market. Therefore, use-value is the equivalence of exchange-value,

which does not relate to objects or subjects. What becomes personal need is controlled by flows of tourism. In Pattaya Floating Market, the market does not need rowing boats because of their objective function, but rather because of the code of utility. Rowing boats are a made-up cultural code of utility in the market. Exchange-value, as well as codifiable utility, leads to what Baudrillard calls 'fetishism of use-value', which is needs and desire for the code of utility. This is pertinent to tourist expectation rather than intrinsic utility.

The fetishism of the code of utility will be discussed in the next section.

6.2.3 The fetishism of code

Referring back to Baudrillard, 'the code' refers to the code of utility, or the status of utility. He says people's needs are socially constructed, and this leads to 'the fetishism of use-value' (Baudrillard 1981, p.135). Economic exchangeability does not only eclipse use-value, but also leads to fetishism. The fetishism of code occurs after economic exchange-value has come into play. Local people fetishise the codes of the tourist-orientated floating markets. The purpose of constructing Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets does not relate to the physical attributes of the places, rather it accords with tourist expectations and demand.

The following sections further elaborate on the fetishism of code under the sub-theme of tourist-orientated change, by looking at data obtained from interviews with

workers in the Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets. According to the data, the fetishism of code means the idea of the places meets tourist expectations.

Tourist-orientated change

As stated in the previous data section, tourist arrivals and road construction brought about the wish to re-establish Damnoen Saduak Floating Market, while the idea of nostalgia, along with tourism, recreates Pattaya Floating Market as a tourist attraction. The construction of the floating markets was about passion for tourist-orientated codes, which means the idea of the local floating market was introduced by flows of tourism. The reinvention of the floating markets needs to meet tourist expectations. For Damnoen Saduak Floating Market, workers said it had changed from being part of a local way of life to being a 'tourist-orientated place'. The first change was the purpose of the floating market.

> It used to be a fruit market where traders brought produce from their own fruit
>
> orchards to sell and exchange with one another (Ms. Jin# n=26# female# Damnoen
>
> Saduak).

Having changed the purpose of the market, the place became a tourist-orientated site. After seeing a significant increase in the number of tourists visiting, the floating market moved to another side of the canal, next to the main road. This means that the current Damnoen Saduak Floating Market was relocated for tourist-orientated purposes. The needs of local people, and the original purpose of the market, have

been substituted with a tourist-orientated place, as the following interview data

shows.

> **Me:** Was the floating market located here first?
>
> **Interviewee:** No, it wasn't on this side, but the other side of the canal. The market
>
> was moved here because cars could only access this side of the canals. The market
>
> moved to this side about 20 to 30 years ago.
>
> (Ms. Pam# n=21# female# Damnoen Saduak)

> Having been relocated, other changes occurred in the floating market. As interviewee
>
> no.7 said, 'The floating market is privately run by the different owners of boat
>
> services, and there are about 10 boat services inside and outside the market' (Mr.
>
> Yingyong# n=25# male# Damnoen Saduak).

Apart from the relocation and private boat services, there have been other tourist-

orientated changes, namely a few boat vendors, more tourist boats, motorboats,

tourist-orientated careers, a better economy and income, a reduction in boat

transportation, an increase in car transportation, and extended waterways. The

below is an example.

> I stopped driving boats because of road transportation [networks] that now link to
>
> other areas in the city. Fewer tourists came to the market by boat. In the past, there
>
> was only one boat service. Now, there are many boat services to take tourists in and
>
> around the market (Mr.Pete# n=19# male# Damnoen Saduak).

Those changes made the floating market become tourist-orientated. The place does not depend on the needs of local people or the purpose of the original floating market. The passion for reviving Damnoen Saduak Floating Market is regulated by the code of tourism, such as boat services for tourists.

Unlike Damnoen Saduak Floating Market, Pattaya Floating Market did not change from being part of the local way of life to a tourist place, rather it appears to have been tourist-orientated since the very beginning, and thus is inevitably subject to economic exchange-value and the code of tourism. The code here is the idea of a floating market that accords with tourist expectations, whereby the place may offer a differentiated experience for tourists. For Thai tourists, their experience is differentiated from the outset with signage in Thai reading 'We are Thai, free entry'. When asked 'What do you want Thai tourists to see in your place?' interviewees said they wanted them to see traditional Thai culture from back in the old times, which can't be found elsewhere.

Similarly, Cohen regards Pattaya Floating Market as an 'innovative new floating market' that is themed to present aspects of Old Siam, or Thailand, in the architecture, or decor, albeit seen in business enterprises established by private entrepreneurs and planned as all-inclusive projects (2016, pp.74-75). For Thai tourists, the code of nostalgia helps establish a place as a tourist site. Additionally, there are other significant tourist-orientated changes, as seen in the following exchange.

Me: What has been a significant change in the market?

Interviewee: Well, we didn't call it change, as the concept of the place was the same, but we called it 'development', a constant development. We had old and new customers, old and new shops. We expanded the market and created new things that better fitted in the market. So, this was development rather than change.

(Mr. Brad# n=10# male# Pattaya)

Pattaya Floating Market is a growing place where the market has become expanded, and has experienced the construction of phase 2 and 3. The development of the market might refer to 'a good change'. The expansion of the floating market also meant lots of shops, more tourists, more traders, bigger tourist attractions and better tourist services. Another important tourist-orientated change was the construction of photographic backdrops.

Me: How long have you been working in the market?

Interviewee: About one and a half years.

Me: From the time you started working here until now [April 2015], what has been the most significant change?

Interviewee: In order to work in the floating market, I graduated with my first degree, in Communication Arts, from a university in Bangkok. While I was at university, I joined a drama club and I worked backstage. When I first came to the market, the market had no photography spot, or backdrop. Social media is important. Tourists visiting a place always take photos with lovely backdrops that they want to share on Facebook. So I initiated the creation of backdrops and we received good feedback from tourists. They enjoyed taking photos and sharing them on Facebook,

and this was free advertising for the market that encouraged tourists' friends and

friends of friends to visit the market.

(Ms. Petch# n=6# female# Pattaya)

From the interview data, tourist-orientated changes in Pattaya Floating Market,

including the expansion of the market, the backdrops, and more besides, do not

relate to the physical place, which used to be a natural swamp, or to the subjects, or

the workers who are employed in the market. Instead, the expansion of the market,

the construction of phases 2 and 3, as well as the backdrops, represent the passion

for the codes of a tourist-orientated place.

Therefore, those changes are not free from global flows. Tourist-oriented codes

regulate workers' skills and help them establish the floating market. They also affect

the purpose of the floating market, for example, the creation of picturesque

backdrops change the codes of tourist-orientated places, the organisation of the

relationship between the objects in the places, and the relationship between workers

and tourists. Backdrops present the way the market should be framed, or gazed

upon. Tourists know what to do, they enjoy taking photos, while workers encourage

them to share the photos on Facebook.

Moreover, Baudrillard sees the generalisation of exchange-value as being associated

with fetishism. The reconstruction of the markets does not depend on the needs of

the subjects, but is subject to the economic exchange-value induced by flows of

tourism. The passion for the codes of tourist-orientated places constitutes the desire

of people, and continually maintains the spread of tourism. Fetishism closely relates

to the generalisation of exchange-value, whereby objects become commutable with sign-value. With the fetishism of tourist-orientated codes, Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets saw their sign-value transform.

6.2.4 The play of representations

Referring back to the Baudrillard chapter, the generalisation of exchange-value facilitates sign-value, meaning the production of commodities is accompanied by signification. As Baudrillard states, sign-value takes the forms of exchange-value and use-value, whereby exchange-value can function as 'discourse of communication', or in this case, is a cultural message for tourists, while use-value is only decoded as sign. So what forms of signifier and signified does the circulation of value produce? We can discover this from the following data.

Analogy

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[17] The informant no.30# male# Damnoen Saduak sent me the photograph on the left, which is the original floating market in 1970, when it was called Klong Lud Pee Floating Market. Please visit

The picture on the left is of the original floating market of Damnoen Saduak, while the picture on the right is of its current incarnation. In the context of Damnoen Saduak Floating Market, the analogy refers to 'the old market' and 'the new market'. Despite moving to the other side of the canal, Damnoen Saduak Floating Market sells itself as the original. What happened before that? A worker compares the traditional floating market with the current Damnoen Saduak Floating Market below.

> More than 30 years ago [1985-1986], there was the old, traditional and original floating market, named Khlong Lud Pee Floating Market or Lao Tak Lak Floating Market [a Chinese name], which was located on another side of the canals and run by the local municipality. We called it 'the old market' and it used to be a local trading centre, selling produce from local fruit orchards. King Rama V allocated this land to Chinese immigrants. Local culture was thus a mixture of Chinese and Thai culture (Mr. Yingsak# n=30# male# Damnoen Saduak).

The current Damnoen Saduak Floating Market is not the original market, it replaced the old and original floating market, Khlong Lud Pee Floating Market. The old market, which had existed for more than 100 years, disappeared because of the relocation. Thus, the relocation of the market caused the code of utility to substitute its objective utility. The code of utility is dependent upon tourist arrivals. The use-value of the current Damnoen Saduak Floating Market is an effect of exchange-value. The existence of the floating market is a signifier, and the original place is a signified.

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https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xWNcvtGEeY8&feature=youtu.be to see a full video. The photograph on the right, taken by me, is of the current Damnoen Saduak Floating Market.

Having been moved to the other side of the canal, the old floating market

disappeared. The current floating market has been established and privately owned

by different boat-service owners, but has been functioning as an original floating

market. However, for the past 10 years, the local municipality has revived 'the old

market' on Lud Pee Canal in order to preserve and bring back local traditional culture.

Me: Do you mean there are two floating markets at the moment?

Interviewee: Yes, Damnoen Saduak Floating Market [the current market] was the

first floating market of Thailand to be widely popular among tourists. But, Khlong Lud

Pee, or Lao Tak Lak Floating Market, is called 'the old market'. The floating market

used to be located on the Lud Pee Canal, then moved to the Damnoen Saduak Canal,

for it was much more convenient for car transportation. Now, the municipality is

reviving the old floating market.

Me: Now?

Interviewee: Yes, only some tourists visit the old market. Attractive spots are the Big

Buddha of Rad Charoentum Temple, rowing boats and the traditional Thai way of life.

It's open daily. If tourists came here, they would see a natural way of life.

Me: Are there several shops in the old market?

Interviewee: Well, some shops, but not as many as in Damnoen Saduak Floating

Market.

Me: How long have you been reviving the old market?

Interviewee: For a long time, about 10 years. The anniversary of Damnoen Saduak

Floating Market was held in the old market.

(Ms. Nat# n=24# female# Damnoen Saduak)

> Also, the old market is run by the local municipality, but is not that popular with
> tourists. There's one coffee shop and one noodles boat over there. Group tours don't
> come to the old market as it is not close to the main road. Most vendors go to the
> new market (Ms. Wang# n=22# female# Damnoen Saduak).

From the interview data, the economic exchange-value of tourism makes the floating market (signifier) become a tourist attraction to display the local way of life (the code of utility), with the place claiming to be the original (signified). Whereas the revived old market that is useful for displaying and preserving the natural way of life (use-value), becomes merely the old market (signified). The old market that used to be the original water trading centre does not appear to be the original, as the existence of the current Damnoen Saduak Floating Market does not allow the other one to do so.

In other words, Damnoen Saduak Floating Market is the analogy of the old revived floating market, with the current market selling itself as being original. Additionally, its code of utility, or use-value that is abstract, is only the effect of the economic exchange-value, or signifier. The old market is reduced to being the alibi of the current Damnoen Saduak Floating Market. The old floating market and the current Damnoen Saduak Floating Market involve both the logic of the commodity and the logic of sign. The objective utility of Damnoen Saduak Floating Market is abstract because of the relocation of the market. The market was moved to the other side of the canal, next to the main road. It does not serve the original purpose of the place any more.

To generalise exchange-value, it functions as a form of communication, whereby Damnoen Saduak Floating Market represents the original way of life. Damnoen Saduak Floating Market functions as a sign object, with its existence being an effect of sign-value. Damnoen Saduak Floating Market is a tourist attraction comprising a combinatory of signs, including the canal, boat transportation, boat service, wooden houses, floating vendors, rowing boats, shops, and more besides. The exchange-value and signifier have become the legitimisation of utilities of those objects.

Regarding the revived old market, it was re-established by the local municipality to preserve local traditions and the culture of the past. The relation of exchange-value with use-value is equivalent to the relation of signifier with the signified, for the revived old market does not serve its objective function. Furthermore, the old market is a substitute for the current Damnoen Saduak Floating Market. Tourist arrivals caused the old market to disappear, as it did not fit into the context of tourism. The objective utility of the old floating market is abstract and renders the place exchangeable with tourist-orientated signs in accordance with tourism. Since the revived old market has lost its original status to the current floating market, it is subject to another set of tourist-orientated signs, or 'the discourse of communication' (exchange-value), such as one coffee shop, a rowing boat, a noodles boat, a natural way of life, and the like, so as to rationalise the utility of the market.

The signifier and signified of the revived old market turn out to accord with the current Damnoen Saduak Floating Market and tourism. In this way, the circulation of use-value and exchange-value, and of signifier and signified, affects the emergence of

the old and current floating markets as tourist attractions, with the objective utility of the floating markets being equivalent to convertible signs that only produce its rationalised social usage. In contrast to Damnoen Saduak Floating Market, Pattaya Floating Market is not an analogy of an old floating market, instead it is an inherent copy. The differentiation between Pattaya Floating Market and Damnoen Saduak Floating Market will be elaborated on in the next sub-section

Manipulating signs

Prior to elaborating on interview data, it needs to be stressed that the logic of the commodity is equivalent to the logic of the sign. Instead of using the word 'analogy', the term 'manipulating signs' will be employed to show how Pattaya Floating Market engages the play of representation, where the place becomes partially connected to, and disconnected from, the original floating market.

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[18] Pattaya Floating Market, taken from www.bangkok.com/pattaya/floating-market.html

This picture shows what Pattaya Floating Market currently looks like. It is a recent and new place, having been constructed in 2008. But paradoxically, it presents well-organised and well-displayed ancient Thai culture. Coded data, derived from interviews with workers in Pattaya Floating Market, are categorised into two types: an analogy or connection to the original floating market; and disconnection from the floating market. Informants were asked the question, 'As a simulated place, what made tourists know that they should visit the floating market?' Pattaya Floating Market needs signs to become a floating market, including boat vendors, floating shops, waterways, the ambience of water trading, river banks, piers, wooden houses, stalls on wooden paths, cooking on small rowing boats and boat rides. These sign objects take the form of the floating market and affect the emergence of the place as tourist attraction.

However, some informants regarded the market as different from the original floating markets, as seen below.

> Well, we have an amphibious boat here that tourists could have a ride on. We were located in Pattaya city, which was one of the most famous cities for tourists (Mr. Chris# n=2# male# Pattaya).

Amphibious boats and the location are sign objects that disconnect Pattaya Floating Market from original floating markets. The most significant thing is 'being a copy', which means a constructed place intrinsically becomes a tourist attraction from the very beginning. The market is sold as a commodity to tourists, and its use-value is

only an effect of exchange-value. Referring back to Baudrillard, the logic of the commodity thus anchors it in the logic of the sign.

The floating market was constructed to welcome tourist arrivals in famous Pattaya city. As a tourist attraction, Pattaya Floating Market is subject to exchange-value that functions as economic exchangeability and communication exchangeability. Sign-value comes into play, and it eclipses exchange-value and use-value. Indeed, sign-value functions as exchange-value and use-value. The relationship of exchange-value with use-value, as well as the relationship of the signifier with the signified becomes the differential combination of signs. In this way, exchange-value does not only refer to tourist arrivals, but also to 'the discourse of communication', which is interchangeable with other signs, or signifiers. Thus, use-value becomes decoded, or signified; for instance, boat vendors and waterways are reduced to being an analogy of the original floating market.

Use-value and the signified become the alibis of economic exchange-value and signifier respectively. Or rather, the former is created in accordance with the latter. The boat vendors, waterways, ambience, floating shops, and more besides, are signs that show connection to the original floating market, whereas the place that is a copy, with [19]amphibious boats, an attractive location, regional Thai performances and popularity as a film location are convertible signs that represent a disconnection from original floating markets. With commutable signs that connect to and disconnect

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[19] These signs that show a disconnection from original floating markets will be elaborated in chapter 7 and 8

from floating markets, Pattaya Floating Market marks itself as a differentiated tourist

attraction.

Having elaborated on the circulation of value and signs, we can see how sign-value

appears to function as the exchange-value and use-value of Damnoen Saduak and

Pattaya Floating Markets. It is important now to direct our attention to tourists in

terms of their perception of the floating markets, which enables us to understand

how signs communicate with tourists, and results in the two floating markets

appearing on the tourist stage.

6.3 Tourist perceptions

To study tourists who have been to Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets, I conducted documentary research, selecting the 30 most recent comments for each market that tourists posted on TripAdvisor from 04/06/2015 to 20/06/2015. They were from tourists who had been part of group tours and independent travellers. Data obtained from TripAdvisor suggests that tourists are able to go with the flow. With the circulation of value, along with the play of representation, most tourists find the two floating markets acceptable.

Being acceptable for tourists means that the markets are worth visiting. At Damnoen Saduak Floating Market, tourists saw it as the original. Based on the comments, being an acceptable experience is divided into three groups. First, the market was acceptable for them because it appeared to be the original place.

> It was the original floating market, although it did seem to be a bit organised (comment no.7# Damnoen Saduak).

Second, the market was an acceptable place, in that they could enjoy things in the market, such as buying food and taking a boat ride.

> I saw tourists having fun with buying food and other items (comment no.4# Damnoen Saduak)

It was a nice experience to be on a boat and have a meal on a boat (comment no.17# Damnoen Saduak).

Third, although the market was a construct for tourists, it was worth a visit. For example,

It was really not a typical market any more, it was more a tourist spot, but it was still worth the visit (comment no.22# Damnoen Saduak).

It was worth seeing and bargaining (comment no.5# Damnoen Saduak).

It was a tourist trap, yet you should visit once for the sake of saying been there and done that (comment no.13# Damnoen Saduak).

Going for the experience (comment no.19# Damnoen Saduak).

At this point, what affects tourist perceptions of Damnoen Saduak Floating Market is not the objective utility, but rather the sign-value. The exchange-value of Damnoen Saduak Floating Market, or 'discourse of communication', determines the code of utility or signified, for instance, being acceptable means that the place is either original, or worth a visit for the sake of saying 'been there', while those meanings (use-value) are rational decoding. Sign-value takes the form of exchange-value and use-value, and it generalises exchange-value and rationalises use-value.

In relation to Pattaya Floating Market, being an acceptable place for tourists showed what they enjoyed in the market. The following comments are examples.

> There were 8 boats in my hour visit, and 2 boats played some lovely music. The market was nice with various food and souvenir options (comment no.8# Pattaya).

> There were lots to do and to explore, and it offered a good family experience (comment no.21# Pattaya).

The things that made Pattaya Floating Market acceptable for tourists were the boats, music, activity, family experience, food and souvenirs. As with Damnoen Saduak Floating Market, visiting the floating market was also a must-do activity for tourists.

> It was nice to go to say you have been there (comment no.8# Pattaya).

According to the comments on TripAdvisor, Pattaya Floating Market is an acceptable place for tourists, as there are many things in the market to be enjoyed. Some of the posters stated that they had visited the place for the sake of saying 'been there'. An attempt to construct an acceptable place for tourists bolsters the exchange-value of the floating market so that the market meets tourist expectations, and sign exchange-value as 'the discourse of communication' helps legitimise use-value. For instance, if tourists see some boats during their visit, they find the market acceptable.

However, some tourists re-read signs of the floating markets differently from the cultural connotations attributed by the markets. From the data, some tourists

perceive the two markets as a must-do activity, meaning they just follow the codes and norms of holidays without paying attention to the special cultural messages of each market. In Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets, signs of the original market and of traditional culture may not be that important for tourists, because they just want to enjoy seeing a market. The markets are acceptable to them because they are enjoyable places.

Although Baudrillard's theory enables us to see how sign-value takes the forms of use-value and exchange-value, his theory might oversimplify issues of value and code. We will now move on to the discussion section.

6.4 Theoretical discussions

6.4.1 The conception of globalised tourism

We might say that circulation of value and sign tourism in the floating markets becomes global, for the places involve the movement of people, flows of culture and the movement of capital as the existing literature says. But the term 'global tourism' cannot tell us how global flows affect tourism in a local place. As stated previously in the Baudrillard chapter, globalised tourism refers to the effect of global flows on tourism in a local place where the difference between contrived culture for tourists and the local culture is effaced. In this chapter, I will show that what is globalised is the exchangeability of each floating market with money and cultural signs. In this manner, tourism in the floating markets that is inherently local becomes globalised rather than global, since their use-value becomes exchangeable with other cultural signs.

This makes the utilities of the revived traditional floating market (Damnoen Saduak) and of the artificial floating market (Pattaya) replaceable. Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets have become tourist attractions, and the emergence of the places is subject to economic exchange-value induced by global flows. This causes the use-value of the floating markets to be recreated in accordance with tourist demand. This can refer back to Baudrillard's hyperculture. The code of utility introduced by the global replaces the real use-value of the floating markets, for example, the sign-value of boat services in the floating markets eclipses the use-value of boats for

transportation. The distinction between use-value of an object/ place and the code of utility for tourist purposes is eroded. Although Baudrillard's idea enables my thesis to develop the concept of globalised tourism, his work has some limitations in understanding use-value and 'the code'.

6.4.2 The limitations of Baudrillard's theory

Exchange-value and use-value

Use-value has no autonomy at all (Baudrillard 1981, p.139). This implies exchange-value and use-value have a causal relationship, whereby the former determines the latter. However, Baudrillard is too pessimistic in denying that use-value has autonomy. In this way, Baudrillard's work still represents economic reductionism, through which he regards needs, desire and use-value to be socially constructed in accordance with economic exchangeability. Use-value, to some extent, is subject to economic exchangeability and communication exchangeability, or sign-value, in tourism, though it also relates to people's needs and desires. I would say use-value of the markets as well as people's needs can change anyway, depending on the current context. We don't expect the utility of places/objects to remain the same.

It is impossible to say use-value does not relate to personal satisfaction at all.

> Kellner argues that we are able to specify what needs and use-values of various
>
> commodities serve our own purposes and self-defined needs, but to at least some
>
> degree one can generally determines one's needs, or create one's own use-values,

and hence evaluate commodities in accordance with their uses for specific ends and projects (1989, p.38).

In contrast to Baudrillard, Kellner regards use-value as subjective, whereby people can use commodities to satisfy self-defined needs. One's own use-value might be different from another's use-value; what is useful for one group of people might not satisfy a different group. In reference to the case studies, the floating markets are tourist attractions and they may satisfy local people's needs. Damnoen Saduak Floating Market was established after being moved to the other side of the canals, next to the main road in order to be convenient for tourists travelling to the market by car. The arrival of tourists has caused significant changes in the market, yet the code of utility induced by tourism may be internalised, which then becomes the local people's use of the market. Because of road construction, local workers travel to the floating market by car, then transfer to boat in order to act as floating vendors.

Their mode of transportation, along with staged culture, turns out to fulfil local people's needs, with them commuting to the floating market by car so as to avoid tourist boats on the canals. Commuting to the market by car takes less time than by boat. In this way, use-value appears to be the everyday culture of local people who are able to make use of the market to satisfy their needs. On the one hand, the utility of Damnoen Saduak Floating Market is dependent on the economic exchange-value in tourism, though on the other hand, this may become routine in people's everyday life so that that they can make use of it for different ends.

In Pattaya Floating Market, tourist arrivals and economic exchange play a more important role in determining the code of utility than they do in Damnoen Saduak Floating Market. This is because the place was a constructed market, or a copy, from the very beginning. The owner of this land had a natural swamp and wanted to see Thai floating vendors like it used to be in the past. So he decided to build the floating market to preserve the traditional Thai way of life. Although the economic exchange-value and globalised tourism affect the use-value of the market, creating the floating market, to some degree, fulfils the self-defined needs of the owner. Since the place did not spontaneously occur, the construction of Pattaya Floating Market depends on the owner's motivation to preserve Thai culture. The utility of the place, in this way, is subjective.

Regarding the two floating markets, their use-value has, to some extent, autonomy that pertains to self-defined needs and individual needs. This thesis suggests that exchange-value and use-value are not necessarily involved in a causal relationship where the latter is only an effect of the former. Rather, the relationship of exchange-value with use-value may be reciprocal, with use-value juxtaposing with one's own needs, and tourism, for instance road construction in Damnoen Saduak, not only serving tourists, but also being useful for local people – for example, it improves the transportation system in the local area. Therefore, use-value does not necessarily depend on exchange-value.

Regarding tourists, the floating markets are an acceptable experience for them because of their cultural messages and sign-value, rather than the objective utility of

the markets. For example, they perceive Damnoen Saduak Floating Market as original, and their perception is consonant with the cultural connotation created by the place. Or rather, the tourists just follow the norms and codes of holidaying in Thailand, whereby they view the two markets as must-do activities. However, the utility of Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets for tourists may differ from that for local people. Tourists find these two markets acceptable as they can enjoy seeing things in the places rather than conforming to codes and holidays.

Tourists, in this way, are able to perform 'the second gaze' as suggested by MacCannell (2001). Referring back to the review chapter of tourism, MacCannell contends that tourists know a place is not original and is constructed, and they do not believe what they see. They know something may be hidden behind it. In the case of the two markets, the data show some tourists do not perceive the places according to the cultural messages and signs of the floating markets. Instead, they perform their own gaze, through which they view the floating markets as enjoyable.

Regarding Baudrillard, his work may have limitations in understanding sign-value, since it is reduced to be the effect of economy, whereby he states the logic of commodity is associated with the logic of signification. However, Böhme and Engels-Schwarzpaul argue that the aesthetic, or stage-value, is an autonomous type of value, with further qualities being added in order to exchange a commodity's exchange-value, and the aesthetic economy linked with developed capitalism witnessing the relative increase of commodities that only have aesthetic value (2016, p.11). Aesthetic value sounds similar to the discourse communication (sign exchange

value??) proposed by Baudrillard, but they are not the same. Aesthetic quality makes

economic exchange-value increase, and some commodities may be produced to serve

only the purpose of atmosphere, such as using different materials to suit the

preferences of different groups of people. In this manner, aesthetic value is

dependent upon the actor, or producer, rather than the market. To further

understand the production of stage-value, we may need to pay more attention to the

actor in the production process.

The code

Baudrillard emphasises that the logic of commodities is associated with the logic of

significations, but sign-value is undertheroised in his work. How these two are

developed in the capitalist economy is left unclear. To better elaborate on the term

'signs', Böhme and Engels-Schwarzpaul assert that, in contemporary aesthetics,

reference and understanding of signs are possible only insofar as they are embedded

in culture: signs are conventional (2016, p.4). References of signs are based on culture

and tradition. In the case of the floating markets, what becomes the code of utility

and sign-value is the local way of life and the idea of nostalgia.

Furthermore, Baudrillard may overstate the predominance of the code over object

and subject. To question this point, Kellner contends, 'Baudrillard sees the code as an

overarching regulative principle or system that determines the relative prestige or

sign-value of commodities, yet it is not clear who establishes the code, or how it

functions in specific cases' (1989, p.30). The problem is that Baudrillard uses the term

'the code' in a general sense that appears to be overarching the structures of the systems. In other words, the system of codes comes to govern both the subject and object. This is a one-way relationship between the code and society.

The system of codes may not intrinsically happen, as the code is a kind of language game. The system of codes, to some extent, depends on the relationship between subject and object. The code of an object affects the desire and needs of people, yet the subject simultaneously modifies it. Baudrillard does not elaborate on how the system of codes is constituted. It is thus hard to identify 'the code' in practical case studies. In the case of the floating markets, this thesis suggests the places engage in interaction between the global and the local. There must be some sets of codes that are consonant with tourism, while there might be other sets of codes created by local people, or even pre-established by local culture. Locally produced codes of a traditional way of life and floating markets might be precedents for flows of tourism.

With the natural attributes of Damnoen Saduak Floating Market, the place becomes an original floating market (instead of the revived old market), and an acceptable place for tourists. Tourists are able to enjoy the place and even perceive it as must-see destination. Damnoen Saduak Floating Market appears to be original, because to some extent, it presents locally produced codes and signs of floating markets, including a local way of life, canals, boats, floating vendors and Thai ambience, while those sign objects happen to meet tourist expectations.

Regarding Pattaya Floating Market, it is a constructed place, and is a copy that

displays locally constructed codes and sign objects that connect to traditional floating

markets, namely waterways, boats, vendors, banks and piers. But some codes show

disconnection from a traditional floating market, such as the different entrance signs

for Thai and foreign tourists, the amphibious boat, its location, its existence as a

contrived market, and so on. On the one hand, these are locally produced sign values,

but on the other, they are created by sign-value for tourism. Locally produced signs

may juxtapose with signs induced by tourism, especially the differentiation between

the Thai-tourist entrance and foreign-tourist entrance. The sign reading in Thai 'We

are Thai, free entry' shows that income from domestic tourism does not matter to

the floating market. What they produce and offer in the market is not principally

made for Thai tourists.

However, foreign tourists have to pay an admission fee before entering the market.

Therefore, income from international tourism does matter to the emergence of

Pattaya Floating Market, and the cultural value along with an experience of a floating

market and Thai culture are specifically created for foreign tourists, especially

Chinese ones. This will be discussed further in the following chapters. In this way,

Pattaya Floating Market can mediate flows of tourism, albeit in a contrived place. We

should bear in mind that Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets have

become tourist attractions due to both locally pre-established codes and tourist-

orientated codes. Therefore, 'the code' cannot be treated as totality.

6.5 Conclusion

This thesis uses Baudrillard's theory to elaborate its argument. From the interview data, it can be seen that the globalisation and tourism involved in flows of capital, tourist arrivals, the economic system and unequal flows of cash, to some extent, foster the circulation of value and signs. It permits signs to take the forms of the floating markets, where signs function as both exchange-value and use-value. They are tourist attractions because of the circulation of value and signs.

Starting from the circulation of value, desire and need for the floating markets are not innate, but socially constructed. The arrival of tourists caused Damnoen Saduak Floating Market to move to the other side of the canal, next to the main road, in order for it to be much more convenient for tourists travelling to the market by car. The appearance of the current Damnoen Saduak Floating Market partially depends on tourists and flows of capital. In order to accommodate foreign tourists in Pattaya city, the owner of Pattaya Floating Market decided to build a floating market over a natural swamp. It is an investment in building a floating market in exchange for tourists and money. Flows of tourism affect the desire and need for the floating market.

Unequal flows of cash between tourists and local people, and tourism, have facilitated the floating markets to become tourist attractions, especially with regards to commission, income from tourists and admission fees. The exchange-value of the floating markets also appears to be 'the discourse of communication', which renders

the markets codifiable and generalised. For Baudrillard, it seems that commodities, endowed with economic exchangeability, are abstract, and the code takes the form of exchange-value and use-value. Things that can be exchanged for money inextricably involve the code and signification. At this stage, sign-value comes into play and replaces exchange-value and use-value.

Use-value is used as the code of utility, which is only the legitimisation of exchange-value. For example, Pattaya Floating Market uses rowing boats to set up a scene of floating vendors. The objective utility of rowing boats is substituted for the code of utility in a place that offers a tourist-orientated boat service. Moreover, the floating markets are tourist attractions due to the play of representation. Based on the data, we can see the analogy between the current Damnoen Saduak Floating Market and the revived old market, while Pattaya Floating Market manipulates signs, in this way showing connection to, and disconnection from, the original floating markets. Therefore, the circulation of value and sign, to some extent, enables the floating markets to become tourist attractions. Despite the play of value and signs, most tourists find the two floating markets acceptable when they are able to go with the flow. For tourists, the floating markets are worth a visit.

Having seen in what ways the places are tourist attractions, it is necessary to turn to the cultural contents of the floating markets, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 7

A false dichotomy of globalisation and the play of differences

7.1 Introduction

The previous chapter discussed the way in which Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets are tourist attractions. It went through the different stages of the floating markets, including constructed desire, exchange-value, sign-value and the play of representations. The circulation of value and signs enables us to understand the relationship between globalised tourism and the local. With the circulation of signs, how can this affect the cultural contents of the floating markets?

This chapter focuses on the cultural contents of Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets, or the production of cultural value in the places. The cultural contents of the floating markets enable each place to differentiate itself from the other, and to attract tourists. This chapter answers the second research question: 'Is there any difference between the interpretations of Thai workers and those of tourists in regard to Thai culture?' This chapter examines to what extent Ritzer's theory fits into a non-Western context of Thailand. Ritzer's theory may be an example of the whole strand of globalisation and he proposes that globalisation is dichotomised to give two categories of 'something' and 'nothing'.

However, this seems to be too simple a way to study the cultural contents of the floating markets, meaning Ritzer's theory appears to be a false dichotomy. Since the circulation of value and signs propels the floating markets into being tourist attractions, this chapter suggests that there are no fixed criteria that separate distinctive cultural content from generic cultural content. This thesis will argue the cultural contents and cultural value of the two floating markets have become inessentially different from each other. In order to challenge Ritzer, Baudrillard's theory of 'the system of objects' will be employed. For Baudrillard, the cultural content of an object does not depend on its practical application, but on the relationship between the object and the subject, or the relationship between an object and its context.

There are three main sections in this chapter: the first section presents interview data on workers and data analysis. Pattaya Floating Market involves the play of differences to a higher extent than Damnoen Saduak Floating Market, with the former turning out to be a series object. Then, data on tourists obtained from TripAdvisor will be presented so that we can understand tourist interpretation of the two floating markets with regard to Thai culture. The third section concerns theoretical discussions regarding the limitations of working with Ritzer's and Baudrillard's theories.

7.2 Interview data

7.2.1 The definition of authenticity

Both Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets define themselves as authentic, and these places focus on creating value. The following interview data illustrate the signification of authenticity. How does each floating market define authenticity? Referring to the discussions in the Baudrillard chapter, there are no fixed criteria for differentiating distinctive cultural content from generic cultural content. Regardless of distinctive and indistinctive cultural content, a place can still become authentic. The cultural contents of the floating markets do not depend on practical application, therefore their difference is not singular but abstract. Based on Baudrillard, an antique object is authentic when it relates to nostalgia for origin and the source of value. In this case, authenticity is anchored in the significations of time and of value. What is antique is thus authentic.

Damnoen Saduak Floating Market: Originality

Damnoen Saduak Floating Market sees its cultural content as 'original'. Interviewees were asked, 'What makes the floating market attractive to tourists?' most of them answered that this floating market was natural, or it represented the genuine way of life of local people. The below exchange is an example.

> **Me:** What makes Damnoen Saduak Floating Market more attractive than other markets?

Interviewee: Well, this market is original and genuine.

Me: OK! How would you tell tourists that this place is original or genuine?

Interviewee: This place is absolutely original and has existed for more than 100 years.

Me: What is original in the market?

Interviewee: Like those fruit, we didn't buy them from Pak Khlong Talat Flower

Market [in Bangkok]. What is sold here was brought from local fruit orchards.

Me: Right! Why do tourists want to visit the place?

Interviewee: They want to see an old-fashioned market, which they couldn't find

back home. This market is an old-fashioned place in Thailand. Water trading became

a local tradition and a way of life. Tourists love to see things that are outdated and

not modern. They can't find this kind of market in their home countries, where there

are floating vendors or you can eat noodles on boats. Tourists like to see things that

are opposite to their life back home. They don't like high technological stuff because

they have it back home.

(Mr. Pong# n=20 # male# Damnoen Saduak)

'Original' refers to the signifying time that the market has existed for 100 years, and

the nostalgia for origins, where objects in the market relate to the specific locality.

What makes original content stand out is the away experience, where the original

floating market is different from what tourists can find back in their own homeland.

Damnoen Saduak Floating Market is an original floating market because it shows

traces of the past and that becomes the source of value. To define cultural content as

original, Damnoen Saduak Floating Market seems to involve nostalgia for its origins,

with the old-fashioned place as created in its temporal closure, especially the

signifying time of its existence. In the meantime, the market derives authenticity from

its source of value, such as locality, tradition, the way of life and its fruit farmers. The

original and authentic content of the market is thus embedded in the relationship

between the place and its subjects.

The source of value that makes Damnoen Saduak Floating Market more attractive to

tourists than other places is its natural ambience, closeness to Bangkok, the daily

market, convenience for travelling and its worldwide reputation.

> **Me:** What makes Damnoen Saduak Floating Market famous?
>
> **Interviewee:** The market has a natural ambience and the advantage of being close to
>
> Bangkok. When people think about going to a floating market, Damnoen Saduak
>
> Floating Market is the first place that comes to mind. Our vendors are local people
>
> who grow local produce to sell and exchange with others.
>
> (Ms. Nat# n=24# female# Damnoen Saduak)

In this manner, the demand for authenticity is an obsession with the source of value

that is anchored in the relationship between the object and subject. Although

Damnoen Saduak Floating Market appears to be authentic, it is not in itself authentic,

rather the floating market functions as a sign of nostalgia, namely local tradition and

way of life, and also as a sign of witness, as seen in its worldwide reputation.

Damnoen Saduak Floating Market becomes an original place, and what makes the

place authentic is not the market itself, or its practical application, but rather its

association with the signification of time and the source of value. Since the cultural

contents of the place are open to a combinatory system of sign, the place involves

the play of differences.

Pattaya Floating Market: Thainess

Unlike with Damnoen Saduak Floating Market, Thainess is the source of value that

enables Pattaya Floating Market to become authentic. This confirms Pongajarn, van

der Duim and Peters's findings, which suggest Pattaya Floating Market connects

Pattaya with the rest of Thailand, rather than represents the locality of Pattaya (2016,

p.10). Despite being a copy, Pattaya Floating Market is constructed as a tourist-

orientated place that preserves Thainess. The place can claim authenticity, and it

attempts to beat a path back to the origin, or to the mother to whom it has never

belonged. The floating market itself exists only in the present and never in a former

time. Pongajarn, van der Duim and Peters also state that floating markets in Pattaya

city were previously non-existent (2016, p.10). Pattaya Floating Market becomes

attractive to tourists because of the concept of Thainess. Interviewees see Thainess

as important to the floating market, namely water trading in the past, water

transportation and the old way of life.

> **Me:** Was Pattaya Floating Market created to preserve Thainess?
>
> **Interviewee:** Yes, the Thai way of life in the past referred to boat transportation
>
> [80%]. The owner really likes boats because he comes from Ayutthaya province [the
>
> old capital of Thailand]. We had, like, 40-50 boats here to offer boat-ride services to
>
> tourists. We are now using 30 boats. Water transportation, which was the Thai way
>
> of life in the past, caused the floating market to emerge. No matter whether local
>
> people were going to Bangkok, or Ayutthaya, boat was the main mode of
>
> transportation. There was no road, just forest, which was dangerous. Only the rich
>
> could travel on land, such as by elephant. But people normally used boats, cooked on

boats, and stopped in different areas. People sold and exchanged what they had on

boats, such as chilli and eggplants. This is why the floating market emerged. Our

place really takes tourists back to old times.

(Mr. Sam# n=3# male# Pattaya)

Thainess, which refers to uniqueness and authenticity, is the cultural content of

Pattaya Floating Market. Undoubtedly, the floating market itself does not inherently

become authentic, but authenticity is socially constructed. Thainess becomes the

source of value of Pattaya Floating Market. Thainess is embedded in the nostalgia for

origins, which is regression into the past. Thainess does not relate to practical

application of the place, but rather the signifying of time, or sign, and this makes the

place antique. As Baudrillard states, an antique object is authentic. Pattaya Floating

Market is unique, for the cultural content of Thainess relates to the moment of

creation, or the birth, of the floating market. Thainess is the play of differences. The

play of differences makes the cultural content of the market abstract and it is only

with marginal differences that the status of authenticity can function.

Apart from signification of time, Thainess also refers to the source of value, which

includes personal characteristics, namely hospitality, Thai greetings, Thai markets,

Thai manners, Thai language, a smile and a warm welcome. In this way, Thainess

makes the cultural content of the market distinctive. Thainess derives its meanings

from the relationship between the place and subject. Mr. Liam clearly states how the

word 'Thainess' was created below.

Interviewee: You know! It is very easy to understand the word, but to explain it is a bit complicated, but I'll try. The word 'Thainess' first means to give support to everybody, showing smiling faces, giving them a warm welcome, having the instinct to take care of them, presenting your old style to them, being open-minded, and so on.

Me: Um, the concept of Thainess is a bit abstract.

Interviewee: I created it on a big billboard on the motorway – 'Pattaya Floating Market, the Home of Exotic Culture and Charming Thainess'. This word was my creation. It was a long time before TAT [Tourism Authority of Thailand] used this! I was a bit surprised when I saw them using this word to promote Thailand, but it was not an easy time for the Thai tourism market then. You know TAT [called Tor Tor Tor in Thai] talks about 'Exploring Thainess'. But I had used this word already, a long time ago, before TAT created that phrase.

(Mr. Liam# n=4# male# Pattaya)

As a constructed place, it is necessary for Pattaya Floating Market to demand authenticity and the source of value, so as to invent cultural content. The floating market uses the word 'Thainess' in order to become a distinctive place. The demand for authenticity, along with the creation of Thainess, based on the data, is an obsession with certainty, such as origin, date, author and signature of a work. Thainess created by the market appears to be the signature of the floating market.

Therefore, the cultural content of the place depends on the source of value, where authenticity is the sign. Signification of time and the source of value make the floating market antique and authentic, and the demand for value permits the place to exist in the present. Although Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets introduce the

different concepts of originality and Thainess, the places are inessentially and

marginally different from each other, since the cultural contents of the markets do

not depend on their practical application, but rather significations of time and value.

Establishing the source of value does not only involve obsession with certainty, but

also with searching for others, which will be presented now.

7.2.2 Contested authenticity and searching for authenticity

The status of being

In this section, authenticity refers to the presence of others. Damnoen Saudak and

Pattaya Floating Markets claim to be authentic because of the emergence of the

other. In this case, contested authenticity means 'what I do is better than what others

do'. Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets are endowed with a source of

value, with which they sometimes contest each other. The emergence of the other

enables each floating market to become authentic. For Damnoen Saduak Floating

Market, the original cultural content of the place is opposed to that of a constructed

market. A constructed floating market is defined as follows.

> A constructed floating market hires people to sell stuff to create an image of a
>
> floating market and gain income. They tell tourists that their market is a local way of
>
> life, but it is not. They try to make the place look like a floating market to fool
>
> tourists. They just dug a canal, but it is not a floating market, as seen with Pattaya.
>
> They dug a beautiful canal and let their land to earn an income. It is like that. But
>
> those are not genuine markets. The genuine Damnoen Saduak Floating Market was

local trading for local people, which took a very long time for local people to gather together and sell stuff. But those constructed markets create an image of trading. It is not trading, just exploitation! (Mr. Pong# n=20# male# Damnoen Saduak)

The demand for authenticity does not inherently occur in the market, rather it is contested in other places. The floating market pits its cultural content against that of artificial floating markets, so as to draw a contrast between itself and others. Another example follows.

> **Me:** OK, what makes Damnoen Saduak Floating Market more unique than other markets?
>
> **Interviewee:** Here, we didn't dig a canal like the one called Ayothaya Floating Market. This is the real Damneon Saduak Canal, and the Damneon Saduak community lived by the canals. We didn't construct the canal to build shops and stalls in the markets like Hua Hin Floating Market, or Sam Phan Nam Floating Market in Thai [located in Hua Hin city, famous for beautiful beaches]. Our Damnoen Saduak Floating Market is a natural place [I think she meant genuine[20].]. Some tourists criticise our place, but this doesn't stop other tourists visiting here. Damnoen Saduak Floating Market is linked with other small canals. We didn't make up the canals, they were ordered to be built in the reign of King Rama IV, and later finished in the reign of King Rama V. It was named Damnoen Saduak because the canal connected to other small canals, making water transportation much more convenient.
>
> (Ms. Pam# n=21# female# Damnoen Saduak)

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[20] Being a genuine floating market means that the place was not created for tourist purposes. Damnoen Saduak Floating Market was originally used by local people for water trading.

The status of authenticity/being authentic derives from the emergence of other floating markets, especially Pattaya and Hua Hin Floating Markets. Contesting other places that are a source of value helps Damnoen Saduak Floating Market become authentic. Damnoen Saduak Floating Market uses other artificial floating markets to legitimise its authenticity. The original and genuine cultural contents of the market become distinctive only when they are cultural contents as opposed to other artificial floating markets. The definition of authenticity is dependent on the signification of value, where the relation between itself and other places creates the value of Damnoen Saduak Floating Market.

Regarding Pattaya Floating Market, being a copy does not preclude the place from engaging in contested authenticity – 'I can be better than you, despite being a constructed floating market.'

> **Me:** The place is not authentic, right?
>
> **Interviewee:** Not authentic, no! What we did here is man-made. We didn't do a traditional and old floating market, but we had advantages. We did man-made, so we could follow our own style. You could plan everything in advance. But a historical one… for example, if you go to a traditional one like Damnoen Saduak, you have to get up early in the morning, like 6 or 7, or 8 o'clock, and everything disappears at noon. It is not that convenient, especially for tourists, because they like to sleep. In the evening, they go to a bar to have a drink, go to bed late and don't want to get up that early. So that [making our opening times later] has made our floating market successful.

Me: I have seen comments on some websites, like TripAdvisor, like this – 'This place is a replica of a real floating market and this market was made up for tourists, but the place was not usual, so is not to be missed.' Do you agree or disagree with that?

Interviewee: Of course, we needed to see the commercial side of the area. It wasn't only about the floating market, but also the need to create something special. The area is nice. We have a floating market. Besides, at this place you're able to relax, or walk, not being chased by noisy motorbikes. So it's worth coming here, and it's also nice to get a glimpse of the atmosphere.

(Mr. Liam# n=4 # male# Pattaya)

Pattaya Floating Market thus makes its cultural content more unique by contesting that of traditional floating markets. For example, tourists do not need to get up early to visit Pattaya Floating Market, and it's a place where people can relax and walk comfortably. Some interviewees also attempted to draw a contrast between a copy and an original floating market.

Interviewee: Pattaya Floating Market offers a different ambience, so you can't compare it to that sort of market [original]. Here's a tourist attraction, but those markets were everyday life. If tourists visit those places, they can see the way of life of local Thai fruit farmers. But our market is tourist-orientated.

Me: What makes this market unique?

Interviewee: Well… a variety of products and many groups of tourists, but in these markets [original], you can find only local products for daily life use. Our market attracts foreign tourists to visit, so we offer various types of product.

(Mr. Frank# n=15# male# Pattaya)

Being a tourist-orientated floating market is different from being an original floating market. Pattaya Floating Market is not an original place, and it provides a different ambience for tourists. The status of authenticity depends on the presence of other markets and the emergence of a traditional floating market turns out to be a source of value for Pattaya Floating Market.

> Pattaya Floating Market was constructed and continually expanded. Some tourists have come here and said this was not the market they wanted to visit. We asked them why they wanted to visit markets like Damnoen Saduak and Amphawa. Our floating market is made up, while those markets have natural canals. It is different. If they go to those places, they could see natural ambience, such as canals, fruit orchards, and so on. But we don't have those things here. What we have are shops. In those places, tourists can take a boat trip outside the market, experience local life and see fresh ingredients from orchards, like coconuts. But they can't see those kinds of things here. Our market had the opportunity to be situated in a better location. We can't compare to them because they are original (Mr. Kong# n=16# male# Pattaya).

Contesting traditional floating markets paradoxically constitutes the status of authenticity. Without contesting original floating markets, Pattaya Floating Market might not have become differentiated. The place is more distinctive than an original one in terms of the variety of products, different ambience and its better location. That cultural content only appears to be authentic when Pattaya Floating Market contests the original floating markets. Therefore, similar to Damnoen Saduak Floating

Market, Pattaya Floating Market can also use the presence of the 'other' in the legitimisation of its authenticity.

We cannot say Damnoen Saduak Floating Market is more distinctive than Pattaya Floating Market or vice versa. There are no fixed criteria to differentiate authentic culture from generic culture. This is because authenticity does not depend on practical application of the markets. Instead, it is dependent on the source of value that is the presence of the other. Pattaya Floating Market derives its authenticity from the emergence of the traditional floating market, whereas Damnoen Saduak Floating Market becomes authentic only after construction, and after other artificial floating markets have appeared. If there is only one floating market, and the difference is singular, the status of authenticity may not be that important. Apart from the definition of authenticity, what is authentic in the floating markets?

7.2.3 Authenticity: the quest for an alibi

Products

Authenticity is not about separating distinctive cultural content from indistinctive cultural content as Ritzer proposes. Ritzer says the former is embedded in the dimension of locality, while the latter is exposed to the global. If this were the case, then authenticity would seem to get polarised in regard to local culture and tourist-orientated culture. However, the interview data show authenticity can be found in both distinctive and generic cultural content. In contrast to Ritzer, Baudrillard

suggests, 'The quest for authenticity (being-founded-on-itself) is very precisely a quest for an alibi (being-elsewhere)' (Baudrillard 1996, p.81). For Baudrillard, a quest for an alibi is the co-existence of antithetical objects, namely the mythological object and the functional object. The mythological object derives social usage from the existence of the functional object in the same context, whereas the functional object attains cultural value from the co-presence of the mythological object. Each searches for an alibi that lies in the other, and co-exists in a complementary way. In relation to the floating markets, the functional markets that serve tourist purposes need to look for alibis, or mythological objects, to fulfil the status of authenticity.

Authentic cultural contents are not objectively different. On the condition that the markets are functionally different, they would not search for authenticity and value; authenticity is therefore the play of differences. Functional and mythological objects in the floating markets refer to a variety of products that are assigned cultural value, or assigned some purpose. Interviewees in both Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets view their products as unique, and as items that distinguish one market from the other. In Damnoen Saduak Floating Market, products that are associated with authenticity are locally grown fruit and crops, along with souvenir items, as seen in the following interview data.

> **Me:** Did you sell these souvenirs from the beginning?
>
> **Interviewee:** At the beginning, my mum sold fruit, which we brought from our orchards. At first, we didn't sell tourist souvenir clothes.
>
> **Me:** [Pointing to a mango.] Are these from your orchard?

Interviewee: No, we bought them. We have bananas and coconuts in our orchard, but we already cut down our mango trees. Before the floating market moved to this side, my mum and I rowed a boat to sell fruit in the old market [Khlong Lud Pee Floating Market]. About 20 years ago, this area of the current Damnoen Saduak Floating Market used to be filled with local vendors selling watermelon, garlic and onions.

Me: Selling watermelon here?

Interviewee: Yes, vendors sold garlic, pineapple and watermelon, and we didn't sell these clothes at all.

Me: Why did you change to sell clothes?

Interviewee: Since road transportation enables traders and intermediaries to access local orchards, they can easily bring produce to the other markets in the city. Local people don't come to this area to buy those crops, and we can't sell them. We decided to sell clothes instead, for clothes don't go rotten like fruit. What we sell now depended on a change in the environment. Intermediaries now buy fruit and crops directly from orchards. They don't need to travel to the floating market to buy produce.

(Ms. Pam# n=21# female# Damnoen Saduak)

Traders don't buy produce directly from orchards, yet there are some traders [intermediaries] who buy fruit and crops from orchards to sell to other vendors. Then those vendors offer the produce to tourists. In the past, local fruit farmers came directly from their homes to sell fruit and crops, but now vendors buy produce from intermediaries. They don't buy produce directly from orchards, as one orchard might grow a kind of fruit that is not convenient. Vendors go to another market in the city called Sri Muang Market to buy produce from fruit farmers, or get them from intermediaries. They get in their car, go to the floating market and arrange produce

in the boat to perform as floating vendors. But if it's a boat vendor who offers only one product on a boat, such as guava, he or she might be a fruit farmer who has come directly from their orchard (Mr. Wong# n=23# # male# Damnoen Saduak).

Based on the interview data, although the arrival of tourists, along with road construction, has caused a change in product distribution, it does not mean local produce stops functioning in the floating market. Now the fruit that is being sold in the market is not brought from vendors' own local orchards, but by vendors who buy it from other intermediaries. In terms of meaning, they signify origin and signature of a work, which means locally grown produce by fruit farmers. Damnoen Saduak Floating Market was a place selling local fruit and crops and became a place of local trading. The existence of a fruit market is the point of creation and the source of value.

Local fruit and crops that used to be functional objects in Damnoen Saduak Floating Market are mythological objects, with vendors nowadays buying fruit and crops from intermediaries and arranging them on boats to sell to tourists. Local fruit and crops have maximal meaning that relates to the origin, but they have minimal function when assigned to serve some purpose to ensure that have a reason to be in the context of tourism. Local fruit and crops, or mythological objects, appear to be a cultural performance for tourists.

The quest for authenticity is not found in local produce itself. This is because to be authentic, an object must be used. Local produce needs to search for an alibi, which is the co-presence of a functional object. So, having become one of the most famous

tourist spots, which types of products function in Damnoen Saduak Floating Market? To respond to tourist demand, the floating market also offers a variety of souvenirs, as noted below.

> The floating market used to offer only local produce, but now most vendors sell souvenirs. What was sold here has totally changed. They sell souvenirs on boats, though some are locally produced (Ms. Wang# n=22# female# Damnoen Saduak).

> In the past, local vendors sold fruit and crops that were grown in their orchards and came to the floating market to exchange them with others. But now, what is being sold is brought from other places and this makes our floating market look like other floating markets, especially Pattaya (Ms. Nat# n=24# female# Damnoen Saduak).

A souvenir is a functional object that has a maximal function, for its existence is associated with the context of tourism, or a souvenir is used to respond to tourist purposes. On the other hand, it has minimal meaning, whereby it possibly does not extend beyond the realm of tourism. In order to become authentic, the functional object (souvenir) has to search for an alibi that has cultural value, whereas the mythological object (fruit and crops) has to look for an alibi that has function. Therefore, the functional object (souvenir) co-presents with the mythological object (locally grown fruit and crops).

In contrast to Damnoen Saduak Floating Market, Pattaya Floating Market might be inauthentic because it does not have a function outside its performance for tourists. The fact that Pattaya city has beautiful beaches and islands does not relate to any

traditional floating market. However, it might not be as simple as that. Workers in

Pattaya Floating Market say, 'The place has more advantages than a traditional

floating market, namely different ambience, location, various souvenirs and opening

times.' In this way, Pattaya Floating Market is a functional place that is a tourist-

orientated market where local vendors sell products to tourists. Unlike Damnoen

Saduak Floating Market, each product that is sold in Pattaya Floating Market can be

split into those that have functional and those that have mythological attributes. One

interviewee mentioned how regional and OTOP products marked the place out as

distinctive.

What is sold in Pattaya Floating Market becomes authentic since the items that are

sold there are carefully selected by the market. Interviewees say the market's

department of product design has the responsibility of recruiting traders, choosing

products to fit with the conception of Thainess, and choosing the location for each

product. Different products are sold in different zones of the market. The following

interview data shows this.

> **Me:** Do most shops sell identical items?
>
> **Interviewee:** Not that similar! The products are different in each regional zone. In the
>
> Southern zone, vendors sell silverware, weaving products, and in the Northern zone
>
> they sell wooden items.
>
> (Mr. Sam# n=3# male# Pattaya)

Apart from regional products, OTOP[21] products are offered at Pattaya Floating

Market.

> **Interviewee:** As a constructed, or man-made, market we can follow our own style,
>
> the idea being to promote OTOP products. You know OTOP, right?
>
> **Me:** Yeah, OTOP.
>
> **Interviewee:** OTOP stands for One Tambon [sub-district] One Product, and the idea
>
> initially came from Japan.
>
> **Me:** Oh, Japan!
>
> **Interviewee:** It was adopted in Thailand under the patronage of the royal family.
>
> Let's say they wanted to give a chance for people in rural areas to use materials,
>
> whatever they have, to create a product. In the floating market, you have the
>
> opportunity to find OTOP products in our shops. Imagine you are travelling, most
>
> people need to bring souvenirs back home to their beloved ones, or family, right?
>
> Imagine you walk along busy roads in Bangkok or Phuket! So our market is a good
>
> place for hunting for and buying souvenirs. Well, when I say souvenirs, I don't mean
>
> souvenirs in the traditional way, as in the kind you put on a sideboard, dust them and
>
> take good care of them. What I mean is a souvenir that is really worth using, like
>
> hand-made soap [no chemicals]. When you come to our place, you are able to find
>
> designed products and unique items.
>
> (Mr. Liam# n=4# male# Damnoen Saduak)

Thus, in the constructed and tourist-orientated floating market, a souvenir appears to

be a functional object because the items are tourist-orientated. Tourists might want

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[21] OTOP is a local entrepreneurship stimulus programme that aims to support unique, locally made and marketed products of each Thai tambon (local sub-districts) all over Thailand (Thai embassy, 2015).

to buy souvenirs for their family and to remember visiting the place. As interviewees

stated, what is sold in Pattaya Floating market are not traditional souvenirs, but

rather souvenirs for everyday use. Thus, souvenirs that are sold in the floating market

do not only have a functional attribute, but also a mythological attribute. They are

used to serve a tourist purpose, while they derive sign-value from the reference to

regional Thai culture. They show a regression to origin and to the source of value. The

status of authenticity of OTOP products does not only refer to the source of value in

Thai culture, but also local adaptation of Japanese culture.

As the informant stated, the idea of OTOP originally came from Japan. The idea of

OTOP has been internalised within local Thai culture and has become the source of

value of Thai products. Looking back at Baudrillard's theory, the different terms of

functional attribute and mythological attribute can co-exist with their counterpart in

a complementary fashion. Functional and mythological attributes can co-present in

one product, which enables the product to be authentic. For example, silverware that

is manufactured in the south of Thailand has the signification of value (the place of

creation), and is also used to serve the tourist trade (souvenir).

Moreover, another well-known souvenir is 'yellow oil'[22], which is a product created

by the market (the market's product), and is one of the best-selling items here.

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[22] Yellow oil is a traditional Thai medicine that can heal muscle pain. There are many brands of yellow oil that are popular among Thai people.

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Unlike OTOP products, yellow oil is produced to be sold to Chinese tourists. Yellow oil is authenticated by the arrival of Chinese tourists, thus authenticity is socially constructed and specifically marketed at Chinese tourists. An Interviewee recounted how Thai tourists don't buy Pattaya Floating Market's yellow oil, as it is expensive for them, and there are many brands of yellow oil. This correlates with research conducted by Pongajarn, van der Duim and Peters, in which they suggest Pattaya Floating Market connects to Asian tourists while disconnecting from Western tourists (2016, p.11). As the interviewees stated, the main target group of the market is Chinese tourists.[24] The following interview explains this.

Me: Is yellow oil one of the market's products?

Interviewee: Yep, this is one of the market's products.

Me: Where do you find the ingredients?

Interviewee: This is our formula, which was created by the floating market. We use ingredients that are well known to Chinese people, as this was the product we chose for Chinese people. This place is a tourist attraction for Chinese tourists, so what is sold here is particularly for Chinese tourists.

Me: Why is this product popular with Chinese tourists?

Interviewee: This one? It started from green balm, which is popular among Chinese people. We wondered why. We looked at different colours and the characteristics of

---

[23] Picture of yellow oil products.

[24] This is how they start reconfiguring flows of tourism in the market. Further details of this will be presented in the next chapter regarding activity in the place.

prospective users, then we created yellow oil. From our research, we found that

Chinese people like green and yellow. Yellow oil is a good-quality product that

contains extracts from 108 kinds of herbs. One bottle of yellow oil costs 350 baht

[about 7.9 GB pounds], but if they buy up to two bottles of yellow oil, they pay only

300 baht each [about 6.8 GB pounds]. With this strategy Chinese tourists don't

engage in price haggling.

(Mr. Nat# n=9# male# Pattaya)

Yellow oil seems to involve two functions: mythological and functional attributes. If it

were purposeless, it would become a mere cultural sign rather than an authentic

object. Yellow oil is used as traditional Thai medicine, especially for relieving muscle

pain, and is a unique souvenir. Its functional attribute, where the frame of reference

is the present, does not allow the object to trace back to the origin, but its

mythological attribute shows the regression to origin and to the source of value,

which are the 108 Thai herbs. It also presents the signature of the product, as it is

locally produced by the floating market.

Yellow oil is thus an authentic object, for it suits the preference of Chinese tourists

and, paradoxically, has signification of value. The product is split into two attributes

so as to strike a balance between these terms, which can co-exist in a complementary

way, albeit antithetical. The quest for authenticity, in this way, is the quest for an

alibi, or another attribute. What makes the products authentic is not merely

functional difference, but rather, a functional attribute needs to co-exist with a

mythological one, and authenticity pertains to the play of differences. Apart from

authenticity, the socio-ideological function is another thing that makes the cultural

contents of Pattaya Floating Market nonessential.

7.2.4 Pattaya Floating Market: a series object

Globalisation and tourism do not correlate with generic cultural content, or what

Ritzer calls 'nothing form'. But a place can recreate authentic and distinctive cultural

content in tourism. In this section, only Pattaya Floating Market will be discussed[25].

This is because Pattaya Floating Market appears to be serial forms of a floating

market, where successive series make the place become a personalised floating

market. The place has to water down the floating market's functional essence so as to

allow specific differences, or personalised attributes, to emerge. Inessential

difference of the socio-ideological system refers to model and series. What follows is

a sub-theme that emerged from the interview data.

Modalities of Thainess

Pattaya Floating Market is named the Four Regions Floating Market in order to

distinguish it from other floating markets. Specific differences of the place are

reflected in its modalities of Thainess.

> **Me:** What is the uniqueness of this artificial floating market?

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[25] Damnoen Saduak Floating Market does not fit in the model/series scheme, as the place does not get personalised. Rather, the cultural contents of the market are either genuine or fake, thus we might not see a specific difference there as clearly as we do with Pattaya Floating Market.

Interviewee: With our Four Regions Floating Market, the place didn't inherently become a floating market, as with Amphawa Floating Market, where the local community grouped together to create the market. But [Pattaya] is a constructed floating market, so we knew what sort of uniqueness we would go for from the start. Our uniqueness is traditional Thai houses [called Baan Ruen Thai]. The traditional houses are divided based on the four regions and architectural styles. If we walk into the Northern zone, the style of houses is called Ka Lae. The symbols of traditional Thai houses in central Thailand, the south of Thailand and the northeast of Thailand are called Pan-lom style, Peek Pee-Seua style and Yod Tong style respectively. Each different style helps divide the market into each regional zone [the North, the South, the Central and the Northeast]. We present this story to tourists so that they know the origins of these symbols.

(Ms.Petch# n=6# female# Pattaya)

In this case, being a four regions floating market is the specific difference that makes Pattaya Floating Market a serial form of floating market. This specific difference does not resonate with the floating market's physical essence, which is tied to a local specialty, not the four regions of Thailand. Being a four regions floating market also refers to 'the whole of Thailand'.

The cultural contents of our market are distinctive because the floating market represents the whole of Thailand. If you asked me whether we have products from the south or the north, yes! We have all the regions' products. We asked tour agencies and they said the tourists thought our place looked like the whole of Thailand. Well, OK, there might be something we missed, but we tried to do the best we could (Ms. Nan# n=11# female# Pattaya).

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Neither being 'the four regions floating market' nor 'the whole of Thailand' is the

floating market's functional essence, instead those specific differences are a

successive series of a floating market, where the specific differences enable the

market to become personalised. Another personalisation function is 'more than a

floating market', of which the following interview gives an example.

> **Me:** Do you think the floating market meets tourist expectations? Because in
>
> comments on TripAdvisor, some tourists said, 'The floating market was made up for
>
> tourists, but it was unique, so shouldn't be missed'.
>
> **Interviewee:** There are two points. Some [of these] tourists saw a simulated four
>
> regions floating market, where they could experience the Thai way of life. There were
>
> many comments, with some agreeing, while others didn't. However, the floating
>
> market has been continually improved/developed. Some thought our place was
>
> 'more than a floating market' because it is a learning centre. Our floating market is a
>
> learning centre of the local community, where we provide free lessons in Thai
>
> traditional art, Thai painting, etc.
>
> (Mr. B# n=1# male# Pattaya)

'More than a floating market' is another serial form of Pattaya Floating Market that

operates at the level of a secondary function, or the personalisation function. Pattaya

Floating Market is devoid of functional essence so as to allow specific differences to

emerge. According to the interview data, the specific differences contribute to a

successive series of objects/floating market. Although Pattaya Floating Market is

presented as a 'four regions floating market', or 'the whole of Thailand', or 'more

than a floating market', these cultural contents are non-essentially different. The

place becomes personalised to be different, with the market being able to conceal the fact that there is no specificity in its essence.

With regard to Pattaya Floating Market, each specific difference, including being a 'four regions floating market', 'the whole of Thailand' and 'more than a floating market', attempts to distinguish itself from the others in order to respond to the floating-market model. However, these are only inessential differences. In this way, the floating-market model reflects the series. Despite successive series of Thainess, Pattaya Floating Market is anchored in relative differences, whereby the model can integrate within the whole series of the floating market. The personalisation of Pattaya Floating Market seems to conform to the model of the artificial floating market and the code of the tourist-orientated floating market. However, a series object also relates to time.

Serial time

Referring back to the Baudrillard chapter, model and series are associated with time. Serial time is not enmeshed in either the present or the past, rather it seems to be an immediate past, or an indefinite past, which bears no relation to people who live in a specific time. Pattaya Floating Market engages serial time, with the sub-theme of 'different periods of Thainess' being presented. There are currently three phases[26] in the floating market, as described in the below interview data.

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[26] Interviewees used the word 'phase' to describe the characteristics of the market. Phase is typically used in Thai language to explain the expansion of the building project. In this case, the three phases refer to different times the market was expanded, e.g. phase 1 refers to building traditional floating market and regional Thai houses, phase 2 refers to constructing top shop zone and air-conditioned

We have traditional Thainess and applied/contemporary Thainess. In phase 2, it

shows Thainess in the present. The market presents Thainess in different periods –

traditional Thainess, contemporary Thainess and also modern Thainess (Mr. Brad#

n=10# male# Pattaya).

Moreover, the three phases display different stories of Thainess.

Me: What are the differences between the three phases?

Interviewee: Phase I represents traditional Thai culture, which took six years to build,

while phase 2 displays modern Thainess, which took 10 months to build. But phase 3

has only just been finished [It had been open for three-four months when I was there

in 2015.], and it shows Thai culture in the past, such as the Thai riverside culture [the

riparian way of life], how Thai people lived in the past. It is built in a very Thai style.

All the houses' roofs in phase 3 were made from one kind of banana leaf, called 'Bai

Tong Teung' in Thai. Also, in phase 3 there is an elephant camp, an economically self-

sufficient village, a fruit garden, an organic rice farm, a monkey show and a boat

museum (Mr. Aong# n=13# male# Pattaya).

Below is a further description.

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food court, and phase 3 refers to re-creating tourist spots around the market, such as a traditional Thai
village, rice farm, boat museum, etc. Different areas in the market also represent different periods in
Thai culture: phase 1 shows a traditional floating market and regional Thai culture (regional house
styles); phase 2 presents modern Thai culture, such as shops selling chic and high-quality items (called
top shop zone); and phase 3 displays traditional Thai culture, which does not connect to floating
market at all.

Interviewee: In phase 1, there are old wooden houses, while we have modern wooden houses in phase 2, where there is also an air-conditioned food court. In phase 3, there is a 'Bai Tong Teung' (a banana leaf village) and a monkey show. We also display the ancient way of life when there was no electricity and gas. Our staff live in the village to show the way of life in the past. I am one of them who has tried living in the village.

Me: Was it hard to adapt to that sort of thing?

Interviewee: Not really, because I come from the countryside, and this was similar to life in a rural area, which was not convenient.

Me: Which city are you from?

Interviewee: From Sakon Nakorn [in the northeast of Thailand]. I got used to that sort of life. The village in phase 3 shows the Thai way of life in the past, such as rice farming, cooking rice with clay pots, and Thai massage. So in phase 3 you can see both the ancient and local Thai way of life.

Me: Do many tourists visit phase 3?

Interviewee: Yeah, lots of them! They are able to buy a boat-tour package on our amphibious boat [27] to take them there.

(Ms. Kaew# n=17# female# Pattaya)

Based on the interviews, modalities of Thainess can also be divided into different periods. There is traditional Thainess in phase 1, modern Thainess in phase 2, with ancient Thainess in phase 3. Pattaya Floating Market, as an antique object/commodity sold to tourists, is regulated by the same laws in accordance with the model/series scheme. The place refers to cultural nostalgia and that different

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[27] This boat runs on land and floats on water. It was created and patented by the owner, who is really fond of boats.

periods of Thainess are serial times. Serial times allow the market to go higher up the ladder of created value in the quest for personalisation, which is regression to the past.

These pure series, traditional and modern Thainess, are not located exactly in either the past or the present, instead, they are indefinite past and serial times that are inessentially different. The people or workers in the market do not live in a time that is theirs. For example, workers attempt to bring back the past and allow tourists to enter a period of traditional Thainess. Ironically, workers are presenting a time that is not theirs, while tourists who are taking part in an amphibious boat ride enjoy seeing different periods of Thainess in a context and timeframe that they have never belonged to. The serial times are only established value to search for specific difference, but are devoid of essentials.

Some staff live in the traditional village in phase 3, which in fact bears no relation to that time at all. Although the floating market displays different phases of Thainess, such as organic rice farming and a self-sufficient and traditional village in phase 3, the serial times do not differentiate one phase from the others. This is because serial times are insignificantly different, with the floating market just turning back to an old time (phase 1), and an older time (phase 3), whereas phase 2 shows how modern Thainess does not associate itself with the present. The serial times appear to be ephemeral, where one serial time gets produced, and is followed by other serial times to increase value in the place. Pattaya Floating Market turns out to be a model that can be disseminated into several series objects. Only when the serial times are

insignificant can they personalise the floating market. But how does the abstractness

of difference, together with inessential difference, affect tourist interpretation with

regard to Thai culture? We will now move on to the tourist section.

7.3 The interpretation of tourists

In order to study tourist interpretation, I conducted documentary research whereby I selected the 30 most recent comments on each market that tourists had posted on TripAdvisor, from 04/06/2015 to 20/06/2015, and used content analysis as the method of analysis. These comprised comments both from members of tour groups and from independent travellers. We might question whether tourists have any firm criteria for differentiating distinctive, from indistinctive, cultural content. Data on TripAdvisor highlight tourist interpretations of Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets. From the data, tourists regard Damnoen Saduak Floating Market as authentic, which depends on different sources of value. Tourists at Pattaya Floating Market interpret the market as authentic, while some do not search for authenticity at all. Additionally, unique and generic cultural content can co-present. The following data are examples.

Starting with Damnoen Saduak Floating Market, some tourists interpreted the market as authentic and were impressed with it.

It was a rich culture in that streets were made of water and the only mode of transportation they had were boats (comment no.28# Damnoen Saduak).

What was unique here was the labyrinth of canals that abounded, along with the market stalls on the sides of the canals (comment no.14# Damnoen Saduak).

The tourists were impressed with the unique location of the floating market, namely the waterways, the boats, the labyrinth of canals and the market stalls. This might be a different, or an away, experience that they are unable to find in their home countries. However, some tourists expanded on this.

> It was like nothing else, and the attractions might be touristy, yet sometimes those are the best things, the floating market had something for everyone (comment no. 24# Damnoen Saduak).

> It was an amazing place of business. Got up early to see the best of it. So many boats were going in all directions and the variety of produce was huge. I could not imagine seeing anything like this anywhere else in the world (comment no.20# Damnoen Saduak).

Tourists do not see 'being unique' as being opposed to being a tourist attraction, or a place of business. As a tourist attraction, the place can become different and unique. Referring back to Baudrillard's theory, the mythological and the functional attributes of an object can co-present so that the object becomes authentic. Damnoen Saduak Floating Market can offer an away experience to tourists (mythological attribute), while it functions as a tourist attraction in the present (functional attribute). For instance, it is a place where tourists can see a variety of produce, but it is also a place of business, or a tourist attraction.

Some tourists regard Damnoen Saduak Floating Market as being distinctive, and it can relate to any source of value. For example, tourists view the floating market as

representing Thailand and vice versa. They seem to wrongly match the place with Thailand, or the whole country, when in fact, a floating market has local cultural content that is tied to a specific locality,

Thailand is rather famous for its floating markets, so if you have not been to any floating market, you have not been to Thailand. One who visited Thailand must visit the floating market (comment no. 26# Damnoen Saduak).

There were numerous floating market places in Thailand, so I guessed these were unique to Thailand (comment no. 21# Damnoen Saduak).

Those tourists interpreted the cultural content of Damnoen Saduak Floating Market in relation to Thailand and Thai culture. The whole country, or Thailand, turns out to be the source of value, or the mythological attribute of Damnoen Saduak Floating Market (a functional place). Thailand becomes an alibi of a floating market. As well as this, what is unique might be the source of value, as suggested in the below comment about Damneon Saduak Floating Market.

The most impressive thing was that it was 99% ladies doing all the work here, maybe the blokes were unable to stand the humidity and needed to sleep (comment no.22# Damnoen Saduak).

Eating Thai food and mango with sticky rice on a boat, from ladies who sold them on their boats, was extraordinary (comment no.7# Damnoeen Saduak).

Some vendors were old and admirable (comment no. 28# Damnoen Saduak).

Some tourists were impressed with the female vendors who could manage to cook Thai food and sell items on boats on their own. Again, what becomes authentic is not inherently found in the floating market itself, but rather the quest for an alibi that is a mythological attribute of the place. The origin of the floating market is Thailand, and the signature of the market is that women are able to do all the work in the market. These are the sources of value that enable the place to become authentic.

Concerning Pattaya Floating Market, tourist interpretation of the place varies according to different experiences. There are tourists who regard the market as distinctive and who do not search for authenticity at all. Some tourists were impressed with the physical place, as seen below.

> I visited here five years ago. It was quite small compared to Bangkok floating market. But recently I visited this April, and it is now greatly extended and better than Bangkok was when I last visited. It had a further phase to go, so should be really excellent in another year or so (comment no.1# Pattaya).

As stated in the previous section, Pattaya Floating Market is a series object. The place pertains to the personalisation function and specific difference, where the extended phases, or 'the different phases of Thainess' are series. It seems that the series object of the market makes its cultural contents unique.

In addition, what impresses tourists is the source of value,

It was great that I have been to the floating market. It was a good experience. Though the water was brown, you were be able to see how the local people did it there (comment no. 15# Pattaya).

We went with a tour group and did not have enough time to really shop hard. There were so many little stalls and food experiences, you needed to probably give yourself a few hours to wander. There was a cover charge, but it was not much. The setting was very clever, and it was quite a unique experience. I was a bit rushed, but happy with my purchases here (comment no.29# Pattaya).

This agrees with Baudrillard's theory, in that authenticity relates to an obsession with certainty, such as local culture and local people, while visiting the floating market enables tourists to see the local way of life. Authenticity therefore is tied to origin, and also means the signature of a work, whereby the setting of the floating market, which includes stalls and food, appears to have distinctive cultural content for tourists. What is more, the quest for authenticity is also the quest for an alibi.

Photo enthusiasts would love this place, for there were tons of shots you could take and observe their way of life. If you ain't been to any floating market, you ain't been to Thailand (comment no.26# Pattaya).

It was a very nice market in the boat. All the things from the market were for daily use. One who visits Thailand must visit a floating market (comment no.30# Pattaya).

Again, the demand for authenticity, or the quest for authenticity, that is found in Pattaya Floating Market, lies elsewhere, especially Thailand. Or rather, Thailand, as a

mythological attribute, is an alibi of Pattaya Floating Market. Thailand has no part to play here because its social existence should have been displayed elsewhere. Only when the floating market is associated with Thailand and Thai culture does Pattaya Floating Market appear to be authentic, and can the mythological attribute co-exist with the functional attribute.

However, some tourists do not search for authenticity. Rather, they were impressed with the floating market, for they could have fun and enjoy shopping there.

> I loved the floating market, the winding boardwalks with small stalls everywhere, and the haggling was so much fun, people were friendly. A very enjoyable couple of hours in an unusual setting (comment no.2# Pattaya).

> It was a good place for a bargain and for casual shopping (comment no.9# Pattaya).

These tourists found haggling enjoyable. Tourists do not search for authenticity, and do not see the place as authentic either. They just wanted to go shopping, see new things and have fun. For tourists, there seems to be no fixed criteria for justifying authentic and distinctive culture. Some of them visit Pattaya Floating Market regardless of authenticity. Their interpretations vary according to expectation and presupposition. There are some tourists at Pattaya Floating Market who did not come to the market to see authentic culture. However, there are some theoretical points that Baudrillard and Ritzer oversimplify, which will be presented in the next section.

7.4 Theoretical discussions

7.4.1 Globalised tourism

With the production of value and the play of differences, Damnoen Saduak Floating Market is global rather than globalised. It recreates the idea of authenticity to meet tourist demand, with the market offering both souvenir items and local produces. The scale of tourism in the market is expanded in terms of product range. In contrast, Pattaya Floating Market is globalised rather than global. Authenticity derives from flows of an idea that was originally created in Japan, seen in the OTOP products available to buy in the market. This idea of OTOP has been adopted in Thailand and presented as Thai authenticity. The difference between authentically Thai and externally authentic is blurred, for local people have internalised the effect of globalisation.

Another degree of globalised tourism in Pattaya Floating Market is the series object, or the modalities of Thainess. It becomes globalised, due to the reproducibility of floating-market culture. Modalities of Thainess and serial times are contrived culture for tourists which do not relate to a traditional floating market at all. But those series objects make the place more personalised and specific than a traditional floating market. In this way, global flows cause the singular difference between the real traditional floating market and the reproduced culture for tourists to disappear. Having presented globalised tourism, what follows is the limitations of working with Ritzer and Baudrillard's ideas.

7.4.2 The limitations of Ritzer's theory of the globalisation of nothing

To stress, Ritzer's criteria for differentiating distinctive cultural content from the indistinctive seem to be overdrawn. Social forms with attachment to place, uniqueness, human relations and personal services are 'something', whereas social forms that have no tie to a particular place and are generic, dehumanised and an automated service, are 'nothing'. For Ritzer, social forms without distinctive cultural content, or 'nothing', are compatible with globalisation, while those with distinctive cultural content, or' something', tend to be associated with glocalisation.

In this manner, authenticity becomes polarised between the global and the local, where globalisation waters down unique local content, whereas cultural content that is embedded in the local is meaningful. 'Something' is similar to authentic culture, while 'nothing' looks inauthentic. Referring back to the floating-market case studies, the places appear to fall into the 'nothing' end of the continua, rather than the 'something' one, as they are tourist attractions. So are we able to establish firm criteria for separating distinctive cultural content from indistinctive content? Is there any local culture unaffected by globalisation? Or does globalisation exist without interaction with the local?

According to the interview data, what becomes authentic varies due to the different interpretations of workers and tourists, for example, Damnoen Saduak Floating Market becomes an original market, albeit having changed to become a tourist-orientated place. It welcomes the arrival of tourists, yet is still pertinent to its locality,

as seen in the natural ambience of the market, the labyrinth of the canals, local

people, and so on.

 Pattaya Floating Market seems to be a unique place, for it is the only floating market

in Pattaya city, which is popular for beautiful beaches. It is an artificial floating

market, but it differentiates itself from other markets by using the concept of

Thainess. Globalisation and tourism do not preclude the two floating markets from

establishing their unique cultural content. Therefore, we are unable to say that one

has more distinctive cultural content than the other. This is because the markets are

sold to tourists as commodities. As commodified objects, the cultural contents of the

floating markets are not dependent on practical application, but rather sign-value.

7.4.3 The limitations of working with Baudrillard's ideas

In contrast with Ritzer, Baudrillard's theory enables us to understand how objects

constitute the system, and we can apply his theory to study the cultural contents of a

tourist place. However, there are limitations to working with Baudrillard's ideas.

Baudrillard's theory is one-dimensional, and focuses on the influence of objects over

individuals. 'Baudrillard elaborates on the ways in which subjects relate to use,

dominate, or are dominated by the system of objects along with signs that structure

our everyday life. His work operates within the framework of a subject-object

dialectic in which the subject faces a world of objects that attract, fascinate and

sometimes control his or her perception, thought and behaviour' (Kellner 1989, p.8).

It seems that 'the system of objects' produces a causal relationship between objects and subjects, whereby objects impact upon the social life of subjects. Objects determine the subject's perception and action, for example, antique and authentic objects are valuable for the possessor as they might delineate social status and social class. Looking back at Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets, authentic objects and series objects affect people's actions in tourist places. The fruit and crops sold in Damnoen Saduak Floating Market give a sense of locality, while the OTOP products that are offered in Pattaya Floating Market represent the idea of four regional Thai cultures.

However, the social life of people is not necessarily dependent upon the order of objects, as Baudrillard proposes. Subjects, to some extent, reflexively manipulate objects, and in an artificial tourist place, subjects might be able to organise objects so that the place becomes distinguished from other places. As stated previously, Pattaya Floating Market recruits traders and chooses what products to sell to fit in with the theme of Thainess. Regarding series objects, there are different modalities of Thainess in Pattaya Floating Market, and workers display three particular different phases in the play: phase 1 presents traditional floating market culture; phase 2 shows modern Thainess; phase 3 turns back time to the past to exhibit the traditional Thai way of life.

The system itself does not organise objects in this way, rather the workers reorganise and rearrange cultural objects and put them into that order. Therefore, it is likely that, in this case, the workers organise the order of the objects rather than the other

way round. Workers can monitor the system of objects, and in this manner, 'the system of objects' generates interaction between the object and subject, whereby subjects are able to change the order of objects in accordance with their perception and thought. It may be possible to say that there is subject reflexivity. Not only can workers reflexively rearrange cultural objects in the floating markets, but also tourists can reflexively interpret the places.

To understand how tourist performance co-produces a place and the relationship between the subject and object better, we should look back at 'the performance turn' presented in the literature review chapter. Larsen states that, 'Tourist places are produced places, where tourists are the co-producers of such places and the performers of these places, hence most tourist places become dead unless actors take the stage and enact them' (2006, p.422). Tourist performance makes a place exist, and tourists become co-producers of the places. Without tourist performance a place does not become a tourist attraction. According to the data, tourist performance reproduces and assigns different meanings to the floating markets. For example, some tourists see Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets as authentic and unique, while some tourists in Pattaya Floating Market do not view the place as unique, but just a fun and new experience.

Another limitation is that, although Baudrillard attends to the system of objects, he says nothing about the system itself. The system of objects is treated as totality. Although his previous work on the political economy of sign and sign-value is based on this approach, the connection between the dimensions of economy and culture

seems to disappear in the system of objects. As Kellner maintains, 'Although

Baudrillard describes the system of objects as a system of commodities that

constitutes a consumer society, there is little discussion of the emergence of the

system of objects in the course of the development of capitalism' (1989, p.11).

Baudrillard does not draw out the connection between capitalism and the system of

objects. The system of objects works as a system of commodities, yet Baudrillard

does not develop how the system of objects links with others, such as the cultural

system and economic system. The system of objects may inextricably involve the

implosion of economy and culture. Authentic cultural content can be an example.

What is sold in Damnoen Saduak Floating Market is local fruit and tourist souvenir

items, while Pattaya Floating Market offers regional and OTOP products, which can

function as souvenirs, and show a regression to the origin and source of value,

especially the four regions of Thailand. We cannot say the cultural contents of

Damnoen Saduak Floating Market are more authentic than the ones of Pattaya

Floating Market, due to the co-presence of mythological and functional attributes. So

how do these two antithetical traits co-present in the same context? This may link

with the commodification process.

Commodification bolsters the co-presence of these two. Baudrillard states

mythological objects have maximal meaning but minimal function. It can imply that

mythological objects discord with the present moment, and with a context. In order

to appear in a context and time that it does not belong to, the mythological object is

commodified. Referring back to Baudrillard's example of the warming pan in the oil-

heated house, the origin of the warming pan is modified and commodified to present it in a modern context.

Looking back at the co-existence of fruit and crops with tourist souvenir items in Damnoen Saduak Floating Market, the local fruit farmers do not come directly from their orchards to sell produce in the market, rather intermediaries buy produce from the orchards, then sell it to the market vendors. The origin of local produce is watered down so that they can present it in the context of tourism. Also, the origins of the regional products sold in Pattaya Floating Market do not relate to the origin of the floating market. Both regional products and the floating-market culture become commodified to be sold to tourists, while the cultural contents of the place get hollowed out so that they can exist in a context. In these case studies, authenticity accompanies vested economic interest. The commodification process can account for the social construction of authenticity, which is not taken into account by Baudrillard.

Also, Baudrillard's theory offers us a limited understanding of authenticity, asserting that authenticity is created by the order of objects being juxtaposed with the mythological attribute and functional attribute. However, the interview data indicate otherwise, as seen with the yellow oil sold in Pattaya Floating Market being authenticated by Chinese tourists. In this manner, authenticity is co-produced by local workers and Chinese tourists. The construction of authenticity is both a globalised and localised process. Authenticity is created by local workers and then reproduced by tourist performance. If yellow oil didn't suit their preference, Chinese tourists would not buy it.

To understand the social construction of authenticity better, we can look back at 'existential authenticity', which was discussed in the literature review chapter. '"Existential authenticity" is derived from tourist participation in activity at a place' (Wang, 1999). Tourist performance can reproduce the concept of authenticity in a tourist place by joining activity there. Or we can better capture changes in authenticity of the tourist setting by using MacCannell's front stage and back stage continuum, in which tourist settings offer different degrees of authenticity (the back stage), for example, a tourist site is decorated to be like a back region, or a real culture (2013, pp.101-102). MacCannell's theory may be used to study comparative authenticity in Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets, and in other floating markets. This may perhaps be of interest to future research.

7.5 Conclusion

Ritzer's theory of the globalisation of 'nothing' is insufficient for studying the cultural

contents of Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets. His criteria for separating

distinctive cultural content from generic cultural content are overdrawn and the

globalisation of 'something'/'nothing' is thus a false dichotomy. The cultural contents

of the floating markets do not depend on practical application, so the difference is

not singular. The cultural contents of the places pertain to the play of differences.

In order to challenge and highlight the limitations of Ritzer's theory, this thesis uses

Baudrillard's theory concerning the system of objects. The definition of authenticity is

anchored in the myth of origin and the source of value, such as originality (Damnoen

Saduak Floating Market) and Thainess (Pattaya Floating Market). The markets

produce their cultural value of authenticity, whereby authenticity pertains to social

use, as well as the source of value. Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets

are authentic because of the co-existence of the functional object and the

mythological object in the places. Each object searches for authenticity, or an alibi,

that lies in its counterpart in order to fulfil itself; local fruit depends on the function of

tourist souvenir items in Damnoen Saduak Floating Market and vice versa.

Additionally, the regional and OTOP products that are sold in Pattaya Floating

Markets have both function and the sign of value. They function as tourist souvenirs

and also present four regional Thai cultures.

Apart from the play of differences, only Pattaya Floating Market turns out to present 'inessential difference', in that its cultural contents are insignificantly different. As an artificial floating market, the functional attribute, or primary function of the floating market gets substituted with a secondary function, with the place needing to be personalised. The unique cultural content of Pattaya Floating Market, such as its modalities of Thainess, makes the place personalised. The singular difference of the floating market is shielded by a series of objects and of serial time that is enmeshed in Pattaya Floating Market, for example, Pattaya Floating Market is a four regions market, whereby being a four regions floating market does not mark the place out as unique, but instead allows the cultural contents of the floating market to be exchangeable with other signs. As a series object, Pattaya Floating Market appears to be non-essentially different.

With regard to tourists, they do not have any firm criteria for separating distinctive cultural content from generic cultural content either. Cultural content does not intrinsically occur in an object that appears to be authentic and unique, rather it is associated with the source of value, the origin, the point of creation and the signature of the work. For example, some tourists were impressed with female vendors who managed all the work on their own in Damnoen Saduak Floating Market, and also viewed Pattaya Floating Market as an extraordinary setting. However, some tourists in Pattaya Floating Market do not search for authenticity, but just visit to have fun and an enjoyable experience. The interpretation of tourists varies according to their presuppositions and backgrounds. In terms of tourist interpretation, the floating markets seem to be a sign of difference rather than functionally different.

Having studied the cultural contents of the floating markets, what are the cultural

consequences of globalisation in these places? How does globalisation and tourism

lead to simulacrum? This will be elaborated on in the next thematic chapter.

Chapter 8

Globalisation and Simulacra

8.1 Introduction

With the play of differences, how is the experience of local Thai culture constituted in globalisation and tourism? This chapter answers research question number three: 'What are the cultural consequences of globalisation and tourism?' This concerns the study of the action in the floating markets in order to examine the interpenetration of the global into the local, as well as the adaptation of the local to the global. The argument is that globalisation and tourism lead to simulacrum in Thailand, as seen with how the case studies of Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets move away from reality.

Baudrillard's theory on simulation will be extensively used to study the cultural consequences of globalisation. Referring back to the theoretical chapters, mainstream globalisation theories attempt to reduce the cultural consequences of globalisation and tourism to specific ends, such as hybridisation, homogenisation, glocalisation, McDisneyisation, and so on, yet Baudrillard seems to offer more insightful views on the global phenomenon. Despite having been exposed to globalisation and tourism, Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets engage in different orders of simulacra.

There are five main parts in this chapter**:** the first elaborates on the first order of

simulacrum in Damnoen Saduak Floating Market, and the second on the third-order

simulacrum in Pattaya Floating Market. This is followed by the third section, which

looks at tourists, with the last section presenting a theoretical discussion and the

limitations of Baudrillard's work. What follows now is interview data.

8.2 Interview data: the first order of simulacrum in Damnoen Saduak Floating

Market

This section highlights the cultural consequences of globalisation and tourism in

Damnoen Saduak Floating Market. As stated in the previous chapters, the arrival of

tourists made the floating market move to the other side of Damnoen Saduak Canal,

next to the main road. The current Damnoen Saduak Floating Market is not original,

instead it is a representation of the previous floating market. The local municipality

revived the old market here, called Khlong Lud Pee Floating Market, in order to draw

a contrast between the old market and the current Damnoen Saduak Floating

Market[28]. In other words, Damnoen Saduak Floating Market is a counterfeit of the

original traditional place, which refers to the first order of simulacrum. At this stage,

we can see the differences between a counterfeit and an original, which are

elaborated on as follows.

8.2.1 Food

As a counterfeit, Damnoen Saduak Floating Market is not an ancient and traditional

place, rather it is only a reflection of a traditional floating market and of local Thai

culture, where globalisation and tourism have resulted in recreating the natural

reference of the original floating market. Thai food is a must-try for foreign visitors so

that they can sample the local Thai experience. Generic Thai food sold in Damnoen

Saduak Floating Market appears to be a counterfeit of the local culture, which it co-

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[28] For further information about the old floating market and the current Damnoen Saduak Floating
Market, please refer back to chapter on the circulation of value and signs

presents using local speciality dishes. What actually constitutes an experience of local culture is genuine Thai food, which some tourists are not familiar with.

> **Me:** What is a must-try food in Damnoen Saduak Floating Market?
>
> **Interviewee:** J'Im Boat noodles and dried rice, or Kao Hang[29] in Thai. Dried rice is a local food that has existed for a long time, like, many, many years ago. Non-local people don't know what dried rice is. We use the same ingredients as boiled rice, but we don't pour soup over it. So, we call it 'dried rice'.
>
> **Me:** Most tourists don't know dried rice is a real Damnoen Saduak local dish, right?
>
> **Interviewee:** Umm, dried rice is broadcast on TV food shows. Dried rice sold in the floating market is delicious.
>
> **Me:** What food is popular with foreign tourists then? Thai dessert?
>
> **Interviewee:** When Farang [Western tourists] come to the market, they don't try local food. What they do is sit in a coffee shop and buy souvenirs. But Chinese tourists like to have boat noodles, dried rice, or Thai desserts. They [Chinese tourists] have the same food as we do. They eat what we eat. But I hardly see Western tourists trying local Thai food.
>
> (Mr. Wong# n=23# male# Damnoen Saduak)

Dried rice is the most famous local food, which Western tourists do not know of and will not try, while Chinese tourists try local food as they see Thai people eating that food. So what food do Western tourists usually eat when they visit the market?

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[29] Kao Hang, or dried rice, is rice mixed with chicken blood, fried with brown sauce (palo sauce) and topped with fried shrimps 'These shrimps makes this food delicious' (interviewee no.4# female# Damnoen Saduak)

> The Thai food they like is Tom Yum Kung [spicy soup with prawns]. It is the only Thai
>
> food they like (Mr. Pong# n=20# male# Damnoen Saduak).

Western tourists like to eat spicy soup with prawns, or Tom Yum Kung, which is not a

local food, but a generic Thai food. Tom Yum Kung is a counterfeit of local food, but

for Western tourists, Tom Yum Kung, which is regarded as a representation of local

culture, enables them to experience local Thai culture. Based on Baudrillard, in the

first order of simulacrum we can see the difference between generic Thai food and

local speciality dishes.

Unlike Western tourists, Chinese tourists will eat local food cooked by floating

vendors in the market, such as boat noodles and dried rice. In this way, Western

tourists and Chinese tourists have differentiated experiences, in which the former

only access a representation of local Thai culture, and the latter experiences an

element of real local Thai culture. This may be because Chinese culture and Thai

culture are, to some extent, interrelated. As interviewees said, during the reign of

King Rama V, he allocated this area to Chinese immigrants, so Damnoen Saduak

culture is a mixture of Chinese and Thai culture. The old floating market, or Khlong

Lud Pee Floating Market, even has a Chinese name: Lao Tak Lak Market. Although the

Chinese tourists are still foreign tourists, their experience is differentiated.

As Baudrillard says, the first order of simulacrum sees the proliferation of sign

according to market demand, which in this case is the arrival of tourists fostering

signs to be reproduced in accordance with tourist demand. Here, this is the co-

presence of generic Thai food, e.g. Tom Yum Kung, with a local specialty, dried rice.

The sign of the floating market is not restricted to the realm of traditional culture, it becomes arbitrary and the signifier can refer to other signifieds, whereby the floating market does not only reflect a specific locality, but also represents general Thai culture. We are able to compare general Thai food with local speciality dishes. This is the first order of simulacrum, where the difference between the counterfeit and the original is sustained.

8.2.2 Activity

Activities in Damnoen Saduak Floating Market also pertain to the first order of simulacrum. Damnoen Saduak Floating Market is popular with both group tours and independent tourists. Interviewees stated that tourists travel to the floating market to see boats and to be paddled around the market. For group tours, when tourists arrive at the market, a tour guide or group tour leader leads them to a boat service and asks who wants to take a boat ride. Staff from the boat service then divide tourists into groups of four to go for a ride in a rowing boat[30]. After that, tourists can a ride in a motorboat to explore all of the market. The activity sub-theme obtained from the interviews in Damnoen Saduak Floating Market is now presented.

> **Me:** What else do tourists like to do?
>
> **Interviewee:** On a boat ride, they can see local fruit orchards and the labyrinth of the canals.

---

[30] It takes about 40 minutes for a ride, and costs 250 baht (about 2.5 GB pounds) per person in the case of a group tour. A private boat-ride service costs 400 baht (6 GB pounds) for a rowing boat and 600 baht (12 GB pounds) for a motorboat, and takes one hour, including a stop at the coconut-sugar-making area for 15-20 minutes.

(Mr. Pete# n=19# male# Damneon Saduak)

Another interviewee noted that tourists do not only visit the floating market, but also experience nature.

> They can take a boat ride along the canal to see a coconut-sugar-making demonstration, the fishing areas and the temples. Even when it's raining, I see tourists taking a boat ride. They can be paddled in a rowing boat along the canals for an hour (Ms. Wang# n=22# female# Damnoen Saduak).

Not all tourists can enjoy the same activities, as some activities are only for tourists who have purchased a private package tour.

> If they take a private rowing-boat ride, they can visit a place called Tao Tarn Bang Le to view a coconut-sugar-making demonstration, taste a glass of fresh coconut sugar for free, and enjoy souvenir shopping there (Ms. Helen# n=34# female# Damnoen Saduak).

To offer a representation of local Thai experience, the floating market offers a boat-ride service to tourists, during which they are able to view the market's districts, including the fruit orchards, the labyrinth of canals, the fishing area, temples and the local wooden houses. Only tourists who purchase a private boat tour are able to access further attractions, including Tao Tarn Bang Le to see a coconut-sugar-making demonstration, where they can spend 15-20 minutes watching the demonstration and shop for souvenirs. Although the floating market does not offer this activity

specifically for any target group, the tourist experience is thus differentiated, depending on what package tour they buy.

If tourists join the usual boat-ride service, they can see the market's districts. But if they purchase a private boat tour, they can see a greater representation of real local Thai culture, e.g. a coconut-sugar-making demonstration. I went there as well as I purchased a private boat-ride service from the local hotel where I stayed for a week during data collection. I was able to see their tools for a coconut-sugar-making demonstration and try fresh coconut sugar, which was too sweet and tasted unnatural. I could also see coconut trees there as well as souvenir items. In this way, signs of local culture are co-presented with the floating market in order to offer a glimpse of local culture to tourists and signs of local culture are proliferated to meet tourist demand.

Referring to Baudrillard's theory, Damnoen Saduak Floating Market is the natural reference of the original market. The current Damnoen Saduak Floating Market that was built for tourists represents local Thai culture with a display of local ambience. Instead of placing the local against the global, as discussed in the review chapter, globalisation enables signs of the floating market to emerge. The counterfeit Damnoen Saduak Floating Market co-exists with original culture, such as the labyrinth of canals, the natural ambience and the fruit orchards. Those activities represent local Thai culture, since they are not restricted to traditional culture, but they can co-present with the current floating market.

In the first order of simulacrum, the difference between the counterfeit and the original is maintained. Additionally, the data further indicate the existence of the original is dependent on that of the counterfeit. For example, local fruit orchards show a local way of life and are not there for their own sake. It seems that the local way of life survives on the condition that it co-exists with the current Damnoen Saduak Floating Market[31]. Or rather, on the one hand, the current floating market derives value from being the simulacrum of the original, while on the other hand, the existence of the original depends on simulation. If seeing fruit orchards was not included in the activities, it might not become a local Thai experience. Floating-market culture has thus been remade, rearranged and re-transcribed, and activities here are a reflection of the original culture. A significant increase in the number of tourists has given rise to the liquidation of signs, which makes floating-market culture enter a further stage of simulacrum.

What follows is the interview data on Pattaya Floating Market.

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[31] Referring back to the first thematic chapter, the floating market was moved to the other side of the canal in order to welcome tourists.

8.3 Interview data: the third order of simulacrum in Pattaya Floating Market

In contrast to Damnoen Saduak Floating Market, Pattaya Floating Market is not a counterfeit of an original floating market and does not bear a resemblance to an original, rather it absorbs the features of an original floating market. It devours the real so that the difference between the original and the copy does not matter any more. Pattaya Floating Market is a copy that bears no relation to the realm of the traditional floating market at all. The series of the Pattaya Floating Market are not restricted to an original floating market. Thanks to the income from tourists, along with the arrival of tourists, the signs of floating market and Thai culture are proliferated and liquidated.

The cultural contents[32] of Pattaya Floating Market are inessentially different. Regardless of the real culture and simulated culture, the place becomes authentic and unique. This facilitates the place to enter the stage of a hyperreal, in which real Thai culture and the simulated version are imploded. Looking back at the Baudrillard chapter, 'A hyperreal shelters from the imaginary and from any distinction between the real and the imaginary, leaving room only for the orbital recurrence of models and the simulated generation of difference' (Baudrillard 1983, p.4). The distinction between the real and the imaginary becomes blurred, which accelerates a liquidation of the real. Pattaya Floating Market has passed from the second order of simulacrum, in which it is a series object, to the third order of simulacrum, which makes the

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[32] For further details of the cultural contents of the floating markets, please refer to the previous chapter.

distinction between the real and the imaginary disappear. It is neither real nor unreal; instead, the place is a hyperreal, where only the simulated difference is produced.

The third order of simulacrum sees a change in the structural law of value that refers to a reversal of origin and finality (Baudrillard 1983). Series which were generated from the model, as seen in the second order of simulacrum, turn out to be models themselves that bring about all forms. In this case, a series of Pattaya Floating Market, including the four regional cultures and the whole of Thailand, has given rise to the model of Thai culture. In the third stage, these series become the model that generates other cultural forms. In other words, other cultural forms are diffracted from the model of the four-regional-culture floating market, and of the floating market within the whole of Thailand[33]. The third order of simulacrum is all about the model.

As the model, Pattaya Floating Market renders the capability of differentiating an original floating market from a copy impossible. Pattaya Floating Market is not dependent upon reference to an original floating market. Other cultural forms seem to precede the floating market, or rather, there is a precession of simulacra. In addition, Pattaya Floating Market is orientated towards Chinese tourists. The cultural consequences in Pattaya Floating Market are thus principally subject to the arrival of Chinese tourists. This affects the action in the floating market, including food, film-induced tourism and activities in which the floating market offers a simulacrum of local Thai culture.

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[33] For more information about model and series, please refer to the previous chapter.

8.3.1 Food and dessert

Referring back to the Baudrillard chapter, a precession of simulacra is when a simulacrum happens to precede the original, and generates cultural forms. In this case, Thai foodstuffs that are orientated towards Chinese tourists become local Thai culture. What follows is the interview data on food and desserts.

> **Me:** What type of food do you sell?
>
> **Interviewee:** We have ice cream, mango with sticky rice and fruit smoothies.
>
> **Me:** Do you make them all by yourself?
>
> **Interviewee:** This ice cream is from a franchise, but we make the mango with sticky rice.
>
> **Me:** Which type of dessert is popular among the tourists?
>
> **Interviewee:** The bestseller for Thai tourists is noodles and some have ice cream. Mango with sticky rice is the most popular Thai dessert among foreign tourists.
>
> **Me:** Apart from mango with sticky rice, what else do they like?
>
> **Interviewee:** Well, fresh durian, coconut and coconut ice cream.
>
> **Me:** So, only Thai food is sold here?
>
> **Interviewee:** You mean here? Yes, we sell Thai food and Thai desserts. But I hardly ever see vendors selling Western food, as only a few Western tourists visit the market. There used to be a food stall selling hamburgers, then it closed down.
>
> **Me:** Why do so few Western tourists visit the floating market?
>
> **Interviewee:** Most Farang [Western tourists] like to visit Phuket.
>
> **Me:** What about Western tourists in Pattaya city?
>
> **Interviewee:** They are other types of Farang who love the nightlife, bars and walking the city streets rather than visiting a place like the floating market.

(Ms. Orn# n=7# female# Pattaya)

Thai desserts that are sold in Pattaya Floating Market are not local speciality dishes, but rather generic Thai dishes that progress from the model of the floating market within the whole of Thailand. Thai desserts are not counterfeits of local food that is sold in the original floating market, as in the first order of simulacrum, and is not a pure series or equivalence, as in the second order. In the third order of simulacrum, the cultural form is diffracted from the model of general Thai culture. The traditional floating-market culture hence loses finality. The reproducibility of the floating-market culture enables the place to offer a simulacrum of the local Thai experience. Another example is the Thai food that is orientated towards Chinese tourists. I interviewed one food trader who sold southern Thai food; an extract now follows.

> **Interviewee:** My restaurant is popular among Thai tourists, but other traders sell food and products that Chinese tourists like. Of the four types of food they like, the most favourite is durian, mango with sticky rice, Pad Thai [stir-fried Thai noodles with prawns] and Tom Yum Kung [spicy soup with prawns]. They come to our market to try those four dishes.
>
> **Me:** How many shops sell mango with sticky rice in the market?
>
> **Interviewee:** I think three shops, one at the front, one in the centre, and the other in the Southern zone. All of them are popular with tourists, as the floating market has organised walking paths for the tourists[34].
>
> **Me:** I see! When Thai tourists try mango with sticky rice here, what do they say?
>
> **Interviewee:** The taste isn't Thai.

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[34] When entering the floating market, tourists follow green arrows that lead them to the different zones of the market, while red arrows take them to an exit. Walking in the market seems to be well organised.

Me: How is it different?

Interviewee: Chinese people don't like a sweet taste, and mango with sticky rice isn't

that sweet. But Thai people love sweet sticky rice.

Me: What taste do Chinese tourists like?

Interviewee: They like oily, salty and a little bit of a sweet taste. They won't buy the

dessert if it's too sweet.

Me: What about durian?

Interviewee: They don't like the same kind as Thai people. We need to know what

they like. What about you? How ripe do you like to eat your durian? I'm guessing you

don't like it soft and stringy[35], but Chinese people like to eat soft and stringy durian.

Me: Oh that's strange, isn't it?

Interviewee: No, not at all, because Thailand exports durian to China, which takes

many days and, so it's ripe when it arrives. So the Chinese have just got used to

eating ripe durian. When they visit Thailand we need to find them ripe durian.

(Mr. Frank# n=15# male# Pattaya)

From the interview, it is apparent that the Thai desserts sold in the Pattaya Floating

Market are not original local ones, but not false either. Mango with sticky rice is a

generic Thai dessert, and durian is a Thai fruit, but the floating market does not offer

a real Thai taste as it is altered to suit Chinese tourists' taste. For example, the sticky

rice sold there is not sweet but oily, making it a product orientated towards Chinese

tourists. In this manner, the distinction between the real (locality) and the imaginary

becomes blurred.

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[35] Personally, I do not like durian and not eat it because of its smell

Thai desserts that are orientated towards Chinese tourists cause a reversal of origin and turn out to be real local Thai desserts. They become cultural forms that are diffracted from the model of the floating market within the whole of Thailand. Thai desserts and Thai foodstuffs sold in Pattaya Floating Market turn out to be an original local Thai experience. Generic Thai foodstuffs and desserts precede the local speciality foods of the original floating market, which triggers a reversal of origin. Thai foodstuffs that are orientated towards Chinese tourists do not tie in to the original floating market and Thai culture. This leads to the reproducibility of the floating market and Thai culture. Another example of the generic Thai foodstuff that is popular with tourists is Som-Tam[36], or spicy papaya salad. I interviewed one boat vendor selling this.

> **Me:** Are there other vendors selling Som-Tam?
>
> **Interviewee:** Yes, some vendors sell Som-Tam, but with a different special side dish. I sell Som-Tam with grilled chicken and grilled fish. Other vendors don't cook grilled fish, though they cook fried chicken, but not grilled chicken.
>
> **Me:** Do you use different ingredients if you cook for Thai tourists?
>
> **Interviewee:** Chinese people don't like as strong flavours as Thai people do. Thai people like three flavours – salty, spicy and sour. Most Chinese people don't like spicy foods and sweet tastes, just a little bit sour.
>
> (Ms. Som# n=14# female# Pattaya)

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[36] Thai people usually have Som-Tam (spicy papaya salad) with sticky rice and grilled or fried chicken. There are many different local styles of Som-Tam, such as Som-Tam Thai, Som-Tam Para (pickled fish) and Som-Tam Sua (papaya salad with Thai rice vermicelli).

Som-Tam is a generic Thai food that does not have any particular relationship with the original floating market. Som-Tam that is specially made for Chinese tourists also proceeds from the model of the floating market within the whole of Thailand. Again, simulacrum precedes the original culture. Returning to Baudrillard's theory, the action of the model preceding all cultural forms is a reversal of finality. Thai foodstuffs orientated towards Chinese tastes, including Som-Tam, mango with sticky rice and durian, precede original Thai food. This is precession of simulacra. According to Baudrillard, the real is broken into miniaturised units and recombined with other references in order for the real to be indefinitely reproduced. Thai desserts and Thai foodstuffs sold in Pattaya Floating Market are miniaturised units of Thai culture, and the cultural forms make sense, or become an experience of local Thai culture, only when they accord with the model. They are thus a hyperreal of local Thai culture.

However, Thai tourists may not experience simulated culture in the same way Chinese tourists do. Instead, Thai tourists are able to access representations of regional Thai culture in the floating market, whereby they can have regional Thai food, such as southern food, or have general Thai food with real Thai taste. If vendors cook for Thai tourists, they ask how spicy they would like it. Thus, these two groups of tourists experience simulation of culture differently. Furthermore, Pattaya Floating Market also offers an entire simulational experience for Chinese tourists.

What follows now is a look at how film-induced tourism meets Chinese tourist expectation.

8.3.2 The film-induced floating market

With film-induced tourism, Pattaya Floating Market is further incarnated as a

hyperreal of a floating market and Thai culture. As Baudrillard states, messages in the

media are selected and coded to represent reality. The media breaks down reality

into simple elements so that they can recombine with other differential combinatory

signs. Pattaya Floating Market is a place that is orientated towards Chinese tourists

because of the influence of the media. Globalisation enables the floating market to

select this reality over others, and this pushes the place into further simulacrum.

Since the floating market offers a mediated culture, and a falsified construct of Thai

culture, the experience of local Thai culture that it offers is a hyperreal.

Film-induced tourism[37] in Pattaya Floating Market is now presented using interview

data.

> We promote the floating market by supporting films and the media. I remember in
>
> the very beginning we were able to establish a good relationship with China TV, and
>
> they showed a programme on the floating market several times during one month so
>
> that a high number of visitors could see it. We offered our market as the setting for
>
> free. Game shows and documentaries have also used our place as a location (Mr.
>
> Liam# n=4# male# Pattaya).

> The main reason for Chinese tourists visiting the floating market is to see the real
>
> location of a famous Chinese film called Go Lala Go!. The most attractive thing in it is

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[37] Please see Appendix V for photographs of film tourism

the film's location, where a woman hung a man's name card on a holy tree[38] and prayed that they met each other again. Chinese tourists want to see this (Mr. Chris# n=2# male# Pattaya).

As a film location, Pattaya Floating Market attracts a considerable number of Chinese tourists.

> **Me:** Are most tourists from China?
>
> **Interviewee:** Yes, our place is a Chinese market.
>
> **Me:** Do they come on group tours?
>
> **Interviewee:** Yes, about 70% of tourists are Chinese. About five years ago, our floating market was the film location for the film Go Lala Go!. Its most important scene is when a man meets a woman under a holy tree [at the back of the market]. Chinese tourists call our market 'Du Lala[39] Market', so our place is associated with a romantic story. [In the film], a boy and a girl who work in China come to visit the market and pray to a holy tree that they will meet each other again. The woman hung the man's name card on the tree. Then they met each other again in China.
>
> **Me:** So, most Chinese tourists came here after having watched the film?
>
> **Interviewee:** Yes, it was free to shoot the film here, so the media could promote our place for free.
>
> (Mr. Sam# n=3# male# Pattaya)

'Reality tests you according to the same grill; you decode it according to the same code, inscribed within each message and object like a miniaturised genetic code'

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[38] Please see the photograph of the holy tree in Appendix V
[39] They named the floating market after one of the film's leading characters.

(Baudrillard 1983, p.121). In this sense, reality is transcribed according to the code. Pattaya Floating Market appears to be 'Du Lala Market', with Chinese tourists having named it after one of the film's leading characters. Tourists decode the reality of the floating market in accordance with the code given in the messages from the film. Action and cultural forms in the floating market can make sense on the condition that they correspond with the model of the film-induced floating market, hence the place is a hyperreal of the film and accelerates the liquidation of reality, or of local Thai culture that is open to a different combinatory of signs, particularly elements of simulated culture.

Messages from the film, namely the romantic story, Du Lala and the holy tree, do not present the facts of the floating market, yet they break down reality into simple elements so that those messages can recreate scenarios of the floating market, which are the scenes of the romantic story. The messages test reality by asking questions that already have answers. For example, messages from the film might pose a question like is the floating market the real setting of the film? The answer is definitely yes, and messages from the film and the floating market present a selection of reality. Messages from the film together foster the reproducibility of the floating market with a falsified construct of Thai culture, and sustain a hyperreal experience of Thai culture.

At this point some scholars argue, as discussed earlier, that film tourism is not the entire simulation, but rather a combination of real and simulational experience, whereby tourists are able to see a real physical place, while obtaining a depicted

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experience mediated by the film (Buchmann, Moore and Fisher 2010). The floating

market is the real location of the film, but what becomes an experience of Thai

culture for Chinese tourists is actually mediated messages from the film, not the

market itself. Without film tourism, the floating market itself cannot fulfil Chinese

tourists' expectations. The miniaturised units of reality and a selection of reality result

in a hyperreal of local Thai culture. Mediated messages from the film generate

cultural forms in the floating market.

Below are some reviews of the film Go Lala Go!.

> This film was shot like a US TV show. It blended Hong Kong culture into the location
>
> where the film was set, Beijing. It was based on the pursuit of materialism and had no
>
> sense of any real Chinese culture. The cast was unconvincing and the clothing design
>
> made every single character in the film look like fashion model (IMDB, 2010).

> Fast camera cuts, bright colours and copious amounts of product placement made it
>
> feel like an American TV show. If I did not know it better, I would assume that
>
> everyone working in a corporate office in China drank Lipton tea, while talking on a
>
> Nokia phone and emailing on their Lenovo (IMDB, 2010).

There is a cultural double-take here that this thesis can succinctly comment on.

According to the reviews, the assimilation of global culture erodes Chinese culture.

This makes Pattaya Floating Market a simulacrum of a simulacrum. Not only does it

show a simulacrum of local Thai experience, but also a simulacrum of American

culture. Although it is a Chinese movie, it presents a simulacrum of an American TV

show. It mixes Hong Kong culture with the film's setting, Beijing. The clothing design,

production techniques and the storylines either represent Chinese culture or devour

Chinese culture. On the other hand, they facilitate the emergence of miniaturised

units of American culture.

When it comes to the use of Pattaya Floating Market as a film location, messages

from the film combined with the miniaturised units of Chinese and American cultures

are a selection of reality. As a copy, Pattaya Floating Market does not bear relation to

a real local floating market, and the market itself already appears to be a simulacrum.

In being used as a film location, the experience of local Thai culture offered by

Pattaya Floating Market gets mediated by the film, and messages from it break down

the reality of the floating market into simple elements that can be reassembled into

possible scenarios in the film, particularly the scene where the man meets the

woman and they pray to meet each other again, in other words, the romantic story.

The film experience offers a more real experience than the market itself. The floating

market is reduced to nothing more than a location for the film. The selected reality

and messages of the film that proceed from the model of the floating market within

the whole of Thailand, and also the model of American culture, precede original Thai

culture and the traditional floating market.

The film purports to show references to Hong Kong and Beijing culture, but ironically

causes the reduplication of an American TV show. However, the film does not relate

to real American culture either, and is just a simulacrum. The floating market

therefore enters the third-order simulacrum, whereby it appears to be the

simulacrum of a simulacrum. The floating market is not the film setting, instead the

film itself is the location of the floating market. This is a reversal of origin, whereby the action in the floating market is only a hyperreal. As the simulacrum of a simulacrum, Pattaya Floating Market also becomes a deterrence model.

8.3.3 The deterrence model and replacement

When the boundary between true and false collapses, reality turns out to be further liquidated. This makes the ability to access the real impossible, and so the distinction between the real and unreal is irrelevant. Looking back at Pattaya Floating Market, tourists generate a cash flow that facilitates local Thai culture to be liquidated, and this permits a radical law of equivalence and exchange to emerge. Pattaya Floating Market is a deterrence machine, in that the place only offers a simulacrum of the floating market, and thus a hyperreal of local Thai culture.

Globalisation and tourism result in Pattaya Floating Market being a deterrent and neutralised. Again, this causes a reversal of finality, as well as the generalisation of all culture. This is where the floating market becomes globalised. Instead of hybridisation and glocalisation, as discussed in the literature review chapter, the interaction between the global and the local leads to a deterrent to accessing real local Thai culture, whereby the experience of local Thai culture is a hyperreal and simulacrum. With the generalisation of culture, Pattaya Floating Market can transmit a condensed experience of local Thai culture to a wider audience. In this case, a wider audience refers to the different seasons of tourists, which do not matter to Pattaya Floating Market at all. What follows is interview data.

The high-low season of tourists doesn't really impact on the market because we have other groups of tourists coming to the market, called replacements (Ms. Manee# n=12# female# Pattaya).

And in another interview, the following was revealed about seasons.

Me: When is the low season of tourists?

Interviewee: Foreign group tours always visit the market over the course of the year, but there are some differences. For example, the high-low season of tourists from the Middle East is different from that of Chinese tourists. Chinese tourists come here all year round. I can't tell you how we do this because it's the market strategy.

(Mr. Brad# n=10# male# Pattaya)

Based on the interviews, the high-low season of Middle Eastern tourists is different from that of Chinese tourists, who are the main customers of the market and visit the place all year round.

Me: When is the low season?

Interviewee: There is no low season for Chinese tourists, neither a high nor a low season. If a place can attract Chinese tourists to visit, that's good. They constantly come to visit the place. A high-low season doesn't matter.

(Mr. Frank# n=15# male# Pattaya)

Pattaya Floating Market is a place orientated towards Chinese tourists. The interaction between the global (flow of tourists) and local (Pattaya Floating Market)

generates a unique outcome that might differ from what happens in other locales, for instance, Damnoen Saduak Floating Market experiences a difference of high-low season. But for Pattaya Floating Market, an increase in Chinese tourists renders the high-low season of tourists irrelevant, as they visit the market all year round. Globalised tourism does not produce a homogenised impact, yet its effect turns out to be deterrent, whereby structural forms of global flow are exchangeable and replaceable with one another, rather than a hybridised culture or a glocalised one.

The third order of simulacrum deterrence model and activity

Globalisation does not water down the experience of local Thai culture, instead it is impossible to differentiate between the effect of tourism and globalisation and that of localised culture, since the hyperreal associates with a reversal of origin and finality. The reality that relates neither to a traditional floating market nor Thai culture becomes the more real experience of Thai culture. Hence, Thai culture is neutralised. The cultural forms in Pattaya Floating Market do not only proceed from the model of the floating market with its four regional cultures, and of the floating market within the whole of Thailand, but also the model of the floating market within entertainment.

This is a hyperreal experience that is produced specifically for foreign tourists. When I collected interview data in the floating market, I only saw Chinese tourists and Asian tourists participate in the activities of souvenir and food shopping, while Thai tourists only took photographs. When tourists arrive at the floating market they are led to a

foreign-tourist entrance, where they need to pay 200 baht (about 4 GB pounds) as an admission fee. A tour guide then takes the tourists around the market to see the shows and cultural performances, and to recommend what products they should buy. To illustrate the deterrence model, the sub-theme activities of Pattaya Floating Market will be presented.

> For foreigners, we have a package tour [800 baht, or about 16 GB pounds per person] of a rowing-boat ride to go sightseeing around the market [phase 1 and 2], then they are transferred to an amphibious boat [which can drive on land and float on water] to visit phase 3, where tourists can see an economically self-sufficient village, a fruit garden, a rice farm, a monkey show, a Thai boat museum and an ancient Thai village with four regional kitchen styles. Tourists can also feed the fish and view a Thai dessert-making demonstration (Mr. Aong# n=13# male# Pattaya).

In addition to the package tour, regional cultural performance is also a highlight of Pattaya Floating Market,

> **Interviewee:** We try to find interesting activities for tourists, especially cultural performances. We are currently putting on a cultural performance of the central region.
> **Me:** Do you have a show every day?
> **Interviewee:** I'm not sure. For example, on Wednesdays, there's a boat parade at the front and a musical show at the back, or we have a northern-style music performance in the Northern zone.
> **Me:** Who arranges all the shows?
> **Interviewee:** They are arranged by all of our staff.

Me: How do you know what to do or how to select a cultural show?

Interviewee: We always change them. We don't want repetition. We need to keep people's attention, for instance for six months we have a drum show. For the next six months, we might hire other shows to perform here. Before that, we had regional Thai dance performances, such as a northern Thai dance.

Me: So, they are professionals?

Interviewee: Yes, they're all professionals, especially the drum show. They are our staff, and we have our own musical band. There's no need to be worried!

(Ms. Nan# n=11# female# Pattaya)

Therefore, activities here are a combination of floating-market culture and Thai culture. Tourists can take a boat-ride service to go sightseeing in the floating market, such as to see the ancient Thai village and the boat museum, or watch regional cultural shows along with a Thai-dessert-making demonstration. The place does not bear any relation to a traditional floating market or regional Thai cultures at all. Therefore, an experience of Thai culture does not represent Thai culture, but rather a hyperreal experience.

The most famous activity here is sea boxing, as explained in the below exchange.

Me: So, tourists can see Thai culture here?

Interviewee: What we present is a simple thing. We try to bring lots of fun, particularly Muay Talay [a Thai sea boxing show]. Two guys [sitting astride a pole set over water] punch each other until one drops into the water; usually it's both of them. We have a traditional Thai music show, boat parades by female Thai dancers in traditional costumes, and an artistic performance. We try to have something

different day by day and week by week, but what we most regularly have are a boat

parade and Muay Talay. We operate and launch special events and special contests

for the Song Kran and Loy Kratong[40] festivals, and so on.

(Mr. Liam# n=4# male# Pattaya)

Sea boxing is regarded as a Thai folklore sport and was originally popular in the south

of Thailand, and it serves the purpose of entertainment (Wattanatam 2018). But it

does not relate to a traditional floating market or the locality of Pattaya. It is a

combination of sport and entertainment that is used to attract tourists in Pattaya

Floating Market. It is a hyperreal experience when it is presented in the context of the

tourist-orientated floating market. Non-floating market culture can thus be combined

with floating-market culture. It shows how the local accommodates the global. In

order to attract tourists, signs of the floating market do not tie in to a traditional

floating market, with the result that reality is liquidated. According to the data,

Pattaya Floating Market recreates activities including regional Thai dance, cultural

shows, music shows, boat-ride services and a Thai sea boxing show.

Therefore, activity in Pattaya Floating Market is a combination of Thai culture and

non-Thai culture, especially entertainment activity. Referring back to Baudrillard, the

presence of culture and anti-culture makes culture neutralised, so that there is no

difference between the two at all, as well as more generalised, with culture becoming

exchangeable with signs of non-culture. Although there are some activities that do

not even bear relation to Thai culture, Pattaya Floating Market needs them.

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[40] Song Kran (Thai New Year) and Loy Kratong are popular Thai festivals in April and November
respectively.

> At the back of the market, we have an adventure zone that is 10 metres and costs 200 baht (about 4 GB pounds) for tourists to enter. They can enjoy taking photographs and walking on a suspension bridge to see a view of the market (Mr. Aong# n=13# male# Pattaya).

Thai cultural activity is combined with tourist spots, namely a suspension bridge and an adventure zone. These activities are rearranged into possible scenarios of the floating market. They are not references, or representations, of local Thai culture or of the traditional floating market, as those in the first order of simulacrum in Damneon Saduak Market are. Rather, they proceed from the model of the floating market within entertainment. The activities precede the experience of local Thai culture, whereby they devour real, local Thai culture. What Pattaya Floating Market presents is a hyperreal of the local Thai experience. It might be impossible to differentiate the real from unreal, since the two implode. The activities seem to be more real than the original, and to be the totality of Thai culture.

The establishment of Pattaya Floating Market conceals the fact that it is the real Thailand, while indicating all of Thailand is not real, and it also saves the reality principle, that local culture is actually there. Tourists can experience a variety of Thai cultural forms, and access the whole of Thailand, as well as the four regional cultures. Referring back to Baudrillard's work on Beaubourg, Pattaya Floating Market turns out to be the space of deterrence that triggers social discourse and cultural manipulation, as seen in the floating market's cultural shows and entertainment.

There is a Thai sea boxing show, an adventure zone and a boat-ride service that can take tourists around the floating market, during which they can enter each phase of Thai culture, such as the traditional Thai way of life in phase 3. Cultural activities here are anachronistic, with the incoherence of cultural contents being able to co-present. Pattaya Floating Market seems to be a deterrent to every attempt to access a real traditional floating market, as seen with the display of four regional Thai cultures and regional Thai performances, and in its references to real local Thai culture, particularly the recreation of entertainment activities, such as a fishpond, an adventure zone and a suspension bridge. These activities are not restricted to a traditional floating market or local Thai culture. They are constituted by a differential combinatory of signs.

A mixture of cultural forms, such as a sea boxing show and the floating market ambience in phase 1, is contradictory and inconsistent. The sea boxing show is incompatible with the floating-market ambience and vice versa. Culture here is simultaneously counter-culture. This neutralises local Thai culture in the floating market, the hyperreal and counter-culture devour real local culture. An experience of local Thai culture becomes generalised, where culture is exchangeable with antithetical culture, as seen with the floating market and its sea boxing show.

So, is cultural production simultaneously counter-culture, or antithetical to culture? This is seen in the co-presence of entertainment activities and regional Thai culture in Pattaya Floating Market, whereby the former becomes antithetical to the local Thai experience. Cultural forms, together with activities, are neutralised. Connecting to

Baudrillard's deterrence model, Pattaya Floating Market thus appears to be

polyvalent, or a multipurpose space, where culture itself is dead. The implosion of

culture and non-culture leads to a total hyperreality, where culture becomes counter-

culture. Pattaya Floating Market is not a simulacrum of the local Thai experience, but

just a simulacrum of a simulacrum, where things proceed from the model and are

subject to signs. There is no difference between the real and unreal, just a

simulacrum and a hyperreal.

Furthermore, the third order of simulacrum in Pattaya Floating Market is sustained by

the alibis of the counterfeit in the first order of simulacrum, which are the traditional

floating market and the four regional Thai cultures. These alibis do not represent, or

reflect, an original floating market or real local Thai culture, as in the first order of

simulacrum seen in Damneon Saduak Floating Market. Rather, they are only the alibis

in Pattaya Floating Market because they do not need to function in the third order of

simulacrum. Their social existence lies elsewhere.

The only reason they appear in Pattaya Floating Market is to supply the content of

the following order of simulacrum. The alibis of regional cultures are the preceding

orders that supply the substance of the empty subsequent orders of the floating

market. For example, the construction of the four regional cultures gives meaning to

the regional dance shows, or the four regional cultures become the model that

precedes all cultural forms. Cultural forms and activities are not recreated for

culture's sake, instead they are created to assign meaning to the simulacrum of the

floating market. A hyperreal of local Thai culture in Pattaya Floating Market deters

any attempt to access a traditional floating market and real local Thai culture, with

the result that the floating market turns out to be the real Thailand, and the rest of

Thailand is not real.

So how are tourists drawn differently into the simulacrum of local Thai culture? It is

to the tourist section that we now turn.

8.4 Tourists

This section presents survey data collected from two groups of foreign tourists: tourists who have been to a floating market in Thailand and tourists who have never been. I only conducted a survey, in English, with foreign tourists staying at two hotels in the Khao San Road area in Bangkok[41]. Therefore, the findings only show foreign-tourist experiences, not others. This thesis suggests that, to some extent, the interpretation of tourists who have never been to a floating market is similar to those who have been to floating market.

Referring back to the Beaubourg model as discussed in the Baudrillard chapter, spectators come not only to participate, but also to erase all meaning of local Thai culture. The more they come to see simulated culture, the more the meaning of local culture is eroded. The simulation of culture that is displayed in the floating markets fosters what Baudrillard calls 'the production of the masses'. In this case, the masses, or spectators, refer to tourists who come to enjoy and participate in cultural simulation in the floating markets. Local Thai culture and floating-market culture exist in reduced forms, which vary according to the floating market, and this may enable the markets to offer condensed local Thai culture to tourists. Ironically, simulation of culture is the way for tourists to access an experience of Thai culture.

The survey had eight questions, and 36 surveys were completed in total. Out of these, there were 24 foreign tourists who had not previously been to a floating market, and

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[41] Khao San Road is popular among backpacker tourists, and it is the place where many tour itineraries start.

who only answered the last two questions, which were 'Did you plan to visit a floating

market and why?' and 'What did you expect to see in the market?' The data are

shown in the table 8.4.1 below. Regarding the column headings, 'presupposition'

refers to the reasons why they would like to visit a floating market in the future, and

'expectation' means what they want to see in a floating market if they get the

opportunity to go to one.

8.4.1 The table of survey data obtained from tourists who had not previously been to a floating market

Respondent number	Presupposition	Expectation
1	Yes.	Food, shop, shirts.
2	Yes, it looked so beautiful in every paper and on TV.	I expected to see fruit, souvenirs and many traditional Thai things.
3	Yes, beautiful area.	Experience and boats.
4	Yes sure, interesting market.	Nature, people.
5	I wanted to see Thai culture, food and have new experiences of the market on the river.	I expected to see Thai people's style.
6	I wanted to see it, but it was too far from our accommodation in Thailand. I had a lot of things to see.	Lots of boats with different sorts of food, a colourful and beautiful place.
7	No, because we didn't have time to do it. The express bus to the market takes too long from Bangkok.	I expected a wonderful market on a river or lake with many little boats with food and stuff. The visitors can walk through the market on piers. I was really sad that we didn't have time for it.
8	Yes, it looked like an experience steeped in culture.	Boat, stalls, spices, food and culture.
9	No, beautiful place and unseen.	A range of Thai goods including clothes and food.
10	Yes, it seemed like an authentic experience. We are sorry we missed it.	General products sold and freshly produced, and the food was what I was expecting. Also, handmade and authentic products from Thailand.
11	Yes, beautiful.	Food and fruit.
12	No, because I didn't have time. Maybe I would go there, I don't know.	Boats and fish.
13	Yes, of course, because it's a traditional place of Bangkok.	Boats, long tail boats, fruit, food, culture.
14	Maybe.	Bags, figures of elephants, food, fruit and clothes.

15	Yes, I had read good reports on the internet about it.	Much like walking the streets but on rafts and long tail boats, many traders and stalls selling things.
16	Yes, a different sight/type of market to see.	I expected to see stalls, food stands, clothes, fruit and the sea.
17	Yes, beautiful.	Food and fruit.
18	Yes, beautiful.	Food and fruit.
19	No, I was unaware of the market as it was not widely advertised on the Khao San Road, and time would not allow for a visit.	I wasn't sure. I had not seen any advertisements.
20	Popular place.	Local products.
21	No, limited time. If we were staying longer, I would definitely go.	Lots of fresh produce, some spices and fresh flowers.
22	Yes, when we return to Bangkok. It looked very interesting and different from what we have back home.	Flowers, food and interesting people.
23	Been told by many people to go there. Heard good things about it.	Many crazy things I didn't get to see back home.
24	No, because I was leaving for France today but I will return.	Boats, floating vendors, all sorts of things. The kindness of merchants, all those colours and also the boat purchases.

There are two sub-themes that emerged from the survey data of foreign tourists who had not previously been to a floating market. Starting with presupposition, tourists were asked, 'Did you plan to visit a floating market and why?' Only one tourist said no because he/she had not seen an advertisement before (survey no.19# Kao San Road).

There were three types of presupposition: firstly, nine out of 23 tourists said the market looks beautiful and interesting; secondly, eight tourists had a special presupposition, for example:

I wanted to see Thai culture, food, and have a new experience with the market on the river (survey no.5# Khao San Road).

Another example is the following:

It looked very interesting and different from what we have back home (survey no.22# Khao San Road).

Thirdly, they heard about the floating market from the media, such as through favourable reports on the internet, and by word of mouth.

Moving on to the second sub-theme of expectation, foreign tourists were asked, 'What did you expect to see in the market?' Food is the first thing they thought about, then boats, stuff/goods, a market on the river/lake, traders, stalls and culture. Thus tourists expect to see a variety of Thai culture in floating markets, such as food, boats, products, and so on, as the below response shows.

I expected to see Thai people's style (survey no.5# Khao San Road).

Another example is the following:

I expected a wonderful market on a river or a lake with many little shops with food and other stuff. The visitors can walk through the market on piers. I was really sad that we didn't have time for it (survey no.7# Khao San Road).

For foreign tourists who have not been to a floating market, the floating market therefore signifies local Thai culture, namely food, products, an authentic experience, traders, and more besides. Most of them said they would visit the floating market if they had time. Although they had not previously been to a floating market, they knew what they should expect to see at one. In this way, tourists involve the third order of simulacrum that all Thai cultural forms proceed from the model of a floating market. Only cultural forms that accord with the model make sense.

Due to insufficient data, it seems impossible to say whether tourists are able to differentiate real Thai culture from unreal Thai culture, and tourists might not be interested in doing so. They would like to visit a floating market to get a glimpse of local Thai culture, and they unconsciously obey the imperative of a cultural simulacrum. Whether it is real or unreal culture might not matter to them. Floating markets thus appear to be a way for tourists to get an experience of local Thai culture.

This thesis then goes on to look at survey data on tourists who have been to a floating market. In the survey, there were 12 tourists who had been to different floating markets within and outside Bangkok. They answered questions 1-6. After the respondent number, there are four column headings. The first is the name of the floating market; the second is the tourists' perceptions of the floating market they visited; the third is whether they felt Thai culture was represented in the floating market; and the fourth column is their impression of the floating market. The data are shown in the table 8.4.2 below.

8.4.2 The table of survey data obtained from tourists who had been to different

floating markets

Number	Floating market	Experience	Thai culture represented	Impression
1	Damnoen Saduak[42]	New experience.	Not really, because of too many tourists.	Traffic on the canal/river.
2	Damnoen Saduak	Traffic, too many people and tourists.	Yes, by means of Thai inhabitants who sold every kind of product.	Smiles and people sold things alongside the river.
3	Taling Chan[43]	Ladies worked to sell stuff.	Yes.	Fantastic way of selling stuff.
4	Damnoen Saduak	A typical Thai market and how they sold things.	Their products and their way of selling.	Impressed with the variety of products.
5	Damnoen Saduak	Very traditional and authentic Thai experience.	Yes, Bangkok was very busy, however the floating market showed Thailand at its best.	Even though there were lots of tourists, everybody behaved the same way, and was very welcoming.
6	Taling Chan	It was nice to see something different.	Yes, it showed how people made a living in Thai culture.	The items on sale were beautifully made.
7	Taling Chan	The market was fun and an exciting adventure.	The sellers were friendly and had a variety of Thai goods and crafts available to buy.	I was impressed with the quality of goods to buy.
8	Ayothaya[44]	Tasted Thai food and smelled different flavours.	Not so much, I expected something different from a tourist market.	Plenty of colours and things.
9	Ayothaya	Taste, flavour, and smell of Thai culture	Yes, local homemade products.	Not so much, I expected to see many more boats like a real market, not only for tourists.

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[42] Damnoen Saduak Floating Market is a 90-minute drive to the west of Bangkok.
[43] Taling Chan Floating Market is a popular market in Bangkok.
[44] Ayutthaya is a city that is located to the north of Bangkok. Ayothaya Floating Market is another artificial market located in Ayutthaya Province, the old capital of Thailand, and is a 90-minute drive from Bangkok.

10	Bangkok Old Town (Ayothaya)	Saw the shops and it gave an insight into Thai life – good experience.	I thought so, some of the items sold were locally made and represented Thailand/reflected Thai culture, e.g. Thai clothes/ paintings.	I was impressed because it was different from anything I had seen before. There was also a large variety of things to buy.
11	Bangkok Old Town (Ayothaya)	An insight into the local way of life. Everyone we passed waved and was friendly.	Yes, it appeared to be uninfluenced by Western culture, refreshing to see.	I was impressed. It was small but not too busy.
12	River tour[45]	I thought it looked very nice, and there were a lot of things. I enjoyed the experience of seeing the shops and the items they had.	Yes, the items on sale were similar to what I had seen in other areas of Thailand and Bangkok.	The market was very small but not very busy. I was impressed by that as places in Thailand are often too busy.

There were 4 out of 12 tourists who went to Damnoen Saduak Floating Market, three tourists to Taling Chan Floating Market, and four who went to Ayothaya Floating Market, or what they recognised as 'Bangkok Old Town'. One tourist went through a floating market during a river tour. Although the tourists went to different floating markets, their experience of local Thai culture was generally the same. The floating markets offer Thai culture such as food, products, and so on. The first sub-theme is experience. How did tourists view the places? The floating markets are equivalent to Thailand: an experience of Thai culture that refers to the way of selling, for example:

Question: What kind of experience did you obtain from the market?

Answer: [It was] a typical Thai market and how they sold things (survey no.4# Damnoen Saduak).

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[45] Tourists can take river tours around the main attractions in Bangkok.

Three tourists said the floating markets were a new and different experience, for instance:

> Question: What kind of experience did you obtain from the market?
>
> Answer: It was nice to see something different (survey no.6# Taling Chan).

The second sub-theme is Thai culture. Ten tourists thought floating markets represent Thai culture, especially the Thai way of life, and that Thai culture in the floating market also refers to Thai products.

> Question: Did the floating market represent Thai local culture and how?
>
> Answer: I thought so. Some of the items sold were locally made and the place represented Thailand and reflected its culture, e.g. Thai clothes, paintings (survey no.10# Bangkok Old Town).

Another example is the following,

> Question: Did the floating market represent/relate to Thai culture? How?
>
> Answer: The sellers were friendly and had a variety of Thai goods and crafts available to buy (survey no.7# Taling Chan).

The third sub-theme is impression. Most tourists were most impressed with the variety of products.

> Question: What impressed you in the market?

Answer: Plenty of colours and things (survey no.8# Ayutthaya).

Another example is the following:

Question: What impressed you in the market?

Answer: I was impressed because it was different to anything I had seen. There was also a large variety of things to buy (survey no.10# Bangkok Old Town).

From the survey, the interpretation of the tourists who have and have not been to a floating market was not significantly different. Regarding the foreign tourists who had been to the floating markets, the places turned out to be associated with Thailand and with general Thai culture, namely the food and the products. Thai culture means the Thai way of life, food and products. Again, what impressed them was the variety of products. Referring to Baudrillard's theory, the sub-themes of Thai culture and impressions epitomise the imperative of the cultural simulacrum and the stockpiles of cultural objects respectively.

The tourists visited the floating markets to enjoy the place and participate in activities; they knew what they needed to do and to see there, and they went to the floating markets because they thought the places represented Thai culture. If people thought the floating markets were just shopping places, would they still go there? To some extent, tourists follow the imperative of cultural simulation in order to enjoy seeing cultural objects and to experience local Thai culture, and might not pay attention to what is real or unreal. Tourists just want to experience something new and to have fun.

However, these two groups of tourists engaged differently in the simulacrum. Although those tourists who had not previously been to a floating market perceived the floating market in a similar way to those who had been there, the former did not erode the meaning of local Thai culture. This is because they did not participate in any activity, or did not come to enjoy the floating market. They did not become the masses. Only tourists who visit the floating markets and join in an activity efface the meaning of Thai culture. They follow the imperative of cultural simulation further than the tourists who have not visited them.

In addition, foreign tourists who do visit the floating markets seem to enter different orders of simulacra. Despite simulational experience, tourists seem to obtain differentiated experiences. The tourists who visited Damnoen Saduak Floating Market were able to see a counterfeit of the original floating market, and of local Thai culture, because the place is in the first order of simulacrum. Referring to the interview data, Damnoen Saduak Floating Market is the representation of traditional local Thai culture that does not absorb the appearance of the real. There is still a difference between the real local culture and the counterfeit floating market, as interviewees mentioned previously. But tourists may not know this difference. According to the survey, Damnoen Saduak Floating Market represents the local way of life and reflects traditional Thai culture. In this way, foreign tourists follow the imperative of cultural simulation to see the local way of life, regardless of the real and unreal.

Similarly, tourists who go to Taling Chan Floating Market can access representation of Thai culture. Before road construction, Taling Chan Floating Market used to be a real water-trading site in Bangkok. After road construction in 1971, the old floating market was closed and, in 1997, the revived market was renewed and expanded by the local authorities (Buasorn, in Cohen 2016, p.72). Although Taling Chan Floating Market is the representation of the old riparian way of life in Bangkok, the foreign tourists did not see it as reflection of local Thai culture. Instead, the survey data indicate they enjoyed seeing new things in the market, and they found it an enjoyable experience. They did not even pay attention to what is real and unreal.

By contrast, the tourists who went to other floating markets, including Ayothaya Floating Market, or 'Bangkok Old Town', and took part in a river tour, did not see any reference to an original floating market, but rather simulacra. As models, those floating markets generate cultural forms of Thailand, such as Thai products and food. Miniaturised units of culture and the recreation of activity render local Thai culture generalised and neutralised. Based on the survey data, foreign tourists who visit Ayothaya Floating Market have a differentiated experience.

Cohen suggests Ayothaya Floating Market falls into the category[46] of 'innovative new floating market', a type that caters to both domestic and foreign tourists, is a business enterprise based on artificially created waterways, and features shops, food stalls, restaurants and entertainment facilities (2016, p.74). The floating market is established to recreate the charm and ambience of old Thailand, and is themed by

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[46] Pattaya Floating Market is also categorised as an innovative new floating market

metonyms of the old royal city of Ayutthaya (Cohen 2016, p.75). The floating market

is recreated as a tourist site, yet decorated like the old city. The survey data show

that foreign tourists view Ayothaya Floating Market as reflecting a sense of Thai

culture and representing the Thai way of life, albeit unreal and contrived culture.

Referring back to Baudrillard's theory, they are the masses who obey the imperative

of cultural simulation. The unreal culture turns out to the real, or more real. Those

tourists who obey the imperative of cultural simulation engage the third order of

simulacrum.

Tourists participate in activities offered by the floating markets, such as a boat rides,

eating Thai food and buying a variety of products. This erodes the meaning of culture.

Ayothaya Floating Market reproduces Thai culture by breaking reality into simple

elements so as to allow these small units to be recombined with one another and

generate possible scenarios of Thai culture, such as the theme of the floating market

and the different location. What is presented in the floating markets is hyperreal and

simulacrum that makes it inaccessible to the real. Thai culture appears to be

neutralised and generalised.

Regarding the tourist who went through a floating market by river tour, he/she found

the market an enjoyable experience as there were many shops and items to see. For

them, the market represented Thai culture, for what is sold there is similar to what is

found in other parts of Thailand. Due to insufficient data, I could not tell what floating

market this tourist was talking about. During river tours, tourists can pass through

different floating markets, so without the name of the market I cannot make further

analysis. But what can I tell is that seeing the floating market was treated as a fun and enjoyable experience rather than real and unreal culture. The tourist did not expect to see the real culture other than a reflection of Thailand. In this manner, general Thai culture replaces local specialty. Referring back to Baudrillard, this is a precession of simulacra, whereby the simulacrum precedes the original. What the floating market offers is a simulacrum of local Thai culture.

The more tourists come to see the simulation of culture, the more they move away from reality. Local culture needs to be generalised so as to offer condensed culture to tourists, and in order to transmit it to a wider audience. The construction of Thai culture is simultaneously antithetical to culture itself. Culture is not there for its own sake, but rather for inviting the masses to visit. Although Baudrillard's theory enables this thesis to alternatively conceptualise the effect of globalisation, there are some theoretical issues that need to be addressed. What follows is a section on theoretical discussion.

8.5 Theoretical discussion and the limitations of working with Baudrillard's idea

8.5.1 Discussions of the theories

Referring back to the theoretical chapters, some theorists conceptualise the cultural consequences of globalisation as a finalised outcome. Hybridisation, that is a mixture of two or more cultures, creates a new cultural form, and the new culture does not relate to the original, such as bread ice cream[47] in Thailand, whereas glocalisation is differently termed. For Robertson (2012, p.195), glocalisation is a standardised form of the local, and the idea of locality produced by the global. For Ritzer (2007, p.32), on the other hand, glocalisation is the adaptation of the local to globalisation, so as to be transmitted to various groups of people. Therefore, locality is not something in itself, since it is not freed from the global phenomenon.

According to the glocalisation theories, glocalisation is thus a tautology of the dualism of structure and agency, where the global happens to constitute the local, rather than the other way around. This causes an imbalance between the global and the local. However, is there a fine line between hybridisation and glocalisation? A hybridised culture needs to interact with the local so that its effect can occur locally. The cultural consequences of globalisation need to happen somewhere, for instance, a Japanese restaurant in Thailand, named Fuji, serves kimchi[48] (Korean food) as a side dish. This seems to be a hybridised cultural form in which Japanese culture mixes with Korean

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[47] Coconut ice cream and various flavours of ice cream are sometimes served with bread. The origin of bread and ice cream is not associated with Thai culture.

[48] Kimchi is a traditional fermented Korean side dish that is made of vegetables with a variety of seasonings.

culture. It brings about a new cultural form that is neither culturally Japanese nor Korean, but something in between. It is a hybridised culture that impacts upon the local, or Thailand. In this manner, hybridisation is a cultural outcome that involves a glocalised process. Hybridisation might not be freed from locality, for it needs to happen somewhere locally.

8.5.2 Globalised tourism

Damnoen Saduak Floating Market, which is a representation of local Thai culture in the first order of simulacrum is, again, 'global' rather than 'globalised'. This is because the difference between the real culture and the simulated culture remains to be seen. The presence of tourist activity and some elements of the local way of life, such as fruit orchards, canals, wooden houses and coconut-sugar-making demonstration, makes the floating market meet tourist expectations. The scale of tourism is affected by global flows.

Unlike Damnoen Saduak Floating Market, Pattaya Floating Market, which is a simulacrum and hyperreal of local Thai culture in the third order of simulacrum, is globalised. This floating market offers Thai foodstuffs as well as a falsified construct of Thai culture in film tourism that suit the preferences of Chinese tourists. It is not about the difference between the real local Thai culture and general Thai culture. Instead, general Thai culture is substituted by Thai culture that is orientated towards

Chinese tourists. The distinction between an experience of real local Thai culture and simulated Thai culture is becoming blurred.

Instead of hybridisation and glocalisation, globalised tourism in Pattaya Floating Market produces a simulacrum. All culture can be sold in the market.

> Baudrillard states the usual gripe that everything, culture included, turns out to be a commodity, and conversely, that all commodities need a patina of cultural or aesthetic legitimacy (in Sassatelli 2002, p.522).

Due to the implosion of culture and the economy, culture is commodified, while commodities are aestheticised; and cultural commodities that are aestheticised can be sold in a cultural marketplace. The implosion of culture and the economy brings about the liquidation of local Thai culture. This refers to the 'hyperculture' that is discussed in the Baudrillard chapter. Pattaya Floating Market does not only offer Thai culture that matches Chinese tourists' preferences, but also non-Thai culture, including an adventure zone and a suspension bridge. The construction of culture is simultaneously anti-culture, especially commodified culture. Culture is not there for its own sake, but produced to be sold for tourists. Thai culture orientated towards Chinese tourists along with non-Thai culture erodes cultural meaning, and makes the distinction between the real culture and the unreal one disappear.

Global flows free local culture from its own realm, with it becoming open to a differential combinatory of signs. For example, mediated messages from a film

become an experience of Thai culture in the floating market. This erodes all difference. Cultural forms and action in Pattaya Floating Market are not an experience of the real local Thai culture, but a simulacrum and hyperreal. As the simulacrum, Pattaya Floating Market acts as a deterrent that only makes us move away from real, local Thai culture. It does not mean globalisation waters down local culture, instead global flows cause local Thai culture and anti-culture to become neutralised and generalised. An experience of Thai culture in Pattaya Floating Market is thus globalised, in that the difference is effaced. Although Baudrillard's simulation can elucidate the cultural consequences of globalisation, there are some limitations to working with his idea.

8.5.3 The limitations of Baudrillard's simulation

Although Baudrillard's theory can shed some critical light on the cultural consequences of globalisation and tourism, some of the data might suggest otherwise. Regarding 'the production of the masses' in the tourist section, in Ayothaya Floating Market one tourist says he/she expected to see more boats as you would on a real canal. The tourist knows the place does not display the real culture, but as a replica it should have been presented as the real place. Real experience, or simulated experience, may not matter at all. However, other tourists who visited Ayothaya Floating Market viewed the place as reflecting the local Thai way of life, albeit not the real culture. An experience of local Thai culture, in this case, depends

on foreign-tourist interpretation. The market may simultaneously offer both a real experience and simulational experience.

Regarding Damnoen Saduak Floating Market, it is the representation of the real local way of life, but the survey data show that only one foreign tourist saw it as a new experience, and not representative of Thai culture, because too many tourists were there. In this way, the tourist did not pay attention to seeing the real local culture, and just saw new things there. In these cases, tourists were able to have a new and fun experience in the floating markets, although they knew the culture was not real. Tourists might not care whether they see real culture or not, as they just want to enjoy and experience a new place.

At this point, we can look at 'the post-tourist' proposed by Lash and Urry. Lash and Urry state, 'The post-tourist knows that he or she is a tourist, and tourism is simply a series of games with multiple texts and no single authentic experience, for instance, the apparently authentic local entertainment is as socially contrived as the ethnic bar, and that the quaint traditional fishing village cannot survive without the income from tourism' (1994, p.276). Lash and Urry believe tourists can exercise agency. They do not have to follow the script of a place, but can interpret and re-read the script. Tourists are not silent. As the data indicate, some tourists do not see the floating markets as real Thai culture, however, they are able to enjoy the places nevertheless. Tourists are thus not passive and silent, and not every tourist becomes part of the masses.

Additionally, Baudrillard's simulation downplays another group of agents in tourism, that is the people who invite the masses to a particular place. From the interview data, I would argue that local workers can exercise agency in creating simulation of culture, particularly in Pattaya Floating Market. Workers there play an important role in attracting tourists to visit, putting on activities such as a Muay Talay show, or Thai sea boxing. As stated previously, Thai sea boxing is a combination of a sport and an entertainment. This does not relate to traditional floating markets or the locality of Pattaya, and local workers are well aware of that. This is the prioritisation of one culture over another.

Moreover, my thesis correlates with previous research that proposes that Pattaya Floating Market connects to Asian tourists while disconnecting from Western ones (Pongajarn, van der Duim and Peters 2016, p.11). Simulation of culture there seems to match Asian tourists' preferences. This is because Asian tourists seem to be little concerned with authenticity (Cohen and Cohen, in Cohen 2016, p.69). But I would state Pattaya Floating Market reconnects to Chinese tourists. The place chooses to accommodate some groups of tourists and not others. It displays a simulation of culture that matches Chinese tourists' preferences, offering film-induced tourism and Thai foodstuffs that suit their preferences.

Workers know film tourism and Thai foodstuffs there are not the real Thai culture. Thus Pattaya Floating Market has become popular among one group of tourists rather than others. This is because local people have selectively attracted one group of tourists and not others. Winter proposes, 'With tourism in Asia, which ranges from

Singapore to Halong Bay, Angkor to Macau, locations are becoming re-packaged and re-scripted so as to meet the preferences, desires and aspirations of Asian tourists' (2007, p.41). Local people are able to recreate cultural content to suit a specific group of tourists, or rather, the local can reconfigure global flows in order to accommodate a specific group of tourists rather than others.

Unlike the experience for Chinese tourists, in Pattaya Floating Market, local people choose to offer regional Thai food to Thai tourists who can access a representation of regional Thai culture in the simulated floating market. Despite the simulation of culture, workers offer a differentiated experience to Thai tourists meaning they can have regional Thai food there. Local workers play an important role in producing differentiated experiences for different tourist groupings. Connecting with the literature review chapter, Gotham suggests, 'The growth of tourism pressures local actors to improvise on past traditions and establish new ones to accord with the constraints as well as opportunities of the present' (2005, p.321). Globalisation and tourism do not necessarily water down local culture; on the contrary, they facilitate local people to reinvent culture. Tourism enables them to remake culture. Globalisation and tourism affect local Thai culture, though local people, to some extent, can mediate them. Paying more attention to agency in the simulation of culture may enable us to understand differentiated experience in terms of both consumption and production site.

8.6 Conclusion

This chapter answers research question no. 3, which asks, 'How can we conceptualise the cultural consequence of globalisation?' Based on Baudrillard's simulation, this chapter concludes that globalisation leads to different orders of simulacra. This chapter has presented interview data, including on food, film-induced tourism, activities and groups of tourists. Damnoen Saduak Floating Market involves the first order of simulacrum, while Pattaya Floating Market enters the third order of simulacrum.

The simulation of local Thai culture starts from the first order of simulacrum, with Damnoen Saduak Floating Market appearing to be a counterfeit of the original local Thai culture and a reference of the traditional floating market, or Khlong Lud Pee Floating Market (the old floating market). Signs of the original floating market are not restricted to the realm of tradition, yet are proliferated in accordance with market demand. The current Damnoen Saduak Floating Market, which is tourist-orientated, has not absorbed the original floating market, but has been recreated to represent the original. It maintains the difference between the counterfeit and the real local Thai culture.

In contrast to Damnoen Saduak Floating Market, Pattaya Floating Market is in the third order of simulacrum, in that the place turns out to be a simulacrum and a hyperreal. In the third stage of simulacrum, Pattaya Floating Market does not either represent or reflect original local Thai culture. Instead, it acts as the real so as to

become the real itself. Cultural forms and activities can make sense, on the condition they correspond to the model of the floating market. For example, Thai food that is orientated towards Chinese tourists is diffracted from the model of the floating market within Thailand, and the holy tree has meaning, for it accords with the model of the floating market shown in the film Go Lala Go!. Constructed and falsified Thai culture becomes an experience of the real Thai culture in the floating market.

Pattaya Floating Market only offers a hyperreal version of local Thai culture, with the distinction between the real and the unreal becoming blurred. The cultural consequences of globalised tourism in Pattaya Floating Market not only contribute to simulacra, but also the deterrence model. A hyperreal of culture is a deterrent from accessing the original local Thai culture. The place is the totality of the culture that conceals the fact that there is nothing behind it. However, ironically, Pattaya Floating Market needs to construct a hyperreal of local Thai culture in order to transmit a condensed version of Thai culture to a wider audience, especially Chinese tourists. This brings about the production of the masses.

Concerning tourists, the interpretation of tourists who have/have not been to a floating market is insignificantly different in general. Tourists who have not previously been to a floating market are not the masses, yet they follow the imperative of cultural simulation, in that they know what they can expect to see and do there. They connect an experience of a floating market with the whole of Thailand. Thus, general Thai culture precedes local speciality of floating-market culture. This relates to what Baudrillard calls 'a precession of simulacra'.

The tourists from the survey who visited the floating markets and participated in the activities are the masses, and they erode the meaning of the place. In order to obtain an experience of condensed local Thai culture, they followed the imperative of cultural simulation. They came to enjoy the stockpiles of cultural objects in the floating markets. However, real and unreal culture may not matter to them. Some of them only wanted to see new things and have a fun experience, rather than see real Thai culture, while some of them regarded representations of Thai culture, namely Damnoen Saduak and Taling Chan Floating Markets, as not original, but a tourist-orientated and new experience respectively. Despite the simulation of culture, their experience was differentiated.

Chapter 9

Conclusion

To conclude, an inconvenient truth here is that local Thai culture is a simulacrum, and the thesis has shown how globalisation constructs a simulacrum in Thailand. Globalisation does not cause the disappearance of local culture, and it is not necessarily concomitant of indistinctive cultural content. Regardless of distinctive cultural content and generic cultural content, local culture can be remade through globalisation to fit within a new context. Globalisation is a paradoxical process, whereby local culture does not preserve its originality, although it does not disappear. Flows of tourism affect the establishment of local places and local culture, while the adaptation of the local to the global, to some extent, reconfigures the flows of tourism, e.g. a significant increase in the number of Chinese tourists visiting Pattaya Floating Market.

This sounds similar to the concept of 'glocal', yet it is not the same. Glocalisation is the mixture of the global and the local, where the dimension of locality can be seen. But to what extent is it a real locality? We might not be able to separate the global process from the local process as they become interwoven with each other, or even imploded. What appears in globalisation seems to be a mere representation of the local and of the indigenous culture. Local people internalise the effects of

globalisation and adapt their culture to the changes induced by the flows of tourism.

The idea of the local is reinvented in accordance with the diktats of the global market.

This thesis has used Baudrillard's theory to study the representation of local culture

in globalisation. To understand globalised tourism and simulation, the thesis has

contextualised these in the two case studies of Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating

Markets. These case studies exemplify the impact of globalised tourism on the local.

Regarding representation and globalised tourism, the thesis has elaborated on three

important themes: the circulation of value and signs, the play of differences, and the

orders of simulacra. Globalisation and tourism cause changes in form, the cultural

content of, and action in the floating markets.

To exist in globalisation, the two floating markets inevitably have to engage in cultural

simulation, which is fed by the economic exchangeability of tourism. The

establishment of the floating markets depends on unequal flows of money between

the global and the local. People need the floating markets because they are able to

make money from them and use-value and exchange-value are only the legitimisation

of commodity sign-value. In this case, globalisation that is associated with the

circulation of value and signs is only the reflection of the economic system.

The circulation of value and signs then affects the cultural contents of Damnoen

Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets. This thesis examined Ritzer's theory on 'the

globalisation of nothing', for it is the representation of the whole strand of

globalisation. Due to the operation of value and signs, there are no specific criteria

that differentiate distinctive cultural content from generic cultural content. Ritzer's criteria are therefore insufficient for studying the complexity of globalisation. In order to challenge Ritzer, Baudrillard's theory on the system of objects was employed. The cultural contents of the floating markets are inessentially different from each other. The places engage the play of differences, which makes the places attractive to visitors.

Inessential difference between one floating market and another results in a simulation of local Thai culture and orders of simulacra. The cultural consequences of globalisation condition action in the floating markets, with Damnoen Saduak Floating Market engaging the first order of simulacrum. Action in the place can represent a traditional floating market, meaning the place becomes a counterfeit of local Thai culture. In contrast to Damnoen Saduak Floating Market, Pattaya Floating Market engages the third order of simulacrum, and turns out to be a hyperreal of local Thai culture, with other parts of Thailand not being real.

Simulation can recreate local culture so that it fits into the context of tourism. What appears as local Thai culture in Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets is neither real nor unreal, just a representation and a simulation respectively. Regardless of the real and unreal, globalisation and tourism sustain the idea of the local. With the flows of tourism, traditional Thai culture comes to life. Tourists also find the floating markets acceptable, as they can enjoy what the markets offer them.

9.1 The original contributions of the thesis

The contribution of the thesis from the application of Baudrillard's theory

The original contribution of this thesis to the literature is applying Baudrillard's theory to practical case studies in Thailand. Using Baudrillard's theory in a non-Western context, especially in Thailand, enables us to see the effects of globalised tourism on the local, and is an alternative way of approaching globalisation. It seems that Baudrillard's theory fits into the context of globalisation in Thailand, with local Thai culture becoming a simulacrum, and the idea of the local being able to emerge in globalised tourism.

Baudrillard's work can add value to the globalisation and tourism literature. Regarding globalisation, Baudrillard's theory shed some light on the complexity of structural forms and the implosion of social dimensions, with this thesis examining the implosion of economy and culture in particular. Concerning tourism, we can understand how packages of Thainess and Thai culture are produced in two different locations. This reproduces and maintains structural forms of globalised tourism and the economic system.

With a different theoretical framework and case study, there are numerous ways to capture globalisation. There is no grand narrative for conceptualising globalisation, for example, Ritzer's globalisation of 'nothing' is insufficient for understanding the global phenomenon. In order to critically examine globalisation, we cannot separate

the global from the local, or pit the global against the local, since global flows, as well as local culture, appear to be imploded.

Baudrillard's theory is different from other existing literature in that it views globalisation as an independent process that causes changes in social dimensions. Based on Baudrillard's theory and the empirical data, this thesis suggests globalisation itself refers to the implosion of social dimensions, particularly the implosion of the economy and culture. The spread of globalised tourism does not inherently occur, it is dependent upon the emergence of other social events and of the pre-established system. Looking back at the data, the flow of capital that is associated with the arrival of tourists in Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets brings about the reinvention of local culture. In this way, globalisation accompanies the capitalist economy, and the implosion of the economy and culture affects the apparatus of globalisation.

Tourism that pertains to the flow of people, and the transnational movement of people, seems to be a causal factor of globalisation. Tourism does not only involve the flow of people, but also the flow of capital, especially income from tourists; with tourism, globalisation is widely spread to different locales. Globalised tourism becomes the model that generates social forms and social processes in the local, particularly local culture, the idea of the local, forms of interaction between the global and the local, and cultural consequences. Globalisation and tourism render local culture exchangeable with a combinatory system of signs and references.

The concept of 'globalised tourism' and the contribution to existing knowledge

As discussed earlier, this term is different from 'global tourism', in that global tourism stresses the interrelatedness of globalisation and tourism, and the expansion of the scale of tourism entailing the movement of people, flows of capital and flows of images and ideas. Instead of 'global tourism', I suggest the term 'globalised tourism' to highlight the effect of globalisation on tourism in a local place, which in this case is Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets. I have used Baudrillard's idea to develop this concept. Tourism in each floating market becomes globalised on the condition that the distinction between the real and contrived culture becomes blurred. This concept also shows the implosion of the economy and culture, whereby culture is commodified and produced to be sold to tourists, while tourist products are aestheticised. In this way, tourism that is globalised involves the implosion of the economy and culture, not just economic or cultural reductionism in globalisation, or in tourism.

The floating markets are not entirely globalised. They are globalised differently, with Pattaya Floating Market having become more globalised than Damnoen Saduak Floating Market. This is because the difference between real Thai culture and simulated culture that is orientated towards Chinese tourists there has collapsed. Simulated culture has even become an experience of Thai culture in this floating market. In contrast, Damnoen Saduak Floating Market is globalised when it is subject to economic exchange-value and sign-value that make the use-value of the market replaceable.

The concept of 'globalised tourism' can enrich tourism and globalisation studies, in that it focuses on the effect of globalisation on tourism in a local place rather than the interconnectedness of the global and tourism. I have not found existing literature that uses the term 'globalised tourism'. Much of the literature uses 'global tourism', and 'globalisation of tourism', or looks at the disadvantages of global tourism on a local place. 'Globalised tourism' enables us to see how a local place implodes into the global flow. To employ this concept more widely, future research is needed. There might be another way to study this that would be better than developing from Baudrillard's idea, in particular empirical research.

9.2 The limitations of working with Baudrillard's theory

Although Baudrillard's theory enables my thesis to critically study the effects of globalisation and tourism, there are some issues that are overestimated. For Baudrillard, there is no longer representation in hyperreality. 'Hyperreality emerges when culture no longer refers to social reality, and hyperreality as well as hyperreal culture marks the end of representation, for representation does not reflect reality, but rather becomes reality itself' (King 1998, p.94). As discussed previously, the third order of simulacrum witnessed in this research saw simulation and hyperreal culture, in which the origins of reality are reversed. Hyperreality is not the same as representation. The real remains to be seen in representation, while the hyperreal absorbs the real and become the real itself. A simulacrum of reality replaces the real culture, such as Thai foodstuffs and film tourism in Pattaya Floating Market. These two do not relate to a traditional floating market and general Thai culture, rather they are orientated towards Chinese tourists.

But in what sense hyperreality produces the end of representation is still left unclear. As arguably discussed elsewhere earlier, a film-tourism experience may juxtapose with real experience and simulational experience, since tourists are able to see the real physical place and depicted scenes from the film (Buchmann, Moore and Fisher 2010). Tourists need to corporeally travel to see the real place and get the film experience. Film tourism inherently embeds in a local place, albeit through mediated messages. In the case of Pattaya Floating Market, workers know film tourism is a supplement to the floating market, yet inherently local. For Chinese tourists, despite

their experience being mediated by the film, they can see the real physical place. So, hyperreal culture may not lead to non-representation, but rather something in between.

Based on Baudrillard's idea, with the circulation of value and signs Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets are tourist attractions in which their purpose and use-value are modified to welcome tourist arrivals. Although sign-value can make us see in what ways the floating markets are tourist attractions, Baudrillard's sign-value might have a limitation when investigating the different trends of floating markets. Regarding the different trends of floating markets and other local markets, the actor-network theory might be a better approach that allows us to capture networked relations between objects and subjects in a local place. As Murdoch puts it,

> Tourism is held together by active sets of relations in which the human and the non-human continuously exchange properties. Consequently, the use of some material resources enables interactions to stabilise and extend through space and time (in van der Duim 2007, p.964).

Murdoch views tourism as networks of relations between the human and non-human, as well as relations between different actors such as people and material objects; it is these relations that produce tourist spaces. Using the actor-network theory can show how relations between humans and non-human produce floating markets (Pongajarn, van der Duim and Peters 2016). Floating markets can emerge, or re-emerge, on the tourist stage depending upon networked relations.

In addition, another significant limitation is that the role of agents in producing and reproducing culture is undertheorised. To stress, it is evident that Baudrillard ignores agency where subjects are subordinated to signs, the system of objects and simulation. Baudrillard appears to have a one-sided take on structure. My thesis has limited understanding of tourism and the social life of the local markets, for much attention has been given to signs and simulation.

To understand this better, we should study the local markets by looking back at 'the performance turn', as discussed in the literarture review chapter. For example, Larsen argues that, 'Everyday routines and habitual dispositions can influence tourism performances, with many of them revolving around pleasant sociality with co-travelling significant others' (2008, p.31). Everyday practices affect tourism performances whereby the home experience of tourists always travels with them, such as socialising with significant others at a distance, reuniting with significant others, and so on.

9.3 The limitations of the data

Relying on TripAdvisor accounts does not allow this thesis to elaborate in detail on the differentiated experiences of the floating markets for different tourist groupings. Nationality is not identifiable in the TripAdvisor comments. I am unable to differentiate their perceptions, interpretations and experiences on the basis of their nationalities and backgrounds, although the data show some differentiations, such as interpretation of authenticity. Regarding the survey data, they only show Western tourists' experiences of floating markets, thereby excluding other non-English speaking tourists, since I conducted the survey in English.

To study experiences of floating markets of different tourist groupings, further research needs to be conducted with non-English-speaking tourists in different languages. The data obtained from different groups of tourists can be used for comparative analysis. Looking back at the literature review chapter, studying tourist performance, as in Larsen's work and Edensor's work, may enable us to see how a tourist place is reproduced. In this case, 'the performance turn' may investigate how differentiated experiences of the floating markets of different tourist groupings can reproduce the places. This might be of interest to future research.

Also, my thesis does not research photographs of the floating markets. If research with photographs is conducted, we would be able to study representations of the markets more effectively. In terms of the case studies, Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets can epitomise the cultural consequences of globalisation, yet the

effects of globalisation vary in different types of tourist locations. The two case studies were researched within a limited period of time; perhaps, if the research had been conducted over a longer period, or with more case studies, it would have come up with other conclusions.

For example, Pongajarn, van der Duim and Peters conduct comparative analysis to examine the different paths of development of five floating markets in Thailand by using documentary research, field observations and in-depth interviews, together with using the actor-network theory for analysis (2016, p.1). Cohen is also able to undertake comparative analysis that 'conceptualises the process of transformation in terms of a sequential typology that focuses on the changing characteristics of 21 floating markets as they are reorientated from a local to a wider situation and foreign tourists' (2016, p.61).

Moreover, the workers in the two floating markets came from different backgrounds. In Damnoen Saduak Floating Market, most workers were local people, except for the tour guides who accompany tourists from Bangkok. There were three groups of local people in Damnoen Saduak Floating Market, and their groups are dependent on the boat services that they work for. In Pattaya Floating Market, all the workers are staff who are hired by the Pattaya Four Regions Floating Market Company Limited, which belongs to a private owner. Some say the different backgrounds of interviewees might have affected the data, however, within the limited timeframe of PhD research, the two case studies of the floating markets are realistic. Studying the tourist-

orientated floating markets enables this thesis to see the effects of globalisation and tourism on the local.

9.4 Implications

In this case, implications refer to issues that Baudrillard does not pay attention to and does not state explicitly. As stated elsewhere earlier, Baudrillard's theory does not directly relate to globalisation. However, the theory casts some critical light on globalisation. Baudrillard's concept is premised on pre-established systems, namely the systems of economy and of signs. The most important implication of Baudrillard's theory is the interrelatedness of these systems.

Based on Baudrillard's concept, globalisation refers to the implosion of social dimensions and of social units, and in this case the implosion of the economy and culture contributes to a significant change in contemporary society. From the data, packages of Thainess and Thai culture in the two different floating markets are produced, sold and aestheticised in the tourist market. The main themes of this thesis, the circulation of value and signs, the play of differences and simulacrum, implicitly reflect the implosion of the economy and culture. What is culturally produced in Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets simultaneously serves the purpose of the economy and vice versa.

Flows of capital precede globalisation and tourism, and income from tourists, along with the arrival of tourists, affects the establishment of Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya

Floating Markets. The economic system, to some extent, regulates the relationship between the global and the local. Flows of capital facilitate the circulation of value and signs and vice versa. Or rather, the implosion of the economy and culture has influenced forms of the floating markets. In this way, it is apparent that Baudrillard undervalues agency being subordinated to structure, although it does not mean structure is an influence over agents, or subjects. It is not as simple as that.

Instead, the pre-established systems predominate over both structure and agency. According to Kellner, 'Baudrillard assumes all needs, or use-values, are entirely produced and controlled by the system of the consumer society, whereby he rejects all human agency and creativity' (1989, pp.27-28). Needs and desire of subjects are regulated by the economic system, with the consumer society being interrelated with the capitalist economy. In this manner, it is the pre-established systems that control both structure and agency.

Moreover, the system of signs comes to organise structural forms and people's lives. With the play of differences, the cultural contents of Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets do not depend on practical application and functional essence. Rather, the cultural contents of the places are freed to combine with systems of signs and references because of flows of capital. Structural forms of globalised tourism and agency are not only subject to the law of value of the economic system, but also to the system of signs.

The implosion of the economy and culture also triggers complexity of representation in the local places, whereby Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets can reinvent packages of Thai culture. The arrival of tourists does not only economically benefit the places and Thailand, but also helps the places and the country to produce and retain the distinctive value of uniqueness, exoticness and authenticity. The two floating markets do not offer free time to tourists, conversely tourists have to pay local workers to spend free time in the markets. The free time of tourists is subject to the law of exchange-value, while the skills of local workers are regulated by tourist demand. Both tourists and local workers are therefore 'constrained labour' in globalised tourism.

Globalised tourism creates cultural simulation and orders of simulacra in Thailand, but this does not have anything to do with a previous authenticity. It does not mean authenticity exists in Thai culture before tourism. Simulation does not make authentic culture disappear, instead authenticity can be a simulacrum. The cultural contents of the floating markets, as well as activity in the places, do not inherently happen, they are socially and mutually constructed in globalisation. In this way, authenticity is also socially created, which is the search for value. What appears as authentic depends on the source of value, whereby cultural simulation can add value to a place, or an object as well. For instance, Pattaya Floating Market is an authentic place that offers a film-induced tourist experience and also a variety of Thai culture shows.

Due to globalisation and simulation, we may question whether or not local culture is an alternative to globalised tourism. Concerning the orders of simulacra, Damnoen

Saduak Floating Market does not display original culture, it is just a reflection of the original floating market. Here, original culture co-exists with a tourist-orientated one, such as local Thai food and general Thai food, whereas a hyperreal and simulacrum of Thai culture in Pattaya Floating Market cause local Thai culture to be neutralised and generalised. The floating market becomes the real Thailand and generates forms of Thai culture, which is a reversal of finality. Pattaya Floating Market creates a hyperreal of local Thai culture for tourists, e.g. a film-induced place, cultural shows and tourist-orientated Thai food. Global demand affects an experience of local Thai culture along with action in the floating markets.

Globalisation and tourism facilitate the recreation and re-packaging of Thai culture and Thainess in the two different floating markets. Simulated local culture seems to match tourist expectation and local people are able to adapt to, or internalise, the cultural consequences of globalisation. Hence, there might be no clear boundary between the global and local any more, rather they become interwoven with each other. Or rather, the global and the local become imploded. Thanks to the simulation of local culture and globalisation, the difference between the global and the local becomes blurred and neutralised.

Baudrillard's concept of simulation enables us to examine a significant change in society, and to conceptualise the complexity of representation, yet he might be too pessimistic about the fate of simulation when he denies the existence of reality. Cultural simulation enables Damnoen Saduak and Pattaya Floating Markets to transmit Thai culture to wide audience. Likewise, cultural simulation apparently

enables tourists to get a glimpse of local Thai culture. Therefore, what is the problem with simulation? Do people really search for reality?

There might not be a problem with this, and a quest for the real culture might not be that important. The diktats of the market and flows of tourism foster cultural simulation, which triggers changes in local culture. But paradoxically, simulation turns out to be something that is acceptable for people, as they are willing to participate in cultural simulation. It seems to be a win-win situation for workers and tourists despite a hyperreal and a simulacrum. Workers and tourists both derive benefits from cultural simulation. In order to attract tourists, local workers need to select some parts of their culture at the expense of others, and this may enliven local culture. Globalised tourism does not correlate with the disappearance of local culture. Instead, local culture is intentionally recreated by local people, and well arranged in the floating markets.

Regarding tourists, they know the floating markets represent made-up culture, and yet they still think the places are worth visiting. Indeed, Lash and Urry assert tourists do this playfully (1994). Tourists know local places are contrived and set up for tourist purpose, but they find them enjoyable and acceptable. They just want to visit a new place and have fun. Instead of presenting and searching for reality and originality, local people, along with tourists, seem to accept simulation as a part of society and everyday life. It therefore appears that people enjoy living in the age of simulation.

9.5 Future research and suggestion

In order to further understand simulation of culture in the context of Thailand, future research may look at other cultural spaces, namely department stores, restaurants, cafes, street food, temples, and so on. From this, we would be able to see how these cultural spaces engage simulation and produce cultural value. Differentiated experiences of simulation of culture for Thai and foreign tourists could be used for comparative analysis. Additionally, future research on floating markets in Thailand could use photo-elicitation as a research technique, so that we can understand the appearance of the markets on the tourist stage and their representations.

For the sociology of globalisation, there are two subject types that explain the social processes that are common to all the countries of the world, and the social phenomena that immediately present themselves as global (Martin, Metzger and Pierre 2006, p.503). Social processes and social phenomena are central to globalisation, but they might vary in different contexts. There is no standardisation of social process and social phenomena. They are dependent upon the interaction between the global and the local, and there is no social theory that can claim an absolute truth about globalisation. To better understand globalisation, we need to use both an empirical case study and a firm theoretical framework. Globalisation needs to be contextualised, and if we apply a different sociological theory to globalisation, we can come up with a new conclusion and understanding of globalisation, for instance, functional theory has a different approach from post-modern theory.

In the case of Baudrillard, future sociological research should pay more attention to his work in capturing social change in contemporary society, especially systems of simulation at both macro and micro levels. This is because systems of simulation and of signs appear to be a totality of which we are unaware. We accept simulation to be a part of contemporary society, with it constituting our everyday life. Baudrillard does not overreact to social changes and is not unrealistic. What he is trying to do is bring hidden facts that receive little attention to the fore.

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Appendices

Appendix I

An example of semi-structured interview questions[49] and follow up questions[50]

Damneon Saduak Floating Market

1. Personal information

   -Could I have your name please?
   -How many years have you been working in the floating market?
   -What is you job in the floating market?

2. Why Damneon Saduak Floating Market becomes an attractive place?

   -Does the floating market present local way of life?
   -Did they bring crops and produces from their orchards to sell and exchange with one another in Damneon Saduak Community?
   -Do you think that an original way of life makes the floating market attractive?

3. Is the current Damneon Saduak Floating Market different from the one in the past? How?

   -You said a number of visitors have decreased, why is that?
   -Do you find Damneon Saduak Floating Market authentic?
   -How long and why was the floating market moved to this side?
   -Before moving, how did the place look like?
   -Before tourist arrivals, what was local way of life?
   -When did tourists firstly come to visit the place? Have they visited here since the old floating market was there?
   -How did tourists enter the old floating market?
   -How much does the boat service pay a tour guide?

4. What is a significant change in Damneon Saduak Floating Market?

   -A change in the floating market
   -Groups of tourists

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[49] The interview questions in Damneon Saduak and Pattaya Flaoting Markets were arranged in different orders which depended on responses of interviewees and each situation
[50] Follow up questions varied to informants' jobs in the floating markets

-What is sold here
-Product distribution
-Way of life

5. What are good change and bad change?

- How that change affects each place?
- How could you deal with that?

6. What is local way of life here?

-How could you define it?
-Why would you recommend tourists to come here?
-Why is the floating market popular among foreign tourists?
-You think what do tourists expect to see here?
-What do you want tourists to see in the floating market?
-Although the place shows local way of life, some tourists might choose to visit other floating markets?
-Does the floating market meet tourist expectation?

7. What do vendors sell in the floating markets?

-Why did they stop selling crops and fruit?
-When did this happen?
-Are souvenir items locally made?
-Why do you change to sell souvenir items?

8. What is famous activity in the floating market?

-Do you think tourists would get an experience of local Thai culture here?
-What do tourists like it here?

9. What is the best selling item here?

-Do tourists buy produces and food in the floating market?
-Which groups of them do?
-Excuse me, but do you sell products to foreign tourists at more expensive price than to Thai tourists, don't you? Why?
-Are most tourists here Westerners or Asian?
-Do they like local Thai food? What food do they buy?
-Do they have different favourite products?
-Is there any difference between group tours and independent tourists?

10. Without tourist arrival would local way of life exist?

    -What is the difference between local way of life and tourism in the floating market?

11. What do you think about the future of the floating market?

    -In what way the floating market should be improved?

Appendix II

An Example of semi-structured interview question and follow up questions

Pattaya Floating Market

1. Personal Information

   -Could I have your name please?
   -What is your job in Pattaya Floating Market?
   -Why do you work in tourism industry?
   -How long have you been working here?

2. What is an inspiration for creating the floating market?

   -How long has it been open?
   -What did it look like before building the floating market?

3. You said purpose of building this floating market is to preserve Thainess?

   -What does Thainess mean to you?
   -How, or in what way does the place preserve it?
   -Do you think tourists would be interested in Thainess and why?
   -Why do you think that selling and presenting Thai culture would attract tourists?
   -Does Thainess mark the floating market out as distinctive?
   -Does Thainess make the place different from an original one?

4. What is the most significant change in Pattaya Floating Market?

5. What is good change and bad change?
- How that change affects each place?
- How could you deal with that?

6. You said it is a simulated floating market, what does the place simulate or copy?

-Does Pattaya Floating Market relate to an original floating market?
-What makes this place more outstanding and attractive than an original floating market?
-What makes the place unique?
-As a simulated floating market, what makes tourists feel like visiting a floating market?

7. What do traders sell in the floating market?

    -Do products look similarly to one another?
    -What is the difference between souvenir items here and other mass produced souvenirs?
    -How do you find traders?
    -What are the best selling products in the floating market?
    -What kind of Thai food do they cook?
    -What is a must-try dish in the floating market?
    -What kind of Thai food do tourists like most?
    -How is taste of food? If Thai tourists have mango with sticky rice, will they say it is authentic or?
    -Could you please explain a bit more about product selection criteria?
    -Do you have any special strategy to sell products?
    -Are traders Thai people?

8. What is a popular activity in the floating market?

    -How do tourists participate activity? Do you have any special package?
    -Which activity do they like most and why?
    -What is a must-do in the floating market?

9. From Tripadvisor website, some tourists said Pattaya Floating Market is a commercial and touristy place. But, it looks like a real floating market which should not be missed if you are in Pattaya City. What do you think about this?

    -Does the place meet tourist expectation and how?

10. Why the floating market is more popular among Chinese tourists than Western tourists?

    -Is there any difference between group tour and independent tourists?
    -What do Chinese tourists usually do in the floating market?
    -How does the floating market attract different groups of tourists to visit?

12. What do you think about the future of the floating market?

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-There are many floating markets in Thailand, what would make your place successful?

Appendix III

Qualitative survey questions for tourists

1. Have you been to any floating market in Thailand yet? (If Yes, please answer questions no.2-6) (If no, please jump to questions no.7-8)

2. Which floating market have you been to? Why? By group tour or by yourself?

3. What kind of experience have you obtained from floating market?

4. Did the floating market represent or relate to local Thai culture? How?

5. Did the floating market meet your expectation? In what way?

6. What have you been impressed, or not impressed with floating market?

7. Do you plan to visit it and why?

8. What do you expect to see in floating market?

Appendix IV

Photographs of the original Klong Lud Pee Floating Market

The key informant in the market sent me five photographs, prior to conducting the

pilot study. I used these photographs to formulate interview questions for the

 preliminary research

The canals were filled with floating vendors and old wooden houses were located by
the canals

Floating vendors sold crops and vegetables

The original Lud Pee Floating Market

Appendix V

Photographs of the film-induced Pattaya Floating Market

I took these photographs, while I was conducting the fieldwork. For further details of the film location, please refer back to chapter 8 on cultural simulation in the floating markets.

The holy tree, or Ton Po in Thai located at the back in the market where a woman hung a man's name card on the tree, prayed to meet each other again. Then, they met each other in Beijing, China.

This is also the film spot called Lock Love