
BEACH RESORT EVOLUTION

Implications for Planning



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Abstract: This research concerns the development of contemporary beach resorts as they evolve from natural beaches to become cities by the sea. Despite many positive aspects to this process, as resorts urbanize, increasing negative effects of development tend to have an impact on the resort quality, with implications for tourists, residents, managements, developers, and governments. Pattaya, Thailand, is one beach resort that has experienced many of the problems typical of this form of development. Analysis of this case reveals some of the underlying causes for the failures of beach resort development. A tentative pattern of beach resort evolution is presented. **Keywords:** beach resorts, resort evolution, Thailand, tourism planning, urban planning.

Résumé: L'évolution des stations balnéaires: implications pour la planification. Cette recherche décrit le développement des stations balnéaires modernes, qui évoluent de plages naturelles pour devenir des villes au bord de la mer. Quoique l'urbanisation des plages ait bien des aspects positifs, le développement tend à entraîner des effets de plus en plus négatifs, ce qui a des répercussions sur les touristes, habitants, cadres, promoteurs et gouvernements. Pattaya (Thaïlande) a subi beaucoup de problèmes qui sont typiques dans ce genre de développement. Une analyse du cas montre quelques causes sous-jacentes de l'échec du développement des stations balnéaires. On présente un schéma provisoire de l'évolution des stations. **Mots-clés:** stations balnéaires, évolution des stations, Thaïlande, planification du tourisme, planification urbaine.

INTRODUCTION

The evolution of beach resorts is essentially a form of urbanization. The process often commences with limited tourism facilities in natural coastal locations. Subsequent development to meet perceived touristic demand leads to cities by the sea. The urbanization of beaches is a worldwide phenomenon. This type of tourism development has proliferated since World War II as tourism, both international and domestic, has greatly expanded.

This research arises from the author's observations, over a number

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of years, that contemporary beach resort development, especially in the Asian Pacific area, apparently starts well but ends with excessive undesirable features and impacts. As beach resorts mature, resort ambience deteriorates, pollution levels climb, negative social impacts increase, and questions of equity (the distribution of the economic benefits) arise. One concept of the degeneration of tourist destinations has been proposed by Butler (1980), who has described the decline of tourist destinations as numbers of visitors increase. Butler's hypothesis, which is nonspecific for resort type, is an analogy of the product cycle of the sale of destinations. At first sales are slow, experience a period of rapid growth, stabilize when peak visitor numbers are reached, and then decline. Baker (1983) identifies Butler's resort cycle as being relevant to the evolution of Port Stephens-Great Lakes, New South Wales, at least for its earlier phases of development. Grand Isle, Louisiana, also follows Butler's resort cycle (Meyer-Arendt 1985). Coney Island (Snow and Wright 1976), a beach resort with origins in the mid-nineteenth century, similarly displays a pattern of growth and ultimate decline. These and other cases reinforce the notion of an overall pattern of resort cycle that follows Butler's asymptotic curve. Yet a close examination of the trends that combine to give this pattern reveals synergism of disparate factors. Both Grand Isle and Coney Island, for example, have evolved through a series of periods of growth, decline, and rebirth of development. While Butler's seminal theory suggests some trends in the evolution of beach resorts, perhaps there are other unique characteristics.

Barrett (1958) has described the physical form of British beach resorts and produced a model of their morphology that defines their generalized spatial organization. Barrett's theoretical resort radiates from a central core of businesses located behind the beachfront strip of holiday shops and accommodations. The model, however, is static and does not incorporate the evolution of beach resorts in detail. A sense of the dynamics of these resorts is to be found in Walton's (1983) social history. Together, Barrett and Walton provide an understanding of the life of British beach resorts; yet this is of limited value for the study of contemporary beach resorts. The British beach resorts and those of Europe and North America that followed a similar pattern of development (e.g., Bollerey 1986; Funnell 1975; Lavery 1974; Rudney 1986) evolved over a longer period of time than many contemporary beach resorts. Also, the earlier beach resorts evolved in a different era: that of access by steamer and railway, prior to the advent of diffuse access by motor vehicles and mass international access by jetliner. The transition of beach resorts from what is essentially a specialized form of nineteenth-century urbanization to twentieth-century contexts is described by Pigram (1977) for the Gold Coast, Australia, where improved visitor mobility transformed beach resort morphology.

Other researchers have sought to explain specific aspects of beach resort evolution. Stansfield and Rickert (1970) identified the stratification of recreational and commercial business districts, and Hudson (1987) reports on the transformation of natural and man-made resources. Social transformations caused by the intrusion of tourism into a fishing community are reported by McGoodwin (1986), and Gonen

(1981) considers demographic change as a result of coastal tourism. Doxey (1975) comments on the transformation of resident attitudes to tourism and proposes an index of irritation.

In the absence of a clear description of the evolution of contemporary beach resorts (i.e., those that have largely evolved since World War II), a Tentative Beach Resort Model was hypothesized. This model, outlined in this article, is based on the earlier work of others, especially Barrett (1958), Butler (1980), Doxey (1975), McGoodwin (1986), Pigram (1977), and Stansfield and Rickert (1970), as well as the author's field observations and speculations. As a preliminary test of the hypothesis, the model was evaluated against one beach resort as a case.

Pattaya, Thailand, was selected as the case because it embodied features typical of the development of many other beach resorts, at least in the Asian Pacific area. This resort was first visited in 1978 and has since been observed periodically, though most of the fieldwork was undertaken during 1989. Current data for the case were generally available; however, historical data were necessary in order to analyze change over time. Sources of data ranged from published items, through unpublished documents, to interviews and field surveys. Documents, both published and unpublished, contained data expressed verbally and pictorially, where the latter type of source included maps, plans, diagrams, and photographs. A major source of data was Thai newspapers dating from 1976. Much data for the earlier periods of development were obtained from interviews of people who had been associated with Pattaya at that time. Parallel interviews were conducted, and corroboration of facts (either between interviews alone or between interviews and field survey data or documents) was used to establish data for the research. Sketches drawn during interviews were another source. Key interviewees are identified in the acknowledgments at the end of this article. The model, formulated prior to the fieldwork, served to structure data collected and as a framework for subsequent analyses. As is the situation in many other countries in Southeast Asia, recent statistical data, regardless of source, are provisional.

TENTATIVE BEACH RESORT MODEL

The Tentative Beach Resort Model (TBRM) has eight phases that describe the progress of a resort from natural beach to urban beach. For each phase, a graphic representation, as a generic plan, illustrates development for that phase (Figure 1).

Phase A: predevelopment datum. At this phase, there is no tourism present. It is assumed that a settlement, such as a village, exists and that there is a road connecting it to the rest of the country.

Phase B: explorative tourism. The beginnings of tourism come in the form of explorer tourists who have independent itineraries and seek close contact with the culture visited. The settlement is expanded to accommodate these visitors. Contact between visitors and residents is high,

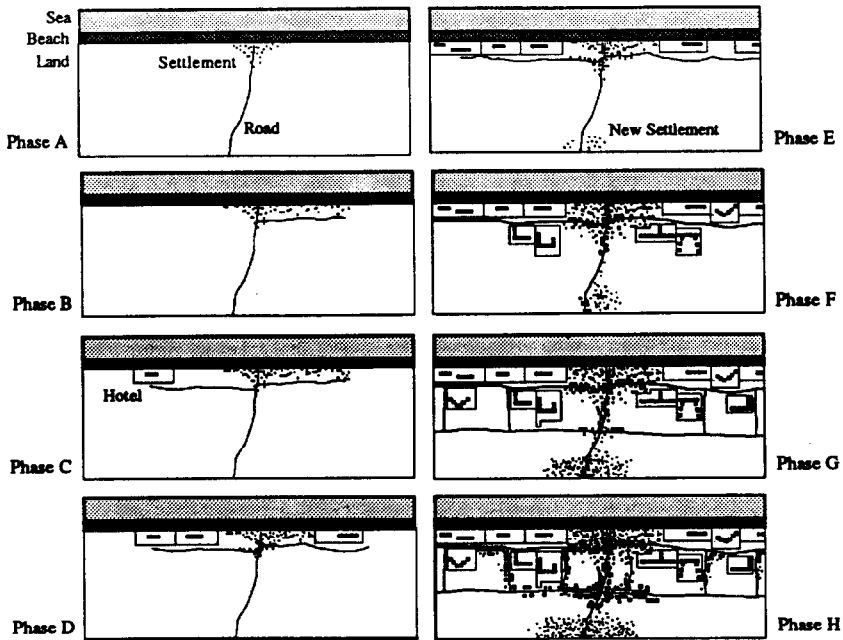


Figure 1. Tentative Beach Resort Model

Source: Author.

resulting in major negative social impact, though there is some economic gain by residents. From euphoria, resident attitudes move through apathy and irritation, to antagonism, in subsequent phases.

Phase C: first hotel. There is a major improvement in accessibility to the site, which enables tourists significantly better access than before. The first major tourism development occurs at this time, in the form of a high-class tourist hotel as an ad hoc project. This heralds the commencement of large-scale tourism and may be seen as the point when organized tourism intrudes into the location. The needs of tourists are met mainly by the facilities of the hotel. These visitors are high-budget travelers. Subsequently, low-budget segments expand to dominate the resort. The trend is for steady decline in average visitor spending as the resort matures toward phase H. Another trend is that of major private capital investment. The first hotel is financed from abroad and in time local investors enter the resort. By phase H, local investors have bought out most of the major tourism facilities.

Phase D: strip development pattern. The success of the first hotel acts as a catalyst for more hotels that are all built fronting the sea, and a strip development pattern is created. With a concentration of visitors, businesses open in houses converted for the purpose, outside the hotels. The proliferation of hotel and other jobs results in much employment opportunities for residents.

Phase E: business center established. As more accommodation is added in the form of hotels, residents are displaced away from the beach front to a distant, previously unsettled, location. A large number of immigrants from some distance from the resort are now in residence. The former village business area is much expanded and is dominated by tourism interests. The carrying capacity of beach and water is reached, allowing only restricted access. Ambience of the resort commences to deteriorate. Pollution is a problem, and this remains so through phase H. Local government is established for the resort.

Phase F: hotels away from beach. Land adjacent to the beach is no longer available for development. Hotels are erected not in direct contact with the prime recreational resource, the beach. The natural environment is lost through concentrated development, and aquatic life is greatly reduced. There are problems of accretion or erosion of beaches, original patterns of existence are obliterated, and the resort is totally tourism oriented. The number of jobs steadily expands, and the new settlement continues to grow in size. By this phase, the government realizes that development is uncontrolled, and environmental and other problems threaten the future viability of the resort. A resort master plan is prepared in an attempt to resolve these difficulties. Some attention is given to provision of infrastructure.

Phase G: second road. A second road parallel to the beach improves access to land away from the beach and businesses open here. There is an expansion of lower-grade hotels, and the new settlement becomes a center in its own right. The resort is now urbanized, and attempts are made to restore a natural ambience in critical areas. Centralized sewers are constructed. The original visitor type has been replaced by package tourists and average tourist spending continues to decline. The local government is unable to cope as the resort continues to grow.

Phase H: separation of CBD and RBD. This is the mature phase of resort development when the resort has become a city. There is a clear separation of recreation business district (RBD) and commercial business district (CBD) with considerable commercial infill. Zonation of the resort occurs and distant centers of resort development are formed. The beach is severely polluted and little used. The local government fails to manage the resort and earlier master planning is seen to have failed.

KEY INDICES OF CHANGE

Major change from one phase of TBRM to the next was considered under five categories: physical, environmental, social, economic, and political.

Physical Aspects

In the early 1940s, Pattaya was a generally inaccessible beach 140 km southeast of Bangkok, Thailand. A few fishing families were pres-

ent on the Pattaya River, in South Pattaya, while the main fishing community was situated to the north of Pattaya at Na Klua. By the late 1940s, eight bungalows had been built as second homes in North Pattaya. Even though road access to Pattaya was to remain difficult up to the early 1960s, more bungalows were built. Initially, Pattaya was a weekend retreat for Thais from Bangkok; later, expatriates living in Bangkok began arriving in Pattaya (Bangkok Post 1983).

Road access to Bangkok was greatly improved in the mid-1960s, as a result of the establishment of US air and naval bases to the south of Pattaya. With improved road access, a small hotel, the Nipa Lodge (50 rooms) opened in 1964. At this time, there were numerous bungalows and a road along the beach had been constructed (Figure 2). In the late 1960s, the Indochina war resulted in the influx of predominantly US military personnel from Vietnam on rest and recreation leave. In 1970, the Nipa Lodge tripled its number of rooms and a new hotel, the Pattaya Palace, opened with 180 rooms. With the rapid decline of arrival of military personnel from 1972, the resort was marketed in Europe and Australia. The resort has experienced rapid growth evolving from a largely undeveloped condition with one small hotel in the late 1970s to become an urbanized resort in under two decades (Figures 3 and 4).

There has been considerable increase in overnight visitors during the past two decades, with large increments of change in recent years

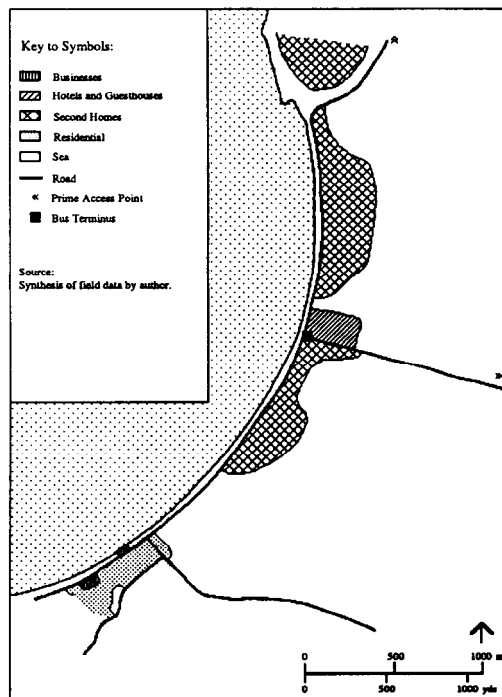


Figure 2. Pattaya Land Use, 1965

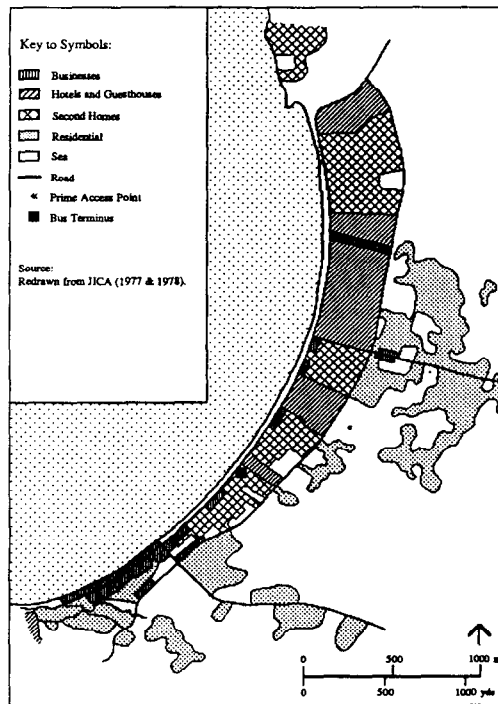


Figure 3. Pattaya Land Use, 1976

(Figure 5). Associated with increasing numbers of visitors to Pattaya is the expansion of numbers of hotel rooms (Figure 6). The growth of accommodation has been characterized by major structural changes in the configuration of hotel room supply (Figure 7). Through the 1970s, first-class hotels had dominated, reaching 85% of the total room supply in 1976. This pattern changed with the addition of 40 second-class hotels from 1979 to 1981, when first class hotel supply fell to 56% (Bangkok Post 1981a; Bangkok World 1984). Again, in the late 1980s, the supply structure changed through rapid growth of third-class hotels. The share of supply of first class rooms fell to 38%. In 1989, 10 new hotels were under construction that were to add 7,000 more rooms. Recently, a new building type, the condominium, has been added to Pattaya. About 50 proposed condominium buildings are planned, which could add up to 13,000 units of accommodation to the resort (Bangkok Post 1989a).

The present road system is the result of unplanned evolution as informal tracks became common thoroughways and, finally, formal roads. The pattern of development has been one of addition of roads parallel to the beach and in layers around the business center in South Pattaya. In time, the roads became congested and accidents were frequent (Figure 8). A one-way system of traffic flow, from north to south along the beach road, was implemented in 1979, with the return flow on a parallel, inland road. The number of accidents diminished, but

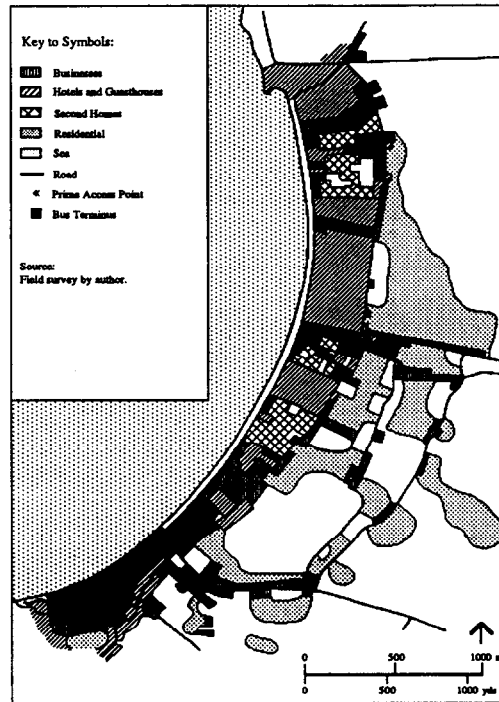


Figure 4. Pattaya Land Use, 1989

business in North Pattaya suffered (Bangkok Post 1979). Presumably, business in South Pattaya benefited. Recently, inland roads have been widened to again increase traffic capacities.

There were no centralized systems for supply of water or waste water treatment up until the end of the 1970s. Most hotels relied on water brought in by truck from elsewhere, though some hoteliers were able to tap underground supplies. A new water reservoir was completed in 1979 and supply mains reached Pattaya in 1981 (Bangkok World

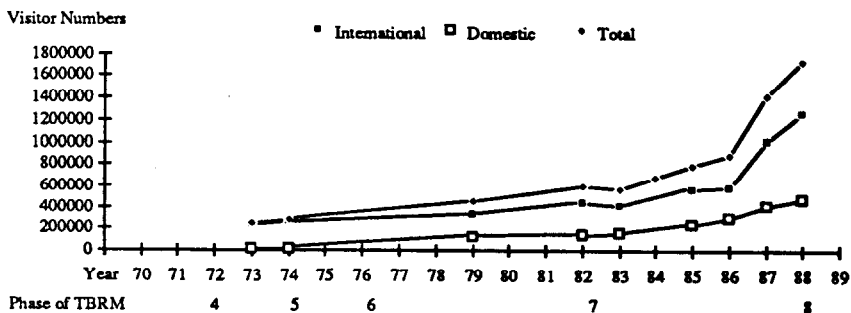


Figure 5. Over-Night Visitors to Pattaya

Sources: JICA (1977); Tourism Authority of Thailand.

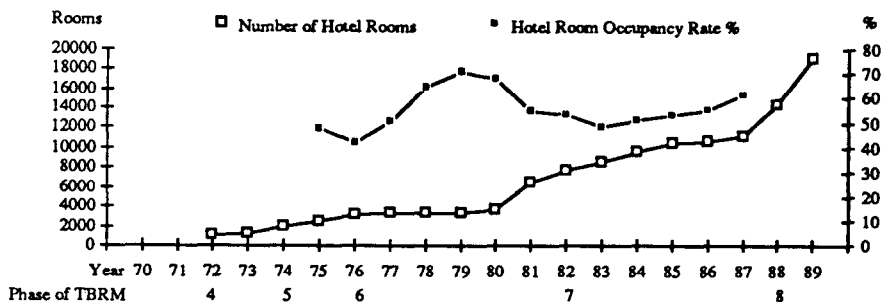


Figure 6. Numbers of Rooms and Visitors

Sources: JICA (1977); Tourism Authority of Thailand.

1979). One consequence of the continued growth of the resort is that the resort is again experiencing water shortages (Bangkok Post 1989b). Centralized wastewater treatment was not available until the early 1980s.

A hallmark of development for much of Pattaya has been illegal and unapproved construction. While it has not been possible to obtain specific data on this, repeated newspaper reports since 1976 suggest that this process of development at least for commercial and residential buildings is normal. There have been numerous official threats to demolish illegal buildings, particularly those over the beach in the heart of the business area. Yet few buildings seem to have been demolished by the government. Large buildings are subject to some government regulation, where finance is a major control. The 1989 requirement by Thailand's central bank, the Bank of Thailand—that 50% of the space in condominium projects be presold before release of financial support—is one example (Bangkok Post 1989c).

By the mid-1970s, the resort had lost much of its natural ambience through tourism development. Construction of many buildings of dubious architectural merit detracted from the resort image and displaced much of the natural land cover of trees and shrubs. An urban skyline

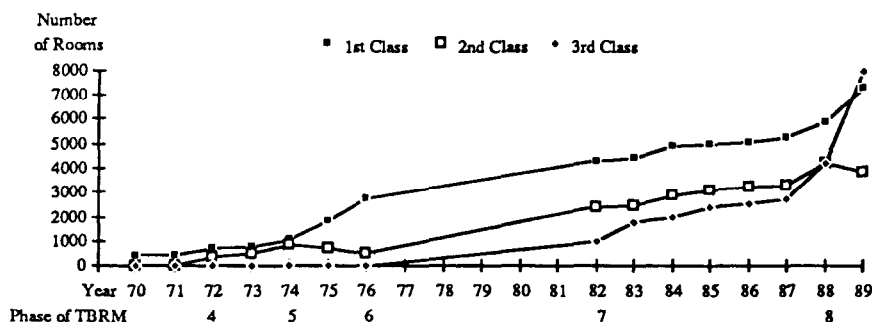


Figure 7. Accommodation Structure 1970-1989

Sources: JICA (1977); Tourism Authority of Thailand.

of garish forms, colors, and textures began to replace the tree canopy. As a reaction to the intensity of urbanization, rehabilitation of the critical foreshore area, which is important to resort image as well as visitor amenity, was proposed. In 1980, major landscape works, including the planting of 2,000 trees, were undertaken along the beach (Bangkok Post 1980a).

Environmental Aspects

Pattaya was undoubtedly a romantic's natural paradise before large-scale development occurred, yet by 1976 paradise had been lost (Bangkok Post 1980b). The sea was polluted by resort-generated wastewater and solid waste, as well as effluent from tapioca factories in the Pattaya hinterland (Bangkok Post 1978; JICA 1977). In time, the major source of water pollution became resort-generated waste. Central wastewater treatment plants, operational from 1982, were failing to treat sufficient wastewater by 1984, and the sea was again reported polluted. In 1989, with this system out of order, and even if operational having the capacity to treat only half the wastewater produced by the resort, the National Environment Board (NEB) declared the sea a hazardous zone for swimming (Bangkok Post 1989d; Nation 1989). At three points along the beach, black and foul smelling raw sewage was observed to flow across the beach and into the sea. Counts of 2,400–7,000 of coli-form per liter of seawater were recorded by the NEB when the water quality standard for swimming was a maximum of 1,000. In addition, much solid waste ends up in the sea, either directly or via surface drains. Some of this is subsequently washed onto the beaches. Restaurants built out over the beach in South Pattaya are a major source of pollution, because both solid waste and untreated wastewater are discharged directly into the sea.

Swimming from the beaches has not only been a health risk for reasons of pollution, but also physically dangerous with a number of visitors being killed in boating accidents since the mid-1970s. A state of congestion and disorder, as operators of motorized water-rides and boat charters tout their business, continues to the present day despite

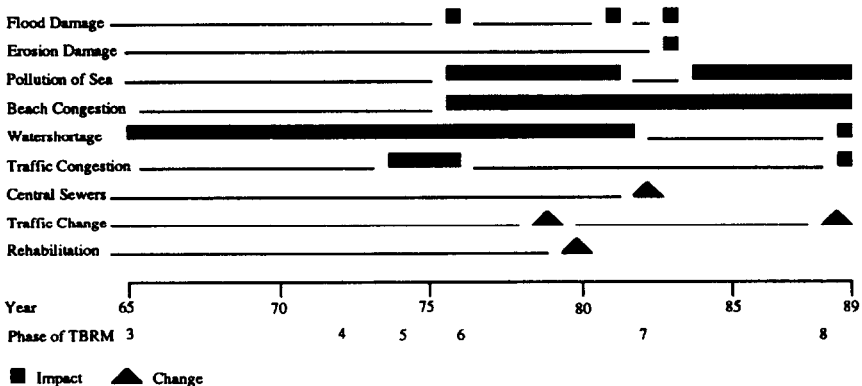


Figure 8. Impacts and Events, Pattaya

several attempts by authorities to zone the sea and beach for safety reasons (Bangkok Post 1976, 1979; JICA 1978).

The urbanization of Pattaya has resulted in an increase in the incidence of flood damage to buildings and infrastructure. Natural waterways have been filled for construction and even a designated retention-pond, as part of a green belt, has been built over. Flooding occurred in 1976, 1981, and 1983. The 1983 flood was accompanied by serious erosion when buildings and part of the beachfront road were washed away (Bangkok Post 1989e).

Economic Aspects

Revenue from international tourism is important to the national economy of Thailand. Over the years, tourism has steadily risen to be, since 1982, the top foreign exchange earner, ahead of textile products, rice, and tapioca (TAT 1978, 1983, 1988). Pattaya contributes an important part to total tourism revenues. In 1988, Pattaya attracted as overnight visitors 43.4% of the 2.9 million international visitors arriving by air in Thailand for holiday purposes. These visitors contributed US \$926 million of the total US \$2,756 million of revenue from international tourists in Thailand in 1988 for holiday purposes (TAT 1988). These are gross revenues, however, because it has been estimated that there is a leakage of around one third in the form of imports to service the tourism industry (Indhapanya and Atikul 1985).

Domestic tourism is also important at Pattaya (Figure 5). In the early 1970s, the numbers of Thais staying overnight in hotels at Pattaya were insignificant at around 5.8% of all overnight visitors; by 1987, the figure was 34%. This trend partially explains the rapid growth of lower grade hotel accommodation in the late 1980s. In 1987, Thais accounted for 17% of all first-class hotel stays, 31% second class, and 50% third class, respectively. While domestic tourists tend to spend less than international tourists, about 44% of the average international visitor expenditure (JICA 1977; TAT 1980; Tourism Authority of Thailand's unpublished statistics), two factors are important. First, recreational expenditure at Pattaya has a distributional effect of moving these expenditures away from the metropolis of Bangkok. Second, domestic tourism at Pattaya helps capture expenditure by Thais on recreation that otherwise might have been lost if their holidays were taken outside Thailand.

The number of hotel-related jobs has grown significantly over the years as the amount of hotel accommodation has expanded. In 1965, there were 70 jobs; this number had increased to 18,000 jobs by 1989. Other jobs directly dependent on tourism, in 1989, were those associated with water-rides (1,500 jobs), tour operators (175), restaurants (2,000), car and motorbike rentals (300), and cabarets (1,000). In addition, over 6,000 women worked in beer bars and related employment. There is also considerable employment in retail commerce and other services, both formal and informal (Tourism Authority of Thailand's unpublished statistics).

Housing conditions have improved considerably with time. In the late 1960s, bungalows would rent for around \$1,300 (1989 US rate)

per month and a room for \$500. In 1970, the wage at a first-class hotel was around \$76 per month, exclusive of gratuities, which put a room beyond the means of individual workers and even groups of workers. Then, hotel managements would lease bungalows and house 20-30 of their workers in each. If the employer did not provide accommodation, employees were forced to live in the slum settlements that abutted the business area at South Pattaya. In 1989, a sublet room in a shophouse (usually part of a row building with two or three floors of accommodation over a ground-level shop or other business) could be rented for between \$39 and \$58 when a low wage was around \$78 per month. This meant that even low-income earners could afford to share a room.

Social Aspects

As the size of the resort has increased, so has the resident population. By 1976, there were 8,000 official residents in the urban area of Pattaya Bay (JICA 1977), though the real population would have been higher as there is always a significant number of nonregistered residents. Ten years later, the official population had increased to 48,000, when over the same period there had been an increase of 325% in the numbers of visitors staying in hotels (Nation 1989). This growth in population is a direct consequence of people migrating from other parts of the country seeking jobs and better incomes in the tourist trade.

From the time the military visitors began arriving on rest and recreation leave from Vietnam, a feature of Pattaya has been the beer-bars. The beer-bars are an important commercial component of Pattaya, employing in excess of 6,000 women, as compared with 18,000 people working in hotels, in 1989. These bars were concentrated in South Pattaya and, to a lesser extent, in North Pattaya until 1987 when they spread throughout the resort. In 1976, there were 25 beer-bars; eleven years later, in 1987, there were 250 (Bangkok Post 1988). Most of the employees in the beer-bars are also prostitutes. Many are in their teens and a good number are children (that is, under the age of 14 years). Some school children also work part-time as prostitutes, thus encouraging truancy. Sex related disease and injuries are common among these women (Bangkok Post 1985, 1988). Recently, however, the fear of catching the AIDS virus has reduced demand for prostitutes' services (Bangkok Post 1989f; Cohen 1988). In 1989, approximately 6,000 women were registered with the health department for work in bars and massage parlours, though many more would work as prostitutes but not be registered as the figure excludes children, women recently arrived in Pattaya and men, who are increasingly prominent in Pattaya. There is other crime and police corruption with prostitution. Twice at least, in 1977 and again in 1984, a great number of officers who were deemed corrupt were transferred away from Pattaya (Bangkok Post 1977, 1984). Another problem is drugs, which are lately being linked to many tourist deaths (Straits Times 1989).

The general quality of housing for residents has improved greatly of late, and slum settlements have been significantly reduced, though some pockets still exist. The recent proliferation of tracts of shophouses

throughout the resort has put affordable accommodation within reach of many residents, yet the question of continued access arises. Should the rental market experience future high demand, as could occur with the continuing development of the large industrial estate to the north of Pattaya at Laem Chabang, then low-income residents could find this rental accommodation beyond their means. Slums for low-income earners would again become a major component of housing supply.

Political Aspects

Originally, under the administration of a Sanitation District, Pattaya achieved partial autonomy when it was granted city status in 1978. The city administration was created because the Sanitation District lacked the powers to deal with the problems of the resort. Full autonomy was not granted because the resort remained under the control of the Chon Buri provincial administration. There was a degree of overlap of responsibilities between these two bodies, resulting in administrative conflict and inefficiency. In addition, the Pattaya City administration has been poorly funded and lacks both the resolve and powers to deal with many problems (Bangkok Post 1981b). The result has been weak local government intervention in the tourism industry in general and the physical development of Pattaya. Elliot (1983) and Richter (1989), in reviewing the tourism industry of Thailand as a whole, reinforce this assessment by portraying the tourism industry as having the power to pursue its own objectives with comparatively little government interference. Thus, it is not surprising to find that formal planning attempts at Pattaya have met with abject failure. In the mid-1970s, the Tourism Authority of Thailand accepted the offer of the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) to prepare a resort plan for Pattaya. JICA produced a master plan in 1977 and a feasibility study, essentially a modification of the 1977 plan with some amplifications in 1978 (JICA 1977, 1978). A few recommendations (e.g., foreshore planting) from these studies were implemented; however, many central features (e.g., a centralized port facility and an amenity core) were not.

While the lack of impact of government in the development of Pattaya is an issue in the failure of these plans, other factors had a bearing. The studies were unrealistic in their capital intensive approach to future development when funds were subsequently not available for implementation of infrastructure and other public works. One government official applied the analogy of "a rich architect designing a million dollar house for a poor farmer." Also the studies did not properly address the issue of extensive informal commerce and the related social and health issues. This sector forms an important part of resort commerce, which has a bearing on the success of the resort as a total venture and the well-being of the residents. Another factor, common to many studies of this type, relates to the difficulty of predicting growth rates and, even with realistic predictions, convincing the government that investment in appropriate infrastructure, for seemingly excessively high growth rates, is prudent. In 1978, when there were 3,339 hotel rooms, JICA forecast a demand for a total of 4,300 hotel

rooms by 1986, when in fact the number in existence in 1986 was 10,764 (JICA 1978; TAT 1986). Presently a new plan is being finalized. This work is being directed by the Office of the Eastern Seaboard Development Committee which is attached to the Office of the Prime Minister. This new arrangement suggests stronger official interest in the resort and a shift of political control of Pattaya away from the lower levels of administration to this higher government body. A key motivation in this shift would be the importance of the tourism sector to the national economy, and the role of Pattaya as a major contributing component.

If the political institutions for tourism planning and development for Pattaya are flawed, then regulation of tourism development and operation fares little better. Environmental management, important as it is to national economic, social, and political objectives, is of special concern to beach resort tourism, because polluted seas and beaches do not usually attract visitors. That pollution at Pattaya has remained a problem for so long is related to the less-than-optimum political and regulatory institutions for the country as a whole where a major obstacle to dealing with the problem of environmental control is the lack of workable regulatory processes. A potential authority, the National Environment Board (NEB), was established under the National Environmental Conservation and Promotion Act of 1975. However, the NEB lacks substantive authority and is not empowered to issue regulations or to enforce standards. The NEB can only recommend, which is in keeping with customary practices of negotiation rather than enforcement (Setamanit 1987). Other government bodies do have the powers to regulate environmental pollution; however, "(t)he difficulty appears to lie more with enforcement of the laws rather than the lack of them" (Setamanit 1987:207). Elliot believes corruption to be a factor in the nonenforcement of government regulations.

EVALUATION OF THE MODEL

All phases of the TBRM were found to have occurred at Pattaya. For evaluative purposes, typical years for each of the eight phases were identified: A prior to 1945, B 1950, C 1965, D 1972, E 1974, F 1976, G 1982, and H 1988. It is now important to identify where and how the TBRM does not follow the case. Ten such inconsistencies are identified (notes on the model are in italics and comments on the case are in normal type, with only major failures of the model discussed here).

One, *the model assumes a preresort settlement*. There were only a few fishing families at South Pattaya; the main fishing village was to the north of Pattaya Bay at Na Klua. Two, *the model assumes the presence of explorer tourism*. This form of tourism was not a significant element in the evolution of Pattaya. Three, *the model covers hotel-type accommodation only*. Second homes were the first form of tourist accommodation at Pattaya. Four, *the model describes an evolution of a road and allotment pattern generated by increasing hotel development*. At Pattaya, the road and allotment pattern originated very early and as a result of second-home development. A road parallel to the beach with lanes at right angles to the

beach evolved as houses were built. Later hotel development conformed to this preexisting pattern. Five, *the model predicts the spontaneous establishment of a distinct, separate settlement of residents*. No new satellite residential area was established at Pattaya. The process of growth for the case is one of rolling displacement of residential areas and agglomeration. Six, *flood is not a factor in the model*. Flood related damage has been a problem at Pattaya. Seven, *the model predicts the resort commencing, after a modest beginning, with up-market visitors and slowly evolving to a time when visitors from the opposite end of the market dominate*. In the case, after a period dominated by military personnel, high-budget tourists quickly became the norm. In later phases, domestic tourism has become a major aspect of the demand for accommodation, though high-budget visitors remain a constant feature of the market. Their numbers, at phase H, are significant and they have a major economic impact. Eight, *the model assumes a resident population that is present before development of the resort began. The attitudes of this hypothetical population toward tourism and tourists are described as moving from an initial state of welcoming through disillusionment and antagonism to resignation to the role of tourism in their lives*. In the case, the resident population grew as a direct result of tourism. The resident community was quickly swamped by immigrants, drawn by job opportunities in tourism, early in the life of the resort. Thus resident attitudes are dominated from the beginning by dependency on tourism. Nine, *the model predicts a high average expenditure per visitor early in the life of the resort with reducing expenditure as the resort matures*. Data for visitor spending are unreliable, especially for the earlier phases. Given the changes of class of accommodation, the actual pattern for Pattaya would seem to follow the model for overall expenditure, though it is not possible to draw a firm conclusion. Ten, *the model describes local government structures*. The distinction between the official leadership of the resort and other power bases needs to be defined if political frameworks are to be understood.

While the TBRM clearly follows the case in many areas, there are a number of major discrepancies between the hypothesis and the case. In addition, some inadequacies of data meant that useful conclusions could not be reached for all aspects of the model. Further evaluation and refinement of the TBRM will be needed before it may be viewed as a generalized description of the evolution of contemporary beach resorts. Nevertheless, the underlying theory that today's beach resorts undergo deterioration of quality with increasing urbanization does find some support in the analyses. The pattern of evolution, identified so far, suggests that the processes of resort cycle are not simple; rather, they are complex and require further investigation.

CONCLUSIONS

While Pattaya has contributed much in terms of foreign exchange earnings, revenue for the government, and job creation, the negative social and environmental externalities have been considerable. Major contributing factors have been the failure of policy planning and the absence of realistic physical and social planning for resort develop-

ment. Overemphasis on the implementation of touristic functions at the expense of other nontouristic functions and nonphysical aspects has been the constant theme for development. While it is acknowledged that this is not conscious policy of any official or semiofficial body, the evidence from the case demonstrates some serious planning shortcomings.

Allowing the tourism industry to drive resort development has some merit because the private sector is better able to respond to fluctuations in tourism demand. The private sector, however, is more attuned to profit maximization than social economic benefits. Thus, a desired balance of development will not be gained without government intervention to ensure resident well-being through the provision of affordable housing, health care, and other public services. Another difficulty is the comparatively short-term view of private-sector development versus the desirability of long-term view for social and environmental aspects. This conflict of interests is compounded by the relatively short-term nature of political agendas. Such imbalances are best resolved through policy planning by committed government planning agencies working in conjunction with the politicians and the relevant resort commerce associations and alliances. Implementation of appropriate policy, however, will be difficult if relevant government bodies lack the political power or the political will. Plans can only be executed within potent political structures; thus, it becomes necessary for local governments and other involved agencies to be structured and empowered for implementation.

While it is not possible in a short article to analyze fully the problems of Pattaya or to present comprehensive solutions, a significant lesson that can be drawn is that the consequences of rapid growth of beach resorts have not been central to policy planning, development, and funding. By all accounts, Pattaya was a beautiful and attractive destination in its early days as a beach resort. This is no longer so, and now there is increasing regional competition for international tourists. Malaysia, for example, continues to expand its resorts, and there are ambitious plans to develop the Riau Province of Indonesia as a major new tourist destination. Already these places are experiencing strong growth in visitor numbers; therefore, one wonders of the future of beach resort tourism in Thailand. The present political processes are not likely to allow effective implementation of the much-needed improvements at Pattaya. Similarly, the long-term prospect for the development of other Thai beach resorts is poor.

Some of the problems of Pattaya are linked to those of a developing country and may be found in other urban areas of Thailand. Nevertheless, as the country moves toward Newly Industrialized Country status, the tourism sector, and in particular beach resorts; should remain one of the engines of modernization. The importance of beach resorts to the future of the Thai economy suggests that the development of other emerging beach resorts in Thailand, such as Phuket, Hua Hin, and Cha-am, needs careful planning, financing, and policy implementation if the problems highlighted with Pattaya are to be avoided or at least minimized. □ □

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