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The Ethnic Gap in Poverty and Inequality Policy in Thailand:
A New Dataset on Ethnic Inequalities in Education, Health,
and Other Areas of Human Achievement

John Draper¹, Joel Selway²

¹Director, Social Survey Center, College of Local Administration (COLA)
and Research Group on Local Affairs Administration, COLA
²Associate Professor of Political Science and Director of the Politics, Economics, and Development Labs (PEDL)
¹Khon Kaen University, Thailand
²Brigham Young University

Abstract

Past literature has demonstrated significant levels of socio-economic inequality in Thailand. Much of this research has been along individual or geographic lines. In this article, we examine inequality along ethnic group lines, compiling data from several sources to provide estimates of horizontal (between-group) inequality along numerous sectors, including health, education, employment, income, housing & living environment, transport and communication, family and community life, and participation. In addition to describing how Thailand’s major ethnic groups fare in each sector, we compare inequality amongst sectors to determine areas in which the country performs better or worse. Then, demonstrating an “ethnic gap” in current Thai public policies concerning poverty and inequality, we overview a significant literature that suggests that Thailand’s overall policy strategy is incomplete without a focus on ethnic-based policy planning mechanisms. We recommend the Thai state adopt ethnic-based planning mechanisms (ethnodevelopment) and reduce societal racism and that political parties address structural inequalities by ethnicity, for instance through promoting social democracy.

Keywords: ethnicity, human development, inequality policy, poverty, Thailand, United Nations Development Programme
The Depiction of Thai Women in Hollywood Films

Saranphon Poltecha

English Language Studies, Faculty of Liberal Arts
Thammasat University, Thailand
E-mail: Saranphonp@gmail.com

Abstract

Thailand has a reputation as a destination for sex tourism with Thai women generally perceived as prostitutes. Images of go-go bars, massage parlors and street hookers in red light areas are often broadcast in western media. Moreover, the impact of globalization has increased the spread of data to a worldwide audience and reinforced these racial stereotypes. The global population perceives people from different ethnic groups according to information they listen to or see through media channels. Thus, media channels play a crucial role in forming and cementing mental images.

The film industry is considered an influential medium that reinforces stereotypes and shapes public perception, and this paper examines the depiction of Asian, and Thai women in particular, on the silver screen. The Hollywood film industry is regarded as an authoritative media channel with worldwide audiences. Movies have the power to influence public perception regarding Thailand and Thai women. Research questions included "How are Thai women portrayed through Hollywood films and has the image changed over time?"

The instruments used to answer these research questions were chosen Hollywood motion pictures. Selection criteria included: 1.) Movies set in Thailand, and 2.) Movies with female Thai actors. Findings indicated that most of the selected films portrayed Thai women as prostitutes and bargirls, with Thailand advertised as a country which promotes sex tourism. Results revealed that the images portrayed have not changed much over time, with the perpetual depiction of Thai women as prostitutes. Association with the prosperity of the sex tourism industry in Thailand has promoted the stereotyped sexualized roles of Thai women in the overwhelming majority of Hollywood movies.

Keywords: Film, Mass media, Sex tourism, Stereotype
1. Introduction

In this era of globalization, the media plays a crucial role in our society and has become an important aspect of daily life as a major source of information, presenting aspects of social and cultural events. Information transfer can also shape views and thoughts toward a certain mindset, especially for audiences who have never experienced ethnicity and cultures that differ from their own. The media, therefore, play an important role in forming ideas and images of other societies in people’s minds and subconscious thought processes.

The movie film industry is one of the most influential media types which portrays visual, lifelike and emotional scenes to convince viewers of the reality of their panoramic experience. Through films, audiences perceive the diverse aspects of other cultures. However, media portrayal can easily lead to stereotypes and false judgment which can affect public perceptions. Western media is regarded as a powerful communication channel that reaches a large global audience, and it has become a crucial tool in shaping communal attitudes and notions.

Thailand has long been regarded among Western countries as a paradise for sex tourism and this impacts on Western perception toward Thai women. Furthermore, Thailand has embraced female exploitation since ancient times, which continues now to generate income as foreign exchange. During the Vietnam War, Thailand became a ‘rest and relaxation’ (R&R) destination for American GIs. Pattaya Beach was a small fishing village in the 1960s when many troops arrived for R&R. Now, it has become one of the largest red light districts in the world. This could be one of the reasons why Western media choose to portray Thailand in films and other types of media as a sex haven.

The Western view of the Asian woman stereotype is discussed here, and especially in the context of Thailand. Mok (1998) concluded that there was no difference between racial groups under the big umbrella called ‘Asian’ in spite of the many different Asian races including Chinese, Japanese, Thai, Filipino and Vietnamese. In Western ideology nationality was irrelevant and ‘Asian is Asian’.

Moreover, the notion of Orientalism is also an influential factor regarding the Asian woman stereotype. Said (1978) claimed that Orientalism is a tool to indicate the West’s patronizing representations of ‘The East’. Cheung (1993) noted that Asian women are portrayed and perceived by Westerners as passive, docile, and obedient with less power than women in their own societies. Western men are usually portrayed through the film industry as masculine white heroes sent to extricate Asian women from their downtrodden and miserable lifestyle. Western males conquer Asian women as sex objects, similar to how Asian countries were colonized by the West. Kwan (1998) asserted that Asian women fulfilled white Western male fantasies as images and objects of sexual desire. This plot line recurs in many Hollywood films, with Asian women often cast in sexualized roles. The portrayal of their characters as sex objects for Western consumption is considered socially acceptable in total contrast with the behavior of white women (as cited in Viruega, n.d.).
As quoted from Choe (n.d.), “Asian American women are viewed as inassimilable in their otherness, as perpetual foreigners, and are the subject of inaccurately grounded fantasy and Western fascination, ... upheld by patriarchy and a distinct racial hierarchy” (para. 1).

Asian women stereotypes in Hollywood productions epitomize how the US views images of their culture; they are normally cast as prostitutes and sexual objects for white males. (Hamamoto, 1994) For example, The World of Suzie Wong (1960) portrays Nancy Kwan as a sexy, seductive Asian prostitute who can beguile white males with her first glance. This movie promotes the stereotype toward Asian women and was created to serve Western white male audiences (Kwan, 1998, p.108).

The four main Asian woman female stereotypes proposed by Cho (1997), Marchetti (1993), Ono and Pham (2009), and Shah (2003) together with Lolita, LBFM and Ladyboy as recent definitions, are applied here to analyze Hollywood movies:

- **Dragon Lady**: Sexually seductive, immoral, wicked, merciless, killer, untrustworthy, using dark force
- **Lotus Blossom**: Sexually docile, fragile, sexual doll, good caring wife, sexual playthings
- **Geisha**: Sexual doll, subservient, specially trained to please men
- **Suzie Wong**: Submissive sex toy for white males, hyper-sexualized, romantic partner as a hooker with a heart of gold
- **Lolita**: An innocent teenage girl that has a seductive appearance and is promoted as a favorite type for older men (Farrugia, 2015)
- **LBFM**: This acronym for Little Brown Fucking Machine was used to refer to Vietnamese, Filipina and Thai prostitutes by the US army during the Vietnam War
- **Ladyboy**: Kathoey (in Thai) refers to people of the ‘third gender’, usually male to female transsexuals. In Thailand they are commonplace, filling niches in everyday walks of life as receptionists and waiters. They are also to be found as bar ‘girls’ in cabaret shows and as prostitutes. Davis and Quinley (2016) noted that “Thailand has gained a reputation as a community of transgender over the past few decades.” (p. 16). Moreover, Gallagher (2005) asserted, “Transgender individuals within the sex industry have become a major tourist attraction in Thailand with the emerging market of ladyboy sex tourism in Phuket and Bangkok”. This reinforces the image of Thailand as both an exotic and erotic destination for Western tourists (Davis & Quinley, 2016, p.17).

1.1 **Scope of the study**

To focus on the representation of Thai women in Hollywood films and the manner of their portrayal to global audiences.

1.2 **Theoretical framework**

To investigate the categorization of Thai women portrayed in Hollywood films as the Asian women stereotypes proposed by scholars (Cho, 1997, 1999; Marchetti, 1993; Ono & Pham, 2009; Shah, 2003). There are four main types as Dragon Lady, Lotus Blossom, Geisha and Suzie Wong. These four categories comprise a mental mode of reality. Political, social and cultural
changes over time have affected this stereotype image presented. Recently, Lolita, LBFM and Ladyboy are new additions to the Asian female gender set and these will also be discussed in movie analysis.

1.3 Research question

How are Thai women portrayed through Hollywood films and has the image changed over time?

2. Method

Selected Hollywood films were objectively analyzed.

2.1 Hypothesis

Thailand has a reputation as a destination for sex tourism. Do these selected Hollywood films depict Thai women as prostitutes?

2.2 Criteria for material selection

The Hollywood film industry represents a media channel with great influence over global audiences. To answer the research question requires observation of how Thailand, and Thai women in particular, are depicted and portrayed in Hollywood films.

2.3 Movie selection

Two section criteria were followed as 1. Movies set in Thailand, and 2. Movies featuring Thai actresses.


3. Results

The Beach does not feature any Thai actresses; however, at the beginning of the film Richard (Leonardo DiCaprio) is approached by a tout offering him a prostitute. The film portrays Bangkok as a hub for sex tourism.

Bridget Jones 2: The Edge of Reason portrays Thailand as a destination for sex tourism which is emphasized by Bridget’s conversation with Cleaver (male protagonist). She accuses him of visiting Thailand for a weekend of sex after she discovers that he asked a prostitute to come to his hotel room (Figure 1). In one scene, Cleaver talks about a Ping Pong show that he witnessed. Furthermore, the film depicts scenes of street hookers and bargirls in prison, prostitutes in the hotel and masseuses in massage parlors (Figure 2). The screenshots present different types of Thai prostitutes as ‘Street Hooker’, ‘BarGirl’, ‘Escort Girl’ and ‘Massage Parlor Girl’. Also, at the end of the movie ‘Ladyboy’ is mentioned when Cleaver says “I spent the night with a gorgeous Thai girl, who in fact turned out to be a gorgeous Thai boy”.

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Figure 1: A Thai call-girl arrives to service Cleaver in his hotel room

Figure 2: Cleaver introduces a massage parlor in Bangkok, Thailand

Bangkok Dangerous was filmed in Bangkok, starring the famous Hollywood actor Nicholas Cage as Joe, a contract assassin. The movie presents Bangkok as a place of international crime and opens with a nightlife scene in Soi Cowboy, one of the most famous Red Light Districts in Asia with ladies wearing scant clothing greeting foreigners who are walking along the street. In another scene, Kong (Sharkrit Yaemnam, Thai actor) offers fake Rolex watches at a cheap price but the Western tourists refuse them, so instead he offers the goods to prostitutes. He says, “Just 5,000 THB, you can do whatever you want.” This scene represents Bangkok as a destination for sex tourism and Thai women are portrayed as prostitutes and goods.
A scene in a Go-Go bar (Figure 3) shows several bargirls dancing in sexy uniforms. One of the female protagonists, Aom, is a go-go girl who works for a Thai Mafia group (Puey Parward, Thai actress). Her character represents the Dragon Lady stereotype and she uses her sexual charms to seduce the male protagonist to get what she wants. “The Dragon Lady constructs images of sexual availability as a threat” (Ono & Pham, 2009, p. 67). Aom needs money, so she negotiates with Kong to make her a messenger in return for a large sum of money. She represents a dangerous, tricky and untrustworthy woman.

Other scenes reveal Thailand as a place of prostitution, with a politician having sexual intercourse with a prostitute in a hotel and a naked prostitute beside the pool at The Sheraton Hotel. Two prostitutes are also depicted with Thai Mafia at the floating market.

In Bangkok Dangerous, another Thai female protagonist Fon is cast as a conservative woman and caring partner with feminine characteristics. In one scene, she tries to heal Joe’s wound, clearly portraying her caring nature. She also has a strong belief in Buddha (Figure 4). Joe develops a crush on her at their first meeting. Aom is represented as a sexy and tricky bargirl, while Fon is a conservative, naïve and fragile woman.
Figure 4: Fon prays to Buddha


This movie depicts a new dimension of Thai women who have historically been portrayed as bargirls and prostitutes. Fon presents a Thai woman without sexualized images who has a normal relationship with Joe, the Western white male protagonist. *Bangkok Dangerous* differs from the usual portrayal in other mainstream films and dispels the Western male stereotype image as an abuser of Asian women.

*The Hangover Part II* was filmed in Thailand and released in 2011. The movie depicts Thai women as Ladyboys, Lotus Blossoms and Bargirls. In a controversial scene, Stu (male protagonist) realizes that he has picked up a Thai ladyboy who exposes his penis in front of his friends (Figure 5). He jokes, “There is a reason it’s called Bangkok and not Bangcunt”, implying that Bangkok is a city full of ladyboys. In another scene, Stu sings a song about a ‘girl with a dick’, thus, re-emphasizing the point.
Apart from the images of ladyboys, Stu’s Thai girlfriend, ‘Lauren’ is revealed as a beautiful, exotic Thai woman. She comes across as a good girlfriend who is both passive and obedient. Her kindness and forgiveness connect to the characteristic of ‘Lotus Blossom’ since she forgives Stu for sleeping with a ladyboy, getting her brother in an outrageously outrageous situation and ending up with a ridiculous tattoo on his face. Finally, she marries him. Her character is not greatly developed throughout the film but Stu’s actions do not affect her feelings toward him. This movie portrays a legitimate marriage relationship between a Thai woman and a western male protagonist which is rarely seen in Hollywood films. However, Lauren’s role is not significant compared to the ladyboy.

In the final scene, Lauren’s brother reveals photos depicting both his own and his friends exploits in Bangkok. These include a naked Thai girl putting a bunch of artificial flowers in her vagina and another pumping a ping pong ball out of her vagina at a Ping Pong show, a performance well known among male tourists (Figure 6).
The Hangover Part II presents Bangkok as a sex paradise for tourists with Ladyboys Lotus Blossoms and Bargirls.

The movie, The Impossible is based on the Indian Ocean tsunami natural disaster which affected Thailand in 2004. The action takes place in Thailand at Khao Lak. A doctor's family visit Thailand for vacation during the Christmas holiday. The movie reveals Thailand as a place of beautiful beaches with the 3S's as Sea, Sun and Sand for a perfect holiday. There are no scenes featuring prostitutes, Go-Go bars or street hookers since the tone of this movie is sad and full of grief for the many local people and tourists who died. This film depicts the kindness and humanity of many people from different countries with diverse race, belief and culture when facing difficult times together. The film portrays Ploy Jindachote as a generous and caring Thai female doctor and does not follow the usual stereotype of Asian women. However, Ploy has only a supporting role which is not highlighted in the movie.

Only God Forgives was also filmed in Thailand and released in 2013. The cast includes the famous Hollywood actor Ryan Gosling and Thai superstar Ying Ratha (YaYa Ying). The movie portrays Thailand as a destination of underground drugs trafficking, prostitution, the child sex trade and international crime.

The female protagonist, Mai (Ying Ratha, Thai actress) plays a prostitute; she regards her professional as an entertainer. The picture below (Figure 7) of Mai masturbating in front of Julian (Ryan Gosling) in a private room depicts how Thai prostitutes can fulfill Western male sexual fantasies and emphasizes images of her sexual availability.
Figure 7: Mai masturbates in front of Julian

In this film, Mai presents a type of Geisha image, introducing herself as an entertainer. Her ‘job’ is to perform sexual activities through seductive dancing or even masturbating and she has been trained to please her customers. She claims that she is an entertainer but in reality she is a prostitute.

*Only God Forgives* emphasizes the image of Thailand as a place where the sex trade industry thrives. In one scene, Billy (Julian’s brother) enters a brothel in Bangkok and looks at the girls in the mirror room (Figure 7). The first question he asks the staff is “Are those women?” and they reply “50 percent.” This promoted the Western perception of Thailand as a land of ladyboy sex workers (Figures 8).

Figure 8: Billy in a brothel in Bangkok
In conclusion, Thailand is revealed as an underground drug center and Thai women are highlighted as prostitutes. Mai, as the main female protagonist, is likened to a Geisha girl while an LBFM is raped and later killed by Billy.

*No Escape* was shot in Thailand and released in 2015. It tells the story of a family from Texas who travel to South East Asia. The name of the country is not directly mentioned; however, it is obvious from the screenplay that the story takes place in Thailand. The film portrays Thai women as prostitutes. Moreover, Oriental women are made out to be subservient and happy to fulfill Western male sexual fantasies. (Figure 9) No Thai female protagonist is cast in this film which shows scenes in a brothel where all the woman are prostitutes (Figure 10). Thai women are depicted as sex workers and Thailand as a place where women are good at pleasing men.

Figure 9. Asian women are mentioned as good at pleasing men
Adapted from Dowdle, J. E. (Director). (2015). *No Escape* [Motion picture on DVD]. Bold Films.
In conclusion, five out of the seven selected Hollywood films depict Thai women as Go Go girls and Prostitutes. Ladyboy/Transgender and Lotus Blossom are depicted in two movies, with LFBM, Geisha, and Dragon Lady only once (Table 1). Results demonstrate the overwhelming significance of Thai women depicted in sexualized roles in Hollywood movies.

### Table 1: Roles of Thai actresses depicted in the seven selected Hollywood films

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Thai women in Hollywood films</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not specified</td>
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<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
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Blue color bars differentiate the seven ‘female’ types previously described and are used as a study framework, while the three orange color bars do not fall into a specific category.

Stereotypes result from many factors and it is true that Thailand does provide certain sex services for foreign tourists. Furthermore, Thai prostitutes in other countries, and especially the West, reinforce the belief portrayed in films. The excitement of Orientalism, a male dominant society, and the Buddhist doctrine all support prostitution, thereby reinforcing this unfortunate stereotype. The categorization of Thai actresses mirrors the reputation of Thailand as a sex tourism destination. Cook and Jackson (1999) considered Thailand as the most famous global destination for Sex Tourism, with Thai women regarded as prostitutes. Kelley (2015) asserted that “Thailand has gained a reputation as one of the world’s most infamous ‘sexscapes’ for western males”.

This shows how the commonly held Western opinion of Thai women is directly affected by the reputation of Thailand as a country of women trafficking. Moreover, sex workers available in Thailand are also exported internationally. Boonchalaksi and Guest (1994) stated that “Thai prostitutes are also available internationally, with Thailand being an essential link in the supply of women. The bodies of Thai women have become one of the bases of growth of the Thai economy”. (p.1)

4. Discussion and Conclusion

From the observations, Thai women in the selected Hollywood films are portrayed in various scenarios. The Beach (2000) deals with the story of tourists’ lives and presents the idea of eco-tourism, representing Bangkok as a tourist trap. Sex tourism in Thailand is linked to the representation of Thai women as prostitutes. Bridget Jones 2: The Edge of Reason (2004) displays the various types of Thai prostitute available for western males. From the researcher’s investigations, Thailand is introduced as a country where sex tourism is significantly highlighted in the 20th century. As reported in Sex Tourism in Thailand (n.d.), around 8,652,000 tourists visited Thailand which increased to 10,873,000 in 2002. The rising number of foreign tourists indicates the success of the promotion of Thailand tourism. Sixty percent of tourists are male and NGOs estimate that 70% of these are sex tourists. Thus, the strong promotion of the country as a hub for sex tourism is one of the main causes that reinforces the image of Thailand as a place of prostitution, with Thai woman unavoidably perceived as prostitutes. This also greatly influences the portrayal of Thai women in movies such as Bangkok Dangerous (2008), The Hangover Part II (2011), Only God Forgives (2013) and No Escape (2015). Only two movies present Thai women as both sides of the same coin. In Bangkok Dangerous, a go-go girl and a conservative naïve woman are characterized, and The Hangover Part II depicts a ladyboy sex worker and a Lotus Blossom wife. From the researcher’s point of view, Bangkok Dangerous was directed by an Asian director, and the movie was remade from a previous version of a Thai film. The storyline was distorted to attract a western audience, as a Hollywood film which emphasized more on the image of go-go bars and prostitutes. Also, in the original version, the main protagonist was cast as deaf, but in the Hollywood
movie, the supporting Thai female actress (Fon) is the one who is deaf. Her character, cast as a conservative woman, follows the previous version; thus, the characteristic of an Oriental female as submissive is still portrayed.

In *The Hangover Part II*, the image of Bangkok as a place of sex tourism is portrayed. However, another aspect of Thai women is also revealed as the image of a Lotus Blossom wife of the white male protagonist. The movie was directed by Todd Phillips who confessed that he had never been to Thailand before but spent a lot of time researching about the country (Exclusive Interview: Todd Phillips on *The Hangover Part II* by S. Lesnick, 2011). Thus, the images are portrayed according to his research about ‘Bangkok’ which is presented as a city of strip bars, ladyboys, go-go bars and a passive docile woman as a typical Oriental female. Thus, Todd Phillips without first-hand experience made the story up based on his research through media tools. This reinforces the idea of media influence causing racial stereotypes.

Nicolas Winding Refn directed *Only God Forgives* and John Erick Dowdle directed *No Escape*. As reported from their interviews, both have been to Thailand many times and this inspired them to make a movie set in the country. Both films present the image of Thailand as a place of prostitution and sex workers. Thus, first-hand experiences also promote, through portrayal in films, how Western media presents images of other cultures, races or groups to a global audience. Naturally, these images shape the minds and perceptions of the viewers. Both the directors with real-life experiences and the director who had never been to Thailand portrayed the same stereotyped images of Thai women as go-go girls and prostitutes in their Hollywood films. This situation is unlikely to change in the near future.

5. References


Films


Tourism and the Socio-economic Condition of Boracay Ati (Aeta): A Case Study

Anne Cicely I Remetio-Samar
Faculty of Aklan State University, Philippines
annecicelysamar@yahoo.com

Abstract

Tourism is an important means of promoting cultural relations and international cooperation. It is used to advertise not only, knowledge and understanding but also a favorable image of the nation among foreigners in the travel market. Expansion of tourism in a particular area generates an impact on the way of life of its local people especially the indigenous groups. This study entitled “Tourism and the Socioeconomic Condition of the Boracay Ati: A Case Study” The study is conducted to find out the socio-economic condition of Boracay Ati before and after the coming of tourism. It also uncovered the development of tourism as to the influx of tourists, migrants and investors. It explores the problems/issues encountered by the Atis when tourism expands in their community. The ways Atis cope/adjust with the problems/issues they experience is also one aspect of the study.

This study is an exploratory type of research which employ case study as a method. This investigates contemporary real-life situations and detailed analysis of events or condition. Participants of the study were chosen purposely based on the following criteria for the key informants: 1) The respondents must have a genetic origin from an Ati lineage; 2) They were natives of Boracay Island and must have lived in the island for at least 20 years; 3) The respondents personally witnessed and experienced the changes in their way of life due to the coming of tourists, migrants and influx of investors in their place; and 4) The informants have direct contact, interacts with tourists, migrants and investors. For the case study, two households were chosen with the following factors: 1) The two households have socioeconomic characteristics that are extremely distinct from each other; and 2) One household is composed of couples who were both an Ati and residing in the island for at least 20 years, while the other household must have directly experienced assimilation and acculturation through marriage with other race. In-depth, one–one interview and observation for five (5) consecutive months in the site were used in data- gathering by the researcher.

Findings revealed that the Boracay Atis socioeconomic condition was greatly influenced by the development of tourism in the island. The presence of tourists, migrants and investors in their community changes their traditional way of life to contemporary. The economic development of the island through tourism made the Atis suffer problems/issues which they did not encounter before. Land-grabbing, racial discrimination, human rights violation, extinction of their resources and loosing of their traditional culture are the problems/issues they encountered.
But due to the presence, guidance and assistance of the Boracay Parish Ati Mission, St. Vincent de Paul Sisters, National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP), Nongovernment agencies and private individuals the Atis simply embrace the new way of living.

**Keywords:** Aeta, Problems and issues, socio-economic condition, tourism
1. Introduction

As the world continues to evolve, man's life improves. From the very simple nomadic lifestyle, it develops into a very complex, globalized and technology-based living.

The Atis of Boracay belong to the indigenous group of Panay. They claimed that they were the first inhabitants of the island. These groups of people have a rich culture that needs to be preserved and their simple way of living enabled them to survive in the island. With the coming of tourists in the early 1970s and of foreigners in early 1980s their life changes.

With the entry of tourists, migrant workers and investors, the tourism industry started. Business and commercial establishments flourished. But it was in 1982 to 1984 that foreigners with Visayan wives or Filipino partners acquired land. From then on, Boracay was changed from a pristine virgin island to an urbanized one with electricity, beach houses, resorts and other infrastructure built within the island. The Atis now see a different world they are exposed to, from the simple traditional way to the modern life that tourism had brought.

As mentioned by A. Magos (2005),

“No matter how hard Ati's tried to cope with modern life, they cannot. They are not equipped or ready for employment opportunities due to lack of formal education fit for modern life. The intrusion of tourists disrupted their values and lifestyle. Such sociocultural and economic transformation would create an impending problem to the Ati and even for Visayan settlers.”

The Atis depend on what nature can give to them and they used to take good care of one another. However, the new economic system caused the gap between people to increase. The fabric of local interdependence has disintegrated. The Atis, traditional culture can provide them with their basic needs without the need for money. The pace of their lives was relaxed and easy. They breathe pure, clean air and ate whole, unrefined food that can be found within their community.

With the continuous progression of tourism in Boracay that was assumed to have bearing or influence to the sociocultural life of the Atis, this research explored and divulged in comparing their past and present socioeconomic condition especially on their source of living, education, adaptiveness to cultural and technological changes, receptiveness to new ideas and whether they preserved or desecrated their traditional way of life. Lastly, it also unveiled the problems and issues that Atis experienced as they respond to the changes in their environment.

Statement of the Problem

This study aimed to determine the changes brought by tourism to the socioeconomic condition of the Boracay Ati.
Specifically, this study sought to answer the following:

1. What is the socioeconomic condition of the Boracay Ati before and after the coming of tourism in terms of:
   a. Occupation;
   b. Income;
   c. Education; and
   d. Cultural Practices such as: religion, courtship and marriage, mode of dressing, health practices, dwelling, food, language, recreational activities and burial.

2. What is the development of Boracay's tourism in terms of the influx of tourists and investors and migration?

3. What are the problems/issues experienced by the Atis in the development of Boracay's tourism in terms of human rights, land dispute, gender and race?

4. What are the adjustments/responses made by the Atis in the development of Boracay's tourism?

Theoretical Framework

The basis of this study was rooted to the Sociocultural Evolution Theory postulated by Eduard Burnette Taylor (Wikipedia, 2012). He stated that culture is a complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, art, moral, laws, customs and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society. This culture was embedded in a society and in order for this culture to thrive, constituents must conform, practice and continue the learned culture.

As society evolves, this culture is subjected to changes. The processes of transmission of culture that people could adopt through acculturation, assimilation, diffusion, enculturation and innovation.

Acculturation is the process of learning some new traits from another culture. Assimilation is the process through which a person forsakes his or her cultural tradition to become part of a different culture. Diffusion is the process by which a cultural item spreads from group to group or society to society. Enculturation is a process of learning culture of one's own group. Innovation is the process of introducing a new idea or object into a culture through discovery or invention.

E.B. Taylor further stipulated that certain cultures are retained although it is unnecessary to the new society. Thus he coined “survival" process wherein customs and opinions have been carried on by force of habit into a new state of society different from that in which they originate thereby remains a proof and example of an older condition out of which a newer culture has been involved.
Conceptual Framework

The Sociocultural Evolution Theory of Edward Burnette Taylor postulates that a culture remains intact unless influenced by other cultures. But due to acculturation, assimilation, enculturation, innovation and diffusion, culture continues to evolve where every member of the society is urged to learn various ways to cope up and survive in this fast-changing world.

Along with the concept that the aforementioned theory presents, this study delved on identifying the changes—from past compared to present—in the socioeconomic condition in terms of occupation, income, education and cultural practices in terms of religion, courtship and marriage, mode of dressing, health practices, dwelling, food, language, recreational activities and burial practices among the Atis who inhabited the Island of Boracay before tourism and development reached the island.

![Conceptual Model](image)

**Figure 1:** This figure shows the conceptual model employed in the study

2. **Method**

This is an exploratory type of research. Exploratory research is conducted into an issue or problem where there are few or no earlier studies to refer to. The focus is on gaining insights and familiarity for later investigation. ([from.http://wiki.answers.com/Q/What_is_exploratory_research#ixzz234iMsci4](http://wiki.answers.com/Q/What_is_exploratory_research#ixzz234iMsci4)).

To complement with the exploratory approach employed in conducting this investigation, the case study method was also used. Case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates contemporary real-life situations and detailed context analysis of events or conditions and their
relationships in which multiple sources of evidence are used. It is a method that brings an understanding of a complex issue or object and experience (from: http://www.ischool.texas).

Moreover, the naturalistic observation method was also employed in this investigation. Naturalistic observation is a research method commonly used by psychologists and other social scientists. This technique involves observing subjects in their natural environment. This type of research is often utilized in situations where conducting lab research is unrealistic, cost prohibitive or would unduly affect the subject's behavior (from: http://www.psychology.about.com/od/nindex.g/naturalistic.htm).

Locale of the Study
The area covered by this study is within the municipality of Malay, province of Aklan, Philippines where the lives of the Boracay Atis mostly evolve. The Boracay Atis are presently occupying a small portion of a claimed private land in Sitio Bolabog, Barangay Balabag, Boracay, Malay, Aklan. Sitio Bolabog is situated at the back part of the island.

Subjects of the Study
The Boracay Atis served as the subject of this study. The five (5) key informants including the Tribal Chieftain, Community Organizer, an elder, and two Atis who are employed in a resort/hotel in the island were purposely chosen using the following criteria:
1. The respondents must have a genetic origin from an Ati lineage;
2. They were natives of Boracay Island and must have lived in the island for at least 20 years;
3. The respondents had personally witnessed and experienced the changes in their way of life due to the coming of tourists, migrants and influx of investors in their place; and
4. The informants have direct contact, interacts with tourists, migrants and investors.

Data Gathering Procedure
For the case study, two households were likewise deliberately chosen taking the following considerations:
1. The two households have socioeconomic characteristics that are extremely distinct from each other; and
2. One household is composed of couples who were both Boracay Atis and are residing in the island for at least 20 years; while the other household must have directly experienced assimilation and acculturation through marriage with other race.

Research Instrument
In gathering information from the key informants (KIs) and from the case study participants, an interview guide was formulated. Questions included in the interview guide were based on the study's statement of the problem. An interview guide was prepared so that probing can be employed in the course of the interview. With this, the researcher was able to exhaust all information needed to answer the problem statements laid down in this study.
Validity. The interview guide was validated by three research experts in the field of Social Science to ensure that the instrument will truly serve its purpose. A focused group discussion (FGD) was conducted by the researcher to the Ati community to validate the results and findings of the study. The researcher discussed the results and findings of the study to the Atis to make sure that the information/data presented in the study is correct and authentic. It is also conducted to guarantee that the researcher did not violate anything stated in the Indigenous Peoples Rights Act (IPRA).

![Figure 2 Model for Data Gathering Procedure](image)

3. Results

What Was Before?
Boracay as an inhabitant of Atis before tourism flourish is an island that was naturally blessed with its flora and fauna. By this, Ati lives in a nomadic way of life whereby hunting and gathering was their source of living. Adding to this the island is surrounded by water thereby fishing was also a source of livelihood to the inhabitants too. Other food sources identified was rootcrops being planted alongside the mountain areas. The simple and basic living augment the physiological needs of Ati, due to this monetary income was not a great importance to them. School was unaccessible to Atis in olden times, with the notion “as long as we could eat in a day, we are contented of it.” Thus education was not valued upon. Culture as manifested upon their beliefs at a higher being Anitos (grave image) were revered upon. Furthermore, Atis were considered as animist, believing in spirits dwelling in nature. A practice of this was
by praying and asking permission from the spirits before harvesting any food.

Arrange marriage was practiced the capability to support a family of a male Ati was the basis of marriage, mutual cohabitation existed before. With the tropical climate Boracay has, bahag and saya were worn by Atis as clothing.

The researcher has as taken into account the health practices of Ancient Ati. Herbal medicines were used to heal wounds and ailments. Quack doctors/arbularyo was consulted whenever their illnesses worsen. As to their hygiene, Atis does not wear slippers or shoes to protect their feet. When bathing, they washed their bodies at the beach without soap and shampoo.

Atis nature is wanderer, they roam to search for food. With this lifestyle, they do not have the permanent house to live in. Rather, they built a tent-like house for shelter which made up of light materials such as wood and bamboo.

In terms of foods, rootcrops, vegetables, and fish were their staple consumption. The abundance of their resources and its accessibility provides nutrients to their body.

‘Inati’ is a native dialect used by the Atis to communicate with others. Their language is distinct of the other local dialect spoken by neighboring places.

Past time was spent resting, bathing at the beach and chatting with co-Ati. Aside from this men find time with their colleagues by drinking ‘tuba’ (coconut sap) while singing and dancing accompanied by their musical instruments made up of bamboo. Others do fishing and gathering food at the nearby mountain as their leisure.

Moreover, another culture of Atis noted by the researcher is their burial. The remains were placed on a bamboo coffin and embalming was not practice during their time. Atis buried their dead immediately. Moreover, its tomb’s mark was either made up of stone, a branch or a plant.

**The Aftermath of Tourism to Atis**

Tourism at Boracay has its great impact on the lives of Ati. From a mere wanderer with a simple way of living they turned out to be a sociologically and culturally equipt inhabitants in coping with the change being taken place on their environment.

Boracay becomes the most travelled and the number one tourist destination of the world (Travel and Leisure Magazine, 2012). Being the best destination of the world has its impact to the host community. For the indigenous the ‘Ati’ urbanization of their sanctuary creates changes to their present socio-economic condition.

The coming of tourists brought along business to flourish. With this, demands of working force are needed. In scenario like this, Atis were hired as laborer doing manual works (e.g. construction workers, hotel employees and gardeners). To others they built and manage small time business. This serves as their occupation and through these they received a salary/income to sustain the needs of their family.

In line with education, schools are available to all brought along with the economic development and modernization of the island. Ati avails their free formal education. Most of the Ati children at present are attending school. To mention, some finish their elementary and secondary level. And even to that extent some Ati was able to finish their college. Aside from this books were donated, a learning center was made possible to cater the learning needs with the help of other private sectors and tourists.

Referring to their beliefs, most of them are Roman Catholics. They practice Catholicism by attending mass as well reciting prayers and the Holy Rosary.
Pertaining to their courtship and marriage, lovers spent their dating time at nearby beach for a private talk. Liberty to choose their partners is being done. Respect was given to the girl’s parents through visitation at their home. Marital cohabitation was practiced until the Holy Rosary Parish Ati Mission with the help of St. Vincent de Paul Sisters offered a mass wedding for free. Thereby couples received a church blessing. As the island is being flocked by tourists, Ati increases their awareness to their mode of dressing. Shirts, shorts, and slippers were being worn. They are keeping up with the trends and fashion seen in their surroundings. Some wear spaghetti straps, shorts, sandals, and denim pants. Local health center were made available health benefits were extended to name: medications, services and health education. Through these, health problems shall be minimized. Comfort rooms were built by local government, deepwell were placed, garbage disposal were collected all to promote hygiene to Atis. Following the right way of safeguarding health leads to a better living to them. There is permanent residency of Ati. This was given by the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP) to them the Certificate of Ancestral Domain. Their abode was made up of bamboo, nipa, bamboo mats and lumber. Within it the house has no division, an area was provided for cooking only. Livestocks were placed and reared nearby the house. Before then Atis were contented of root crops as their staple food while it differs to what they are eating nowadays. They include beef, pork, chicken and other foods available in the island. Meals were serve and eaten twice a day. Even they find Bisayan delicacies palatable to them. Constant socialization with people living at Boracay gave Ati the opportunity to learn other language. Local dialects were spoken such as Boracaynon, Karay-a, and Malaynon. To them ability to speak other languages is an advantage in conversing with other locals. The presence of electricity provides new technology and innovation to the island. Recreational activities of Ati now focuses on TV viewing and radio listening. Although other prefer to chat with friends. They can now socialize with other Bisayan men while having drinks (alcohol) with them. Traditionally, burial is better off today than before in the life of Ati. Embalming was observed, the dead will be dressed properly and presentably. Wakes was practiced and during this period, alms and prayers were given, comfort to bereaved family was extended and playing or bordon was practiced by the young ones. Blessing for the dead was initiated at church before burial. Their burial site became limited since other business establishments grab it from them. Fees were paid to local authorities before burying their dead. 

**What Goes with Tourism?**

Since then, Boracay became one of the best tourist spot in the Philippines and the major dollar earner of the province and country. The growth of tourist arrivals in the country in 2010 that reached to 779,666 that was considered as the highest since 2005 (Repayo, Hilario, Rebustes, Biray, Rebutala, 2011). By its development job opportunities were open due to the demand of labor for resorts. Leading to the Atis having work and salary that gives them a chance to send their children in school. Institutions were accessible and the Atis were capable already to support their children. Tuition fee was free, including their uniform and school supplies. Furthermore, Ati children who want to attend college could avail scholarship given by NGOs and other private individual commonly the foreigner. Ati has an access to health services. Available Emergency hospital and health center provide health
services for them. They already have connection to electricity, thus usage of appliances was observed (radio, television and karaoke). Others use cellphone. Most of Ati now had adapted the use of modern technology as part of their way of life. The development of Boracay due to tourism, such as influx of tourists, migrants and investors creates changes and impact to life of Boracay Ati.

The economic prosperity of Boracay creates an impact to the development of the province and the country. Aside from that its progress greatly affects the life of the local people especially in the socio-economic condition of the Boracay Ati who claimed as the original settlers in the island. Many advantages and comfort brought by the economic boom of the island to its people. But for the indigenous people who had been dependent to the nature, to their environment the development makes their life complicated. The problems/issues encountered by the Ati in the island were:

First and foremost, commercialization of the island creates conflict over the non Ati residents and property claimants who claimed also land rights over Boracay. On January 21, 2011 the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP) issued the Certificate of Ancestral Domain Title (CADT) in the name of 200 members of Boracay Ati Tribal Organization (BATO), for the 2 hectare lot in the Barangay Manoc-manoc at the eastern part of the island. But the Ati were not able to enter the property because there are some powerful and influential individual questioning the the awarding of CADT. Thus, land grabbing is one of the problems/issues experienced by the Ati.

Other problems/issues Ati experienced are racial discrimination. Children were bullied by Bisaya classmate due to skin color and ancestry. Other local residents commented on the presence of the Ati that could damage tourism industry of the island. This displaces Ati of their rights on land.

Failure to pursue education is great setback for Ati. The education which was been deprived to them has its pay back on issue of insufficiency to financially support their sibling for schooling. In addition, manual jobs were assigned to them doing hard labors yet lesser pay. This is of disadvantage to them. The competition of good work and pay was been a loss to them due to their low achieving educational status.

What makes one culture differ from another? The culture of an Ati as an aborigin has its uniqueness. The traditions and culture that has been handed down by their ancestors make it peculiar. Their costumes were gradually forgotten since Ati needs to blend with what's in their environment. The extinctiveness of their rich culture was forgotten and less valued upon. As they go with changes, Atis aware unaware and unconscious that their true and unique traits of being an Ati vanish.

**Blending the Past and Present**

Change is constant in this world. As the world evolves, change took place. The discovery of Boracay to a world’s premier beach brought change in the lives of Ati. In order to cope with the change, adjustments/responses must be adopted to incorporate it in one’s life. Either to conform or to deviate to something new depends to the adjustment of oneself. In order to find meaning, give solution, blend with change Ati with the help of the concerned groups is on the process of coping and adjusting. To identify specifically the Holy Rosary Parish Ati Mission assist in organizing Atis community. Their sustainability protects the rights of Ati as well as their continuous supervision guides them to stand firm and fight for their jurisdiction. Aside from this, nuns educate them both intellectually and spiritually.

Living with local residence at Boracay directly provides good social interaction with aborigins. In this
simple manner, Atis were able to exchange their concerns in the same way ideas/solutions were given back to them.

The National Commission on Indigenous Peoples was one of the agencies who guides and protect the rights of the Ati. They are the ones who continue to help the Ati in their struggle in fighting for their rights especially in claiming their Ancestral Domain. There are non government agencies that are helping also the Ati, on their needs, that contributes for the development of their lives that they can compete to the changes in their present lifestyle.

Literacy is a chance for indigenous people to level up their educational qualification. The education contributes well with occupation and salary, in connection to this Atis are to be equally footed with other people. The formal and informal education surely is an avenue for an Ati to be progressive and competively competent citizen someday soon.

4. Summary, Discussion and Conclusion

Tourism and Atis

Aborigine in the midst of tourist destination is something to be studied and ponder upon. Changes brought about by tourism could either mend improve or disrupt the lives of Atis. The researcher finds interest in studying these changes in everyday life of Atis most especially in socio-economic aspect, thus particularly conducting a study particularly in part of occupation, income, education and cultural practices. Furthermore, the researcher discusses on the development of tourism in the island of Boracay as to the influx of tourists, migrants and investors.

Along with this development, problems/issues arises as to the Atis human rights, land dispute, gender, and race discrimination. With this occurrence, adjustment/responses were made by Atis as coping mechanisms to this changes.

Respondents were chosen in the study to answer the identified problems. With the 42 household, 2 were chosen by the researcher purposely. Five (5) additional informants were included as to fill in the information/data needed inorder to supplement the 2 household respondents.

Observation and interview were utilized usage of Bisaya dialect during interview was adopted then later was translated by the researcher.

This study wants to find out the socio-economic condition of Boracay Atis before and at present in terms of their occupation, income, education and cultural practices.

The data was gathered through observation and interview by the researcher using the interview guide. The interview was conducted using their Bisaya dialect and was later on transcribed by the researcher.
The case study method and was employed by the researcher in the study to find out the socio-economic condition of Boracay Ati before and after the influx of tourist, migrants and investors in the island.

Conclusions and Discussion

The life of the Ati before the coming of tourists, migrants and investors in the island was simple they are dependent on nature, they do not have source of income, occupation or even formal education. Most of them practice the traditional way of living.

But when Boracay was already commercialized and converted into a tourist destination sprawling of resorts/hotel and business establishments in the island exist. The culture of the local and indigenous inhabitants was affected. The demands for jobs became available but extinction of the traditional resources of Atis occurred.

The development of the island and its economic prosperity brings problems/issues to the Atis of Boracay. They experience land conflict with the Bisayan claimants and inhabitants in the island. Racial discrimination was also encountered by them. They cannot move freely in the island because they were prohibited.

Due to some problems/issues encountered by the Atis at first it is difficult for them on how to deal with those transformations brought by tourism. But with the relief of different sectors and individuals they are now ready to face those changes in their way of life.

The guidance and advice of the Most Holy Rosary Parish Ati Mission and St. Vincent de Paul Sisters who was present in the island for almost ten years is one of the foundation of the Ati to stand in their own.

The presence of the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples who had been supporting and fighting for their rights, helping them in settling issues/problems they encounter.

Nongovernment agencies and private individuals who keep in touch with them in giving financial assistance, trainings for the development of their lives. Giving scholarships to the Ati children especially in college gives hope for the Atis to be educated.

For those Atis who had attended formal education, their learnings in school allow them to easily adjust and cope with the problems/issues they experience.

Their experience in workplace and interaction with different groups of people was also a great help for the Ati to gradually adopt the changes in their environment and never defy to the effect of tourism to their lives.

The presence of tourists, migrants and investors makes them aware of using modern technology. They are now trying to acquire formal education, to be employed for them to meet the demands of their changing and developing environment.
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Gender Segregation and The Vulnerability of Women: 
A Sociological Study at Traditional Batik Home-Based Industry in East Java

Emy Susanti
Department of Sociology, Faculty of Social and Political Science
Airlangga University, Indonesia
Email: emy_susanti@yahoo.com

Abstract

Traditional Batik production process in Indonesia is taught by hereditary to women since young age and generally in the form of home industry. This paper is intended to analyze the gender segregation of work in the production process of traditional batik home-based industry. This paper is also aims to reveal the vulnerability of women lives in community of the traditional batik industry. Using the perspective of Sociology and Feminist, this paper focuses more on social interaction and gender relations in the community of traditional batik home-based industries. This paper is based on research conducted in two Villages of East Java Province; namely 1) Jetis: Traditional Batik Village in Sidoarjo Regency and 2) Gedog Kerek: Traditional Batik Village in Tuban Regency. The subjects of this study were all people involved in the traditional Batik home-based industries, they were 20 informants and 200 respondents ie owners and workers, family members, neighbors, and local community leaders. This research is a qualitative research completed with quantitative data. Data collection using in depth interviews and interviews using questionnaires. Based on the study, this paper argues that although traditional batik products are very advanced and known in the world, the segregation of work between men and women was unequal. Women are vulnerable to some aspects, ie a) women hold a core position in the whole process of traditional batik production but do not get work protection since the home industry is categorized as informal work; b) women spend a lot of time and work hard in traditional batik production to earn a living but are only considered as additional earners in the family; c) women do all domestic tasks even though women work all day in traditional batik production. Based on the study, it argues that the condition of vulnerability of women's life was obvious in the workplace, in the family and in the community.

Keywords: batik industry, feminist perspective, gender segregation, home-based industry, qualitative methodology
Children’s Dental Health and Women Empowerment Strategy

In The Poor Community of East Java

Satiti Kuntari

Faculty of Dental Health
Airlangga University, Indonesia
satitikuntari@gmail.com

Abstract

The issue of children’s dental health is evident in the Poor Community since this issue is not considered as priority. Though dental health of children is very meaningful to the overall health of the children in their growth period. The aim of this paper is to analyze the roles of women on children’s dental health. This paper is based on a research in two areas of East Java Province, there were 1) Sidoharjo Village, Ponorogo Regency and; 2) Tanjung Glugur Village, Situbondo Regency. The research was a qualitative research supported with quantitative data. The subject of the research were mothers with children under 5 years old, the neighbors, health workers and community leaders. The data collection was using in depth interview of 20 informants and interviews using questionnaires of 100 respondents. The result of the study shows that the role of mothers was very important in their children’s dental health. It was obvious that women taking care of their children in daily life so that their knowledges were significant. This paper argues that women's empowerment is very important to overcome the problem of dental hygiene and dental health of children in order to encourage the growth of healthy young generation.

Keywords: Children’s dental health, Qualitative research, Women empowerment, Women’s role