

Tourism in Thailand: Exploitation or Opportunity?

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ABSTRACT

The paper explores and compares the perceptions of workers in the tourism industry in Thailand in foreign-owned and locally-owned firms in order to provide an underrepresented perspective to be used in the debate over whether international trade and tourism primarily exploits workers or provides valuable opportunities. A matched-pairs comparative analysis was used, and it was found that employees in both locally-owned and foreign-owned firms generally expressed high levels of job satisfaction, although employees in foreign-owned firms expressed statistically significant higher levels of job satisfaction than did employees in locally owned firms. In debates over whether exploitation or opportunities are created by international trade, foreign investment, and tourism, the viewpoints and perspectives of the workers are often overlooked. The paper intends to help bring into the debate the perspectives of individuals who are most directly affected by these activities.

KEYWORDS

Exploitation, Foreign Direct Investment, International Trade, Multinational Enterprises, Thailand, Tourism

INTRODUCTION

Exploitation or Opportunities From International Trade

The debate over whether “capitalism,” international trade, the private sector, tourism and the activities of multinational enterprises (MNEs) exploit workers in developing and less developed economies or provide additional opportunities which generally have positive outcomes has continued. Positions taken on the causes of poverty and ways forward to improve the lives of people living in poverty in developing and less developed economies are often framed by political ideology; thus many of the arguments ignore empirical evidence (Fwatchak, 2018). Despite the overwhelming evidence showing a strong and positive correlation between levels of international trade, connectivity with global value chains, and trade openness with improved economic performance and poverty reduction (e.g., Moore & Griffith, 2015; Stark, 2005; Walde & Wood, 2004); there continues to be persistent and strong opposition in some quarters to trade openness, foreign direct investment (FDI), international tourism, and activities of multinational enterprises (MNEs) due to a belief firms involved in international trade and tourism primarily exploit workers in developing countries (e.g., Bartra, 2016; Raynolds, 2000; Ricci, 2016).

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When exploring the impact of tourism and international trade, the use of outside expert opinion is frequently used, while the views of the actually workers involved are generally ignored (Pleumarom, 2012; Truong, Hall, & Garry, 2014). Therefore to expand theoretical understanding this paper explores the perceptions of the impact MNEs, FDI, and the tourism industry have on the job satisfaction and perceived livelihood opportunities of workers in a developing country. It is possible the view from the workers' perspective in a developing economy will be significantly different from the perspective of visitors, activists, and scholars, often coming from developing countries, who often supply the opinions and evidence used in the exploitation versus opportunity debate. A comparison of employees from both foreign and locally owned firms was carried out to exam their perceptions of salaries, working conditions, benefits, relationships with employers, and promotional opportunities. It is expected including the perspectives of the individuals who are most directly impacted by international trade, FDI, and international tourism will enrich the debates.

While no one study could hope to fully answer the exploitation versus opportunity question in regards to foreign investment, it is hoped exploring the question in a specific context from the perspective of the workers most affected will contribute to the debates and discussions over the issue. The research questions driving the study were, do workers in the tourism industry in Thailand feel exploited or feel they are being given additional opportunities by international tourism and the investment of foreign firms into the industry; and is there a difference in attitudes between workers in foreign owned firms compared to locally owned ones. As these questions are subjective in nature, it was decided to use the job satisfaction of the workers as a proxy for exploitation, as the concept of exploitation can be quite subjective in nature. It can be expected workers who feel exploited will also express very low satisfaction with their salaries, working conditions, and relationships with their employers. Also, the perception of having promotional opportunities was included as it would be expected workers who feel exploited would not perceive to have significant opportunities for promotion and advancement.

THEORETICAL DEVELOPMENT

Marxism and Exploitation

Individuals who argue capitalism, international trade, the private sector, international tourism, and MNEs are agents of exploitation in developing economies generally assume a one-way power relationship in which workers have little choice but to accept conditions set by employers, as per Marxist theories of exploitation of workers by the owners of capital (Marx & Engels, 2004[1858]). A few examples, Barnes (2017) claimed, without providing any collaborating evidence, in "sweatshops" in developing and less developed economies, "Working conditions are often dangerous, with poor ventilation, cramped spaces, and a severe lack of safety measures. Typical shifts can last over ten hours a day, six days a week, and overtime is commonly forced and unpaid (p. 167)." Banaji (2016) believed peasant farmers around the world were exploited because they were forced to give up subsistence agriculture production to supply markets; although it was not clearly explained why local farmers, if desired, could not continue with subsistence farming. While Yimprasert and Hveem (2005) listed a number of examples of workers in the garment industry supplying global markers in rural areas of Thailand having difficult lives and blamed these difficulties on their occupation, yet there was no comparison with wages and working conditions to workers in industries which only supplied the domestic market. It is difficult to find fault with the argument many workers in developing and less developed economies have difficult lives, but without a comparative benchmark it is difficult to determine whether international trade and investment improve and worsen conditions for workers.

The proponents of the Marxist/exploitation viewpoint would seem to perceive our current era as a very bleak time in human history where inequality, poverty, environmental degradation, and conflict are widespread and driven by the domination of market-based economies, MNEs, and "globalization."

A few examples, Barkin and Lemus (2016), as well as Arizmendi (2016), claimed poverty is increasing around the globe, without providing any supporting statistics, and attributed this increase in suffering of the world's poor on capitalism and international trade conducted by MNEs. While Welty, Mann, Dickinson, and Blumenfeld (2016) blamed international trade and capitalism for global gender inequalities and Damian and Pacheco (2016) claimed international trade and the activities of the private sector were the primary cause of the continuation of rural poverty in developing economies.

Nearly all statistical evidence shows continuous and very significant global improvements in measurable factors of average quality of life over recent decades during a period where international trade has increased substantially. There have been global averages in increases in life expectancy, poverty reduction, and literacy as well as significant decreases in infant mortality and percentage of women dying in childbirth (e.g., Lal, 2013; Ravallion, 2016; Son, 2010). Nevertheless, a large number of people have quite a negative viewpoint of the condition of the world and current trends. This viewpoint would seem to be partially driven by the news media, which by its nature focuses on unusual events, such as war, famine, disasters, and extreme suffering as opposed to more common events which have positive results, such as seeing more people finding and holding steady jobs and having the ability to provide more formal education for their children (Rönnlund & Rosling, 2018). Psychological research shows individuals when making decisions and forming opinions tend to place more emphasis on easy accessible information, such as information one has been exposed to by the news media (Tversky & Kahneman, 1973), negative information (Davidai & Gilovich, 2016), and examples of extreme and unusual events (Lieder, Griffiths, & Hsu, 2017). These naturally occurring biases could help explain some of the negative viewpoints many individuals and scholars have of current global economic conditions and trends. Individuals taking the exploitation approach generally favour redistribution of wealth from the wealthy to give to the poor as the primary approach to reduce poverty, and generally feel the private sector exploits and impoverishes the poor when given an opportunity (e.g., Cogneau, Hounghbedji, & Mesplé-Somps, 2016; Okpeh, 2018; Wallerstein, 2013).

The arguments for exploitation are often based on the belief profit-making companies benefit financially from acting unethically and exploiting their workers; and there is also often a general assumption the governments of developing countries lack the ability or will to create and enforce their own labor laws or otherwise protect their citizens. Therefore it has been advocated MNEs operating in developing countries should be controlled by either the governments of their home countries or an international body such as the UN (e.g., Bernaz, 2013; Bijlmakers, 2013; Fasterling & Demuijnck, 2013). In other words, it has been advocated the workers in developing countries should be protected from exploitation from the private sector in developed countries by activists and the public sector coming from developed economies.

Wealth Creation Approach

Individuals who argue capitalism, international trade, the private sector, tourism, and MNEs are agents of growth, opportunity, and poverty reduction in developing economies generally assume workers have the ability to make decisions in their own best interest, often use comparison of working conditions in MNEs and firms supplying global value chains in developing economies to other opportunities available to the same workers, and focus on the voluntary nature of market transactions. Scholars who see opportunity ask, why would people voluntarily choose to work in a job that exploits them if better options are available? This view is aligned with the wealth creation approach to poverty reduction, where the focus is on increasing the wealth of people living in poverty through increased economic opportunities as opposed to redistributing wealth created in more productive areas to less productive ones (Hipsher, 2018). The wealth creation approaches encourages more opportunities and respecting individuals right and ability to choose which opportunity best fits their needs.

It has been pointed out a job which looks like exploitation and offers what is considered poor working conditions from the viewpoint of the activist or visitor from a developed economy might look very appealing to individuals living in poverty with few other options. These “sweatshop” jobs

can be perceived as the first rung out of extreme poverty to a person living in a developing or least developed economy (e.g., Hipsher, 2017; Powell, 2014; Sachs, 2005, p. 11). The opinion has also been expressed the removal of livelihood options by limiting the activities of MNEs in developing economies is likely to harm people in most need of livelihood opportunities and the international community should respect the right of individuals in developing and less developed economies to make their own livelihood and purchasing choices (e.g., Flew, 1989; Levin, 1999; Prahalad, 2005).

Furthermore, comparative studies tend to show working conditions and salaries in foreign owned MNEs and firms supplying global value chains in developing and less developed economies are often more attractive than working conditions and salaries in locally owned firms supplying domestic markets (e.g., Bhagwati, 2004; Brown, Deardorff, & Stern, 2004; Orlitzky, 2015). Companies compete for employees as well as customers. Thus it has been argued to attract workers an employer in any location needs to offer a better employment package than otherwise available. Advocates of the use of capitalism, international trade and investment, international tourism, and activities by MNEs to reduce poverty tend to see the world as on an improving trajectory and focus on the amazing advancements in life-expectancy, poverty reduction, and global cooperation which have accompanied the rise of market-based economies and globalization. Also, instead of comparing current economic conditions in developing countries where foreign investment is a part of the market-based economy to an utopian or theoretical condition, the comparison are more likely to be to conditions found in the past or found in areas where trade and investment have been severely limited, such as in North Korea or more recently Venezuela.

It is easy to forget we have just witnessed half a century of the greatest mass escape from poverty in human history. The proportion of the world's population living in extreme poverty in 2008 (those earning less than a \$1 a day) was a fifth of what it was in 1960. (Easterly, 2009, p. 77)

Most proponents of the wealth creation approach tend to follow the line of thinking firms benefit financially from acting responsibly and treating stakeholders fairly. As business success in a free market is based on voluntary and mutually beneficial transactions, acting unethically towards customers, workers, suppliers or local communities would be expected to reduce profits over the long term more often than boost them, as acting unethically will reduce the number of actors willing to voluntarily engage with the firm.

Proponents of the wealth creation approach often warn against engaging in cultural imperialism by attempting to impose values and working conditions found in developed economies on developing economies. It has been argued ethics, values and ideas about “fair” treatment of workers vary from location to location due to cultural differences and level of economic development (e.g., Ali & Al-Aaland 2012; Clark, McGill, Saito, & Viehs, 2015; Moon & Xi, 2010).

Tourism

The theoretical debate over exploitation (Marxism) or opportunity (Wealth creation) has not only focused on the “sweatshops” found in the manufacturing sector, the debate has also been carried out in analysing the impact of the tourism industry in developing and less developed economies. Authors on the side taking the view of exploitation have often claimed tourism creates environmental problems as well as low paid and exploitative work (e.g., Hall & Brown, 2010; Jakobsson & Dragun, 2013; Ruddy, Gössling, Scott, & Hall, 2015). While Liburd Benckendorff, and Carlsen (2012) warned against tourism development initiated by Western, “neocolonial countries,” although it is not clearly explained why tourism development led by investment from one set of countries would have a more detrimental effect than tourism from another set.

On the other side of the debate, when economic data or the opinions of the workers and local communities hosting tourism activities are more closely examined, a case has often been made tourism

provides opportunities for growth in economies, especially ones which are not especially attractive locations for investment in manufacturing, and provide a large number of livelihood opportunities for individuals without high level of education or specialized skills (e.g., Harrison & Prasad, 2013; Nonthapot, 2016; Ong & Smith, 2014).

Tourism Industry in Thailand

Thailand was chosen for this study as tourism is an important part of the Thai economy. The World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC) (2017) reported travel and tourism made a 9.2% direct contribution to the nation's GDP while the overall contribution through both direct and indirect channels was around 20.6%; creating 2,313,500 jobs in 2016. About 80% of travel and tourism's contribution to the Thai economy come from international visitors while the remaining 20% come from domestic tourism.

Tourists often travel to Thailand due to its beaches and other natural attractions, low prices and spicy food. Moreover, Chubchuwong and Speece (2016) claimed the perception of the friendliness of the Thai people also attracts many foreign visitors; while Soontayatron (2014) believed Thais often used principles found in Theravada Buddhist teachings to cope with the stresses coming from the socio-cultural impacts of tourism, and thus reported Thais generally found tourism brought more benefits than problems. The nature of tourism in Thailand is also changing and the industry is no longer primarily dependent on arrivals from developed economies. Of the nearly 30 million foreign visitors to the country in 2015, close to 8 million were from China and nearly an equal number from other ASEAN countries (Theparat, 2016).

Job Satisfaction

Well-being, happiness, needs, and wants are all quite subjective in nature; and are highly influenced by an individual's social status. We also see a strong correlation between expressed satisfaction and fulfilment of one's subjective needs and wants (Camfield & Guillen-Royo, 2010). Thus one cannot use a single benchmark to measure job and life satisfaction, as it is measured differently by each individual. It has been argued, individuals are generally better judges of their own needs and wants, opportunities available, and satisfaction/happiness than are other people, especially individuals from different cultures and with different levels of opportunities (Hipsher, 2018).

Therefore it is possible well-educated activists from wealthy countries will perceive the ability of the specific working conditions, benefits, and payment of a job to fulfil basic needs and wants differently than will a less-educated worker from a developing or less developed economy. In comparison to the working and living conditions most people in wealthier countries enjoy, living and working conditions in developing and less developed economies for working class employees are much more challenging, that is obvious. Yet as humans we tend to judge factors based on benchmarks from our own experiences and opportunities. Foreign activists might often be judging working conditions in the tourism industry or in other foreign owned firms against benchmarks forged from a very different perspective than the benchmarks workers in developing and less developed countries use to make decisions. Much of the literature written on the subject come from writers, scholars and activists working and living in wealthy countries, while the voices of the workers in the less prosperous regions are often ignored. The study is intended to present the subjective views of actual workers on their satisfaction with the employment they chose to pursue, which it is expected will be linked to their opinion on being exploited.

In addition to measuring satisfaction with current working conditions, the study also looked at perceived promotional opportunities. As it would be expected there would be a negative relationship between perceived opportunities for career advancement of perception of exploitation.

STUDY

Hypotheses

Based on a review of the literature, four pairs of hypotheses and alternative hypotheses were created to test the perception of employees about whether they felt they were exploited or being given opportunities by investments made by foreign owned companies in the tourism industry in Thailand. It was decided to compare the perceptions of workers from foreign owned companies with the perceptions of workers in domestically owned companies in the same industry. Under the Marist/exploitation theory we would expect to see workers from all firms to perceive to be exploited and this feeling would be stronger in foreign owned firms, due to more unequal control of resources. Under the wealth creation perspective, it would be expected workers to more likely express high levels of satisfaction with the work option they voluntarily chose and workers in foreign companies expressing higher levels of satisfaction would be aligned with the wealth creation viewpoint and evidence showing foreign firms on average provide better working conditions and wages than do local firms in developing economies.

Hypothesis 1a: Workers in foreign owned companies will express less satisfaction with pay and benefits than workers in domestic owned companies.

Hypothesis 1b: Workers in foreign owned companies will express more satisfaction with pay and benefits than workers in domestic owned companies.

Hypothesis 2a: Workers in foreign owned companies will express less satisfaction with working conditions than workers in domestic owned companies.

Hypothesis 2b: Workers in foreign owned companies will express more satisfaction with working conditions than workers in domestic owned companies.

Hypothesis 3a: Workers in foreign owned companies will express less satisfaction with relationships with supervisors than workers in domestic owned companies.

Hypothesis 3b: Workers in foreign owned companies will express more satisfaction with relationships with supervisors than workers in domestic owned companies.

Hypothesis 4a: Workers in foreign owned companies will express less satisfaction with promotional opportunities than workers in domestic owned companies.

Hypothesis 4b: Workers in foreign owned companies will express more satisfaction with promotional opportunities than workers in domestic owned companies.

Data Gathering

Interviews were held with 150 workers in the tourism industry, 75 from Thai owned and 75 workers from foreign owned companies. The focus was on seeking the viewpoints of workers in entry level or non-managerial positions. The original intention was to do all of the interviews in the Northern Thailand provinces of Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai as the northern region of the country has both high rates of poverty and an active tourism industry, but due to unforeseen

Table 1. Demographic data on participants

	Foreign owned		Thai-owned	
Age	Under 30	30 and over	Under 30	30 and over
	54	21	47	28
Gender	Male	Female	Male	Female
	37	38	41	34

circumstances only 50 interviews of workers of both local and foreign companies were conducted in these Northern provinces and later 25 interviews from each category were also held in Bangkok. The interviews were carried out and translated by local research assistants as it was hoped the participants would be more open with interviewers closer in age and cultural background. Each of the two research assistants carried out an equal number of interviews with workers from both foreign and domestically owned companies to reduce any possible interviewer bias. A summary of the results can be found in Appendix A.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

The tourism industry in any developing country is extremely varied, without any centralized database of workers and therefore it is nearly impossible to use any form of random sampling. The decision was made to use a matched pair analysis, as use of matched pairs analysis is considered an acceptable technique in the social sciences when random sampling is not feasible (e.g., Hunt & Ord, 1988; Imai, King, & Nall, 2009; Peck, 1985). The intention of using a matched pair analysis is to replicate, as closely as possible, the principles associated with randomized experiments when using observational data (Stuart & Rubin, 2008).

The participants were asked to answer questions about the four hypotheses using a Likert scale where the categories were very satisfied, satisfied, neutral, dissatisfied and very dissatisfied. The debate over whether to use parametric or non-parametric tests with Likert data has been around for a long time (e.g., Carifio & Perla, 2008; Joshi, Kale, Chandel, & Pal, 2015; Subedi, 2016). It was decided to follow the advice of Justice et al. (1998), Murray (2013) and Sullivan and Artino (2013) who claimed the use of parametric tests were acceptable and the choice of tests rarely changed results. Although the use of non-parametric tests were also used to confirm the findings.

Matched Pairs

Before selecting pairs to be matched, the results based on the demographic characteristics of age and gender were compared across all participants using a two-tailed t-test for independent pairs at a .05 confidence level. No significance differences were found. The results were confirmed using a Mann-Whitney U non-parametric test. See Appendix B.

Therefore, in selecting matched pairs, both age group and gender were used when possible, but division of these categories was not deemed to be required. The primary criteria used to align matches was job category. The participants were divided into 11 different job categories, see Appendix C. Thus, it was determined there were 63 usable matched pairs. Within each job category, the pairs were matched as closely as possible through the use of reported job titles, descriptions of duties supplied by the participants, and subjective evaluations of level of responsibility.

The hypotheses were tested on the 63 pairs using a t-test for two dependent mean, with a score of 5 assigned to very satisfied; down to a 1 for very dissatisfied. Two-tailed analyses with a 0.05 significance level were used for all tests. The results were supported by also using a t-test for two independent means and a non-parametric Wilcoxon signed-rank test of all 75 participants. See Table 2.

Results

Hypotheses 1a and 1b

A mean of 4.56, was found for employees of foreign-owned companies while a mean of 4.06 was found for Thai-owned ones. The mean difference was found to be -.49. The t value was -5.84 with a p value of less than .001. Therefore hypothesis 1a was rejected while hypothesis 1b was accepted.

Table 2. Supporting t-test and Wilcoxon signed-rank test of all 75 participants

Hypothesis /Question	t-test t-value	t-test P-value	Significance	Wilcoxon signed-rank test Z-score	Wilcoxon signed-rank Test P-value	Significance
1	5.82	0.00	Significant	-4.94	0.00	Significant
2	4.75	0.00	Significant	-4.52	0.00	Significant
3	2.96	0.00	Significant	-3.72	0.00	Significant
4	3.98	0.00	Significant	-4.46	0.00	Significant

Hypotheses 2a and 2b

A mean of 4.46 was found for employees of foreign-owned companies while a mean of 4.03 was found for Thai-owned ones. The mean difference was found to be -.43. The t value was -4.63 with a p value of less than .001. Therefore hypothesis 2a was rejected while hypothesis 2b was accepted.

Hypotheses 3a and 3b

A mean of 4.62 was found for employees of foreign-owned companies while a mean of 4.27 was found for Thai-owned ones. The mean difference was found to be -.35. The t value was -4.10 with a p value of less than .001. Therefore hypothesis 3a was rejected while hypothesis 3b was accepted.

Hypotheses 4a and 4b

A mean of 4.49 was found for employees of foreign-owned companies while a mean of 4.08 was found for Thai-owned ones. The mean difference was found to be -.41. The t value was -3.67 with a p value of less than .001. Therefore hypothesis 4a was rejected while hypothesis 4b was accepted.

DISCUSSION

Overall the results showed a high level of satisfaction across the four measures for both foreign and Thai-owned companies. These results were fairly consistent with the findings of Sarker, Crossman, & Chinmeteepituck (2003) and Churintr (2010) on job satisfaction in the tourism industry in Thailand. The results and discussions suggest the workers did not feel they were being exploited, instead the workers expressed the ability to evaluate their own opportunities and make livelihood decisions which best met their own lifestyles and needs. These findings are consistent with some other studies throughout Southeast Asia where workers expressed their abilities to evaluate the benefits and challenges and make well informed choices when new livelihood opportunities were presented (e.g., Keobountham, 2011; Nguyen, 2011; Tran, 2011).

It was found employees of foreign owned companies showed statistically significant higher levels of satisfaction with pay and benefits, working conditions, relationships, and promotional opportunities than did employees from domestically owned firms. One possible explanation for higher levels of satisfaction in pay and benefits and working conditions could be that foreign owned companies in developing economies tend to target the “top of the pyramid markets” (London & Hart, 2000) and therefore might require higher levels of skills in employees and have the resources to offer higher wages and better working conditions. Another possible explanation is foreign firms from developed countries face more pressure from NGOs and home country institutions to provide fair pay and good working condition than do domestic firms while operating in developing economies (Reuter, Foerstl, Hartman, & Blome, 2010).

It was also found workers in foreign firms perceived their promotional opportunities to higher than workers in domestic firms. It is possible one factor is that many smaller domestic firms are

family owned and run thus providing few opportunities for non-family member to move up from non-managerial to managerial or supervisory positions.

It would probably be a good idea to not overemphasize the differences even though statistically significant, as workers in both foreign and domestic firms expressed high levels of job satisfaction. Firms compete for employees as well as customers. It is likely the existence of additional jobs opportunities created by foreign firms result in increased competition for employees, thus pressuring local firms to increase benefits to attract workers (Hipsher, 2017).

Studies have suggested tourism has been effective in creating quality employment opportunities in Goa in India (Breda & Costa, 2013), Cuba (Hingtgen, Kline, Fernandes, & Gard-McGehee, 2015), Namibia (Janis, 2009), the Limpopo Province in South Africa (Boonzaaier, 2009), Fiji and other Pacific Island Nations (Harrison & Prasad, 2013), the Okavango Delta region of Botswana (Mbaiwa, 2009), as well as in reviews of multiple studies (e.g. Inchausti-Sintes, 2015; McKercher & Ho, 2012; Vanegas, 2012). The results of this current study would seem to also suggest foreign investment and international tourism provide attractive livelihood opportunities, as perceived by the workers themselves, in Thailand. In answering the research questions, it would appear the tourism industry and other types of international trade and foreign direct investment tend to be perceived by workers as providing additional opportunities, as predicted by the wealth creation approach theory, and are not felt to be exploitative, as predicted by Marxist theory.

CONCLUSION

In studying the impact of tourism, FDI, and international trade, or in implementing policy, it is suggested the viewpoints of those most directly affected are given due weight. Prahalad (2005) believed it was very important when trying to reduce poverty to respect the rights of the poor to make their own decisions, and they should not be expected to abide by decisions directly affecting their lives made by good-intended individuals from outside their own communities. The theoretical contribution of the paper reminds us, workers everywhere make livelihood decisions for a variety of reasons and do not solely seek to maximize income, but seek to maximize their life satisfaction or utility. Therefore it is suggested encouraging the creation of more options to make a living, through increased tourism, FDI, or other means, and allowing individuals to determine which option available fits each person's individual lifestyle and objectives is preferred to approaches based on the theory of exploitation of workers which tend to promote programs which lead to the reduction in the number of opportunities provided to workers in developing and less developed economies.

Limitations and Suggestions for Further Research

The limitations of the use of self-reported data are well known and acknowledged (e.g., Pavot & Diener, 1993; Podsakoff & Organ 1986; Spector, 1994). While an attempt was made to get the views of employees in a wide variety of types of businesses and positions, there is no assurance the samples were an accurate representation of any particular population. It is hoped and suggested researchers with more access to resources carry out larger scale investigations of these issues in a variety of settings.

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APPENDIX A

Table 3.

Foreign owned	Responses	Thai owned	Responses
Question/hypothesis 1		Question 1	
5. Very Satisfied	37	5. Very Satisfied	7
4. Satisfied	38	4. Satisfied	66
3. Neutral	0	3. Neutral	0
2. Dissatisfied	0	2. Dissatisfied	2
1. Very Dissatisfied	0	1. Very Dissatisfied	0
Question/hypothesis 2		Question 2	
5. Very Satisfied	33	5. Very Satisfied	9
4. Satisfied	42	4. Satisfied	63
3. Neutral	0	3. Neutral	0
2. Dissatisfied	0	2. Dissatisfied	3
1. Very Dissatisfied	0	1. Very Dissatisfied	0
Question/hypothesis 3		Question 3	
5. Very Satisfied	39	5. Very Satisfied	22
4. Satisfied	36	4. Satisfied	52
3. Neutral	0	3. Neutral	0
2. Dissatisfied	0	2. Dissatisfied	1
1. Very Dissatisfied	0	1. Very Dissatisfied	0
Question/hypothesis 4		Question 4	
5. Very Satisfied	35	5. Very Satisfied	12
4. Satisfied	39	4. Satisfied	59
3. Neutral	0	3. Neutral	0
2. Dissatisfied	1	2. Dissatisfied	4
1. Very Dissatisfied	0	1. Very Dissatisfied	0

APPENDIX B

Table 4. Gender and Age Comparison

Hypothesis /Question	t-test t-value	t-test P-value	Significance	Mann-Whitney U Test-Z-score	Mann-Whitney U Test P-value	Significance
1-gender	-0.39	0.62	Not significant	-0.01	0.99	Not significant
2-gender	-1.06	0.145	Not significant	-0.49	0.62	Not significant
3-gender	0.96	0.34	Not significant	1.02	0.30	Not significant
4-gender	1.81	0.07	Not significant	1.32	0.19	Not significant
1-age	0.06	0.95	Not significant	0.31	0.76	Not significant
2-age	0.47	0.64	Not significant	0.44	0.66	Not significant
3-age	0.90	0.37	Not significant	1.15	0.25	Not significant
4-age	-1.71	0.89	Not significant	-1.15	0.25	Not significant

APPENDIX C

Table 5. Job Categories of Participants

Foreign Owned		Thai owned	
Security	6	Security	6
Front Desk	24	Front Desk	18
Bellboy	2	Bellboy	2
Housekeeping	4	Housekeeping	8
Back Office	8	Back Office	4
Food and Beverage (service)	18	Food and Beverage (service)	19
Food and Beverage (preparation)	5	Food and Beverage (preparation)	5
Maintenance	6	Maintenance	9
Masseuse	2	Masseuse	0
Driver	0	Driver	3
Guide	0	Guide	1

Scott Hipsher is an American, but earned his B.Sc. in Management Studies at the University of Maryland's Asian Division in Japan. He completed an MBA with Bangkok University in Thailand and for his PhD he did his research in Cambodia. He has had a wide range of professional experiences. He has been a factory worker, a farm hand, a professional harness race horse trainer throughout the Midwest of the USA and Ontario, a member of the US Navy for over 10 years with most of his time spent on a couple of ships homeported in California and also for three years as an operations supervisor in Sasebo Japan. He spent many years in Southeast Asia which have included stints as the Northeast Thailand regional manager for a Dutch-owned export company, the General Affairs Manager along the Thai-Burmese border for a Dutch based NGO providing educational support for refugees, an instructor (both full-time and adjunct) at a number of international programs at Thai, Chinese and Vietnamese universities. He is now a faculty member with Webster University in Thailand. He has taught a wide range of courses including courses in marketing, management, economics, and international business. He has also been the advisor for over a dozen successful PhD dissertations. He is the author of a number of books, book chapter, academic journal articles, conference papers and other publications. He is currently serving on the Editorial Review Board of the Asian Journal of Business Studies.