

**GERMAN MIGRANTS IN PATTAYA, THAILAND:
LIFESTYLE, MOTIVATIONS, AND INTEGRATION**

KWANCHANOK JAISUEKUN

**A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS (CULTURAL STUDIES)
FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
MAHIDOL UNIVERSITY
2017**

COPYRIGHT OF MAHIDOL UNIVERSITY

Thesis
entitled
**GERMAN MIGRANTS IN PATTAYA, THAILAND:
LIFESTYLE, MOTIVATIONS, AND INTEGRATION**

Kwanchanok Jaisuekun

Miss Kwanchanok Jaisuekun
Candidate

Sirijit Sunanta

Asst. Prof. Sirijit Sunanta,
Ph.D. (Women's and Gender Studies)
Major advisor

on duty abroad

Lect. Ratana Tosakul,
Ph.D. (Sociocultural Anthropology)
Co-advisor

Narong Ardsmiti

Lect. Narong Ardsmiti,
Ph.D. (Southeast Asian Studies)
Co-advisor

Patcharee Lertrit

Prof. Patcharee Lertrit,
M.D., Ph.D. (Biochemistry)
Dean
Faculty of Graduate studies
Mahidol University


Nantida Chandransu

Lect. Nantida Chandransu,
Ph. D. (Music)
Program Director
Master of Arts Program in Cultural Studies
Research Institute for Languages and
Cultures of Asia
Mahidol University

Thesis
entitled
**GERMAN MIGRANTS IN PATTAYA, THAILAND:
LIFESTYLE, MOTIVATIONS, AND INTEGRATION**

was submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies, Mahidol University
for the degree of Master of Arts (Cultural Studies)

on
March 20, 2017



Miss Kwanchanok Jaisuekun
Candidate



Asst. Prof. Srijit Sunanta,
Ph.D. (Women's and Gender Studies)
Member



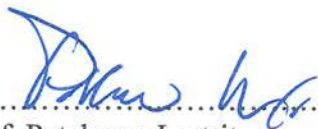
Asst. Prof. Panitee Brown,
Ph.D. (Sociology)
Chair

on duty abroad

Lect. Ratana Tosakul,
Ph.D. (Sociocultural Anthropology)
Member



Lect. Narong Ardsmiti,
Ph.D. (Southeast Asian studies)
Member



Prof. Patcharee Lertrit,
M.D., Ph.D. (Biochemistry)
Dean
Faculty of Graduate studies
Mahidol University



Assoc. Prof. Kwanchit Sasiwongsaroj,
Ph.D. (Demography)
Dean
Research Institute for Languages and
Cultures of Asia
Mahidol University

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This master's thesis would not have been possible without the help and support of many kind people around me, some of whom it is possible to give particular mention here.

First and foremost, I would like to thank my major advisor, Asst. Prof. Dr. Sirijit Sunanta, who has taught me a lot and provided me the opportunity to start my master's thesis journey. Without her guidance, understanding, help and support, I would not have successfully completed my study. I wish to express my deep gratitude to Dr. Narong Ardsmiti for his encouragement and enlightenment of my critical thinking since my first step in RILCA. Special thanks are extended to Dr. Ratana Tosakul and Asst. Prof. Dr. Panitee Brown for their precious time and valuable suggestions to improve my study. I also thank Mr. Richard Hiam for proof reading and editing my manuscript. I really appreciate his generous help and previous support.

I would like to acknowledge the TRF Master Research Grants: TRF-MAG for providing the necessary financial support for this research. I also thank all the staff at the German Speaking Pattaya Expats Club and the Meeting Center Pattaya, who welcomed me every time I visited Pattaya. I owe my thesis to my research participants, who generously provided information and shared parts of their lives with me. This study would not have been possible without their help.

Last but not least, I would like to acknowledge my family and friends for their unwavering support. Above all, I would like to thank my parents, Mr. Baupitr and Mrs. Renu, for their unconditional love and constant support, throughout my life and during my studies. Thanks to my dear friend, Miss Thitirat Raklao, for being supportive while I was working on my thesis. I would also like to thank Mr. Weerayut Mekchai for his emotional support and understanding.

Kwanchanok Jaisuekun

**GERMAN MIGRANTS IN PATTAYA, THAILAND: LIFESTYLE, MOTIVATIONS,
AND INTEGRATION**

KWANCHANOK JAISUEKUN 5636441 LCCS/M

M.A. (CULTURAL STUDIES)

THESIS ADVISORY COMMITTEE: SIRIJIT SUNANTA, Ph.D., RATANA
TOSAKUL, Ph.D., NARONG ARDSMITI, Ph.D.**ABSTRACT**

This study examined the German migration to Pattaya, Thailand, focusing on migrants' motivations, lifestyle, social networks and integration. The empirical data of this study were based on six months of ethnographic research in Pattaya and 12 in-depth interviews with German migrants, particularly in the settings of two German social organizations: the German Language Pattaya Expats Club and the Meeting Center Pattaya. The researcher discussed the relocation of German nationals to Pattaya using lifestyle migration, a relatively new concept in migration studies, as a key theoretical framework. The concept of lifestyle migration is useful to understand the German migration to Pattaya given that most migrants were motivated in searching for a better way of life. Furthermore, this study found that Thai women played an important role in the German migration to Pattaya. Romantic/sexual and marital relationships with Thai women were involved in almost every aspect of migrants' lives, especially migration motivation and the enhanced lifestyle migrants enjoyed. Hence, in the case of German migration to Pattaya, the researcher argued that lifestyle migration and marriage migration were closely linked.

Pattaya, a well-known established international tourist destination, played a vital role in shaping migrants' lifestyle and relationships with local inhabitants. In the international setting of Pattaya, German migrants live as if they were in Germany, surrounded by well-developed infrastructure, good quality medical facilities and German communities. Choosing Pattaya as a residential destination implies migrant's desire to extend their privileged status as tourist for their long term stay as well as to lead a life of their choice at a distance from their Thai in-laws. Findings also revealed that the interactions between German migrants and Thais were mainly those between patrons and clients rather than friends and neighbors. In the lack of formal recognition and assistance from German and Thai governmental bodies, German speaking social circles provided support and assistance for the German migrants in Pattaya.

**KEY WORDS: GERMAN MIGRATION / PATTAYA / THAILAND / LIFESTYLE
MIGRATION / MARRIAGE MIGRATION**

107 pages

ผู้ย้ายถิ่นชาวเยอรมันในพัทยา ประเทศไทย: รูปแบบการใช้ชีวิต แรงจูงใจ และการปรับตัว

GERMAN MIGRANTS IN PATTAYA, THAILAND: LIFESTYLE, MOTIVATIONS, AND INTEGRATION

ขวัญชนก ใจชื้อกุล 5636441 LCCS/M

ศศ.ม. (วัฒนธรรมศึกษา)

คณะกรรมการที่ปรึกษาวิทยานิพนธ์: ศิริจิต สุนันตะ, Ph.D., รัตนา โตสกุล, Ph.D., ณรงค์ อัจสมิติ, Ph.D.

บทคัดย่อ

งานวิจัยนี้มีวัตถุประสงค์เพื่อศึกษาการย้ายถิ่นของผู้ย้ายถิ่นชาวเยอรมันในพัทยา ประเทศไทย โดยมุ่งเน้นความสนใจไปที่การศึกษาเรื่องแรงจูงใจในการย้ายถิ่น รูปแบบการใช้ชีวิต และเครือข่ายทางสังคมและการปรับตัว งานวิจัยนี้เป็นการวิจัยเชิงชาติพันธุ์วรรณา ผู้วิจัยใช้เวลาหกเดือนในการเก็บรวบรวมข้อมูลและทำการสัมภาษณ์เชิงลึกกับผู้เข้าร่วมการวิจัยชาวเยอรมันจำนวนทั้งสิ้น 12 คน โดยส่วนใหญ่เป็นสมาชิกของชุมชนเยอรมันสองแห่งคือ “German Language Pattaya Expats Club” และ “Meeting Center Pattaya” ผู้วิจัยนำแนวคิดเรื่อง “การย้ายถิ่นเพื่อเปลี่ยนแปลงรูปแบบการใช้ชีวิต” ซึ่งเป็นแนวคิดที่ค่อนข้างใหม่ในการศึกษาเกี่ยวกับการย้ายถิ่น มาเป็นแนวคิดหลักในการศึกษาและวิเคราะห์ปรากฏการณ์การย้ายถิ่นของคนเยอรมันมายังพัทยา เนื่องจากแรงจูงใจในการย้ายถิ่นของผู้ย้ายถิ่นชาวเยอรมันคือการแสวงหาคุณภาพชีวิตที่ดีกว่า จึงทำให้แนวคิดเรื่องการย้ายถิ่นเพื่อเปลี่ยนแปลงรูปแบบการใช้ชีวิตสามารถอธิบายปรากฏการณ์การย้ายถิ่นนี้ได้ อย่างไรก็ตาม ผลการวิจัยแสดงให้เห็นถึงอิทธิพลของหญิงไทยที่มีต่อการย้ายถิ่นนี้ ผู้หญิงไทยมีบทบาทและมีส่วนเกี่ยวข้องในแทบทุกด้านของชีวิตของผู้ย้ายถิ่นชาวเยอรมัน โดยเฉพาะอย่างยิ่งแรงจูงใจในการย้ายถิ่นและการเป็นส่วนหนึ่งในการเติมเต็มชีวิตที่ดีกว่าให้แก่ผู้ย้ายถิ่น ด้วยเหตุนี้การย้ายถิ่นของชาวเยอรมันในพัทยาจึงถือเป็นส่วนหนึ่งของการย้ายถิ่นเพื่อเปลี่ยนแปลงรูปแบบการใช้ชีวิต โดยเป็นปรากฏการณ์ที่มีความสัมพันธ์อย่างมากกับการย้ายถิ่นเพื่อการแต่งงาน

ลักษณะพิเศษของเมืองพัทยาในฐานะเมืองท่องเที่ยวชื่อดังระดับโลกมีส่วนสำคัญอย่างยิ่งในการกำหนดรูปแบบการใช้ชีวิตของผู้ย้ายถิ่นและความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างผู้ย้ายถิ่นกับคนท้องถิ่น ผู้ย้ายถิ่นชาวเยอรมันใช้ชีวิตที่พัทยาราวกับอยู่ในประเทศเยอรมนี พร้อมไปด้วยสภาพแวดล้อมแบบสากล สิ่งอำนวยความสะดวก บริการทางการแพทย์ที่ได้มาตรฐาน และชุมชนเยอรมัน การตัดสินใจเลือกพำนักที่พัทยาแสดงให้เห็นถึงความปรารถนาที่จะยืดอายุความมีอภิสิทธิ์และสถานะนักท่องเที่ยวให้ยาวนานขึ้นและเพื่อใช้ชีวิตตามที่ใจปรารถนาอย่างอิสระจากกรอบรั้วของภรรยาชาวไทย ผลการวิจัยยังแสดงให้เห็นว่าปฏิสัมพันธ์ระหว่างผู้ย้ายถิ่นชาวเยอรมันกับคนท้องถิ่นนั้นอยู่ในรูปแบบของผู้ให้บริการกับผู้รับบริการมากกว่าการเป็นเพื่อนหรือเพื่อนบ้าน และจากข้อจำกัดเรื่องสถานะทางกฎหมายและการไม่ได้รับความช่วยเหลือจากทางการไทยและเยอรมนี ทำให้ชุมชนเยอรมันกลายมามีบทบาทสำคัญในการให้ความช่วยเหลือผู้ย้ายถิ่นชาวเยอรมันในพัทยา

CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
ABSTRACT (ENGLISH)	iv
ABSTRACT (THAI)	v
LIST OF TABLES	ix
LIST OF FIGURES	x
CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Background and Rationale	1
1.1.1 Introduction to Western migration to Thailand	1
1.1.2 German migrants in Pattaya	2
1.2 Objectives of the study	5
1.3 Research questions	5
1.4 Expected benefits	6
1.5 Limitations of this study	6
1.6 Thesis outline	6
CHAPTER II LITERATURE REVIEW	8
2.1 Conceptual Framework	8
2.1.1 Lifestyle migration	8
2.1.2 Gender and lifestyle migration	12
2.1.3 Heterotopia	15
2.1.4 Tourism and migration	18
2.1.5 Host-Guest relationship in tourism areas	20
2.2 Related Literature	22
2.2.1 Tourism in Thailand	22
2.2.2 The Thai –German migration	29

CONTENTS (cont.)

	Page
CHAPTER III METHODOLOGY	32
3.1 “The fieldwork and I”	32
3.1.1 Trust and access	32
3.1.2 Self reflexivity	37
3.2 Sample group selection / Participants	38
CHAPTER IV OVERVIEW OF PATTAYA	41
4.1 History of Pattaya	41
4.2 Pattaya’s Tourism	44
4.3 Pattaya - an international city	48
CHAPTER V A PARADISE FOUND IN PATTAYA: LIFESTYLE MIGRATION AND GENDER	56
5.1 Goodbye Germany and welcome to Pattaya	56
5.1.1 A negative presentation of life before migration	57
5.1.2 From tourist to resident: a paradise found in Pattaya	60
5.2 “The beautiful Thai and I”	62
5.2.1 The role of Thai women in German migration	63
5.2.2 Living separately without in-laws	66
CHAPTER VI THE LIVES OF GERMAN MIGRANTS IN PATTAYA	69
6.1 The migration experience	71
6.1.1 What is it like to live in a tourist town?	71
6.1.2 Living in Little Germany: Everyday lives’ and communities	75
6.2 Social integration and problems in Pattaya	82
6.2.1 ‘Patron-client relationship’	82
6.2.2 ‘A privileged but also precarious life’	85
6.2.3. German communities as shelter and support to migrants	87
6.3 Conclusion	89

CONTENTS (cont.)

	Page
CHAPTER VII CONCLUSION	90
BIBLIOGRAPHY	94
BIOGRAPHY	107

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
3.1 Overview over participants	40

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
4.1 Map of Pattaya	42
4.2 View of Pattaya	44
4.3 Walking Street	45
4.4 A soi in Pattaya	50
4.5 A menu board written in German and a German bookshop	51
4.6 Foreigners and Thai paddlers	52
4.7 Foreigners and Thai paddlers	54
6.1 A monthly meeting of the German Language Pattaya Expats Club	76
6.2 The Meeting Center Pattaya	77
6.3 A 'Stammtisch' at the Meeting Center	79

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background and Rationale

1.1.1 Introduction to Western migration to Thailand

Thailand has long been a popular tourist destination. In 2015, the country received 28.8 million visitors and generating 1.4 trillion Baht revenue (TAT News, 2015). The country is not only a holiday place but also a desirable residential destination for international migrants, especially Western migrants who choose Thailand as their second home. Although an official number of Western residents in Thailand is not available, Howard (2009) offers an estimate of 100,000 white Westerners living permanently in the kingdom with the largest proportions of them coming from the UK, Germany and the USA.

Over the last few years, Thailand has received an increasing number of Western migrants. This trend has captured media as well as academic attention. Scholarly research that examines this new trends includes Howard (2008 and 2009) survey-based studies on the motivations and experiences of Western migrants in Thailand, Koch-Schulte's (2008) research on international migration and expats in Udonthani and its impact on the host community, Maher and Lafferty's (2014) ethnographic studies on white migrants masculinities in the Northeastern region (Isaan) of Thailand, Husa et al (2014) and Vielhaber et al's (2014) surveys on the extent, structure, causes and consequences of international retirement migration to Hua Hin and Cha-am, and Thompson et al (2016) extended fieldwork conducted in Isaan and Bangkok on emergent masculinities of Western sex tourists and sons-in-law. However, German migrants are underrepresented in these studies although German citizens are among the largest groups of Western residents in Thailand (Koch-Schulte, 2008 and Howard, 2009).

While Germany is the world's number two destination for migration according to a survey by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and development, the number of German citizens relocated abroad is also increasing. Approximately 140,282 Germans left Germany in 2013 (Statista, 2015) and roughly 710,000 departures were registered during 2009 – 2013 (Spiegel, 2015). Thailand, in particular Pattaya, is one of the preferable destinations among German emigrants. According to Deutsche Botschaft Bangkok (2016), an estimate of 700,000 German tourists visit Thailand each year and approximately 30,000 German nationals reside in Thailand. Although the number of German migrants, especially older persons and retirees, has been increasing, little has been known about this group of migrants. Furthermore, increasing social diversity due to this emerging migration trend needs to be better understood. Sometimes culture and language differences between host and migrants create misunderstanding and communication difficulties which could lead to prejudice and hostile atmosphere in the society. As stated in the official website of the German embassy in Bangkok “the two countries (Germany and Thailand- author) have a very close relationship between each other. Unfortunately, this close relationship often times creates social problems (translated by the author).

For these reasons, a study of German migrants in Thailand is necessary. This thesis aims to fill this knowledge gap by examining German migration to Thailand, focusing on migrants' motivations, lifestyle and social networks and integration. I chose Pattaya, a popular destination for German migrants in Thailand, as the research site for this study.

1.1.2 German migrants in Pattaya

During the very first part of my fieldwork, a German woman I made friend with at the Meeting Center Pattaya offered to give me a ride back to my hotel. On the way to the hotel, we stopped by the ‘Walking Street’ as she wanted to show me the most famous attraction for Pattaya's nightlife. The Walking Street is the red-light district with crowds of people of different nationalities. It consists of rows of night clubs, beer bars, go go bars, massage parlors, etc. In front of one bar, a big neon sign stated the famous credo I often heard during the time in Pattaya “GOOD GUYS GO TO HEAVEN | BAD GUYS GO TO PATTAYA”. This statement may ring true to what most people think of

Pattaya in general. It is indisputable that Pattaya is often called Disneyland for male adults and Western men in Pattaya are generally stereotyped as sex tourists. The statement, however, only reveals the dark and dirty side of Pattaya, neglecting the diversity of the city and its people. As a matter of fact, Pattaya has been a second home for a growing number of Westerners who intend to live a peaceful life in this cosmopolitan city. In contrast to the hustle and bustle in the heart of Pattaya where a lot of foreigners are drinking and flirting with bargirls, a group of German residents are enjoying their leisure time at the Meeting Center for German speakers in the outskirts of the city. Some others are enjoying their German food, participating in the German group talks, reading German novels and chatting with other German speakers.

German residents of Pattaya are relatively visible in this city. German citizens have relocated in many parts of Thailand but a large number of them have settled in Pattaya. Rudolf Hofer, honorary consul for Austrian and German in Pattaya, estimated that 7,000 – 8,000 German nationals are living in the city as a part of approximately 15,000 German speakers (including Austrian and Swiss nationals) living in Pattaya (Kubelka, 2013). According to the literature, the first group of German visitors in Pattaya was (sex) tourists who visited the beach resort in the 1960s. Somkiat Boonsiri (2007) proposed that German nationals started to establish their community in Pattaya in around 1975 when the Vietnam War was over. They settled in North Pattaya in an area that is later known as ‘Little Germany’ because of numerous German-speaking service facilities in the area.

This research will discuss the relocation of German nationals to reside in Pattaya using “lifestyle migration” as a key theoretical framework. Lifestyle migration is a relatively new concept in migration studies, referring to the phenomenon in which citizens of all ages from affluent industrialized nations move either permanently or temporarily to a meaningful place in pursuit of a better quality of life (Benson & O’Reilly, 2009). This phenomenon is widespread but the literature on lifestyle migration has mainly focused on cases in Europe and the Americas. Although there are studies on Western migration in Thailand as mentioned previously, none of these studies has adopted lifestyle migration as a conceptual framework. Hence, I intend to apply this concept to understand the mobility of German migrants in Pattaya. In the process of this study, I found that the concept of lifestyle migration tends to neglect economic

considerations and gendered motivations on the part of migrants. The literature on lifestyle migration normally describes lifestyle migrants as relatively affluent individuals who move in search of a better way of life (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009). However, in the case of German migration to Pattaya, many of my participants migrated so that they could maintain a relatively decent life with a dwindling income after retirement. With the over-representation of older male migrants in this form of the West-to-Thailand mobility, German migration to Pattaya represents lifestyle migration with unique characteristics. Thai women play an important role in motivating German men to move to Pattaya, suggesting that this case of lifestyle migration is gendered and closely linked to marriage migration.

Paying attention to the sociocultural dimension of physical space, I will look at how the setting of Pattaya has shaped migration experience and social interactions between host and guest. In this study, I consider Pattaya as a special space or heterotopia (Foucault, 1984). It is a space of otherness and a juxtaposition of people and things that do not normally belong together. Life in Pattaya is very different from life in other places in Thailand. Instead of experiencing the Thai way of life, German migrants in Pattaya live an international urban lifestyle as if they were not in Thailand. Pattaya is also a place of exception where many social norms are suspended. German migrants in Pattaya enjoy a sense of freedom they have never experienced in their country of origin. German migrants in Pattaya have limited interactions with the Thai society and local inhabitants. The relationships between hosts and guests are superficial and hierarchical with local people acting as service providers rather than friends. The local people I talked to admitted that they knew very little about the German community in Pattaya. Although local populations view German migrants as quality long stay tourists who do not cause any trouble, the two groups rarely interact in their daily life. German migrants tend to socialize only among German speakers while locals are busy earning their living. Though living in the same space, local Thais and German migrants seem to live in a different world. Migrant networks and German social circles in Pattaya provide social and emotional support and emergency assistance to poorly integrated German migrants in the lack of formal recognition and support by the Thai and German states.

1.2 Objectives of the study

1) To examine contemporary German migration to Thailand, focusing on motivations for migration, integration patterns and migrants' social ties to the homeland and country of destination

2) To examine the German transnational community in Pattaya, Thailand, and the role of German migrant networks and social circles in the life of German residents

3) To examine Pattaya, Thailand, as a special space in which social interactions are informed by the tourism economy

1.3 Research questions

1) How has the German migration to Pattaya developed? What are the characteristics of this growing trend of migration? What motivate German nationals to migrate to Pattaya?

2) In what way is the German migration to Pattaya similar to and different from other cases of lifestyle migration?

2.1) Why do male migrants in advanced ages over represent this population? How do Thai women influence migration decision of German migrants?

3) How do German migrants in Pattaya experience the life in their new home? How do they live their social and everyday life in Pattaya?

3.1) How has Pattaya, as a tourist enclave, shaped German migrants migration experience and interaction with the host society and local inhabitants?

3.2) What challenges do German nationals encounter as migrants in Thailand and how do they overcome them?

3.3) What are the roles of German migrant networks and social circles in the life of German residents in Pattaya?

1.4 Expected benefits

This study will provide a starting point for future research on German migration to Pattaya, Thailand, and contribute to the field of knowledge in transnational migration studies, particularly migration flows from developed- to developing countries. I expect that findings from this research will circulate knowledge and understanding of German migration to Pattaya and provide useful information for Thai and German agencies and organizations concerned with improving the quality of life of German migrants and mitigating negative social implications of this migration trend.

1.5 Limitations of this study

This study focuses solely on German citizens who reside permanently or semi-permanently in Pattaya, Thailand, and does not include German migrants who live in other parts of the country. German speakers of other nationalities are excluded. The scale of the study is rather limited due to time constraints and budget limit. I gained access to the informants through two German social organizations in Pattaya (The German Language Pattaya Expats Club and the Meeting Center Pattaya). Hence, German migrants who do not actively participate in German social circles are underrepresented in this study.

1.6 Thesis outline

After introducing the study in this chapter (Chapter 1), the next chapter (Chapter 2) will explore relevant theoretical frameworks and the related literature on Thai tourism and the historical background of the Thai-German migration. Chapter 3 will outline the research methodology and introduce key research informants whose migration stories constitute primary data of this study. Chapter 4 will focus on Pattaya as a special space created for and by tourism. Chapter 5 will discuss the German migration to Pattaya using lifestyle migration as the key theoretical framework. Chapter 6 will examine social networks and interactions of German migrants in Pattaya, focusing on two German social organizations—the German Language Pattaya Expat Club and

the Meeting Center. Finally, Chapter 7 summarizes the contributions of this study and suggests possibilities for future research

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter provides theoretical frameworks used in this study and a general review of tourism and migration in Thailand. In the first section, the aims to explore the mobility of German nationals to Pattaya, focusing on their migration motivation, experience and social integration, theoretical notions of lifestyle migration, gender, heterotopia and host-guest relationship are introduced. I discuss the phenomenon of German migration in Pattaya using lifestyle migration as a theoretical framework. However, due to the significant role of gender, which is neglected in previous studies on lifestyle migration, this present study further points to the concept of gender in lifestyle migration. Then, the concept of heterotopia is applied to highlight the importance of Pattaya as a special space and to analyze how the city frames the migration experience and the nature of social integration. Lastly, I use the concept of host-guest relationship to explain the relations between German migrants and the local population. A historic background of Thai tourism and its development as well as an overview of Thai-German migration are provided in the second section.

2.1 Conceptual Framework

2.1.1 Lifestyle migration

Lifestyle migration refers to “the spatial mobility of relatively affluent individuals of all ages, moving either part-time or full time to places that are meaningful because, for various reasons, they offer the potential of a better quality of life” (O’Reilly & Benson, 2009, p.2). This conceptual framework emerges as a result of inadequacy of prior conceptualizations in migration studies. The literature on migration has generally focused on the move of people from less economically advanced countries to more developed ones and overlooked the migration of relatively affluent individuals. When

the latter social group is studied, scholars often focus on ‘professional expatriates’ and ‘international retirement migration’ (O’Reilly & Benson, 2009, p.2). Nevertheless, there has been an increasing number of relatively affluent individuals who are motivated by a search for a better way of life and do not fit the standard migration typologies. “Lifestyle migration” is proposed by O’Reilly (2007) and Benson and O’Reilly (2009) to conceptualize a wider phenomenon previously studied under umbrella concepts such as retirement migration, elderly or later life migration, intra - European, leisure migration, counter urbanization, second home ownership, amenity seeking, seasonal migration and permanent migration to completely comprehend the “complexity of this trend and uniting its various elements”. (Benson & O’Reilly, 2009, p.609).

Lifestyle migration is differentiated from other kinds of migration by motivation and lifestyle choices. The motivation for migration is based on the belief that “a change of residential place will lead not simply to better opportunities in life, but rather to something which might be described as a better lifestyle and/or a more fulfilling way of life” (Torkington, 2010, p.102). The primary features of the lifestyle being searched for are the “re-negotiation of the work-life balance, quality of life, and the freedom from prior constraints” (Benson and O’Reilly, 2009). In order to achieve a better life, lifestyle migrants move to countries where the living cost and/or the price of property are lower. However, economic hardship is not the main motivation for them (O’Reilly, 2007). Lifestyle migrants are neither labour migrants nor expatriates. They are not motivated by the search for work. Although some lifestyle migrants work after migration, they portray this in terms of generating income to improve their lives after migration. Many of them run their own small businesses or work in the tourism industry providing services for other tourists and migrants (Benson & O’Reilly, 2009).

Lifestyle migration is considered as “a search, a project, rather than an act” (Benson & O’Reilly, 2009) and it is described as a comparative project between life before and after migration (ibid.) or a comparison between host and home country (O’Reilly, 2007). The positive presentation of life in the destination country is often romanticized whereas the life circumstances in the country of origin are presented negatively. People often seek to leave their home country due to high crime rates, monotony and routine in their lives, materialism, consumerism and the rat-race (O’Reilly and Benson, 2009). In Korpela’s (2009) study, young Westerners in Varanasi

were found to be unsatisfied with their lives in the “big bad west”; for such reasons as, consumerism, wage work, unwanted routine, and the rat-race, so they migrated to Varanasi where they found their ideal lifestyles, namely, a relaxed and slow pace of life. In Benson’s (2009) study, the subjects were British mid-life migrants who sought to escape the decay of British society and the fatal effect of stress and pollution on their health to search for a better, more relaxing and healthier lifestyle” (Benson, 2009). In addition, lifestyle migrants might move at some critical point in their lives, such as "serious illness, a birth or death in the family, a marriage or divorce, and job loss or other employment changes" (Hoey, 2009, p.42-43).

According to Janoshka and Haas (2014, p.1), lifestyle migration is “a privileged form of mobility taking place in a contingent relation between the two poles of tourism and migration”. There is a blurred distinction between tourism and migration which scholars attempt to distinguish in terms of an intention to return home and a more permanent residence (Williams and Hall, 2000; O’Reilly, 2000). While tourism implies a temporary and short-term visit, migration refers to “a more permanent change of residence, as opposed to touring, visiting or sojourning, implying an intention to return home” (O’Reilly, 2000, p.43). However, the distinction is unclear as there is no accepted definition as to the time parameters of “permanent” (Torkington, 2010, p.101). Tourism is close to migration albeit these two terms cannot be conflated into a single category. Likewise, even though lifestyle migration partially overlaps with tourism in terms of the pursuit of lifestyle and the chosen destination (Benson and O’Reilly, 2009; O’Reilly, 2003 and 2007), “it is important not to reduce lifestyle migration to tourism as this undermines the diverse motivations and experiences of the migrants” (Benson and O’Reilly, 2009, p.614).

Studies on lifestyle migration initially, mainly focused on cases within the European region and Americas (see Janoschka and Durán, 2014; Gustafson, 2009; Roca, Roca, Oliveira and Costa, 2014; Sardinha, 2014; Torkington, 2010 and 2014; Croucher, 2014 and Bastos, 2014). Although studies have recently expanded to Asia, for example, India (Korpela, 2009) and Malaysia (Green, 2014), studies on Western migrants in Thailand have yet to employ lifestyle migration as a conceptual framework (except Lafferty, 2017, Husa et al., 2014). To fill this knowledge gap, this study focuses on

migration flows from Germany to Thailand, using lifestyle migration as a key theoretical concept.

In this study, I use the concept lifestyle migration for several reasons. First, German migration to Thailand obviously involves individuals moving from a more developed country to a less developed one in search of a better life. Moreover, consistent with the narrative of lifestyle migration, German migrants in Pattaya cite negative circumstances before migration and a better life after migration as their motivation. Second, even though people of retirement age are overrepresented in this study, there are also people who are self-employed, those who are in paid employment - either for local businesses or in their home country - and those who have not yet reached retirement age. Last, due to the close connection between lifestyle migration and tourism, the German migrants in Pattaya are good representatives of tourism-informed mobility (Williams and Hall, 2002), which is also one of the important characteristics of the lifestyle migration. I do not choose to conceptualize this trend in terms of international retirement migration because some participants are still economically active or have not reached retirement age. Besides, international retirement migration has already been included in to the broader concept of lifestyle migration (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009).

Although lifestyle migration helps explain a new migration trend, there are some limitations to the use of this concept. In my view, this concept has a relatively broad definition and is closely connected to or overlapped with other migration concepts. Coining the term "lifestyle migration", Benson & O'Reilly (2009) indicated that they "map the various migrations that can be considered under this broad rubric, recognizing the similarities and differences in their migration trajectories" (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009, p. 608). Nevertheless, similar to other efforts to pin down migration typologies, lifestyle migration tends to include various migration flows under a single phenomenon and flatten out complexities in the life of individual migrants. Therefore, a question I reflect on is whether lifestyle migration, as a single phenomenon, can completely capture the complexity of the German migration to Pattaya. This study will explore whether the migration of German nationals to Pattaya can be conceptualized as lifestyle migration and in what way this migration flow is similar to and different from other cases of lifestyle migration. Unlike most studies of lifestyle migration that tend to

neglect the role of gender, kinship and interpersonal relationship in migration decisions and experiences (Croucher, 2014; Green, 2015), I will examine the ways in which the German migration to Pattaya is gendered. The vast majority of German migrants in Pattaya are male and relationships with Thai women significantly influence their migration decisions and experiences.

Additionally, I agree with Hayes (2014) that the literature on lifestyle migration overlooks economic consideration as a reason for migration. Even though the narrative of lifestyle migration states that economic hardship is not the main motivation for lifestyle migrants, the search for a better life is driven by financial benefit that encourages them to try it. Furthermore, lifestyle migrants seemed to relocate to a place where they can take advantage of lower living costs, cheaper property, and the increased value of their currency. The majority of North American lifestyle migrants, for example, mentioned the need to find a lower-cost destination to maintain their quality of life as their reasons for moving to Ecuador since they could not afford to live in their country (ibid.). In this regard, migration from more economically advanced countries to less developed ones is a way to stretch on individuals' savings and investment (Green, 2014), especially for retirement migrants, who, according to Howard (2008), have to deal with unpredictable future financial circumstances. Therefore, this study investigates whether migrants who are regarded as engaged in lifestyle migration can be considered as privileged migrants. Is it the aspiration of migrants to have better lives elsewhere or do they seek a destination in which they can maintain a quality of life unattainable for them at home?

2.1.2 Gender and lifestyle migration

Sex is best reserved as a simple dichotomous variable: male versus female. Gender is much more complex and involves the ways in which cultures imbue this biological difference with meaning such as demarcating between male and female domains in activities, tasks, spaces, time, dress and so on. (Pessar and Mahler, 2003, p.813)

Gender is not only about differences between men and women, but a constitutive element of migration (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2000). It is an important factor that distinguishes the difference between male and female migrants' lifestyles and experience in a receiving country as well as their motivations (Croucher, 2014). Pessar and Mahler (2003, p. 818) introduced gendered geographies of power: "a framework for analyzing people's gendered social agency – corporal and cognitive – given their own initiative as well as their positioning within multiple hierarchies of power operative within and across many terrains". In other words, this concept helps in understanding how gender operates or negotiates across transnational space and different scale and how it intersects with other axes of identity. The concept highlights whether gender across national borders reinforces prevailing gender norms, or, on the other hand, does transnational migration provide women and men opportunities to dispute the hegemonic notion of gender and entertain completing the understanding of gender lives. This framework also discusses the influence of interconnected power hierarchies, such as class, race, and nationality on an individual or group's social location (Pessar and Mahler, 2003; Croucher, 2014).

Gender signifies inequality between masculinities and femininities and it also controls the process of migration experience of men and women (Parrenas, 2009). According to Croucher (2014), gender plays a vital role in lifestyle migration since the motivation of lifestyle migration is driven by the migrants' desire to emancipate and negotiate away from patriarchal society and gender constraints in their country of origin. Many women lifestyle migrants feel liberated and emancipated from gender expectation in their home country. Many of them enjoy themselves traveling instead of doing a household. Pruitt and LaFont (1993) explored the negotiation of gender identity of Western female tourists who engaged in emotional and intimate relationship with local men in Jamaica. The women experienced the new gender behavior, allowing them to behave the way they would never do at home, namely traveling in pursuit of new relationships.

Even scholars appear to focus mainly on female migrants, male lifestyle migrants' experiences were also gendered. Their migration involves achieving a gendered role of success for men especially as breadwinner (Wilde-Menozzi, 2003; Croucher, 2014). There were positive influences on the Western English teachers in

China although their job as language teachers might be regarded as a low status expatriate job. They experienced a sense of Western masculinity, which they had never experienced at home. Based on the Chinese perception, Western men are assumed to be “gentlemanly, sexually accomplished, free of Chinese concerns (or positioning) of social class/province of origin, wealthy and as providing an opportunity for international travel and residence” (Stanley, 2011, p. 219). This is similar to Western men in Thailand who experience a sense of privilege (Maher and Lafferty, 2014). In the Thai context, *Farang*, or Westerners are key participants in sex tourism and son-in-law (Thompson et al., 2016). According to Constable (2009), sex tourism, a specific feature of globalized and transnational longing and relationship, occurs within a commodification of intimacy. Sex tourism enables male Europeans to prolong their gender role and strengthens their sense of male dominance and female subordination (Pruitt and Lafont, 1993). Moreover, sex tourism in Thailand is closely connected to marriage migration (Sunanta and Angeles, 2013). Many sex tourists enter into a relationship with sex workers and, in many cases, marry them; of course, there are many Farang-Thai couples who did not meet by virtue of the sex industry.

Living in Thailand fulfills a sense of empowerment and the status of “real white man” through their role as provider and king of the house, an experience not available to many Western men in their home country.

Within spaces such as Isan and the Pattaya tourist zone, our informants found they had additional resources for performing dominant masculinities and constituting themselves as privileged white men. A key dimension of their privilege as Westerners in such spaces was how it could convert into assets in erotic or romantic relationships in ways that enables performances of a masculine identity as a ‘player, or alternately, as a ‘provider’ and patriarch in a family. (Maher and Lafferty, 2014, p.435)

Aside from finding romance Western men receive attention and command social respect. O’Connell Davidson (1955) expressed her view on European men in Pattaya by describing them as enormously over weight, less than appealing, lacking

confidence and disfigured or disabled. Such men received the full attention of local Thais. Likely, according to the Jamaican and Caribbean cultural ideals of attractiveness, the foreign women who did not satisfy beauty standards at home, appealed to local men (Pruitt and LaFont, 1993).

While the majority of lifestyle migration elsewhere comprised was elderly couple or young families (Casado-Diaz, 2012), there are few differences between the proportion of male and female migrants. Western migration to Thailand is predominantly elderly males from Europe and America who arrive alone without wives or children (Howard, 2008, 2009; Husa et al., 2014; Maher and Lafferty, 2014). Husa et al.'s study (2014) highlights the easy availability of a new Thai partner as being a deciding factor in the migration decision. Some of their participants mentioned Thailand as a more suitable place for men rather than women. Therefore, Western migration to Thailand is male dominant (Howard, 2008, 2009; Husa et al., 2014; Maher and Lafferty, 2014). The phenomenon of German migration to Thailand is part of the global division of labor in which women from weaker economic circumstances take up reproductive labor and care work in rich countries (Parrenas, 2009). In the case of Thailand, the country provides care and services for men from the first world. Thus, migration to Thailand is a gendered process, which represents global inequalities.

Thai tourism, like the care and service industry, relies on the commodification of feminized and fetishized 'intimate labor' [...] to provide affordable leisure experience and recreational activities, including those of the sexual and adventurous types, to weary workers and travelers from all over the world. (Sunanta and Angeles, 2013, p. 703)

2.1.3 Heterotopia

Despite being a tourist beach resort, Pattaya is rather famous for its nightlife. However, that is not what it is all about. Pattaya has been officially promoted as a "city of variety" while it is informally known by locals and expats as the "extreme city" because of its unique character. It is believed that there is something for everyone who visits Pattaya, either male tourists who come alone to discover nightlife or those who

come with family to admire the beautiful beaches. I, therefore, find the concept of heterotopia useful in describing the special characteristics of this city.

Nowadays, the role of space in our daily lives may be neglected given that people neither raise questions or cast doubts on the existence of places and their behavioural differences. In fact, space is one important factor that shapes human's lives and identity. In every society there is a social system that constructs the foundation of space and control individual's behavior, and this system may function differently depending on the characteristic of each place. Foucault (1984) provided the useful concept of 'heterotopia', commonly known as 'of other spaces', for the critical analysis of space. Unlike 'utopia' - an unreal and ideal space - heterotopia can be a real space that interrupts the continuity and normality of ordinary everyday places. It is a space which stands outside of known space and everyday social and institutional space regardless of its physical location.

There also exist, and this is probably true for all cultures and all civilizations; real and effective spaces which are outlined in the very institution of society, but which constitute a sort of counter arrangement, of effectively realized utopia, in which all the real arrangements, all the other real arrangements that can be found within society, are at one and the same time represented, challenged, and overturned: a sort of places that lies outside all places and yet is actually localizable. In contrast to the utopias, these places which are absolutely other with respect to all the arrangements that they reflect and of which they speak might be described as heterotopias. (Foucault, 1997)

The scope of the concept of heterotopia is relatively wide. Foucault proposed several kinds of heterotopia such as heterotopia of crisis, deviance, illusion and compensation. However, he suggested a specific characteristic of heterotopia as "heterotopia is capable of juxtaposing in a single real place several spaces that are in themselves incompatible, a sort of microcosm" (Foucault, 1984). Pattaya embodies this principle of heterotopia. The city brings together in a single place, things and people that are not usually united and this makes Pattaya a special space.

Pattaya is very different from other Thai cities. Even though it is located in Banglamung district, Chonburi province, it is not under the jurisdiction of the district. Pattaya has been administered as a special autonomous area governed by an elected mayor and the council of Pattaya because its population and economy are much larger than other cities. In Thailand, this form of special local government is established only in Bangkok and Pattaya. Pattaya has many attractive beaches, islands, and hills for holiday makers who appreciate peaceful environment. It is also a cosmopolitan city with a notorious sex industry. International hotel chains such as the Hilton, the Sheraton, the Four Seasons, and Hard Rock Hotel spread in Pattaya city center and along the beach areas. There are also many high-end department stores, shopping malls and supermarkets, for example Central department store, Big C and Lotus, where foreign products are available. Tourists as well as migrants can choose to have a meal in international restaurants such as Thai, German and Italian or at one of the fast food chain restaurants like KFC, McDonalds, Black Canyon and Starbucks (for more details about Pattaya please see Chapter 4).

Pattaya is nevertheless commonly referred to by Thai and foreign people as the sin city because of prostitution, drugs, gambling and crimes (Longjit, 2010; Howard, 2009). It is advisable to avoid wandering the street of Pattaya and the dark alleys late at night, especially the promenade on Beach road. The majority of crimes and robberies occur on the beach walkway since many kinds of people hang out there looking for something—prostitutes looking for customers, drunken foreigners looking for prostitutes or drug users look for drug dealers and so on.

From a small quiet fishing village, Pattaya has become an international city. Some parts of Pattaya, especially in the tourist area, foreigners are more visible than Thais. The diversity of population in Pattaya makes this beach city different from other places. Since the city was created by and for tourism, it attracts different types of people. Apart from the local inhabitants, the city consists of Thai and foreign tourists, rural-to-urban migrants, foreign workers from neighbouring countries and Western long-stay tourists who established several expats communities in Pattaya. These people with diverse statuses and backgrounds live together in the same space. They belong to different worlds and would have lived very different lives. While the city center is a tourist area, Naklua (a traditional Thai fishing village in North Pattaya) and East Pattaya

(the area across the railway on the other side of Sukhumvit Road) are where Thai people and labour migrants live. These two sites are considered rural parts of Pattaya where life is not much different from other Thai provinces. In addition, while tourists and Western migrants live in luxury hotels or apartments, squatter settlements for labour migrants expand.

Pattaya city-scape is a juxtaposition of differences. Things, peoples and places that are incompatible exist side by side. In front of shiny modern shopping malls lie go go bars, dark alleys and street food stalls. Thais and Westerners are 'living apart together' as the two groups live segregated social life. Thai people stick together and Westerners socialize among other expats. Yet Western men walking hand in hand with Thai women are a familiar sight since the majority of Westerners in Pattaya date Thai women. In many cases, the Western men are much older. Pattaya Baht bus (a converted pick-up truck with two rows of seats in the back), main transportation in Pattaya, embodies heterotopic space where peoples from all walks of life—expats, tourists, local Thai residents, labour migrants—sit side by side.

As a heterotopia, a place of exception, Pattaya gives its inhabitants a sense of freedom. Western visitors and residents of Pattaya enjoy exotic lifestyle and freedom to behave in ways that are not normally acceptable in their countries of origin (or in other places in Thailand). They can visit go go bars and openly buy sex, date much younger women, be naked or semi-naked in public spaces, show affection in public and so on. In consistent with Foucault (1984)'s notion of heterotopia, it seems as if social rules and norms are suspended in Pattaya.

The concept of heterotopia highlights the social construction of places and relationships between places and people. An analysis of Pattaya as a heterotopia will provide insights into how the city has shaped its inhabitants' experiences, behaviours and perceptions. This study aims to find out how Pattaya has shaped German migrant's experiences and how migrants negotiate and manage their lives in this special area.

2.1.4 Tourism and migration

Williams and Hall (2002) identified four phases through which tourism has generated migration to a destination. In the first phase, tourism to an area creates a tourist industry that demands local labour. In the second phase, mass tourism and the

growth in tourism systems create the need for specialized skill labour, sometimes from labor migrants. In the third phase, the area begins to approach its mature stage and the migration nexus becomes more complex; prior tourism flows generate migration movements. The first wave of migration to a tourism destination is consumption-led—retired and early retired migrants whose prior tourist experience form their decision to migrate. The second wave is production-led migrants—labour migrants and entrepreneurial migrants who arrive in response to job opportunities created by tourism. In the fourth phase, tourism and migration are combined and converted. While migrants—both consumption-led and the production-led—make a decision to return home, friends and relatives who visit them as tourists might decide to migrate. This mobility nexus indicates the connection between tourism and migration where one would lead to the other. Furthermore, it shows that a place that starts with tourism could as well become a migration destination.

Many lifestyle migrants migrate to well-developed tourism destinations, such as Costa del Sol in Spain and the Algarve in Portugal (Torkington, 2010; O'Reilly, 2009). Well known lifestyle migration destinations started as holiday destinations (Benson and O'Reilly, 2009). Lifestyle migrants first visited the places as a tourist, liked what they saw, fanaticized about having their dream life there and finally decided to migrate. Prior tourism experience is an important factor in migration decision (Williams and Hall, 2002; Husa et al, 2014). In Howard's study (2009), many Western participants who came to Thailand for holidays or visited Thailand several times fell in love with the country and eventually ended up migrating. In tourist destinations, the availability of developed infrastructure and specific goods and services facilitate tourism and second home migration alike (O'Reilly 2007). In southern Europe, the development of mass tourism has generated essential infrastructure—se services and amenities—that appeal to future migrants (Casado-Diaz, 2012). Additionally, the presence of mass tourists of the migrants' own nationality in the area creates new migrants. Thus, in the case of lifestyle migration, migrants are closely connected to tourism and sometimes it is difficult for the locals to differentiate migrants from tourists. As Cohen (1977) proposed, social contacts and interactions between the locals and expatriates are at the same level as those between the locals and tourists.

2.1.5 Host-Guest relationship in tourism areas

The German migration to Pattaya is a tourism-informed mobility since the migrants are former tourists who decided to settle in a tourist place and live alongside other tourists. Their presence is perceived by the locals as simply as an extension of tourism. For this reason, the concept of host-guest relationship in tourism will be necessary to understand the relationship between German migrants and the local populations in Pattaya.

Host-guest relationship is an important topic in research on tourism and other forms of global mobilities. The 'host' refers to local populations in a specific destination including "the person on the front line of hospitality delivery, as in commercial settings, or a member of a broader "host community" - as in debates about asylum seekers and refugees" (Bell, 2009, p.22). The 'guest' refers to strangers who travel and are mobile (Molz and Gibson, 2007). The social contact between host and guest take place in three general contexts: when visitors purchase goods and/or services from hosts; when visitors and hosts use or occupy the same place, attraction and facility; and when the two actors meet and share knowledge and ideas (Carneiro and Eusébio, 2015).

The host-guest interaction constitutes socio-cultural aspect of tourism— "changes in societal value systems, community structures, social relationships, individual behaviour, ways and standard of living and tradition" (Saarinen and Manwa, 2008, p.45). Molz and Gibson (2007, p.7) noted that "host and guest [are] fluid, contested social roles that people moved into, out of, and between as they negotiate extensive overlapping mobilities and social memberships". The relationship between tourists/migrants and the locals are often characterized as unequal. As Getz (1999, p.24) stated, "tourist space is an area dominated by tourist activities or one that is organized for meeting the needs of visitors". This implies that the tourist areas are developed to attract non-local people, particularly "tourists to consume the place" (Saarinen and Manwa, 2008, p. 46).

Residing in a tourist area shapes migrants' experience and interactions with the host society. A number of studies on the integration of lifestyle migration suggested that lifestyle migrants are not well integrated into host societies (Gustafson, 2009; Casado-Diaz, 2009; O'Reilly, 2003 and 2007; Lipkina and Hall, 2014). They might have

connections with host countries; however, they tend to move into the social networks that are predominantly homogenous (Casado-Diaz, 2009). O'Reilly (2002 and 2007) found although British lifestyle migrants in Spain declared a desire to integrate, they made little effort to reach this in practice. The greatest obstacles that limit integration seem to be cultural differences and language barrier that prevent understanding of culture and norms of the host society (Lipkina and Hall, 2014), especially in tourist areas where there is no need to acquire local language skills.

O'Reilly (2009) described the British in the Costa del Sol, a famous tourist space in Spain, as having no chances to build relationships with the local people and to develop good local language skills. She observed that because most of the British in Spain were retirees, they did not meet Spanish people in their daily life. Those who worked usually worked in the tourist industry, such as in real estate agencies and bars, or worked with other migrants. Younger migrant settlers created jobs for themselves by offering a range of services to both migrants and tourists. As a tourist destination, there were so many tourists and settled migrants and service business provided for them, so it was easier to speak English instead of practicing Spanish. Moreover, their lives were surrounded by English language facilities – English language daily newspaper and English language television channels. Even though these migrants could live a good life with all those accommodations, they were separated from being part of the Spanish society.

In a study of British lifestyle migrants in Didim, Turkey, Nudrali and O'Reilly (2009) found that relationships between migrants and local people were quite hierarchical. The migrants as well as tourists acted as guests and commercial trading partners in Turkey. Coming from a stronger economy country, British lifestyle migrants had more purchasing power and received a full attention from Turkish people. In the meantime, tourist privilege made the Turkish feel like they were second-class citizens in their own country.

While some migrants are worried about their poor assimilation, others create new social circles or joined existing expat communities in the receiving areas. In Casado-Diaz's study (2009), British retirees in Spain participated in educational, creative and leisure activities run by an expat organization in the local area. The British had some links with the host community and other nationalities, but due to language

barrier, they tended to enjoy the predominantly British social circle. In Thailand, particularly in the tourist resort like Pattaya, there are numerous communities for Western migrants (Kubelka, 2013; Howard, 2008 and 2009). In the Isaan region, although there were less expat communities, the migrants tended to associate through Farang social gathering, such as in bars, clubs and restaurants because of the lack of social integration into Thai cultures (Maher and Lafferty, 2014).

Tourism has played an important role in the Thai economy and socio-cultural landscape. It is one of Thailand's top foreign income earners creating a large number of jobs locally. As members of higher income countries who contribute to the Thai economy, Western tourists as well as lifestyle migrants have a relatively high status in Thailand. On the one hand, Western migrants enjoy this relative privilege not available to them at home. On the other hand, this privilege segregates them from the host society and hinders social integration. The poor integration exacerbates physical and psychological problems some migrants have encountered in the long run; for example, alcoholism and financial problems, leaving them no place to turn to (Ziesing, 1996). Howard (2008) gave a grim description of Pattaya as "Western enclave and tourist resort" that "has many unexplained deaths of Westerners" (Howard, 2008, p.147).

2.2 Related Literature

The following section provides a brief overview of Thai tourism and the Thai-German migration, which form a background for this study. I begin with the historical context of the Thai tourism, illustrating how Thailand has transformed from a holiday resort to a migration destination and how the tourism economy has shaped social dynamics in increasingly diverse Thai social spaces. I then review the history of the Thai-German migration to set the stage for an analysis of the latest development of the German migration to Pattaya.

2.2.1 Tourism in Thailand

Tourism has been one of the core contributors to the Thai economy and a major source of foreign income; it creates jobs and investment, benefiting domestic and

international entrepreneurs and corporations (Cohen, 2008a). During World War II, Bangkok was a transportation hub due to its central location in Southeast Asia. However, Thailand was not marked as a tourism destination and the tourism infrastructure did not exist (Suntikul, 2013). After World War II, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) promoted the tourism industry as a development strategy that would generate foreign income, bring countries out of debts, and create jobs. The two international organizations offered aids to help countries develop their tourism industries. Thailand, as well as other developing countries, started a tourism industry in this context (Mensendiek, 1997).

The organized Thai tourism industry was established during the regime of Field Marshall Sarit Thanarat (1957-1963). At that time, Thailand had weak economic and political ties to China while the United States became a close ally (Tarancon, 2013). During a visit to the US in 1959, Prime Minister Sarit was impressed with the American tourism industry. Upon his return, he established the Tourist Organization of Thailand (TOT, later Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT)) to promote and market the Thai tourism industry internationally (Suntikul, 2013). In accordance with the World Bank's development policies, he opened the economy to foreign investments and stimulated tourism growth in order to bring in foreign incomes. The Thai government invested heavily in infrastructures, such as road construction, water and electric power supply, and communications (Meyer, 1988). These developed infrastructures benefited the service sector and became a great advantage for mass tourism development.

During the Vietnam War, Field Marshall Thanom Kittikachorn reinforced Thailand's relationship with the US by offering support to the US and allowing the US to set up military bases throughout the country. During this time, Thailand was used as a Rest and Recreation (R&R) site for American soldiers.

The Service Establishments Act of 1966, followed by the 1967 R&R Treaty between Thailand and the United States, established an agreement whereby Thailand would provide, and the US would patronize, facilities for the recuperation needs of American troops fighting in the Vietnam War" (Suntikul, 2013, p.95).

The presence of the American military in Thailand created impacts in Thai tourism. It spurred both a construction boom and a growth of business and services industries and the infrastructural foundations for future mass tourism (Kontogeorgopoulos, 1998). An estimated of 700,000 American soldiers visited Thailand and their spending for R&R was estimated to contribute to 40% of Thailand's export income during this period (Prideaux et al., 2004). The R&R shaped the image of Thailand as a country of sex tourism as the military bases were surrounded by brothels and bars and the presence of Thai rented wives (Van Esterik, 2000; Maher and Lafferty, 2014). During the Vietnam War, the US soldiers hired Thai women as their temporary wives who did house works and provided sexual services (Tarancon, 2013). Additionally, the number of prostitutes in Thailand grew dramatically (Gay, 1985). The tourism arrival to Thailand grew from 81,300 in 1960 to 469,800 in 1969; Americans formed the largest group of tourists, followed by the Japanese, British and German. The tourism revenue rose from 196 million Baht to 1,485 million Baht, which ranked the fifth among Thailand's top foreign exchange earners (Ouyyanont, 2001).

When the U.S. troops began to withdraw from the country, the Thai government transformed the entertainment industry created for R&R into a global tourist industry (Maher and Lafferty, 2014). Even though the Thai officers did not promote sex tourism, the Thai tourist market appealed to plentiful male tourists. According to Hamilton (1997), tourism in Thailand boomed in 1987 as a result of Thailand tourism campaign - the "1987 Visit Thailand Year" - that was promoted to attract international visitors and boost domestic travel. However, Hamilton pointed out that this campaign as well as other promotional videos "clearly targets the traveler interested in sexual experience" (Hamilton, 1987, p. 148) by using images of young Thai women to lure tourists. Although the Thai state officially discouraged sex tourism, the sex entertainment industry was widely enlarged throughout the country especially in the tourist contact zones, such as Bangkok, Phuket, and Pattaya. Large groups of men, predominantly German and Japanese (Mensendiek, 1997), continued to travel to Thailand for the services of prostitutes (Kontogeorgopoulos, 1998). Besides, Thailand was a rest and recreation destination for companies and industries that employed single men to work in difficult and isolated areas (Hamilton, 1997).

The sex tourism industry also brought young Thai female migrants from rural areas, particularly the Isaan region, to the tourist-oriented sex and service industries around Bangkok and Pattaya (Maher and Lafferty, 2014). This is related to the Thai economic development and modernization pattern. Growing inequalities and differential opportunities between rural and urban areas generated a large stream of domestic rural-to-urban migration (Cohen, 1982). Many farmers turned to work in the service industry because agriculture could not sustain livelihood anymore. Rural women entered to the entertainment and service sector and sold their sexual services as this sector offered much higher compensation than working in a factory (Mensendiek, 1997). Migrating for a better life did not stop at rural-to-urban mobility but expanded into international migration. Thai women, particularly those from Pattaya and Patpong, began to travel to Europe, notably Germany, and started to work in Bars (Chantavanich et al., 1999).

According to Sunanta and Angeles (2013, p.704), there was a close connection between sex tourism and the foreign husband phenomenon in the Isaan region as “Tourists visit stretch over places and extended periods, and erstwhile email correspondents and prostitutes become more permanent girlfriends and eventual wives”. Although many relationships between *farang* husbands and *Isaan* wives did not interconnect with sex tourism, many of the couples met either in tourist destinations or in Bangkok. Even for those who met in *Isaan* or overseas, it seemed that they knew each other through their friends or relatives who had an involvement in the tourist or sex industries (Thompson, et al., 2016). The foreigners, either tourist boyfriends or husbands, provided financial support to the women. The men sometimes felt like “their relationships with Thais tended to center on their *farang* status and the financial support they could offer rather than developing into friendships grounded in familiarity, affection, or mutuality” (Maher and Lafferty, 2014, p.438). However, Tosakul (2010) described this cross-cultural marriage as a “win-win” situation where *farang* husbands fulfill their desire to become a real man who provides for the family and receives care from his Thai wife in return.

The meeting of these two disempowered groups is somewhat of a perfectmatch. Poor Thai wives need responsible and caring Western husbands whocan provide them with some sources of social security in life and the financial means for

them to fulfil their roles as dutiful daughters, whereas aged and lonely Western husbands need loving care from their young Thai wives. (Tosakul, 2010, p.196)

Due to the notoriety of sex tourism, the Thai government has attempted to improve the country's negative image by promoting cultural tourism, such as 'Amazing Thailand' and 'Kitchen of The World' along with Thai health and beauty tourism to represent other aspects of the country and to attract women and family tourists (Nuttavuthisit, 2006; Sunanta, 2014; Longjit, 2010). In 1998, The Ministry of Commerce initiated the "Long Stay and Healthcare Project". The project committee combined various ministries, such as ministries of tourism, public health, commerce, industry and foreign affairs (Toyota and Xiang, 2012). In the same year, the Thai government set up the Long Stay Tourism Development and Promotion Project, and the Thai Long stay Management Company Limited (TLM), a private company that the Tourism Authority of Thailand was a major shareholder to promote and to expand long stay tourism in Thailand (The Thailand Longstay Company, n.d.). The project aimed to encourage senior tourists with funding resources to spend their time in Thailand for more than 30 days (Long Stay at Thailand, n.d.). The first five potential provinces for promoting the long stay tourism programs were Chiang Mai, Sukhothai, Hua Hin and Cha-am, Kanchanaburi, and NongKhai. The target countries for long stay tourism were United States, Japan, Germany, England and France (Faculty of Management Science, Kasetsart University, Si Racha Campus, n.d.). This illustrated that the Thai government had an attempt to court affluent pensioners from countries with strong welfare systems.

In order to promote long stay tourism, the government offered benefits to lure the target group. To become long-stay tourists, a person needs to be at 50 years of age or older and owns a Thai bank account with a minimum of 800,000 Baht for at least two months (Sujirattanonta and Khemapayana, 2014). According to the Thailand Long Stay Company's official website, the TLM provides various kinds of services to facilitate the demand of foreigners who are its members. For example, members are granted a renewable one-year single entry retirement visa, fast-track airport immigration process and fast tracks for driving license application. The services and the prices depend on the type of the package (Silver, Silver-Plus, Gold and Platinum package) with service fees ranging between 14,000 Baht to 29,000 Baht per person per year. In addition, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs created a new visa category, a special one-year

renewable visa, Non-Immigrants O-A Longstay Visa for retired person. This type of visa is available for a person who is at least 50 years old with a balance of at least 800,000 Baht in a Thai bank account or a monthly salary of at least 65,000 Baht, or a combination of a deposit account plus a monthly income not less than 800,000 Baht a year (Thailand Visa Information: Non Immigrants Visa “O-A” (Long Stay), n.d.).

Longstay tourism is “a new type of tourism in which people stay in a foreign destination for a long period of time in order to experience living abroad. It generates a flow of people for whom the distinction between tourism/tourists and migration/migrants has become blurred” (Ono, 2008, p.151). Moreover, long stay tourism is closely linked to international retirement (IRM). The IRM is “a move of services and care seekers who need people to work for them, especially in the fields of domestic work, medical treatment, and care for the elderly (ibid, p.152). Recently, an increasing number of retirement migrants from Western industrialized countries as well as Japan tend to move to Southeast Asia (Husa et al, 2014). This trend could be considered as a strategy for pensioners from stronger economies to stretch their pension further. They seek countries with lower costs of living, affordable health care and nice environment (Sujirattanonta and Khemapayana, 2014). In the case of Thailand, it is undeniable that intimate relationships with Thai women and the availability of new Thai partners play a vital role in migration decision (Husa et al., 2014). Long stay tourism was also introduced as a preliminary stage of migration and settlement and a form of lifestyle migration because the motivations to travel are “not only a target of consumption, but also a strategy for having a better quality of life with a sense of financial sustainability in retirement life” (Ono, 2010, p.107).

Asian governments facilitate long-stay tourism in combination with health tourism and promote investments in the medical hospitality industry (Sujirattanonta and Khemapayana, 2014). The Thai government has made an effort to promote medical business (healthcare), which was a starting point of medical tourism (Anantanakom, 2014). The term ‘medical tourism’ “applies to people who travel to another country for medical treatment, which they will often combine with a vacation, or to people who take the opportunity to receive such treatment in the course of a vacation” (Cohen, 2008b, p.25). A combination of medical services and beautiful landscape is an advantage for a medical tourism destination (ibid.). Thailand is one of the world's largest medical

tourism markets, with more than 2.5 million international patients being accounted for in 2012 (Thailand Investment review, 2014).

According to Cohen (2008b), Thai medical tourism started in the 1970s with cosmetic surgery. Thailand was a leader in cosmetic surgery, providing an excellent medical infrastructure. Thailand attracted patients from nearby countries such as Japan, Vietnam, China and South Korea, primarily for elective surgeries with a low cost, sometimes lower than the flight and other travel expenses" (Top 10 Best Medical Travel destinations, 2013). From cosmetic surgery, the demand expanded to dental work and a wider range of medical treatments. By the 1980s, when Thailand introduced the newest medical technologies and employed Western trained medical staff, the reputation of Thai medical services grew abroad. The Thai government thus decided to turn the country into a regional medical hub and promote Thai medical services through several tourism campaigns. The Amazing Thailand campaign, in particular, highlighted the appeal of Thai Spas, hospitals, and herbal products (Cohen, 2008b). Additionally, the ninth National Economic and Social Development Plan stated that health services should be supported as a policy to create employment and improve income distribution and as well as upgrading national competitiveness.

In conclusion, the tourism industry has significantly contributed to the economic growth and social changes in Thailand. The tourism economy has shaped social relationships between the Thais and Western visitors. Western foreigners travel or migrate to Thailand in order to derive benefits from lower costs of accommodation, care, recreation and health services. On the other hand, Thailand also takes advantage of this phenomenon. For several decades, Western tourists have been perceived as a major source of income. At the national level, tourism generates income and sustains the national economy. For example, the Long Stay project was Thailand's recovery plan from the 1997 Asian financial crisis (Anantanakom, 2014). As stated by Toyota and Xiang (2012, p.714), "foreign retirees were desirable not only because they were financially resourceful, but also because they were thought to be conducive for stable and sustainable development in a time of economic uncertainty." At the individual level, Western tourists and migrants provide financial support to Thai female partners and their extended family. Western visitors also sustain the lives of those who work in the entertainment and service industries.

2.2.2 The Thai –German migration

Thailand and Germany have a long history of international relationship. The two countries established diplomatic relations with the signing of the Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation in 1862 and have maintained long-standing friendship for over 150 years. The visit of King Chulalongkorn to Germany in 1897 and 1907 built up close and friendly relationships with Germany. In the following decades, a number Thai citizens traveled to study in Germany including members of the royal family. German engineers, architectures, and other experts also came to Thailand and engaged in modernizing Siam (Deutsche Botschaft Bangkok, 2014). The two countries have developed cooperation in various areas. Initially, the main area of cooperation was agricultural and rural development and vocational training. "As Thailand underwent a rapid and successful transition to an emerging industrialized economy, the focus of cooperation increasingly shifted in the 1990s towards industrialization processes, renewable energy, modernization of the state, and climate change mitigation" (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH, n.d.). At present, Germany is Thailand's number one trading partner in the European Union and around 500 German companies have launched their businesses in Thailand (Deutsche Botschaft Bangkok, 2016). Advances in communication and transportation technologies facilitate transnational mobilities of people. Those who travel between Thailand and Germany today are not limited to diplomats, practitioners in international organizations and students, but include other groups of travellers, such as tourists and marriage migrants.

Ruenkaew (2012a) assumed that Thai women were among the first Thai transnational migrants to Europe, with Germany being one of the most important receiving countries. The trend of transnational migration from Thailand to Europe began in 1960 (Ruenkaew, 2009; Chantavanich et al., 1999), consisting of students and people who went to find work and to get married. At that time, Thai citizens were allowed to stay in Germany for up to 90 days at a time without a visa. In 1975, nearly 2,000 Thais lived in Germany, with the number of male and female migrants being almost equal. While the number of Thai male migrants slightly increased over the years, the number of Thai female migrants rose dramatically. The number of Thai female migrants in Germany trebled between 1975 to 1980, and by the end of the 1980s the majority of

Thai migrants in Germany were women. In 1981, Germany imposed visa requirement for Thai nationals. Still, the number of Thai female migrants continued to grow. In 2011, there were approximately 57,000 Thais in Germany, 85% of which were women and about 60% of these women were married to German husbands (Ruenkaew, 2012b).

Thailand becomes the second most important country of origins of foreign wives of German men from economically weaker countries after Poland (Glowsky, 2006). Meanwhile, Germans topped the list of foreign husbands married to Thai women (Seepai and Senerat, 2010). This illustrates the special characteristic of Thai–German migration that could be regarded as a marriage migration (Ruenkaew, 2009). Thai women met their German husbands through various channels, such as marriage agencies, dating websites, relatives, and friends who have already married German men, or met the men while they were traveling in Thailand. Because of the reputation of Thailand as a sex tourism destination, the stereotype of Thai women in Germany was either that of prostitutes or victims of human trafficking who are lured or forced to marry German men (Ruenkaew, 2012c).

Nowadays, this stereotype and the generalization about Thai women migrants in Germany are no longer accurate because Thai women migrants are from more diverse social and economic backgrounds including middle-class and highly educated women (Ruenkaew, 2009). Although the earlier waves of Thai migration to Germany centered around sex work and marriage, which have continued, many Thai women in Germany have been trying to improve themselves by gaining employment in a factory, department store, corporate office, or running their own massage and spa shop, hair salon, tailor shop, or becoming photo models, cooks and a nurses (Kurz, 2012; Ruenkaew, 2012b; Beyer, 2012; Hirling, 2012). The latest trend of the Thai immigration to Germany is the move of Thai children to join their mothers who are in transnational marriages with the Germans.

German men rank first among sex tourists to Thailand from the West, followed by the American and British. An estimate of 359,719 German tourists have traveled to Thailand since 1995 (Chantavanich et al, 1999). Nowadays, around 700,000 German tourists visit Thailand each year (Deutsche Botschaft Bangkok, 2016). The ratio between male and female German tourists to Thailand has been imbalanced. In 2011, 62.35% of German tourists who arrived in Thailand were male and only 37.65%

were female. (Tourism Authority of Thailand, 2012). German tourists cite well preserved natural beaches, friendly people and street food as main attractions that brought them to Thailand (Eureka consulting, n.d.). Traditionally, ideal long-stay destinations for Germans were Spain, Portuguese, Italy and Greece that are geographically and culturally close to home. This has changed recently. Aging Germans are healthy and quite well-off. They seek migration destinations with a nice weather and low cost of living where they could create their own lifestyle (Competitive Strategies, 2014). Thailand, particularly Pattaya, has become one of the top spots for this group of migrants.

Despite a long history of transnational mobilities between Germany and Thailand, the knowledge on the German migration to Pattaya is still limited. Who are these migrants? Why did they migrate to and settle in Pattaya? How do they live their lives in Thailand? This study provides insights into this emerging migration trend and contributes to the understanding of the German migration to Pattaya. In the following chapter, I will outline the research methodology and introduce research participants in this study.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

3.1 “The fieldwork and I”

The empirical data of this study is based on six months ethnographic research in Pattaya. Having carried out a comprehensive literature review about German migration to Thailand, I selected Pattaya as my research area for the following reasons: firstly, according to an assertion of the German consular – Rudolf Hofer (Kubellka, 2014), there are around 7,000 – 8,000 Germans residing in Pattaya and numerous German communities. This fact may help in creating more research opportunities to find participants and to learn about their lives within those communities. Secondly, the location of Pattaya, which is only 150 kilometers from Bangkok, is by far the most suitable research area as I used the Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia (RILCA) located in the outskirts of Bangkok as a research base. Lastly, although the cost of living in Pattaya is relatively high, it is still cheaper than the cost of living in other tourist districts such as Hua Hin and Phuket, where the research findings might have been different.

My research methods were participant observation of several meetings together with group talks in the German communities, non-participant observation, semi-structured interviews, and informal interviews. Access was gained through the German Language Pattaya Expats Club (Deutschsprachiger Pattay Expats Club), and the Meeting Center Pattaya (Begegnungszentrum Pattaya).

3.1.1 Trust and access

The fieldwork was carried out from February, 2015 to July, 2015; however, the search for participants was started from November, 2014 by using different approaches. First, I decided to attend the monthly meeting operated by the German Language Pattaya Expats club, the biggest German speaking Service Club in Thailand (Pattaya People, 2015). I introduced myself and the purpose of my study to the club's

staff. Since I intended to get accessed to the German Language Pattaya Expats club so as to approach informants, I visited its monthly meeting again the following month and brought a letter of introduction to the Club's president. The president allowed me to attend the meeting with no entrance fee and the staff helped me a lot to find participants. Second, I visited many German restaurants, hotels, guesthouses, and a bookshop in Pattaya to distribute participant information leaflets. Third, I used social media such as Facebook and the expat web board to recruit some participants with my information sheet. I also joined the group of the German's Thai wives group on Facebook. Seven Thai women asked their husbands to participate in my study, but unfortunately, the husbands declined. The Thai women explained that their refusal was due to German personality trait which values privacy of personal information. With all the types of access mentioned, I found only two participants. The first one, Benjamin¹, was introduced by a friend of mine who used to work in Pattaya, and the second one, Phillip, is participant member of the German Language Pattaya Expats Club. Those who received the leaflets have never contacted me back, and I have learnt that face-to face recruitment is the best way to gain access to interviewees.

A friend of mine who worked in Pattaya as a drama teacher introduced me to Benjamin. We first contacted Benjamin's wife about the study. She was supportive and thought it was a good idea for Benjamin to have something to do instead of being with her all the time. Benjamin and I talked on the phone a few times in November 2014 before he agreed to let me interview him. We met in December 2014 at Big C Central Pattaya. He was accompanied by his entire family: his current Thai wife, his little daughter and his 18-year-old daughter from his second wife who is also Thai. Aside of German, Benjamin speaks fluent English and Italian because his first wife was American and he used to live in Italy for 18 years with his second Thai wife. Benjamin's older daughter was with him during the first half hour of the interview. The three of us talked in both English and German but Benjamin and his daughter sometimes talked to each other in Italian. That made me feel like they were talking about me or they didn't want me to understand. I noticed that Benjamin didn't talk or express his opinion freely

¹ All the names are pseudonym.

until his daughter let us talk alone. He told me that he normally spends time with his family and was not comfortable meeting with strangers, in particular Thai women. His daughter was concerned about him so she came with him to see that everything was alright. After the interview we remained in contact. Unfortunately, Benjamin had a stroke in April 2015 and now needs long-term care and rehabilitation.

In January 2015 I met my second participant, Phillip, at the Expats Club's Meeting where I sat next to him and his friends. During the break, Phillip started to talk with me. He wondered why I took part in the meeting and wrote down the visa information presented while other Thai women preferred to go shopping and return when the meeting was over. I told him about my research and invited him to be a research participant. He seemed interested. Later, his friend told me that I had met the right person because Philip recognises the importance of education while most other foreigners do not want to get involve with this kind of work. Philip worked as a civil servant and he values education highly. He is married to a Thai woman. He later told me that he had known a lot of his wife's cousins, particularly young women, who dropped out of school. He said he felt pity for them because, based on his own experience, those who have not completed their education end up working in low paid jobs. Due to his personal respect for education, Philip was pleased to help me complete my MA research project. Besides, Philip lived alone in Pattaya while his wife was in Isaan with her family. He therefore had the time to meet me and help me recruit other prospective research participants. However, I noticed that he avoided mentioning me when his wife called him.

Philip distributed my research information sheets to his friends and acquaintances but this did not yield good results. Only a few native Swiss people were proposed to give an interview. I exchanged ideas with them but did not include them in the study because I aimed to focus on German migrants. Philip and I figured that it would be easier for me to gain the trust of German migrants if a German accompanied me and helped explain the study. Phillip accompanied me around Pattaya approaching prospective participants. When I introduced myself and my study to the German migrants at different venues in Pattaya—the German and Austrian Consulates, the German Help Organization (Deutscher Hilfsverein), the Immigration Office, and

various restaurants—Philip would tell prospective participants that he was also my research subject and explained how the interview proceeded.

Recruiting research participants at the German Language Pattaya Expat Club was difficult. The Club meeting was held only once a month and not all members attended the meeting regularly. Most members chose to attend selected sessions that were of interest to them. The staffs of the German Language Pattaya Expats Club and some Germans I talked to suggested that I go to the Meeting Center, which is located in North Pattaya, which is relatively far away from the city center. It was at the Meeting Center that I was most successful in recruiting German research participants. The atmosphere at the Meeting Center was more relaxed than at the German Language Expats Club meeting. Many German speakers came regularly to the center and some of them spent the whole day there. Many people from the German Language Expats Club also came to the Meeting Center making it easier for me to keep contact with them. Moreover, I have developed a good relationship with the owner of the café who allowed me to use the space as another research base. At the Meeting Center, I could observe German speakers' daily life, get to know people in the community, and build a rapport and trust with them. Most of the interviews were conducted at the café.

I introduced myself to both the Meeting Center and the German Language Pattaya Expat Club. In the former case, by presenting myself as a graduate student who was writing a master thesis about Germans in Pattaya, I could explain that I am in a process of searching for research participants and if anyone was interested in what I was doing and willing to participate, we could talk about it in details. I did not ask them directly to participate in the research as I had once done at the German Language Pattaya Expat Club. It happened that people were suspicious of me and did not want to participate. Some of them wondered whether I was a spy from the immigration office because of the type of questions in the study such as education background, monthly salary, and category of visa. They told me that Germans do not talk about these particular topics. It appeared that many nice conversations ended abruptly once I ask them to participate in my study. It could have been my fault as well in that I had been in too much of a hurry to question them before gaining their trust. Therefore, I spent time at the café drinking coffee and getting to know people. Not long after, a story about an inquisitive Thai student was spread widely in the community.

During the fieldwork, I participated in the activities provided both by the German Language Pattaya Expat Club and the Meeting Center Pattaya. I attended the monthly meetings, participated in some group talks, and joined the informal meeting (Stammtisch). By taking part in the activities, participation observation method enabled me to share in the lifestyle of a group of Germans in two communities. I built up a personal relationship and made friends with people in the research area. I shared my views with them by letting them ask anything about my personal background in order to gain their trust. Finally, I ended up hanging out with some of my participants and kept in touch with them via phone call, Line and Facebook. The relationship went well. Many participants let me call them by their first name and use “du” instead of “Sie”.²

As mentioned earlier, I used semi-structured interview as one of the methods to collect data. Before the interviews, I explained to them about the study’s purpose focusing on motivations, lifestyle, and integration into the host society. I gave them a participant information sheet, so they could take their time to consider it. The information sheet provided a brief overview of my research, the research procedure the participants would go through if they decided to participate in the research project, and the research ethics. Since this study is related to some personal information, ethical issues needed to be considered. The Germans were deeply concerned about their privacy. They were nice to me, but they did not want to give recorded interviews. I promised that the information obtained would be confidential and the recorded data would be deleted after the transcription had been done. Moreover, they had the right not to participate in, or withdraw from the interview, and not to answer any questions they felt uncomfortable about. The participants requested to see the list of questions before they decided to participate. Although semi-structured interview provides flexibility to ask further questions related to the listed questions, participants expected me to follow the prepared interview questions I had prepared. Moreover, I noticed that some participants were worried and did not talk naturally while we were recording the interview. Therefore, I used informal interviews, non participant observation and participant observation as additional approaches to elicit the empirical data since that

² Both “Du” and “Sie” mean “you”. The distinction is that “du” is informal, creating a sense of familiarity or intimacy, while “Sie” is formal, creating a sense of respect or distance.

enabled me to engage the participants' lives more comprehensively. The interviews lasted from 30 minutes to two hours. The interview language was German.

3.1.2 Self reflexivity

As a young Thai woman from an Asian culture, I am totally different from my research participants in terms of physical appearance, gender, age, and mother tongue language. Thus, I had to make extra efforts to be a part and accepted into their community. However, my personal background facilitated me to gain access and trust from the participants and the communities. I began learning German at the age of 15. Then, I went to Germany as an exchange student for a year. During my stay in Germany, I lived with a German host family and attended German school. After returning to Thailand I studied German as my major subject. Having graduated with a bachelor's degree, I worked for a German company based in Thailand as a German translator and coordinator for six months before returning to study a master's degree. Therefore, it was not too difficult for me to learn and adjust to the Western culture in the German communities.

Speaking German is an advantage because many Germans speak neither English nor Thai. Sharing their language made it easier for me to become a part of their community. There are also some advantages to being a young Thai woman. The Germans could talk and ask me anything they wanted to know about Thailand, which cannot be compared to research information in a book. They could talk about what they disliked or the problems they confronted as foreigners and I could share some ideas from a Thai perspective. Thus, they could better understand what Thais are thinking. From my point of view, the age gap is a factor that allows the Germans to feel superior over me as a person since they knew more and had had more experience; however, they did not make me feel under pressure.

However, there were some limitations based on my identity. I noticed that some participants did not tell their Thai partners about me to avoid jealousy. I also felt that some Thai women I met were not appreciating much when I talked with their foreign partners. As a woman, I was sometimes teased by some waiters and motorcycle taxi riders when I walked with some of my male participants and I was asked by some Westerners who "owned" me. The Pattaya's reputation also affected me in that, as a

young Thai woman who unaccompanied, I was not really welcomed by some restaurants. The reason behind this was that the owners or staffs were afraid that I might be a sex worker, looking for clients and my presence in the restaurants would disturb their customers. One extreme experience I wish to share concerns a Thai man in his 40s. I met him while walking around Pattaya distributing the leaflets. He urged his German brother-in-law to ask for my phone number in order to schedule an interview appointment. Unfortunately, he kept calling me all the time and asked me to go to his house, which I felt would be unsafe.

Moreover, I felt like I was a foreigner in my own country since the language mainly used in the two German communities was German and almost all the people there were Westerners. Therefore, it was difficult for me to be comfortable in Pattaya. However, I met a lot of nice and kind people, both locals and foreigners. They helped me when I got lost, answered all my questions, and gave me advices. I could not have survived in Pattaya alone without their help.

3.2 Sample group selection / Participants

This research encompasses case studies of German migrants in Pattaya because Germans as participants are still underrepresented in academic studies of Westerners in Thailand. For that reason, I decided to interview Germans who met the following inclusion criteria: male or female with a German nationality; aged 18 and above; been living in Pattaya for at least three months; neither expatriate (fully employed and posted in Thailand by transnational corporations) nor a diplomat. Although, there was no limitation on age and gender for participants, at the beginning of the research, the retired age group was overrepresented. During my fieldwork, young foreigners I met were mostly tourists and female Germans were almost hardly invisible. The majority I observed were elderly western men walking alone or hand in hand with a Thai woman.

I was able to conduct 19 interviews, out of which, 12 interviewees conformed to the participant's inclusion criteria. Seven interviewees were rejected from the participant recruitment. Of these underrepresented interviewees, four were not resident in Pattaya; two interviewees were Swiss and Austrian citizens, and the

remaining one was close to the expatriate's wife. Considering the consistency of the number: 12 participants were older male Germans and a woman, their ages ranging from 52 to 84 years old. The immigrants' duration of stay ranged from three months to 20 years. Their previous employment varied, for example, business owner, government officer, engineer, skilled worker or other. Almost all of the participants lived on a pension of about 1,000 Euro – 4, 0000 Euro³ a month. The marital status prior to migration to Thailand of ten male participants was quite similar: eight of them were divorced, one widowed, and the other was single. Similarly, a majority of the Westerners in Huahin and Cha-am were previously divorced, mostly from Western partners and before coming to live in Thailand (Husa et al., 2014). All male participants had a relationship with Thai women in varying forms: married to a Thai woman, living with Thai girlfriend and visiting bargirls. Only one, a female, was married to a German with no relationship with a Thai man.

The Germans in Pattaya, in particular in this study, are not representative of all Germans in Thailand. Choosing Pattaya as the site for research field work had a significant impact on the overall research and findings. The character of the location determined who the participants were. As a tourist destination that is well known for its night life, Pattaya appeals to a specific group of people, namely, male tourists. Typically they are young adults or middle-aged when they choose to visit Pattaya. On the other hand, the Germans I met were typically in their late fifties or sixties when they decided to leave Germany. Since many German men of retirement age no longer had responsibilities back home, it seems that this age is an appropriate time at which to start a new life project.

³ Most of the German work force are enrolled in the Public Retirement Insurance (*gesetzliche Rentenversicherung*) which provides protection against the risks of reduction in earning capacity, old age and death. It is pay-as-you-go system which means that the contributions are deducted from the worker's salary monthly. The contribution rate is currently 18.7 percent of the gross salary. This contribution is shared equally between employee and employer. State pension benefits are paid out on retirement (65 – 67 years old). The monthly benefit is about 70 percent of the average net income earned while working. The exact total depends on the amount of contributions paid and the length of contribution period. In order to be entitled to a German pension, individuals have to contribute into the system for a minimum of five years. (Deutsche Rentenversicherung, n.d., How to Germany, 2016, OECD, 2015, Parchmann, 2015, German Trade and Invest, 2016)

Table 3.1 Overview over participants

Name	Sex	Age	Former occupation	Current occupation	Income	Duration of stay	Marital status
1. Andreas	m	63	businessman	retiree	1,300 €	7 years	Cohabits with Thai
2. Anton	m	-	electrician	technician	-	20 years	Visits bargirl
3. Benjamin	m	69	engineer	retiree	1,000 €	7 years	Married Thai
4. Christian	m	61	social worker, printer, stage actor	retiree	1,000 €	8 years	Visit bargirls but used to cohabite with Thai
5. Frank	m	66	teacher	retiree (still working)	2,000 - 4,000 €	16 years	Dates a Pilipino but also visits bargirl
6. Kevin	m	71	businessman	retiree	saving money	3 years	Cohabits with Thai
7. Martin	m	76	electrical engineer	retiree	1,300 €	17 years	Married Thai
8. Melanie	f	52	geriatric nurse		1,000 €	3 months	Married German
9. Phillip	m	58	civil servant	retiree	2,400 €	1 years	Married Thai
10. Robert	m	71	businessman	retiree	1,000 €	18 years	Married Thai
11. Sebastian	m	84	landscape architect	retiree	2,000 €	15 years	Used to cohabit with Thai
12. Tobias	m	81	tool die maker	retiree	1,400 €	18 years	Widowed (Thai wife)

CHAPTER IV

OVERVIEW OF PATTAYA

4.1 History of Pattaya

Pattaya is a self governing municipal area located on the eastern coastline of Thailand's Gulf of Siam. It is about 30 kilometers from the city center of Chonburi and approximately 150 kilometers southeast from Bangkok. The total area of Pattaya, including Koh Larn (aka Coral Island), is 208.10 km², circa 53.44 km² of land and 154.66 km² of sea (Pattaya City Hall, 2012). The city has a registered population of 113,083, of which 52,143 are men and 60,940 are women. The unregistered population numbers 400,000 - 500,000 according to Pattaya City Hall (2012). The city consists of the sub-districts Na Klua and Nong Prue, and parts of Huai Yai and Nong Pla Lai sub-districts. Pattaya is divided into four main zones: North Pattaya, Central Pattaya, South Pattaya and Jomtien Beach. North Pattaya was once a small fishing village that today remains the quietest area compared to others. In Naklua, in the northern part, there are old wooden houses, a fresh seafood market, local open-air markets and traditional noodle shops where people can still experience traditional local life. From the dolphin roundabout in North Pattaya there is a beach road, which leads to central Pattaya. There are many bars, restaurants and hotels along the beach road, which runs parallel to the second road. The second road connects North Pattaya and South Pattaya and there are even more bars and hotels in this area. Two main shopping malls and hospitals are also located here. South Pattaya is the busiest district with its hundreds of bars and restaurants. The well-known "Walking Street" is here. At the end of the street there is a pier for boat services to Larn Island. The last area is Jomtien Beach, which is divided from Pattaya Beach by the promontory of Pratumnak Hill. More Thai tourists in this area enjoy the beach and water sports available such as jet skiing and windsurfing, especially on weekends.

According to Pattaya City Hall's official website, the history of Pattaya began in 1948. The town used to be a small fishing village that was situated in Naklua

subdistrict, Banglamong district in Chonburi province before Mr. Parinya Chawalitthamrong, a former representative of Pattaya, bought a sizeable lot of land in the Pattaya area foreseeing beach's profit potential. He took part in developing Pattaya by donating parts of his land to establish Pattaya City Hall and to build public utilities and infrastructure such as Naklua Road with its 20-30 meter width or Sukhumvit Highway. Furthermore, in the past, in order to obtain land title documents issued by government authorities (Sor Kor1), landowners had to add value to or develop the land in advance. Thus, basic public utilities in Pattaya were provided by different sources. The names of some developers were used to name sois such as Soi Chawalitthamrong, Soi Wong Ammart and Soi Ping Pa in their honor.

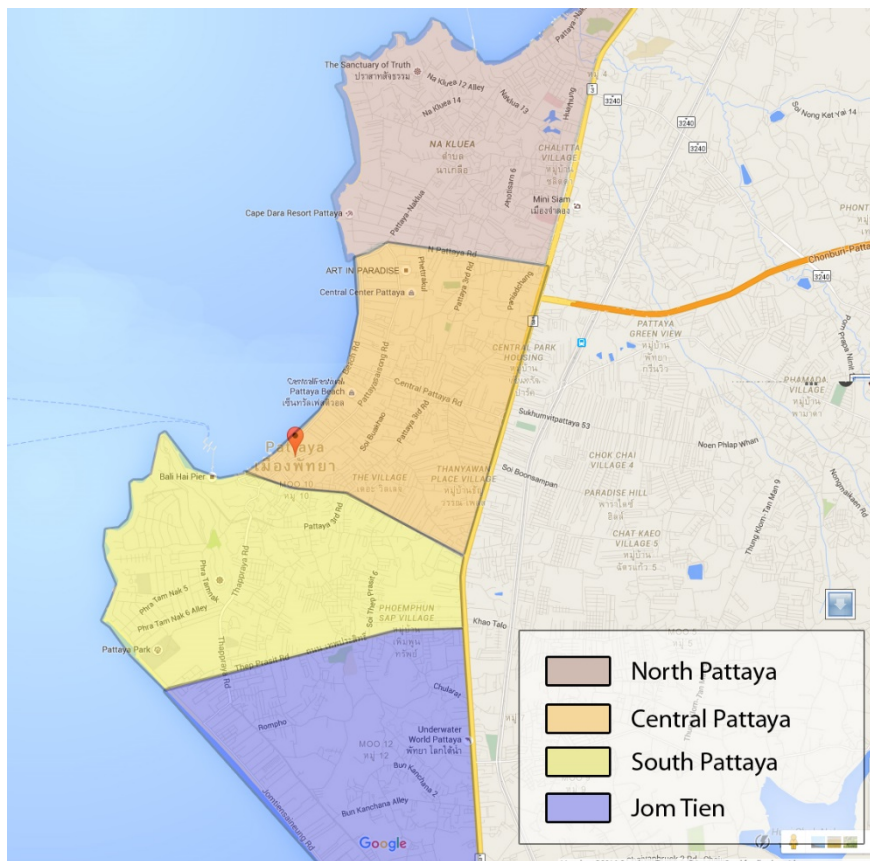


Figure 4.1 Map of Pattaya (adapted from Google Maps)

The transformation from the simple village to a tourist town started with the construction of the first road, the Pattaya - Naklua Road, which ran from North Pattaya to South Pattaya. Shortly after its completion, news reporters from the Ploenjit Newspapers and some famous publishers visited one of Pattaya's beaches. They were

all impressed and published articles about Pattaya, which heralded the beginning of the popularity of Pattaya's beautiful beaches and sea. By 1955, the holidaymakers were mainly Thais from Bangkok. Moreover by 1972, the number new roads linking Pattaya to Bangkok opened the door for tourists visits Pattaya conveniently, either by car or bus from the Southern Bus Terminal in no time at all.

Pattaya had become one of the world's famous tourist towns by 1959 when American troops arranged with the Thai Government to use the Ban Sattahip Airbase or U-Tapao Airport as their base during the Vietnam War. It was not only used as the base to supply their troops in Vietnam, but also as rest and recreation (R&R) for the soldiers. Apart from the US air base in Sattahip, neighbouring Juksamet Port, the Royal Thai Navy's largest naval base was also located in Sattahip and used as the naval base for US troops. Because these two military bases were only roughly 90 kilometers from Pattaya, GIs tended to come to this seaside resort whenever they had a R&R break. According to Suntikul (2013), it was assumed that the first group to establish Pattaya's reputation for R&R was the 500 US soldiers stationed at the Nakhon Ratchasima Military Base who regularly visited Pattaya, rented accommodations, and spent their vacations there. The number of R&R tourists travelling to Pattaya increased and led to the beginning of a tourism boom in the seaside town. The arrival of GIs encouraged the expansion of resorts, entertainment and services businesses as well as sex workers. This brought an influx of internal migrants to Pattaya, especially Thai women from Isaan (Northeastern) and this saw the increased popularity of relationship between Thai women and Western men has been established. Pattaya town was thriving and entertainment businesses likes bars, massage parlors and night clubs grew dramatically (Cohen, 2003).



Figure 4.2View of Pattaya

When the US troops began to withdraw the city, Thai officials negotiated with the World Bank to transform Pattaya from R&R to a global tourist hub (Truong, 1990; Maher & Lafferty, 2014). The decreasing number of American soldiers was replaced by foreign tourists from various countries; the majority being European (Chantavanich et al., 1999; Pattaya City Hall, 2012). During 1985 – 1988 the number of tourists increased from 750,000 to more than 1.7 million (Kubelka, 2013) and had reached 9 million by 2013 (Tourism Authority of Thailand, 2014). Thanks to the rapid growth of town infrastructure, land development, population, migration and workforce, tourists and other components, which were higher than in other local government areas together with the Thai government’s plan to turn Pattaya into a formal tourism district, Pattaya was finally designated a special local region in 1978. Pattaya Administrations consists of Pattaya Congress and Pattaya Mayor who is elected and serves a four year term (Longjit 2010). There have been eight Pattaya’s City managers so far. The current one being Mr. Ittipon Khunpluem (2007–2011, 2011 - Present).

4.2 Pattaya’s Tourism

Pattaya has been purposefully developed as a tourist destination, meaning its economy has to rely on tourism and the service industry. Eighty-seven percent of the

populations works in several divisions of tourism service and ninety percent of current employees work in tourism industry (Pattaya City Hall, 2012). Workers are not only locals, but also Thais from all regions as well as migrant workers from neighboring countries. What brings tourists to Pattaya is its location, which is not far from Bangkok, its beautiful beaches and the inexpensive price of tourist products compared to other seaside tourist resorts (Longjit, 2010). Undeniably, nightlife and entertainment, including the sex industry, are also major attractions for tourists. Pattaya was very peaceful in the morning when fresh international group tours arrive at the beach. Most of shops and restaurants are still closed while some bars are still cleaning up after a long night. The city slowly wakes up late in the morning and begins to get busy in the afternoon when many shops, restaurants and bars open. The city, particularly Walking Street, becomes lively again at night with hundreds of bars, karaoke lounges, and massage parlors. Thai women and lady boys standing in front of shops hustling for tourists' attention was a familiar scene.

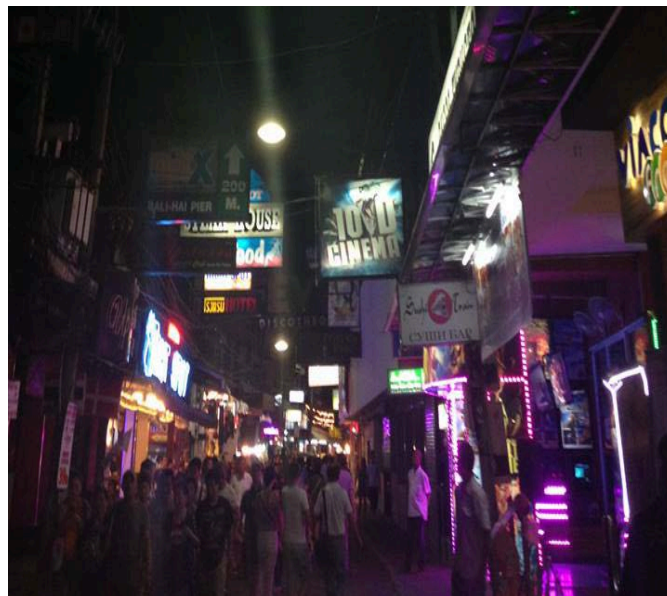


Figure 4.3 Walking Street, a main tourist attraction for nightlife

Suntikul (2013) noted that prostitution is a highly influential part of Pattaya's tourism image. Pattaya has been known as the city of 'five 's'' which stands for sea, sand, sun, service and sex (Wattanasukchai, 2009). Under the administration of the current city manager, the city's image is being rebranded from its notoriety for night time entertainment to a city of modernization aimed at promoting Pattaya as a globe

tourist destination. The city development strategy has been launched since 2008 to replace the 5S stereotype to “E” concept – entertainment and environment (Pattaya City Hall, 2012). Pattaya was also improved to turn itself into a family-friendly destination. Several tourist campaigns such as “The City of Variety”, “Amazing Pattaya Sale”, “Fun every square inch in Pattaya”, and “Pattaya city, definitely more”, were used to attract various types of visitors, not just male tourists. More family-friendly places and activities as well as cultural attractions have been created. A variety of tourist attractions for family entertainment are offered such as Sanctuary of Truth (massive temple carved out of woods), Nong Nuch Tropical Botanical Garden, Pattaya Elephant Village, Underwater World Pattaya, Pattaya Park, Thai Alangkarn Theatre Pattaya, Pattaya Floating Market, Art in Paradise (Trick-Eye 3D museum), Ripley’s Believe It or Not, as well as several golf courses, a full service racetrack (Bira Circuit) and Flight of the Gibbon for those who love adventure activities. Furthermore, the city aims to be a cultural and sport destination by promoting the city for entertainment and environment and adding culture and sports activities to the city’s tourist calendar; for example, Pattaya International Music Festival, Pattaya International Firework Festival, Songkran Festival, Loy Kratong Festival, Pattaya’s Chinese New Year Celebration, Pattaya Long Boat Competition, Pattaya Windsurfing Championship and Pattaya Mountain Bike Challenge.

The current mayor’s plans to promote Pattaya to be one of the third towns of Thailand tourism to attract Thai tourists and to be one of the world’s most livable tourist towns suggests the focus is not only on impressing visitors, but also attracting visitors to come again, stay longer and ultimately investment. The city has improved the town’s basic structure to bring in more tourists, starting with four essential factors needed for good living. Firstly, food including a variety of shops and restaurants must be available and sufficient to serve tourist needs. Secondly, hospitals with enough doctors and nurses to attend both visitors and locals. Thirdly, schools and standards of education need to be improved to produce young adults of good quality to support Pattaya’s economy. Lastly, mass transportation, daily communication and public utilities namely electricity and municipal water have to be available and reliable for all.

Apart from tourism, Pattaya also expects to bring in business travellers and investors (Pattaya City Hall, 2012). The city has been a major destination for MICE

industry (Meetings, Incentives, Conferences and Exhibition) because of its importance in tourism as well as the business tourism market (Pattaya Daily News, 2010). In 2013, there were 2,107,000 MICE travellers who spent 1, 808.010 million Baht in the city (Ngamsangchailit, 2014). The private sector also plays a vital role in developing and changing the image of Pattaya. According to Wattanasukchai (2009), motorways linking Suvarnabhumi Airport have shortened the travel time from Bangkok to Pattaya bringing increasing numbers of foreign investors to Pattaya. Furthermore, the opening of the U-Tapao-Rayong-Pattaya International Airport at the end of 2015 will add significantly to Pattaya's economic growth. Investment in Pattaya has been a good option for investors. The Pattaya property market has been growing continuously particularly for condominiums with high demand from both Thais and foreigners. Thais purchase condos as second homes, whereas foreigners buy them as a holiday home. Although the 1979 Thailand Condominium Act permits foreigners to own condominiums with a limit to foreign ownership at 49% of the total number of units, it has nevertheless stimulated market growth.

Land prices in Pattaya are very high. In the past, one Rai¹ cost 750,000 Baht (Wattanasukchai, 2009), in comparison to today's price, which could reach 40 - 200 Million Baht per Rai, especially in the city and beachfront (Pattaya Daily news, March 25, 2014). Investors can either start their own new business or buy existing businesses sale such as, bars, restaurants, guesthouses, mini-marts, laundries, massage businesses and hotels. The arrival of these investors coincided with the constructions of shopping complexes and international hotel chains such as Sheraton, Dusit D2 and Hilton. The Central Festival Beach declared itself the largest beachfront shopping complex in Asia. There are numerous supermarkets and department stores such as Tesco Lotus, Big C, 7-Eleven and Family Mart and of course, fast food chains like McDonalds and Starbucks can easily be found. Since Pattaya has developed for its own good, growth has been continuous. There is everything people need for a short stay, visit or residence including all necessary infrastructure, all kinds of accommodation to fit any budget and good

¹ Rai is a Thai land measurement. One Rai is 1,600 square meters

quality hospitals in line with the city's current campaign promise: "Pattaya city definitely more".

Nevertheless, it is undeniable that Pattaya is also known as a place with a dark side where prostitution, drugs, gambling and crime thrive, leading to social problems, such as, sex trafficking, sexually transmitted diseases, violence, and death (Longjit, 2010; Howard, 2009). It is not an option for Pattaya to choose only desirable people as residents because, as an open city, people of all nationalities, including criminals and gangsters, can easily enter. The rise of suicides by foreigners in Pattaya, has raised important questions as to what is behind such incidents. Why do these foreigners choose to take their own lives in Pattaya? Is Pattaya a true paradise for Western retirees? Although this study cannot provide answers to the foreigners suicide question, it does address the issue of quality of life of foreigners in Pattaya and the difficulties they might encounter.

4.3 Pattaya - an international city

Pattaya is one of the most desirable destinations for foreigners and the city is well known for its expat community. According to Longjit (2010) residents can be divided into two groups: foreigners and Thais. Among others, Pattaya is different from other cities in Thailand due to its high number of foreign tourists and residents. Almost every German I talked to mentioned that "Pattaya ist nicht Thailand (Pattaya is not Thailand.)" From their point of view, although Pattaya is, in fact, a part of Thailand, it was fashioned to exert a pull on foreigners. Hence, Thai culture is in scant evidence here. One German told me "If you want to discover the real Thailand, you have to go out of Pattaya" (fieldnote 2014, December 15th). I was astonished the first time I visited Pattaya. On the road, I saw a lot of foreigners, mostly westerners, sitting behind the steering wheel. There were many foreign language signboards around town, in English, German and Russian. From my observations, foreign residents in Pattaya have established their own communities in various parts of Pattaya such as the British community in South Pattaya where the Arab quarter is also located. Many Americans live in a gated community in Soi Siam Country Club, East Pattaya, and the French reside near Pratumnak, on the southern side of Pattaya. The German community is in North

Pattaya - once called “Little Germany” because of the numerous of hotels, guesthouses, bars, and restaurants along the Pattaya-Naklua Road catering for German visitors. Today, the number of Russian and Chinese tourists has been increasing in this area, which clearly demonstrates how international Pattaya has become.

Currently, Pattaya tends to appeal to long-stay tourists rather than short-stay visitors (Pattaya City Hall, 2012). Many of them run businesses or just relax, but they rely on a pension (Longjit, 2010). There are also many expats working in industrial zones in neighbouring cities like Chon Buri and Rayong who chose to live in Pattaya. Since there are many nationalities living in Pattaya, several international clubs and groups have been established for foreigners to join, socialize and do various activities together; for example, Rotary Club of Pattaya, Pattaya Sport Club, Pattaya Bridge Club and the Horseshoe Point Club. The most well-known of these is the Pattaya Expats Club, which welcomes people of all nationalities regardless of their being tourists or expats.

The Pattaya Expats Club is all about expats helping expats and all Nationalities are welcome. Whatever your question or problem, you can be sure there is another expat who has ‘been there, done that’. New friends that are ready to share their experience and expertise on anything and everything to make your stay in Pattaya more enjoyable and stress free. Free assistance on one year visas, medical insurance, home buying etc., so find out the facts BEFORE you make an expensive mistake. This is a great group to make new friends and talk over your problems or experiences, and also to get involved with some worthwhile projects while you enjoy life here. (The Pattaya Expats Club, n.d.)

Additionally, there are specific language groups such as the German Language Pattaya Expats Club, French Language Pattaya Expats Club and Finnish Language Pattaya Expats Club.



Figure 4.4 A Soi in Central Pattaya where there are foreigners and sign boards written in different languages

Thai and English as well as other languages like German, Russian and French are widely spoken in Pattaya. International restaurants are common with menus provided in English and other languages including German. Local media publishes foreign language newspapers and magazines; for example, 'Pattaya Mail', the first English language newspaper in Pattaya, available once a week from late Thursday evening. It features weekly news and columns, including business news, sport news, dining, entertainment and community events. The 'Pattaya Daily News' (in English, Thai and Russian) and a French language periodic magazine – L' Echo are also available. Likewise, local TV and radio stations offer international news channels e.g. BBC, CNN, NHK World and Al Jazeera (English and Arabic) as well as 'Pattaya People Radio 96 FM' - with more than 60% of listeners being expats, and 'Parus Russian Radio' - local Pattaya radio station in Russian, locally on 90.80 FM (Pattaya People, n.d.).



Figure 4.5 A menu board written in German in front of a German restaurant

A German language newspaper and magazine i.e. Pattaya Blatt and DER FARANG are available in bookstores and supermarkets frequently visited by tourist and expats. A free copy is obtainable from their advertisers. German newspapers imported from Germany such as ‘Bild Zeitung’ are available at some 7/11, Family Marts or bookshops as well, but they are not so popular nor up to date due to slow transportation and high price. German news TV programs like DW are also available on Pattaya cable TV, at a cost of only 1,000 Baht. There are also German bookshops that offer books for rent or sale; for example, Jagger’s German bookshop located in a two unit townhouse in Soi Batman in South Pattaya. It is probably the largest bookstore in Southeast Asia for German publications with 25,000 different titles sorted alphabetically according to the author’s surname including classic novels, romance, horror, drama, action, science-fiction and many more (Brenne – Wenege, 2012).



Figure 4.6 The German bookshop

Over four decades as an international tourist resort and foreign resident settlement, Pattaya offers an environment that allows German migrants to live as if they were in Germany surrounded by German speakers, German cuisine, and other German facilities i.e. consumer goods, newspaper, bookshop, dental clinic, radio, TV programs and so on.

After living briefly in Pattaya, Sebastian (84) met his then girlfriend and they moved to live in Isaan together. He did not much enjoy his life in Isaan because of the lack of international restaurants and big supermarkets like Tesco Lotus, Big C, and Central department store where he could buy European consumer goods. Benjamin (69) a retiree who lived in Italy for 17 years together with his first Thai wife and his parents who had retired there, was also fascinated by the atmosphere Pattaya created. After Benjamin's parents passed away, the couple moved to Bangkok and lived there for a few years before finally getting divorced. Benjamin met his current Thai wife in Bangkok. Instead of living in Bangkok, he decided to relocate to Pattaya. Benjamin claimed, "Pattaya is the best place for foreigners. There is everything here: hospitals, shops, good weather, bars and everything". Andreas (63), a former business owner, noted that he almost did not recognize how his life in Thailand would be.

If I couldn't see the palms I'm growing, I would have never know I am living in Thailand. I watch German TV programs. I listen to German radio. My girlfriend and my granddaughter speak German. And we, especially I, eat German food almost all of the time. (Andreas, 63)

Andreas said he had wanted to live in the northern part of Thailand, somewhere like Chiang Mai, but his girlfriend suggested that Pattaya would be more appropriate for his mother and him who has heart disease. "She said Pattaya has the best medical care for us. There are many good quality hospitals". Although Andreas' mother passed away, she received the best of treatment from the public hospital in Pattaya where she lived with him. From my observation, Germans tend to pay great attention to their health. To clearly illustrate this, the number of participants at the German Speaking Pattaya Expats Club's monthly meeting increased noticeably when the topic of presentation concerned health and they also consulted German health professionals who are at the meeting (Howard, 2009). It seems to me that having German speaking health professionals or doctors in the community was reassuring for German migrants who could not speak English. Hence, medical care and services are other strong points of Pattaya as a tourist destination because medical facilities and services are mostly available in big cities, which are seemingly poor comparing to those of rural area (Lloyd- Sherlock, 2006). The city has good quality hospitals, both public and private. Furthermore, there are numerous language translators to provide help, facilitate and ensure that the foreign patients receive the best of care. According to the Bangkok Hospital Pattaya official website, translations for more than 20 languages are available including German. The hospital also provides services such as airport pick up on the patient's arrival and drop off at their designated hotel, embassy liaison and immigration services, currency exchange bureau, hotel reservation etc. Some private hospitals are like a five star hotels with amenities and rooms with sea views, which are quite expensive. However, many Germans choose to go to a public hospital in Pattaya or in Chonburi due to their cheaper prices.



Figure 4.7 Foreigners and Thai paddlers

Tourism is a major contributor to the city's economy. As reported in the city official website, "the increasing number of tourists to Pattaya results in the increasing income of the citizen, thus enhancing the strength and steady of the Pattaya's economy" (Pattaya City Hall, 2012). It is evident that Pattaya needs foreigners to support its economy so infrastructure development, accommodation, natural- and constructed attractions, and various events, festivals and entertainment have all been created to appeal to visitors and to fulfil their needs and interests. Thai people, especially those who work in the tourist and service industries, need to accept this fact, adapt to the new social status, and be prepared to provide such services to foreigners.

Pattaya City is for tourists. Thais' way of living in Pattaya needs to get along with the tourists. It means any work/ activity should provide convenience and comfort to the tourists. More of them can visit and bring more foreign currency to the country. (M.R. Kukrit Pramroj, Pattaya city, 1980 cited in Longjit, 2010)

The city has accomplished its mission of attracting tourists as well as full time residents who generate revenue for the city. Nonetheless, in becoming a tourist destination generates a socio-cultural impact on the city. Pattaya has also become a heterotypic space which combines people from numerous countries who bring their own

cultures with them. The culture of the people of Pattaya is neither Thai nor the original cultures of the foreign residents. Rather it is a mixed culture. This makes the socio-cultural environment in Pattaya unique and different from other cities in Thailand (Longjit, 2010). Thus, the migrants who settle in Pattaya may enjoy different experiences and lifestyle from those who live in other parts of Thailand, in particular in the Isaan region. In the following chapters, I will discuss the links between migrants and their selected destinations, focusing on how the destination has shaped their migration experience.

CHAPTER V

A PARADISE FOUND IN PATTAYA: LIFESTYLE MIGRATION AND GENDER

In this chapter, I will explore the motivations for German nationals to migrate to Pattaya and the ways in which specific characteristics of Pattaya have shaped migration experiences of German migrants. The first section (5.1 Goodbye Germany and welcome to Pattaya) encompasses the motivations for migration. It includes how German migrants perceived their lives in Germany and Thailand as well as the process of becoming migrants. In the second section (5.2. “The beautiful Thai and I”), I discuss the role that relationships with Thai women play in the migration of German men to Pattaya. I argue that German migration to Pattaya is highly gendered and closely linked to marriage migration.

5.1 Goodbye Germany and welcome to Pattaya

The concept “lifestyle migration” responds to personal accounts of German migrants in Pattaya who state that the decision to move to this Thai seaside city half the world away from home is to seek a more desirable way of life. What distinguishes lifestyle migration from other migration typologies is the motivation for migration. Lifestyle migrants' motivation is based on "their belief that a change of residential place will lead not simply to better opportunities in life, but rather to something which might be described as a better lifestyle and/or a more fulfilling way of life" (Torkington, 2010: 102). According to the literature on lifestyle migration, the search for a good life was considered a comparative project between life before and after migration; life before migration is presented negatively while the advantages of life in the destination are often overstated (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009). A move of relatively wealthy people from developed to developing places for “personal leisure preferences and preferred lifestyle” (Husa et al, 2014), lifestyle migration is partially overlapped with tourism (Benson &

O'Reilly, 2009; O'Reilly, 2003 and 2007). Although not all lifestyle migrants began as tourists, their migration is tourism-informed (Williams and Hall, 2002). Lifestyle migrants tend to move from a cold climate to sunny coastal tourist resorts (Torkington, 2010; O'Reilly, 2009) and their chosen residential places are often holiday destinations. Conforming to the narrative of lifestyle migration, many German migrants in Pattaya explain their relocation to the Thai beach city as an escape from the negative lifestyle in their home country in search for a more fulfilling way of life in Pattaya where they have visited several times as tourists.

5.1.1 A negative presentation of life before migration

Unpleasant life before migration and an image of freedom and relaxed lifestyle in Pattaya are important factors behind German migrants' decision to migrate. When I asked my respondents why they made the decision to leave their home country, they usually described their lives in Germany in very negative terms. The majority of my participants depicted life in Germany as stressful. Many respondents mentioned unhealthy work-life balance as a factor that they disliked. Boredom from monotonous routines, stress from work, the pressure to conform to norms and culture, loneliness and difficult financial situation cause life dissatisfaction that drove migrants to leave for a place that would allow them to live a better life. Moving to Thailand is a way to escape from problems and dissatisfaction migrants used to confront in their home country. Like most of the respondents, Andreas (63) was unable to manage his work life and responsibilities in a productive way. As a business owner, he had to work very hard, and as a result, developed heart disease caused by stress from work.

I had heart disease in 2007. The doctor said it was caused by stress from work, so he advised me not to work hard. But how can I do that when I am a boss. At that time I drove throughout Germany because of my business. I have my own business, real estate. I build more than 800 houses. So I need to go to several places. I didn't follow the doctor's advice until I had a heart attack. (Andreas, 63)

Some respondents felt they did not belong to the German society and saw themselves as different from their compatriots. Anton (no age revealed) who has lived in Thailand since 1995 noted “I don’t like Germany. I left Germany because I hate Germany. I’m German but I hate my country”. Anton was an electrician whose life before migration was too stressful. He faced a lot of pressure from work while German culture and norms left him feeling so small that he sometimes felt like he couldn’t breathe. Anton saw himself as different from his compatriots who are, as he described, cold, arrogant, humorless, highly disciplined and too much of a perfectionist. He didn’t have a good relationship with his colleagues or his family. He had lived separately from his parents since he was a teenager, maintained little contact with them, and now doesn’t have a deep bond with them. He started traveling to Pattaya at the end of the 1980s and kept visiting the place until 1995 when he decided to sell all he owned back home and migrate to Pattaya. The reason to migrate was because he couldn’t stand the pressure and the dislike he felt for life at home anymore. He stated that he felt comfortable in Pattaya where the relaxed atmosphere suits his easygoing attitude. In his opinion, Thai people are friendly and tolerant which is completely different from people in the county he came from.

Lifestyle migrants often migrate at vital points in life such as serious illness, a birth or death in the family, a marriage or divorce, and job loss or other employment changes (Hoey, 2009; Benson & O’Reilly, 2009). Kevin (70), a business owner who sold his company after his divorce, is a good case in point. Kevin divorced his German wife in 2012 after being together for 33 years. He was totally upset, sold his business and intended to escape from Germany. He explained “I wasn’t thinking about anything. I had just divorced my wife. I just wanted to escape from Germany and my hometown. I sold my company. I wanted to go to a sunny place with a warm climate”. He would have gone to Las Vegas, his favorite holiday destination, had his friend who owns a business in Pattaya not asked him to come and work for him as a consultant. Kevin stressed that he was sad and felt lonely because he loved his wife much and had never been unfaithful to her. He now has a 20-something Thai girlfriend whom, according to him, he met by chance at the golf course where he plays golf with his international friends.

Although the literature on lifestyle migration does not mention economic hardship as a prominent motivation to migrate, some lifestyle migrants decided to move for economic reasons (Croucher, 2014; Hoey 2009). Economic consideration plays an important role in Melanie (52) and her husband's migration to Pattaya. After visiting a friend in Pattaya, Melanie and her husband considered moving to the Thai beach city. They fell in love with Pattaya's beaches and islands and a pleasant environment where they can enjoy swimming and sunbathing. In contrast to Germany, Thailand doesn't have strict rules and Thai people are relaxed. However, money is another main motivation for the couple's migration. Since Melanie and her husband will be retired in eight years or less, they started planning their future. How to have a good life in retirement on a lower income is a question Melanie has been reflecting on. Moving to Pattaya presents a good solution that would allow Melanie and her husband to live a comfortable life on a lower budget.

One of our friends moved to Pattaya and rents a 100 square meter apartment with a 60 square meter balcony. The rent each month, including swimming pool where she can go swimming every day and with 24-hour security, is 200 €. In Germany, that is completely unheard of for the same kind of room and services. This is one reason that makes us want to go to Thailand. If we get a pension, we can afford the expenses; rental payment, personal expenses, and public transport fare. We could live, based on the current situation, we don't talk about 15-20 years later, we don't know what would happen in the future, we could have a better life in Thailand with our pension due to the cost of living and cheap apartment rental. In Germany, a rent for a 100 square meter apartment is about 800 €. If the pension is less than our monthly salary, we could not pay a rent in Germany. Thus, living in Thailand is a better choice. This is why we want to live here (Melanie, 52).

5.1.2 From tourist to resident: a paradise found in Pattaya

The migration of German migrants in Pattaya is tourism informed. Like other studies in this field (Kubelka, 2013; Husa et al., 2014), my findings reveal that tourism experiences have played a significant role in the decision to migrate. A great number of German men have visited Thailand since 1990s in the form of (sex) tourism (Chantavanich et al., 1999). Almost all of the informants visited Pattaya several times as tourists before deciding to relocate. Several male participants first visited Pattaya during 1970s – 1990s when they were new graduates or young employees who traveled to Pattaya to enjoy the night life. They have revisited the city several times and finally became fulltime migrants. After repeated visits, German migrants feel confident that they could stay long term in the city. The migration trajectory of German migrants - starting as a tourist, falling in love with Pattaya, revisiting the place several times and finally becoming a resident— illustrates how tourists become migrants and how the tourism experience influences the migration decision. This migration trajectory is in line with the goal of Pattaya city to attract return visitors and become a long-term tourism destination under the concept of “Pattaya: the livable tourist town”.

Robert (71) is one of several male tourists who came to Pattaya to enjoy the night life. As a business owner, he always had a hectic lifestyle. He told me that although he owned a small business, his life was very stressful. He spent most of his time working with little time to rest and enjoy himself. Besides, after his divorce from his German wife in 1977, he sometimes felt lonely and bored. In 1980, Robert (71) decided to buy a package tour to Thailand for the first time and spent two weeks there. He added that if he had not got divorced, his wife would not have allowed him to go to Pattaya because everyone knew there were a lot of beautiful young Thai girls there. He kept returning to Pattaya every two to three years to visit bargirls, spending around three weeks each time. The more he visited Pattaya, the more he saw a contrast between life in Germany and Pattaya. He noted that life in Pattaya was completely different from his life in Germany. In Pattaya, he had an absolute blast. He went out with many Thai women and never felt lonely or stressed. After several visits, he was determined to settle in Pattaya. After each holiday in Pattaya, he returned to Germany and worked hard to save money. Finally, he migrated to Pattaya in 1998 and described his life in Pattaya as being 100% better.

I was always busy when I was in Germany. The phone rang all the time. Now in Thailand, I do not have any work stress. When my phone rings, I have to find where it is. Thailand is more peaceful. I do and I eat whatever I want. I can find foods 24 hours. You cannot do that in Germany. And it's warm here, so you do not need thick clothes, only T-shirts will do. I have plenty of money left. (Robert, 71)

Many of my participants emphasized that they had a better life in Pattaya. They told me that they lived in Pattaya with no special plans and deadlines, something they had never experienced in Germany. They did not have to work hard like they did in Germany. In Pattaya, they had time to do any leisure activities they liked such as surfing the internet, gardening, walking along the beach, working out, reading, shopping, drinking beer or simply hanging out. German migrants in Pattaya have a relaxed, stress-free, yet active lifestyle. Martin noted, "I have a better life in Thailand, I am happier than when I was in Germany because I have more freedom which is good for my life" (Martin, 76). Sebastian told me he is healthier living in Thailand. "The weather here makes me healthy. See, it's sunny. Compared to Germany or Sweden where it is cold for seven to eight months a year, I feel better here".

More powerful Western currencies and lower costs of living in Thailand enable Western migrants, including Germans, to live a more comfortable life (Howard, 2008, Vielhaber et al, 2014). Christian (61) stated that his 1,000 Euro pension was only a little money in Germany but it goes much further in Thailand. In Pattaya he spends his leisure time on recreational activities—yoga, archery, and swimming, which he could not afford in his hometown. Benjamin (69) explained people who earn around a thousand Euros like himself could not afford a luxurious life in Germany, especially when housing rent was about 30-40% of his pension. He added that if he still lived in Europe, he would not have enough money to live a good life. Living a European standard of life in Pattaya only costs around 1,000 - 1500 Euros a month depending on the type of accommodation and individual expenses (group talk on Life in Thailand, November 2, 2015). For this reason, German migrants can afford a luxurious and desirable lifestyle in Pattaya.

Moreover, German men in Pattaya attract the attention of Thai women and almost everyone in the service industry. Westerners have a special status in Thailand. As Ruenkaew (1998) pointed out, when German men are in Thailand their physical appearance is not so important; German men are treated differently and nicely in Thailand, especially by prostitutes. Maher & Lafferty (2014, p.435) similarly found that Western men who were marginalized in their home country due to “class, age, body type, or physical appearance” received attention and social respect in Thailand; the men asserted this privilege to access erotic and romantic relationships with Thai women (ibid.) and converting these opportunities into a resource for a better way of living.

This study found that a main motivation for German citizens to migrate to Thailand is to develop intimate relationships with Thai women. In the following section, I will describe how German migration to Pattaya is highly gendered and closely linked to marriage migration.

5.2 “The beautiful Thai and I”

Most studies on lifestyle migration focus on the attraction of a slower and relaxed life, lower costs of living, affordable properties, and attractive culture in migration destinations (Casado-Diaz et al.2004, O’Reilly, 2000, 2007 and 2009, O’Reilly & Benson, 2009). What is not normally recognized is the role of gender in lifestyle migration. Croucher (2014) points out this gap in the literature of lifestyle migration asserting that concepts of a good life, home, belonging, community and ethnicity are highly gendered. “Gender, in fact, exerts a profound and pervasive influence on lifestyle and frequently acts as a signifier for ‘lifestyle,’ and vice versa” (Croucher, 2014, p.21). She highlighted that certain groups of lifestyle migrants are motivated by their desire to negotiate away and emancipate themselves from gender constraints in their home country. Gender is implicated in migration by determining “who migrates and why and how the decision is made” and “how migration impacts on migrants themselves, on sending areas and on receiving areas” (Jolly& Reeves, 2005, p.9).

The flow of Western migration to Thailand is a highly selective process in terms of age and gender (Husa et al, 2014). Western migrants in Thailand are

predominantly male, especially elderly migrants from European countries and the USA who arrived alone without wives or children (Howard, 2009). Husa et al's study (2014) reveals that the availability of a potential new Thai partner stands out as one of the main attractions to Thailand, a destination that some Westerners think is more suitable for men than for women. There is a significant difference between the number of German male and female migrants in Thailand; the ratio of German male migrants to German female migrants is 18.3:1 (Kanchanachitra, 2015). While lifestyle migrants in other regions arrive as a family or couple, German male migrants mostly come to Pattaya alone. This study of German migrants in Pattaya reveals that Thai women are involved in almost every aspect of German migrants' lives - especially motivation to migrate - and are an integrated part of the enhanced lifestyle migrant men now enjoy. Instead of women from less affluent regions migrating as brides to more economically advanced countries, German men in my study take the opportunity to resettle far from home as husbands and sometimes fathers to Thai nationals.

5.2.1 The role of Thai women in German migration

Studies on Western migrants in Thailand highlights that moving to Thailand increases Western men's prospects for finding sexual and romantic partners (Howard, 2008 and 2009, Husa, et al, 2014, & Lafferty, 2014; Charoensuk, 2014). In Thailand, Western male migrants in an advance age can once again date, remarry, and settle down with a woman. As stated earlier, almost all of the German participants in this study were divorced or widowed when they arrived in Thailand. Pattaya, a place full of young and attractive Thai women, offers new opportunities for older male migrants to find a woman to be with – from a bargirl to long-time girlfriend and marital partner.

Even though researches on gender and lifestyle migration often focus on female migrants (for example Croucher, 2014; Blue, 2000; O'Reilly, 2000), male lifestyle migrants' motivations and experiences are also gendered. Men migrate to achieve a desirable gendered role such as a breadwinner (Wilde-Menozzi, 2003; Croucher, 2014). For Western male migrants in Maher & Lafferty (2014)'s study, living in Thailand provides them with a chance to perform the role of a real white man who provides for his family with a sense of masculine empowerment they cannot easily achieve in their own countries.

For those who refer to themselves as ‘sex tourists’, Pattaya is a place they choose to live. Frank (66) accepted that he is a sex tourist. He first visited Pattaya in 1999 and continued to spend his holidays in the beach city once or twice a year for several years. He could not deny Thailand is a very beautiful country, but the main factors that brought him here were the women and the bars. In 2011, he bought a condo in Pattaya and has started to live in two countries. He allocates his time between Pattaya and Germany. Every time he is in Pattaya, he visits the bars almost every night. He loves traveling and has visited many countries in Asia but he chose Pattaya as his second home. He likes the freedom in Pattaya because it makes him feel like a young man again. Although Frank told me he was in a relationship with a Filipino woman who is now living in the Philippines, he still goes to pubs and buys sex in Pattaya.

Not everybody wants to call themselves a sex tourist or be judged as one. Some male participants stated that they did not come to Thailand to seek relationship with Thai women, but eventually they became attracted to and partnered local women they met by chance in Thailand. While Christian (61) said he wandered his way to Pattaya in 2001 following his interest in Buddhism and the lower costs of living, he admitted his attraction to exotic Thai girls with beautiful bodies. “I lived alone for ages and there I met only western women. When I see Thais, who are slim and have long black hair, I am curious and want to touch their bodies” (Christian, 61). Similarly, Kevin (70), a former businessman cohabits with his 20-something girlfriend whom he met by chance in Pattaya, insisted that he never expected to find a new relationship in Thailand. Unfortunately, Kevin’s brother did not believe the story and stopped talking to Kevin because the brother thought Kevin had bought the girl and thereby supported human trafficking in Thailand.

The experiences of cross-cultural relationships between German men and Thai women are in fact quite diverse. It is not always the case that German men arrive in Thailand alone looking to meet available Thai women. There are also those who come to Thailand with Thai partners they had met elsewhere. Some participants stated that they moved to Pattaya mainly because of their wives who wished to return to Thailand after many years in Germany. Phillip (58) divorced from two German ex-wives. He met his current Thai wife while she was visiting her cousin in Germany in 1999 - 2000. He flew back and forth between Germany and Thailand as the relationship blossomed. In

2003, he finally married her and the couple settled in Germany. Philip knew his wife's life in Germany was not easy. She deeply missed her home country and her family. He would have loved to spend his twilight years in either Germany or America if not for his Thai partner. Moving to Thailand was a big decision for him. The only reason he moved to Pattaya was because of his wife.

We moved to Thailand because of my wife. She has a massage shop and her hands, arms and bones ached. She wanted to take a break in Thailand. So we talked and I said if she wanted to leave for Thailand, we had to do it now when I didn't have to work anymore. If I were 65 or 70 years old I would not give it a try. (Philip, 58)

Having spent a year in Thailand he realized he does not belong here. He tries to adjust to life in Thailand because he thinks this is the only thing he can do for his wife. His wife patiently lived in Germany for him for more than ten years and now it should be his turn to do something for her. Although he wants to go back to Germany, he will let his wife decide their future. "Will we move back or will we stay here? I don't know. It depends on my wife. I begged her to live in Germany for 14 years. Now it is her turn" (Phillip, 58).

Phillip's case illustrates the role of the Thai spouse in German migrants' decision to migrate. In this case, the reason for moving to Thailand was the desire of the Thai spouse to spend the rest of her life in her home country. Hence, aside from various motivations mentioned earlier, German immigration to Thailand is also the result of German-Thai couples' negotiation over a place of residence in their advanced age. German husbands were typically in their late fifties or sixties when the German-Thai couples decided to leave Germany. Released from responsibilities in their work life, moving to Thailand is the start of a good life project for some retired German-Thai couples. German husbands of Thai return migrants relocate to Thailand at an important point in life and gain an improved quality of life similar to residential tourists and lifestyle migrants in other studies. For German husbands of Thai women in Pattaya, the quality of life remains the same or even better than their lives in Germany. Although Phillip does not enjoy his life in Pattaya much, he could not deny that his way of life is

now more relaxed and free. If lifestyle migration is presented as “a route to a better and more fulfilling way of life” (O’ Reilly & Benson, 2009)”, German migrants in Pattaya who migrate because of Thai women should be part of this phenomenon as well.

5.2.2 Living separately without in-laws

Living in Thailand with their Thai spouses, German men have to negotiate their role within their Thai families. In Thai society, men are expected to provide financial support to their girlfriends and Thai women are also expected to support their families as dutiful daughters. Thus, Western men who cohabit with Thais may face repeated requests for money from girlfriends’ families which can lead to relationship problems (Cohen, 2001, Howard, 2008, Maher & Lafferty, 2014). Many German men, though not all, complained about their wives’ family members who repeatedly asked them for money. For some male German migrants, living in Pattaya instead of in their wives’ communities in Isaan helps mitigate the tension between them and their Thai in-laws.

Phillip (58) was always upset with his wife’s family. During the time they were in Germany, his wife sent monthly remittances to support her large extended family. She was the youngest of nine children. One of her brothers wanted to run for a local political election and asked Phillip and his wife for 50,000 Baht. When Phillip refused to provide the money, he immediately had a serious problem with his wife’s family. Phillip decided to rent a house about 15 minutes drive from Pattaya, although his wife is now living in her hometown in Isaan.

Andreas and his girlfriend agreed to live in Pattaya in order to avoid such problems. They had lived together in Germany for eight years before moving to Thailand in 2008. From the time the couple lived in Germany, Andreas’ girlfriend has worked very hard to support her big family in Isaan. When the couple moved to Thailand, it was her idea to build a house and settle down in Pattaya in order to avoid future conflicts between Andreas and her family members. The couple continues to send money every month to support the girlfriend’s entire family.

Thompson, Kittiarra and Smutkupt (2016) considered Isaan as settled space for Western men in Thailand who are in intimate and marital relationships with Thai women. The authors regarded (sex) tourist contact zones, such as Pattaya, as liminal and

unsettled space for Western male migrants. Likewise, Kubelka (2013) had initially assumed that, because of the strong relationship in their close-knit Thai family, Pattaya was simply an intermediate station for western male retirement migrants before they ultimately settle in their Thai partner's hometown in a rural area. Contrary to this assumption, I find that German migrants intentionally choose to settle down in Pattaya. Instead of relocating to their Thai partners' villages in the northeastern region, German men in my study chose to live further in Pattaya and just spend a few days visiting their wife's families in Isaan. Similarly, Kubelka's (2013) study of Western male migrants in Pattaya revealed that only half of the migrants interviewed planned to move to their partner's hometown while the rest did not. I find that apart from the availability of tourist facilities and international environment, Pattaya is a place where German migrants feel free from the bother of their Thai partner's family.

In a study of Western male partners of Thai women in Isaan, Maher & Lafferty (2014) found that Western male migrants who do not have Thai language skills lose control in their daily life and have to rely on their Thai partners for translating, handling local matters such as finances, legal issues, and even daily errands. This is not the case for German migrants in Pattaya where services such as translation centers, law firms, and international hospitals with language interpreters are available. A cosmopolitan city such as Pattaya enables German migrants to live more independently in a familiar environment. My German informants appreciate this aspect of Pattaya noting that in Isaan, they had almost nothing to do while their wives were busy with house work and their family (Fieldnote 2015, October 7).

The concept of lifestyle migration is useful for understanding German migration to Thailand. Given their motivations to migrate in search of a better life, German migrants in Pattaya could be partly described as lifestyle migrants. This study finds that German migration to Pattaya is highly gendered in that a vast majority of the migrants are male over the age of 55. Existing relationships with Thai women or the desire to meet Thai women for sexual and romantic relationships motivated many of the migrants to relocate to Pattaya. Being alone after divorce, pairing with Thais is one route to achieving a better life for German male migrants. Similar to other studies on Western male migrants in Thailand (for example, Howard 2008 and 2009, Mahler & Lafferty 2014), this study finds that the lure of far younger Thai women who are willing to marry

and settle down with older Western men represents a good life not available to these men in their home countries. The fulfillment of sex life and romantic relationship as well as the possibility to form and maintain family life are important part of many German migrants' lives in Pattaya. My findings are consistent with Croucher's (2014) argument that gender plays a vital role in lifestyle migration and that concepts of a good life, home, belonging, community and ethnicity are highly gendered. Gender, in fact, "exerts a profound and pervasive influence on lifestyle and frequently acts as a signifier for 'lifestyle,' and vice versa" (Croucher, 2014, p.21)". The important role Thai women play in German migration to Pattaya suggests that this trend of migration is closely linked to marriage migration, which is in turn directly or indirectly linked to international sex tourism in Thailand. The interconnection between lifestyle migration and marriage migration in the case of German migrants in Pattaya reveals that a new migration category 'lifestyle migration' is just one dimension that does not fully capture the complexity of migration experiences and motivations.

CHAPTER VI

THE LIVES OF GERMAN MIGRANTS IN PATTAYA

Recent works on lifestyle migration have paid attention to migrants' participation in local life and social interactions between migrants and hosts. Lifestyle migrants occupy an ambiguous position within local communities to which they choose to relocate. Their status as long-term, even permanent, visitors who make little effort to assimilate into local life and their limited interactions with locals have been noted in prior studies on transnational lifestyle/amenity/second home migration. In many cases, lifestyle migrants form their own expat communities living in parallel with locals with whom they share social and physical space. Instances of lifestyle migrants and locals 'living apart together' (van Laar et al. 2014) in the same geographical areas have been reported across regions, e.g., foreign second home owners in Franschhoek, South Africa (van Laar et al. 2014), European and North American amenity migrants in Neuvo Arenal, Costa Rica (Matarrita-Cascante & Stocks (2013), Russian second home owners in Eastern Finland (Lipkina & Hall 2014), British lifestyle migrants in Algrave, Portugal (Torkington 2010), and British lifestyle migrants in Spain (O'Reilly 2009). Lifestyle migrants tend to socialize and form social networks with other migrants who share similar cultural and linguistic backgrounds (Cosado-Diaz 2009, Matarrita-Cascante & Stocks 2013, O'Reilly 2009). Researchers cite language barrier and cultural differences as an explanation for segregated life between lifestyle migrants and locals in various destinations (Matarrita-Cascante & Stocks 2013). Typically a move of peoples from more affluent places to less economically developed destinations and relationships between hosts and lifestyle migrants tend to be hierarchical and superficial in which locals provide services such as domestic work, gardening, and security services to long-term foreign residents (Nudrali and O'Reilly 2009, van Laar et al. 2014). As the phenomenon of lifestyle migration has become more mature and increasing numbers of people participate in transnational lifestyle mobilities, some long-term foreign residents have asserted a greater degree of assimilation into the host society to disassociate

themselves from tourists and typical lifestyle migrants in the same destination (Green 2009, Torkington, 2010, Benson 2009, Sardinha 2009).

Social networks and interactions of German migrants in Pattaya are the focus of this chapter. As I described earlier, Pattaya is a heterotopian space which was created by and for tourism. Tourism has designed the environment of Pattaya and the lifestyle of its citizens. Unlike Western migrants living in Isaan who have more opportunities to follow the Thai way of life (Koch-Schulte, 2008), German migrants in Pattaya are surrounded by a cosmopolitan environment and live as if they were tourists. Because of an easy opportunity to develop relationships with other migrants and tourists, German migrants in Pattaya do not need to acquire local language skills or socialize with Thais. In other words, Pattaya's cosmopolitan environment limits social interactions between migrants and the local populations. The interactions between Germans and Thais are mainly those between patrons and clients in the service economy rather than friends and neighbors. In this context with its lack of formal recognition by the Thai and German authorities, German social circles provide support and assistance to the increasing number of poorly assimilated, at times socially and economically marginalized, German migrants in Pattaya. This chapter examines two German social organizations: the German Meeting Center Pattaya and the German Language Pattaya Expats Club and their roles in providing a sense of community and social support for German migrants in Pattaya.

In the following I will present the migration experience and social networks and interactions of German migrants in Pattaya. Paying attention to the spatial dimension, I examine how the geographical context of Pattaya frames migrants' lives and social interactions. I begin this chapter by describing the lives of German migrants in Pattaya and to illustrate the socialization practices and community formation of German migrants in Pattaya, I will provide an ethnographic description of the German Meeting Center Pattaya and the German Language Pattaya Expats Club. I will also explore challenges German nationals encounter as migrants in Thailand and the role German social networks play in providing help and assistance to migrants given the lack of legal recognitions by the Thai and German states. I will then concentrate on the extent to which German migrants participate in the local Thai society and interact with the local population and discuss the implications of living long-term in a tourist enclave.

6.1 The migration experience

German migrants choose to reside in Pattaya because of the exceptional lifestyle Pattaya offers. Special characteristics of the city as a tourist enclave play an important role in shaping migrants' lifestyle and relationships with local inhabitants. Migrants' intention to settle in Pattaya implies their desire to extend their privilege and status as tourists for their long-term stay. While Western migrants who decide to live in Thailand's rural areas are exposed to real Thai life and lose control in their daily matters (Maher & Lafferty, 2014), migrants in Pattaya enjoy tourist facilities that help them live a more independent life as if they were in their own country. Settling in the tourist cosmopolitan area surrounded by tourists and migrants from all over the world limits German migrants' social integration into the Thai host society. Due to their limited experience of Thai culture, a few respondents could not answer my question: "What do you like in Thailand?" They said, since they never left Pattaya, that they had no idea of what real Thailand was like.

6.1.1 What is it like to live in a tourist town?

As stated in chapter 5, previous tourist experiences play an important role in the migration decision for German migrants in Pattaya. In contrast to a dissatisfying life before migration, Pattaya is a place where German migrants could imagine living a meaningful life and enjoying new experiences and freedom. Despite several prior visits as tourists, the beginning of life as settlers was, for some respondents, quite challenging. According to Christian (61), one challenging aspect of starting a new life in Pattaya was the social life. "It was quite difficult at the beginning. It was difficult to find friends or something to do... something I like and want to do". To gradually adjust to living in a new place very different from home, some German residents of Pattaya choose to live a transnational life between two countries. In the beginning of his relocation to Pattaya, Frank (66) spent three months in Pattaya and three months in his home country before coming again to Pattaya for another three months. Now that he has gotten more accustomed to living in Pattaya, he alternates his place of residence between the two countries every six months. German migrants who have been more settled in Pattaya only visit Germany for a short time. The longer they have lived in Pattaya, the less frequent they visit their home country. Some migrants might start with an annual home

visit at the beginning and reduce the trip home to once every two or three years after they have lived longer in Pattaya. Those who no longer have ties with their homeland like Anton, who sold everything in Germany, rarely go back to their home country.

The cosmopolitan setting in Pattaya makes it easier for German migrants to adjust to their new lives. Similar to British migrants in Costa del Sol, a famous touristic area in Spain (O'Reilly, 2009), German migrants in Pattaya live among other tourists, share tourist spaces, and spend their leisure time doing tourist activities. They also enjoy the amenities typical of an established tourist resort and the services provided by local inhabitants. While Western migrants who live in remote areas with their Thai partner's extended family are exposed to the Thai way of life, German migrants in Pattaya can maintain a Western lifestyle and live their lives like a tourist.

Living in a tourist enclave extends the privilege and feelings created while on holiday for a longer time period. As a special and exceptional space, Pattaya gives its foreign residents a sense of emancipation from social norms at home, particularly those regarding gender and sexuality. Due to the strong Euro compared to the local currency, German migrants can enjoy commodities and activities they cannot afford at home. With their dwindling incomes from home, migrants can live a decent or even a luxury lifestyle in Pattaya. Similar to Western male foreigners in Isaan (Maher & Lafferty, 2014), many male German migrants convert this relative privilege into access to romantic relationships with Thai women. As mentioned in Chapter 5, opportunities to pair with (much) younger Thai women constitute a better life for German men in Pattaya. While Western sons-in-law in *Isaan* lose their *farang* privilege over time due to their dependence on their Thai partners for day to day matters, German migrants in Pattaya can maintain their independence and Western foreigner status.

Although German migrants in Pattaya turn tourism into their way of life to a certain extent, they do not see themselves as tourists or live as if they were forever on holiday. German migrants have changed their lifestyle after living for a while in Pattaya and most of them no longer behave the way they did when they were tourists. My participants who were former tourists told almost the same story of how they behaved when they were tourists. They spent a lot of money to enjoy themselves and entertain their second childhood while on holiday, for example, drinking from 10 a.m. to 10 p.m. and visiting several bargirls. According to them, they had to work very hard to save the

money they spent wastefully during a vacation. When the holiday ended, they flew back to Germany and continued working and saving money for their next trip. In other words, they lived frugally in Germany in order to spend extravagantly while in Pattaya. This is also a reason why German tourists are considered quality, high spending tourists in Thailand.

When former tourists become migrants, they are more careful with their spending. Since German migrants mostly migrate after retirement, their lives in Pattaya rely on monthly pension from Germany. Because they can no longer return home to work and earn money for vacation, German migrants have to learn to manage their monthly pensions in Pattaya. In particular, when they eventually decide to commit to a local woman they have to manage the same budget for two people. The majority of the participants accept that currency rate fluctuations importantly impact their lifestyle. While they benefit from the stronger Euro compared to Thai Baht, the weakening of the Euro against Thai Baht will decrease the value of their pension income. Kevin (71) is the only one who stated that he does not worry about money. As a former business man and a consultant for a big transnational company, he does not live on pension but on his own savings. He said, with all the money he has now, he could live comfortably until he dies and it is more than enough to support his Thai girlfriend and her extended family.

Although the costs of living in Pattaya are low compared to Germany or other cities in Europe, it is relatively expensive when compared to other parts of Thailand. German migrants, who spent a lot of money at the beginning of their migration on eating out and recreational activities such as golf and archery, learn to save money and make their pension stretch further. They reduce the frequency of eating out and choose to join free activities provided by the Meeting Center. German migrants initially rent an apartment or a house. The decision to buy a property is usually made after they form a committed relationship with Thai girlfriend.

Apart from changing financial situation, I found that relationship with Thai partner has played a significant role in changing the lifestyle of German migrants. In contrast to life as a single man, the majority of the participants tend to live a settled and more stable life when pairing with Thai women. For example, at the beginning of his migration to Pattaya, Robert (73) spent his time and money as if he were a tourist. He spent money wastefully on alcohol, bargirls and dining at luxurious restaurants. The

longer he lives in Pattaya, the more he becomes concerned about his financial situation, especially when he met his Thai girlfriend and decided to settle down with her. Instead of enjoying night life as he used to do, Robert spends most of his time with his girlfriend in their condo or one of the two houses he bought in rural parts of Pattaya. When his girlfriend is away, for example for her computer class, Robert will come to the Meeting Center to catch up with other German migrants.

I usually stay in my condo. I only need a comfy bed and a TV but I will go crazy if I stay home all day everyday (laugh). Sometimes, I go out. I go to the restaurants... sometimes but not every day. I hang out here (at the Meeting Center) every two weeks. That is it. My girlfriend is now taking a computer course. She is kind of busy right now. So I have to find something to do. Sometimes I watch TV all day until she comes home.

For German migrants who moved to Pattaya with long-term Thai partners they had lived with in Germany, lifestyle after migration has only slightly changed. The couples seem to have a well arranged plan for life after migration. Once they arrived in Pattaya, Andreas and his Thai girlfriend started building their home. Andreas bought 2 Rai of land outside the city of Pattaya and built a single- family detached home with rooms for himself and his partner, his mother and the granddaughter. He also built two bungalows nearby his house¹. There are a terrace and a big garden with a fish pond for him. It was always his dream to spend his leisure time in the garden that connects him with the land and nature. Unlike sex tourists, Andreas live a simple life with his Thai girlfriend and their granddaughter.

¹ Andreas' partner worked for the German Help Foundation (Deutscher Hilfsverein Thailand). Often times this couple provides accommodation for German nationals in need. Nowadays, those bungalows are mostly occupied by German elderlies who are cared for by Andreas's partner.

Unlike Robert and Andreas, Anton (no age revealed) has no intention to settle down even though he has lived in Pattaya for around 20 years and burnt the bridge to his homeland. Due to his work that requires him to frequently travel overseas and be away for two to three weeks each time, Anton does not want to buy a house in Pattaya. He prefers to live, as he called, “a playboy lifestyle” and be a sex tourist forever. He gave the reason for not settling down as follows: “I am satisfied with my life now. I prefer to visit bars and buy sex ... every night... like this... rather than commit to one woman. You know, living with a Thai lady costs you much more than paying for the prostitutes”.

6.1.2 Living in Little Germany: Everyday lives’ and communities

A tourist resort and international metropolis, Pattaya offers German migrants opportunities to live close to their co-ethnics and other expats. Apart from spending time with their Thai partners, almost all of my participants spend much of their time socializing mostly with German speakers and actively participating in the German communities. Two German social organizations that function as German communities in Pattaya around which my participants gravitate are German Language Pattaya Expats Club (Deutschsprachiger Pattaya Expats Club) and the Meeting Center Pattaya (Begegnungszentrum Pattaya). Many of my participants, though not all, visit the Meeting Center regularly in order to participate in group talks, meet friends or simply have lunch at the café.

6.1.2.1. The German Language Pattaya Expats Club

The German Language Pattaya Expats Club is a section of the Pattaya Expats Club, which was established since 2004 by Mr. Bruno Keller and Mr. Niels Colov, CEO of Pattaya People Media Group. Mr. Keller described the purpose of the club as “expat helps expat by providing consultation and action with no financial support” (Jahner, 2014). The German Expats Club organizes a meeting on the first Saturday of each month at 10 a.m. in an administration building of the Chai Mongkol Temple in South Pattaya. I regularly participated in the two to three hour meeting of the German Language Pattaya Expats Club. The majority of attendees are male aged over 50 years old. The long rectangular air-conditioned conference room has around 100 seats. At the back of the room, visitors will find information sheets about the German

Language Pattaya Expats Club and German speaker's meeting points and activities, German language newspapers, brochures, business cards and advertisements for goods, services and property. At the second door in the middle of the room is a station where participants can get their blood pressure checked and have a blood test.



Figure 6.1 A monthly meeting of the German Language Pattaya Expats Club

Interesting topics related to the current situation in Pattaya, Thailand and around the world are presented at each meeting by a speaker or two. Here are some examples of the meeting's various topics: Healthy Ageing with Organ Preservation (by BPH specialist Dr. Worathorn), Brief Current Information about GPS' Smartphone (by Uli von Berlin, a member of the club), Visa and Marriage in Thailand for Swiss and German Nationalities (by Roland Gähwiler, an owner and manager of the Swiss Helping Point Company), Current Issues on Thai Immigration (by Chonburi immigration officer, Peter Grunendahl, a) and German Consular Services (by General consular Rudolf Hofer). The club also maintains close contact with the German Embassy in Bangkok. Annette Sévery, Head of Press and Cultural Section of the German Embassy in Bangkok and former German Ambassador, Christoph Brümmer, used to give talks at the Pattaya Expats Club as well. The Club is funded by entrance fees and donations. Entrance fee for the meeting is 100 Baht for members and 120 Baht

for non-members. A lifetime membership costs 600 Baht. There are usually about 50-80 participants at each meeting. In addition to the monthly meeting, the German Language Pattaya Expats Club provides important information for German speakers living in Pattaya such as forms for immigration, application for extension of stay, 90-day reporting requirement form, health insurance coverage in Thailand and contact information for the German and Swiss Embassies.

6.1.2.2 The Meeting Center Pattaya



Figure 6.2 The Meeting Center Pattaya

The Meeting Center Pattaya has been operated by the German Protestant Church in Thailand since 2011. The German Protestant Church itself is affiliated to and supported by the Evangelical Church in Germany (EKD). The church has two focus areas, one in Bangkok and another in Pattaya.

Since 2011, based in the “Begegnungszentrum” (Meeting Center) we are serving predominantly German speaking retired people who live in Thailand “full time” or “part time”. We have worship service every second and last Sunday of the month, followed by a fellowship coffee hour. From Tuesday to Saturday afternoon we offer consulting, bible study, conversation circles on theological, social or political issues and an opportunity to meet other people in our Pattaya Meeting Center café shop (Evangelische Gemeinde Deutsche Sprache in Thailand, 2014)

The Meeting Center is a four – storey building with a café serving traditional German food, coffee and freshly baked cakes. The Meeting Center and the café are open from Tuesday to Saturday from 12 to 6 p.m. The Meeting Center activities program is posted on the Center’s facebook page (www.facebook.com/Begegnungszentrum.Pattaya Naklua). Activities at the Center include Men’s Circle (Männer-Runde) where all topics concerning men in Pattaya can be discussed and a Discussion Group where participants discuss topics such as living in Thailand, English and Thai courses for beginners and other issues. The Meeting Center works in cooperation with other German communities and organizations such as Goethe Institute, The DACH Club (German speaking connections in Pattaya) and the German Language Pattaya Expats Club. The DACH Club and the German Language Pattaya Expats Club organized a weekly “Stammtisch”, an informal social meeting, at the Meeting Center where German speakers can enjoy a nice chat, meet new friends and exchange experience. As observed, the atmosphere at the Meeting Center is more relaxed than at the meeting of the German Expats Club. Many German speakers visit the Center regularly and some spend time there during the entire opening hours. At the Meeting Center, German migrants enter an exclusively European space. The only Thais there are the German speaking café owner and a few staff.



Figure 6.3 A ‘Stammtisch’ at the Meeting Center – an informal meeting for German speakers living in Pattaya organized by the German Language Pattaya Expats Club

6.1.2.3 Living in a ‘bubble’

During my fieldwork, it was a familiar sight to see Andreas, a tall thin grey haired man in his 60s driving two seniors, one a man and one a woman, to the café around 11 a.m. The two seniors in their 80s to 90s get out of the car and lead the way to the same table, the first table in the first row, where they always sit. Andreas chooses the seat at the back corner where a poster of the Center’s weekly activities program, news, services and advertisements is hanging. While a waitress serves him a cup of coffee, he turns on his laptop to either watch his favorite German TV shows online or read a German newspaper online. When he is in a good mood, he turns on lively music. At Andreas’ table, there is always a seat available for everyone. This table is often full with German speakers talking and laughing together.

German transnational communities like this play a key role in providing social contacts and networks for German migrants in Pattaya. Migrant communities are a good starting point for migrants who arrive without any personal contacts (Casado-Diaz, 2009). When Frank (66) visited Pattaya in 2011, some Germans he met told him about the Meeting Center in North Pattaya so he went there and took

part in the activities provided. Since his first visit to Thailand in 1999, he has been to many places in the country but chose to live in Pattaya because of the farang - friendly infrastructure and the German community there.

I have seen many things in Thailand but Pattaya is different. Pattaya Has a social structure like this Meeting Center. I think if I had to live in Isaan, I would go bananas. There is no Farang infrastructure. Other Farangs in Isaan might live 10 kilometers away and might be alcoholic (laugh). I want to do some activities rather than only drinking . Right ow, I participate in a group talk, run my own writing class and drink beer in the evening (Frank, 66).

Expatriate social networks and communities in Pattaya attract migrants to move in. The existence of German social circles is one factor migrants consider when choosing Pattaya as their second home. Frank compared himself with Western foreigners in Isaan. Based on his experience, Western foreigners in Thailand's remote areas do not have much to do; they do not have language skills to socialize with Thais and lack Western social circles in which to embed themselves. While Koch-Shulte (2008) reported that Western retirees in Udonthani lack contacts with other foreigners, German migrants in Pattaya do not have such a problem. They participate in various social and recreational activities—English class, Thai class, Chess and Theatre group—arranged by organizations such as the Meeting Center and Pattaya Expat Club. Instead of doing nothing or drinking all day long, Frank offers English and writing courses for those who are interested. At the Meeting Center, he meets many other German speakers and has become friends with some of them. He explained, “When we meet some people regularly or when we have to work together with someone, we will feel close to them.” Frank has become good friends with Christian (61) since they started preparing Christmas theatre shows together. They often hang out together in the evening with other German speaking friends. Christian used to have a girlfriend from Isaan so he visited Isaan a few times for two weeks each time. He insisted however that he could not live in Isaan.

It's too boring. There is nothing to do in the village. I need to live in a place where German is spoken. I need to speak my mother language. My own language is German and I want to speak my language further. In Pattaya, I can speak German. Speaking German makes me feel at home. (Christian, 61)

Why is it important to speak German in Pattaya? Many participants mentioned the advantage of speaking their own language in the new place they move to. As mentioned in Chapter 5, the majority of German migrants are males who live together with their Thai partners who only speak basic German and English. Lacking a common language, German migrants sometimes have problems discussing complex issues with their Thai partners. Philip (63), for example, admitted he sometimes misses his German ex-wives with whom he can discuss politics, religion, and environmental issues. Although his Thai wife can speak good German, unfortunately it is not good enough to talk about complex issues. Most of their conversations are limited to daily life, for example, what to do, what to eat and where to go. The German communities fulfill German migrants' need for social life. I found that German migrants participate in the Group Talk regularly. They discuss enthusiastically even when the topic was simply "How do we spend time?"

Apart from meeting other Germans at one of the formal social activities, German migrants meet privately with people they get along well with. For instance, Philip meets a group of German speakers, who visit a department store, with the Thai partners every Tuesday morning. While the men are talking and sharing their experiences or problems they have confronted during the week, their Thai spouses go shopping together. Sometimes the problems cannot be resolved, but the men feel relieved to talk about them.

Despite the fact that German migrants move to Thailand in order to reorganize their lives and to enjoy freedom from German social norms, their behavior is still influenced by German norms and culture within the German circles in Pattaya. Most of the participants are careful to control their behavior and care about the opinions of other Germans in the community. A German speaking Swiss man admitted during a Group Talk that before migrating he believed he could do anything he wanted in Pattaya

but that is not actually the case. He is still worried and cares about what others at the Meeting Center think about him. This is because he needs to be accepted in the community. Other participants in the Group Talk, including three of my respondents, agreed.

Nonetheless, some of my respondents socialize with people of other nationalities outside the German communities. Furthermore, not all Germans in Pattaya participate in the German communities and some even distance themselves from other Germans. Benjamin (69) always stays near his Thai wife, has only one German friend in Pattaya and never has anything to do with the German communities.

I personally do not like Germans. There is a German proverb which is, “God protects us from storms and wind, and Germans who live abroad” (Gott schütze uns vor Sturm und Wind und Deutschen, die im Ausland sind). I know some Germans, but they are not the kind of people I want to be friend with. They are lower class. I deserve someone better. Most of the Germans drink, get drunk, and smoke. I don’t like them. (Benjamin, 69)

6.2 Social integration and problems in Pattaya

Living in an expat bubble in a tourist resort limits social interactions between German migrants and local Thais. While the lack of social integration does not affect tourists, it has important implications for the lives of migrants who spend an indefinite time in the place of destination (O’Reilly & Benson, 2009). Interactions between migrants and locals in Pattaya derive from those of tourist-host relationships, i.e., between patrons and clients in the service economy rather than friends and neighbors.

6.2.1 ‘Patron-client relationship’

Similar to other Western migrants in Thailand (Vielhaber et al, 2014, Maher & Lafferty, 2014, and Howard, 2009), German migrants in Pattaya do not have Thai

friends. According to them, the Thai people they know are normally waiters or waitresses, apartment receptionists or security guards. Many of them revealed they only know Thai men from their partners or bargirl descriptions of Thai men as lazy, childish, and irresponsible. German migrants in my study are not motivated to get to know Thai people. When asked if they wanted to be friends with Thais, the most common answer was the German community alone is enough’,

“I do not have Thai friends because I have friends here (Martin, 76)”.

“I prefer socializing with German or English speakers. I have nothing to do with Thais (Tobias, 81)”.

Most of the participants claimed language barrier and different mindset between Europeans and Thais as being what separate the two groups. A few respondents stated they have contacts with Thai neighbors and acquaintances of their Thai partners. However, those contacts are limited to occasional greetings and sometimes a short conversation introducing basic English or Thai phrases. The lack of motivation to learn Thai might be the result of the international atmosphere in Pattaya where speaking Thai is not necessary because English or even German is widely spoken. Moreover, a few participants mentioned that they wanted to learn Thai but their Thai partners refused to help them practice. They seemed to believe that their partners did not want them to know what is they were saying when talking with their Thai friends and family.

Besides, my German participants stated that the cultural difference between them and the Thai people was too large. Even though the respondents have a rather positive view of Thai people, Thais are friendly, easy-going, polite and respectful - they also think that Thai people are undisciplined, not straightforward and obsessed with money. Benjamin (69), a former engineer who has lived in Pattaya for more than seven years, expressed his frustration:

What I cannot understand is that I know very few Thais who have a good education. If there are 100 Thais, only 10 have a good education. I feel like they have never learnt math. They cannot calculate without a calculator. This might hurt you, but I have never met such stupid people

as Thais. They think they know everything, In fact, they do not know there are a lot of things they never knew existed. They cannot differentiate between Austria and Australia. They do not learn geography. Sociology seems to be a problem because Thais never understand others. They only think about themselves. Many parents, not all, send their daughters to work in Pattaya while they are busy playing cards and doing silly things. They let their daughters become prostitutes. This is a social problem that cannot be solved. (Benjamin, 69)

These comments reflect a patronizing view towards Thais and a strong feeling of ‘us’ and ‘them’. The different status and social position between local hosts and foreign guests in tourist destinations shape social interactions between German migrants and Thais in Pattaya. In cases of migration from more developed countries to less developed ones, migrants are often perceived by the locals as tourists or commercial trading partners and the relations between the two groups are quite hierarchical (Nudrali and O’Reilly, 2009). According to the Pattaya City Hall’s website, ninety percent of Thais in Pattaya are workers in the service and tourism industry (Pattaya City Hall, 2012) who provide services to foreigners for a living. Therefore, they consider foreigners as customers rather than friends. It is extremely rare for migrants and locals to have a close contact and become friends.

The Thai economic development discourse that emphasizes tourism as a main income earner has shaped the way foreign, particularly Western, tourists are perceived and treated in Thailand. Foreign tourists from more developed countries are perceived in Thai society as a source of income in the tourist and service industry. German migrants’ relationships with local Thais are therefore superficial and based mostly on economic exchanges. This shapes the perception of German migrants on Thai people. What is always said among German citizens in Pattaya is, “Money is no.1 in Thailand”, “Money is dangerous” and “One can live peacefully when he has little money”. Like other Western migrants in Thailand, German migrants I met in Pattaya complained about feeling like an ATM for Thais (Howard, 2009; Thompson et al., 2016; Maher & Lafferty, 2014). Double pricing for foreigners in public services and private

enterprises make German nationals feel that Thais always take advantage of them. As foreigners, they have to pay more. When visiting museums, foreigners have to pay while there is no entrance fee for Thais. The Baht bus² fare for Thais is 30 Baht, but it could be 350 Baht for foreigners. Moreover, German migrants feel that foreigners are always considered the culprit in conflicts with Thais. Robert recounted that he was charged and had to pay for the damage when a Thai man riding his motorcycle at excessive speed, and not paying attention, hit Robert's car. "Foreigners are always guilty. They think all foreigners are millionaires. But this is not true. There are many poor foreigners here", Robert said.

Even though only a few participants mentioned that their migration was economically motivated, almost all German migrants I interviewed could not be considered affluent individuals. While Westerners are perceived as wealthy in Thai society, this study found that some German migrants had to migrate because of their economic situation in Germany. German migrants benefit from the stronger Euro that furthers the value of their pension in Thailand. At the same time, they are vulnerable to currency fluctuation that directly affects their economic position in the destination country.

6.2.2 'A privileged but also precarious life'

German residents in Thailand live a privileged, yet also precarious life. Their lives in Thailand are insecure due to the lack of legal recognition of their resident status. According to Thai immigration and citizenship law, it is difficult for foreigners to gain permanent resident status or citizenship. This means migrants need to apply for one of several kinds of visa, generally tourist entry or a renewable non-immigrant, visa annually (Howard, 2009; Maher & Lafferty, 2014). Furthermore, foreigners are prohibited from owning property such as house and land. It is a common practice among Thai-Farang couples to purchase and own property in the Thai partner's name (Maher

²The Pattaya Baht buses or Songthaew are usually a dark blue pick-up truck with open sides and two rows of passenger seats along each side in a covered overhead back cabin. They are the most convenient way of getting around in Pattaya. The standard fare for these rides is 10 Bath a person for short distance and 20-30 Baht for longer distances. However, it is important not to ask the driver "how much?", because he would take advantage of people's lack of experience and charge a price above the regular fare.

&Lafferty, 2014, Howard, 200, Cohen, 2003). Foreigners can only purchase and own a condo unit in their own name.

The following story of Benjamin (69) underlines the fear of financial loss and vulnerability of foreigners living in Thailand. He pointed out that his life in Thailand depends on his Thai partner. “In Thailand, foreigners are not allowed to own property like houses, buildings, and land. I cannot own any property though I have money. It’s insecure”. Benjamin mentioned a story commonly known among Western foreigners in Thailand (Howard, 2008). “A Western man bought a house under his partner’s name and later found himself evicted from the house”. Benjamin’s wife holds legal title to a 2.2 million bath house that he bought. Although he said he could trust his wife, he was not completely certain. “I hope if I take good care of my family and I am a breadwinner, a good father, and a good husband, that will not happen to me and I’m trying”

Maher and Lafferty (2014) described the sense of uncertainty Western men felt in relationships with their Thai partners when one man realized that the marriage was partly founded on the woman’s financial motivation. In the case of German migrants to Pattaya, the negative stereotype of Thai women also plays a part in creating a sense of insecurity. Thai women are depicted by the Western press as those who repeatedly marry or promise to marry *farang*, but finally refuse after receiving sums of money. I agree with Maher and Lafferty (2014) that such stories are always reproduced among foreigners through various channels such as in person, through the media (blogging communities, travel agency website, etc.) and fictions written by Westerners. Frank (66) wrote a novel about a German man who is cheated in Pattaya, inspired by his own experience and stories recounted by his acquaintances. The book is available on the bookshelf at the Meeting Center for other German speakers to borrow.

My participants have never experienced being cheated and losing a large sum of money. However, stories about the unsuccessful lives of their fellow citizens make them afraid that one day such an event might happen to them. There was one incident of an unlucky German man that my participants and the members of the Meeting Center got involved in. In the middle of August, 2015, a German man in his 40s came to the Meeting Center to ask for help. This penniless man was evicted by his girlfriend with whom he had lived in Isaan. He met the woman in Pattaya in 2013 when he first moved to the city. They lived together in a rented apartment in Pattaya. In

Germany, he only had enough money to pay for food and accommodation, but in Pattaya he had plenty of money due to the strong Euros. He enjoyed drinking beer in bars and bought his girlfriend almost everything she needed, for example motorcycle, clothes and gold. He moved to his girlfriend's hometown in Isaan at the beginning of 2015. There he met her brother whom he later found out was her husband who took almost all his money. The German man found his way back to Pattaya, but had to sleep in front of 7-11 supermarket for ten days and beg for food before someone told him to come to the Meeting Center. Khun Bua³, Andreas' wife and the café owner, gave him food and allowed him to stay overnight in the café. The community members collected money to buy a flight ticket for him to return to Germany.

Although the man has now gone home, his story is still discussed widely within the German community. Some participants admitted that they are worried about their lives. Phillip (58) told me he is depressed every time he hears about the tragic life of one of his compatriots and hopes it will not happen to him. I therefore asked my participants, "What would you do if one day you are in trouble and need help?" While a few respondents mentioned names of their friends who live in Pattaya or their family in Germany, the others were not quite sure who they could ask for help.

6.2.3 German communities as shelter and support to migrants

Pattaya allows German migrants to extend their status as tourist, enjoying life among their compatriots and being treated kindly by local service providers. However there is a price for this privilege: they have a superficial relationship with the host society and are treated as a 'forever guest' by the Thai immigration and citizenship

³ Khun Bua is Andreas' partner who had experienced working for the German Help (Deutsche Hilfsverein) for four years. She lived in Germany for 23 years and speaks fluent German. After quitting the job at the German Help, she opened a café at the Meeting Center. She is close to many of the research participants who often ask her for relationship advice. Khun Bua and Andreas have played an important role in volunteering to help German nationals in Pattaya. During my participation at the Meeting Center, I observed many German speakers ask this couple for help such as to contact relatives in Germany, to manage a funeral and to send a body back home.

law. No matter how long German migrants have been in Thailand, many of them still feel like a guest who is never truly accepted as part of Thai society.

Our neighbours are friendly and nice to me. They usually ask my girlfriend where I am. They call me farang but don't mind. I like it (laugh). It's just that I feel like I am only a guest and always will be, but I came here voluntarily. If there is something I do not like and can not stand, there is a solution. Go home. We have to accept that this is not our country (Andreas 63).

Unlike tourists, long term immigrants have a need to be a part of a meaningful community away from home. German speaking social circles in Pattaya fulfill German migrants' need for a social life in lieu of their poor integration. The network of German residents in Pattaya also provides support to migrants who are in trouble due to the lack of formal recognition and assistance from Thai and German governmental bodies. While regular labour migrants can ask for support from their organizations or labour unions, German migrants who came to Pattaya on their own do not have such formal support. Hence, they cooperate and provide help to each other.

The two German communities this study focuses on were organized with an aim to help and support German citizens in Pattaya. The German Language Pattaya Expats Club provides necessary information and a social networking space. Similarly, the Meeting Center offers a space for German speakers to express their feelings and share their problems. At the Meeting Center, there is a program called EXIT- We Want You to Stay (Wir wollen, dass Sie bleiben). This program was established in order to prevent suicides. A team of caring and trained persons is available on the phone and over email to provide support and consultation to anyone who needs them. There is a rising rate of suicide attempts among foreigners in Pattaya. It is believed that the number of unreported cases is far higher than what is revealed to the public. Those who have suicidal thoughts have often faced irresolvable problems such as illness, poverty, loss of partner, and have become disillusioned with Pattaya, yet going back to Germany would be intolerable humiliation (Redaktion Der Farang, 2015; informal interview with the Meeting center staff and khun Bua, Field note 2015, October 13)

6.3 Conclusion

This chapter explores the ambivalent status of German residents in Pattaya who are ‘neither tourists nor permanent residents but rather a category in between’ (Marjavaara 2008 cited in Van Laar et al., 2014). Instead of trying to adapt to the Thai host society, German migrants in Pattaya choose to live among their compatriots and have limited interactions with Thais. The setting of Pattaya as a cosmopolitan tourist zone has shaped the migration experience and social interactions of German residents. Although German migrants enjoy their tourist privileges and life in ‘Little Germany’, there are important drawbacks to living in an expat bubble. While Western migrants who live with a Thai partner outside tourist enclaves have a chance to integrate into Thai society through their Thai partners and family (Chuenglertsiri & Kanchanachitra, 2016; Thompson et al. 2016), German migrants in Pattaya have separate social lives from their Thai partners and lack social integration into the host society. In the context of poor integration and lack of legal recognition by the Thai and German authorities, German migrants in Pattaya turn to transnational German communities for instrumental, social and emotional support.

Integration is a two-way process. The poor integration of German migrants in Pattaya is embedded in the tourist economy in the global South in which tourists from more developed countries are considered patrons and a source of income. This is understandable if the destination country does not expect tourists to integrate. But with the emerging trend towards lifestyle migration, long-term tourists often become residents and remain for an indefinite period of time. This relatively new form of transnational mobility poses new questions for a destination country such as Thailand. When the numbers of such lifestyle migrants increases, would it be satisfactory for ‘host’ and ‘guest’ to live in a segregated society?

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

This research is an attempt to understand the contemporary German migration to Pattaya, Thailand, focusing on the migrants' motivations, lifestyle and integration. Throughout this master thesis, I provided answers to the following questions: What are the motivations for German migrants to migrate to Pattaya? Why do the German migrants specifically choose Pattaya as their destination? How have the specific characteristics of Pattaya shaped migration experiences and social interactions of German migrants in the host community? What role do the German transnational communities play in migrants' lives in the lack of formal recognitions and support by the Thai and German States?

I discussed the relocation of German nationals to Pattaya using lifestyle migration as a key theoretical framework. The result showed that, the concept of lifestyle migration is useful for the understanding of German migration to Pattaya. Similar to studies of lifestyle migration in other geographical areas (Torkington, 2010, Benson & O'Reilly 2009, Korpela, 2009, Benson, 2009), German migrants in Pattaya are motivated by the search for a better way of life or an alternative lifestyle. Their search for a good life is a comparative project between life before and after migration. German migrants' narratives highlight an escape from prior constraints in their country of origin to begin a new life project in Pattaya where they benefit from lower living costs, healthy climate and more leisure opportunities. A better life for the German migrants is often stated in terms of a decent standard of living in their retirement, a more relaxed life and opportunities to be (once again) a real man.

However, lifestyle migration as a concept carries some limitations. The existing literature of lifestyle migration often neglects the role of gender. German migration to Pattaya is highly gendered in that a vast majority of the migrants are males over the age of 55. Existing relationships with Thai women or the desire to meet Thai women for sexual and romantic relationships motivated many of the migrants to relocate

to Pattaya. My findings are consistent with Croucher's (2014) argument that gender plays a crucial role in lifestyle migration and that concepts of a good life, home, belonging, community and ethnicity are highly gendered. While female lifestyle migrants are motivated by the desire to break away from traditional gender roles and expectations (Croucher, 2014), German male migrants move to Pattaya in order to reaffirm their masculinity. Moving to Pattaya allows German men to enjoy a good lifestyle with less money and to support their Thai partners like a real man.

The use of a single migration typology to capture migration trajectories and experiences can also be problematic. The important role Thai women play in German migration to Pattaya suggests that this trend of migration is closely linked to marriage migration, which is in turn directly or indirectly linked to international sex tourism in Thailand. Besides, the average age of German migrants in Pattaya reveals that international retirement migration is an important part of this migration flow. The overlap between lifestyle migration, marriage migration and international retirement migration in the case of German migration to Pattaya problematizes academic attempts to pin down migration typologies. Conceptualizing lifestyle migration as a single phenomenon, scholars might overlook complexities in specific migration flows and individual migrants' motivations. As Trundle (2009, p.64) stated, "in creating a new category of migrants we should be wary of such a category's strength to hide the life span developments and changes that migrants experience".

While many studies of lifestyle migration tend to neglect economic motivations, the results from this study have shown that economic considerations play a vital role in the German decision to migrate. On the one hand, German migrants in Pattaya are relatively privileged because of the higher value of Euro compared to Thai Baht. In Thailand, German migrants can afford a comfortable life or a higher standard of living at a lower cost. On the other hand, some of the migrants are economically marginalized in their own country. My findings concurred with Husa et al (2014) and Hayes (2014) that there are people in the developed economies who may not want to migrate but have to do so in order to maintain a good life. One of my participants shared his opinion, "those who have enough money should stay in Germany. Those who do not, like me, came to Pattaya". Furthermore, the lack of legal recognition of their

resident status along with their superficial relationships with the local populations and host society contribute to insecure and vulnerable life of German migrants in Pattaya.

Although Pattaya is perceived as a paradise for Western migrants, especially elderly male migrants, there are important challenges and limitations German nationals encounter as migrants in Thailand. This study found that German migrants prefer to reside in the tourist enclave in order to extend their privilege and status as tourist for their long term stay. This privilege is however a double-edge sword. Migrants have very limited degree of social integration and relationships with locals are superficial and hierarchical grounded on monetary exchanges. As Cohen (1977) proposed, the interactions between the expatriates and the local are at the same level of the social contact between the locals and the tourists. German migrants have ambivalent presence in the Thai society and are perpetually viewed as guests or outsiders no matter how long they have been living in the country. Due to their poor integration and the lack of formal recognition from the Thai state, almost all of my participants have no future plans. They do not know whether they should reside permanently in Pattaya, where their lives depend on precarious visa processes and relationships with their Thai partners, or return to their home country they once escaped from.

This thesis also aimed to counteract stereotypes and prejudice German migrants in Pattaya have to deal with. It revealed that German migrants in Pattaya could not be considered a homogeneous group because their socio-economic backgrounds and motivations to migrate are quite diverse. Although Pattaya is notorious for prostitution and nightlife, not every German resident of Pattaya engages in the sex industry. Some migrants had lived with their Thai partners in Germany for many years before the couple decided to move to Thailand. My German participants' lives and migration motivations are far more complex than the sex tourist stereotype.

Lastly, since the number of participants in this study was very limited, it will be interesting to deepen the research on German migration to Pattaya with a greater number of respondents as well as to expand the scope of the study to include the Thai perspectives. Interviews with Thai partners of German migrants, local Thai populations, Pattaya City Hall, and Thai governmental and non-governmental organizations involved with this form of migration would definitely provide more insights. So far, Thai local and national governments have promoted lifestyle migration, or its other names—

retirement migration and long-stay tourism, as an economic development strategy. The emerging phenomenon of lifestyle migration in Thailand will contribute to increasing diversity in the Thai society and we need to know more about the social and economic implications of this new trend of tourism/migration in Thailand.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

English

- Bastos, S. (2014). Territorial dispression and indigenous rearticulation in the Chapala Lakeshore. In Janoschka and Haas (Eds.). *Contested spatialities, ifestyle migration and residential tourism* (pp.47-59). New York: Routledge
- Bell, D. (2009). Tourism and hospitality. In M. Robinson & T. Jamal (Eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Tourism Studies* (pp.19-34). London: Sage.
- Benson, M. (2009). A Desire for Difference: British Lifestyle Migration to Southwest France. In M. Benson & K. O'Reilly (Eds.), *Lifestyle Migration. Expectations, Aspirations and Experience* (pp.121-136). Farnham: Ashgate
- Benson, M. & O'Reilly K. (2009). 'Migration and the Search for a better Way of life: A critical Exploration of Lifestyle Migration. *The Sociological Review*, 57(4). 608-625
- Blue, K. (2000). *Midlife Mavericks: Women Reinventing their Lives in Mexico*. Parkland, FL: Universal Publishers.
- Boonsiri, S. (2007, June) Where do you stay in Pattaya? *Manager Magazine*. Retrieved February, 13, 2014 from <http://info.gotomanager.com/news/printnews.aspx?id=59637>
- Brenne – Wenege, L.T. (2012, June 5). *Ein wahre Fundgrube für echte Leseratten*. Der Farang. Retrieved July 7, 2014, from <http://der-farang.com/de/pages/ein-wahre-fundgrube-fuer-echte-leseratten>
- Casado-Diaz, M. A. (2009). Social capital in the sun: Bonding and Bridging social capital among British retirees. In M. Benson & K. O'Reilly (Eds.), *Lifestyle Migration. Expectations, Aspirations and Experience* (pp.87-102). Farnham: Ashgate.
- Casado-Diaz, M. (2012). Exploring the geographies of lifestyle mobility: current and future fields of enquiry. In J. Wilson (Ed.), *The Routledge Handbook of Tourism Geographies* (pp.120 – 125). Routledge.

- Casado-Diaz, M., Kaiser, C., & Warnes, A.M. (2004). Northern European Retirees Residents in Nine Southern European Areas: Characteristics, Motivations and Adjustment. *Ageing and Society*, 24(3), 353-381.
- Carneiro, M.J., & Eusébio, C. (2015). Host-tourist interaction and impact of tourism on residents' Quality of Life. *Tourism & Management Studies*, 11(1), 25-34
- Chantavanich, S. Nittayananta, S., Rattanaolan- Mix, P. Ruenkaew, P. & Khemkrut, A. (1999). The migration of Thai women to Germany: Causes, living conditions and impact for Thailand and Germany. Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University. (in Thai)
- Chuenglertsiri, P. & Kanchanachitra, M. (2016). 'Thai way' or 'My Way' A qualitative Study of integration and Well-being among Long-Term European Migrants in Thailand. Population and Society 2016, Institute for population and Social Research, Mahidol University (pp.71-89).
- Cohen, E. (1977). Expatriate Communities. *Current Sociology*, 24(3), 15-25
- Cohen, E. (1982). Thai Girls and Farang Men - The edge of Ambiguity. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 9, 403-428
- Cohen, E. (2001). *Thai Tourism*. Bangkok: White Lotus.
- Cohen, E. (2003). Transnational marriage in Thailand: The dynamics of extreme Heterogamy. In. Baure and Mckercher (eds.). Sex and Tourism: journeys of romance, Love, and Lust. New York: The Haworth Hospitality Press.
- Cohen, E. (2008a). Introduction: Exploring the Diversity of Thai Tourism. In E. Cohen (Ed.). *Explorations in Thai Tourism* (pp. 225-255). Bingley: Emerald.
- Cohen, E. (2008b). Medical tourism in Thailand. In E. Cohen (Ed.). *Explorations in Thai Tourism* (pp. 225-255). Bingley: Emerald.
- Constable, N. (2009). The commodification of intimacy: marriage, sex, and reproductive labor. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 38, 49-64.
- Competitive Strategies. (2014). Retrieved July 26, 2014, from www.oocities.org/xmba18/competitive/longstayversion2.doc

- Croucher, S. (2014). The gendered spatialities of lifestyle migration. In M. Janoschka and H. Haas (Eds.). *Contested spatialities, ifestyle migration and residential tourism* (pp.15-28). New York: Routledge
- Deutsche Botschaft Bangkok (Ed.). (2014). *150 Jahre Beziehungen Deutschland – Thailand*. Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University.
- Deutsche Botschaft Bangkok.(2016).Celebrating 26 Years of German Reunification. Retrieved January 19, 2017, from
- Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH. (n.d.). Retrieved March 18, 2016, from <https://www.giz.de/en/worldwide/354.html>
- Deutscher Hilfsverein Thailand e.V. (n.d.). *Helfen, wo Hilfe Not tut*. Retrieved September 13, 2013, from <http://www.bangkok.diplo.de/Vertretung/bangkok/de/09/21-Deutscher-Hilfsverein.html>
- Deutsche Rentenversicherung. (n.d.). German Statutory Pension Insurance Scheme. Retrieved December 14, 2015, from http://www.deutsche-rentenversicherung.de/Allgemein/en/Navigation/englisch_index_node.htm
- 1
- Evangelische Gemeinde Deutsche Sprache in Thailand. (2014). *German Protestant church in Thailand*. Retrieved December 12, 2015, from http://www.die-bruecke.net/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/2014-6-Information-Dt.Ev_.Gemeinde-Thailand-engl..pdf
- Eureka consulting, (n.d.).*Thailand destination image*. Retrieved May 16, 2014, from http://tourismlibrary.tat.or.th/link/book/T23536_2.pdf (in Thai)
- Faculty of Management Science, Kasetsart University, Si Racha Campus. (n.d.). *Long Stay*. Retrieved August 3, 2016, from <http://ms.src.ku.ac.th/travel/LongStay/Long%20Stay1.html>
- Foucault, M. (1984). ‘Des espaces autres. Une conférence inédite de Michel Foucault’. *Architecture, Mouvement, Continuité*, 5. 46-49
- Foucault, M. (1997). Of other space (trans). In Neil Leach (Ed.), *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory*, London: Routledge.
- Gay, J. (1985, February). The ‘patriotic’ prostitutes. *The Progressive*, 34-35

- German embassy in Bangkok. (n.d.) ผู้ช่วยยามยามาก. Retrieved May 20, 2014, from <http://www.bangkok.diplo.de/Vertretung/bangkok/th/09/21-Deutscher-Hilfsverein.html>(in Thai)
- German Trade and Invest. (n.d.). Components of Social Security Insurance.
- Getz, D. (1999). Resort-centered tourism and development of the rural hinterland: the case Cairns and the Atherton Tablelands. *The Journal of Tourism studies*, 10(2), 23-34.
- Glowsky, D. (2007). Staatsbürgerschaft als Ressource bei der Heirat ausländischer Frauen. Eine Analyse mit Daten des Sozio-oekonomischen Panel. In: *Zeitschrift für Soziologie* 36, 282-301.
- Green, P. (2014). Contested Realities and Economic Circumstances: British Later-life Migrants in Malaysia. In M. Janoschka and H. Haas (Eds.). *Contested spatialities, ifestyle migration and residential tourism* (pp.145-157). New York: Routledge
- Gustafson, P. (2002). Tourism and seasonal retirement migration. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 29(4), 899-918.
- Gustafson, P. (2009). Your Home in Spain: Residential Strategies in International retirement migration. In Benson and O'Reilly (Eds.), *Lifestyle Migration. Expectations, Aspirations and Experience* (pp.69-86). Farnham: Ashgate.
- Hamilton, A. (1997). Primal dream: Masculinism, sin , and salvation in Thailand's sex trade. In L. Manderson & M. Jolly (Eds.), *Sites of desire, economies of pleasure: Sexualities in Asia and the Pacific* (pp.145-165). Chicago:University of Chicago Press.
- Hayes, M. (2014). 'We gained a lot over what we would have had': The Geographic arbitrage of north American lifestyle migrants to Cuenca, Ecuador. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, DOI: 10.1080/1369183X.2014.880335
- Hoey, B.A. (2009). Pursuing the good life: American narratives of travel and a search for refuge. In M. Benson & K. O'Reilly (Eds.), *Lifestyle Migration. Expectations, Aspirations and Experience* (pp.31-50). Farnham: Ashgate.
- Hondagneu-Sotelo, P. (2000). Feminism and Migration. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 571, 107-120.

- Howard, R.W. (2008). Western Retirees in Thailand: Motives, Experiences, Wellbeing, Assimilation and Future Needs. *Ageing & Society*, 28(2).145-163
- Howard, R.W. (2009). The Migration of Westerners to Thailand: An Unusual Flow from Developed to Developing World. *International Migration*, 47(2).193-225
- How to Germany. (2016). The German Retirement and Pension system – Basic Facts. Retrieved December 18, 2015, from <http://www.howtogermy.com/pages/german-retirement.html>.
- Husa, K., Vielhaber, C., Jöstl, J., Veress, K., & Wieser, B. (2014). Searching for Paradise? International Retirement Migration to Thailand – A case study of Hua hin and Cha-am. In K.Husa, A.Trupp & H.Wohlschlägl (Eds.), *Southeast Asian Mobility Transitions: Issues and Trends in Migration and Tourism* (pp.137-167). Vienna: Copydruck KG.
- Jahner, B. (2014, October 31). *Expats helfen Expats*. Retrieved December 12, 2015, from <http://der-farang.com/de/pages/expats-helfen-expats>
- Janoschka, M., & Haas, H. (2014). Contested spatialities of lifestyle migration- Approaches and research questions. In M. Janoschka and H. Haas (Eds.), *Contested spatialities, lifestyle migration and residential tourism* (pp.1-12). New York: Routledge
- Janoschka, M., & Durán . (2014). Lifestyle migrants in Spain: contested realities of political participation. In M. Janoschka and H. Haas (Eds.), *Contested spatialities, lifestyle migration and residential tourism* (pp.60-74). New York: Routledge
- Jolly, S. & Reeves, H. (2005). *GENDER and MIGRATION overview report*. Retrieved October 20, 2013, from <http://www.bridge.ids.ac.uk/reports/cep-mig-or.pdf>
- Kanchanachitra, M. (2015). *Population and Development Newsletter.*, 36(1), 9. Retrieved January 3, 2016, from <http://www.newsletter.ipsr.mahidol.ac.th/index.php/2012-11-08-03-49-15/menu-vol36-no01.html> (in Thai)

- Koch- Schulte, J. (2008). Planning for international retirement migration and expats: A case study of Udon Thani, Thailand. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba.
- Kontogeorgopoulos, N. (1998). Tourism in Thailand: Patterns, Trends, and Limitations. *Pacific Tourism Review*, 2, 225- 238.
- Korpela, M. (2009). When a Trip to Adulthood becomes a Lifestyle: Western Lifestyle Migrants in Varanasi, India. In Benson and O'Reilly (Eds.), *Lifestyle Migration. Expectations, Aspirations and Experience* (pp.15-30). Farnham: Ashgate.
- Kubelka, T. (2013). *Pattaya: vom Fischerdorf zur Redidenzstadt westlicher Auswanderer? Eine Fallstudie zue Internationalen Altersmigration*. Magister der Naturwissenschaften (Mag.rer.nat.). Lehramtstudium UF Geographie und Wirtschaftskunde/ UF Geschichte Sozialkunde und Politische Bildung. Universität Wien.
- Lipkina, O. and Hall, C.M. (2014). Russian second home owners in eastern Finland: involvement in the local community. In M. Janoschka and H. Haas (Eds.), *Contested spatialities, lifestyle migration and residential tourism* (pp.158-173). New York: Routledge
- Lloyd- Sherlock, P. (2006). Identifying vulnerable older people insights from Thailand. *Ageing & society*, 26(1), 81-103.
- Longjit, C. (2010). Managing a mature coastal tourism destination: The case of Pattaya, Thailand. Doctoral dissertation, Tourism management, Victoria University of Wellington
- Long Stay at Thailand. (n.d.) Retrieved August 3, 2016, from <http://longstayatthailand.com/aboutus/> (in Thai)
- Maher, K.H, & Lafferty, M. (2014) White Migrant masculinities in Thailand and the Paradoxes of Western Privilege. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 15(4), 427-448, doi:10.1080/14649365.2014.893703
- Matarrita-Cascante, D. & Stocks, G. (2013). Amenity migration to the global south: Implications for community development. *Geoforum*, 49 (2013), 91-102.
- Mensendiek, M. (1997). Women, migration and prostitution in Thailand.. *International Social Work*, 40, 163 – 176.
- Meyer, W. (1988). *Beyond the Mask*. Saarbrücken: Verlag Breitenbach.

- Molz, J., & Gibson, S. (Eds.). (2007). *Mobilizing Hospitality: The Ethics of Social Relations in a Mobile World*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Ngamsangchailit, W. (2014, July 28). TCEB identifies Pattaya MICE strategy. *TTR Weekly*. Retrieved June 27, 2015, from <http://www.ttrweekly.com/site/2014/07/tceb-identifies-pattaya-mice-strategy/>
- Nudrali, O. & O'Reilly K. (2009). Taking the risk: The British in Didim, Turkey. In M. Benson & K.O'Reilly (Eds.), *Lifestyle Migration. Expectations, Aspirations and Experience* (pp.137-152). Farnham: Ashgate.
- Nuttavuthisit, K. (2006). Branding Thailand: Correcting the negative image of sex tourism. *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, 3(1), 21-30
- O'Connell Davidson, J. (1995). British sex tourists in Thailand. In M. Maynard & J. Purvis (Eds.), *(Hetero) sexual politics* (pp. 42-64). London: Taylor & Francis.
- Ono, M. (2008). Long-Stay Tourism and International Retirement Migration: Japanese Retirees in Malaysia. In S. Yamashita, M. miami, D.W. Haines and J.Eades (Eds.), *Transnational Migration in East Asia: Japan in a Comparative Focus (Senri Ethnological Reports 77)* (pp.151-162). Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology.
- Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development . (2015). Pensions at a glance 2015. Retrieved August 13, 2015, from http://www.oecd.org/Germany/PAG2015_German.pdf
- Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development . (2015). Migration policy Debates. Retrieved August 13, 2015, from <http://www.oecd.org//migration-policy-debates.htm>.
- Ono, M. (2010). Long-stay Tourism: Elderly Japanese Tourists in the Cameron Highlands, Malaysia. *Senri Ethnological Studies*, 76, 95-110.
- O'Reilly, K. (2000). *The British on the Costa de Sol*. Routledge, London.
- O'Reilly, K. (2003). When is a tourist? The articulation of tourism and migration in Spain's Costa del Sol. *Tourist Studies*, 3(3), 301-317.
- O'Reilly, K. (2007). *The Rural Idyll, Residential Tourism, and the Spirit of Lifestyle Migration*. Presented at the Association of Social Anthropologist

- Conference, London: London Metropolitan University. Retrieved October 28, 2009, from
http://www.mecon.nomadit.co.uk/pub/conference_epaper_download.php5?PaperID=1304&MIMEType=application/pdf.
- O'Reilly, K. (2009). Host and Guests, Guests and Hosts : British residential tourism in the Costa del Sol. In P. Obrador Pons, P. Travlou and M. Crang (Eds.), *Cultures of Mass Tourism: Doing the Mediterranean in the age of banal mobilities*. Farnham: Ashgate.
- O'Reilly, K. & Benson, M. (2009). Lifestyle Migration: Escaping to the Good life? In M. Benson & K. O'Reilly (Eds.), *Lifestyle Migration. Expectations, Aspirations and Experience* (pp.1-14). Farnham: Ashgate.
- Ouyyanont, P. (2001). The Vietnam War and tourism in Bangkok's Development . *Southeast Asian Studies*, 39(2), 157 -187
- Parchman, S. (2015). The right to retirement pension information. Retrieved January, 31, 2016, from
<http://www.ec.europa.eu/social/BlobServlet?docId=10405&langId=en>
- Parrenas, R.S. (2009). Inserting Feminism in Transnational Migration Studies. *Migrationonline. Cz Focus on central and eastern Europe*. Retrieved October 31, 2015, from
http://lastradainternational.org/lsidocs/RParrenas_InsertingFeminisminTransnationalMigrationStudies.pdf
- Pattaya City Hall. (2012). *History of Pattaya City*. Retrieved December 12, 2015, from
<http://www.pattaya.go.th/history/ประวัติเมืองพัทยา/?lang=en>
- Pattaya Daily News. (2010, July 2). Pattaya Announced as Thailand's First Official MICE City. Retrieved April 28, 2016, from
<http://pattayadailynews.com/international-mice-industry-initiatives-formed-in-pattaya/>
- Pattaya Daily news. (2014, May 31). Retrieved July 20, 2014, from
<http://th.pattayadailynews.com/ที่ดินติดทะเลพัทยาราคาไร่ละ-300-ล้าน/>
- Pattaya People (2014). Retrieved September 9, 2015, from
<http://thailandprofessionals.com/pattaya-people-2/>

- Pessar, P., & Mahler, S. (2003). Transnational Migration: Bringing gender in. *International Migration Review*, 37(3), 812-846.
- Prideaux, B., Agrusa, J., Donlon, J.G., Curran, C. (2004). Exotic or Erotic – Contrastinf Images for Defining Destinations. *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research*, 9(1), 5-17.
- Pruitt, D., & LaFont, S. (1993). For love and money- Romance tourism in Jamaica. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 22(2), 422-440.
- Redaktion DER FARANG. (2015, October 13). „EXIT – wir wollen, dass Sie bleiben“. *Der Farang*. Retrieved September 30, 2016, from <http://der-farang.com/de/pages/exit-wir-wollen-dass-sie-bleiben>
- Roca, M., Roca, Z., Oliveira, J.A., and Costa, L. (2014). Second home experience in Portugal: spatial features and impacts. In Janoschka and Haas (Eds.). *Contested spatialities, lifestyle migration and residential tourism* (pp.124-142). New York: Routledge
- Ruenkaew, P. (1998). Female Thai migrants in Japan.
- Ruenkaew, P. (2009). Female transnational migration from Thailand like thirty years before? *Pacific News*, 32, 24-24
- Saarinen, J., & Manwa, H. (2008). Tourism as a Socio-Cultural Encounter: Host-Guest Relations in Tourism Development in Botsawana. *Botsawana Notes & Records*, 39,43-50.
- Sardinha, J. (2014). Lifestyle migrants in central Portugal – Strategies of settlement and socialization. In Janoschka and Haas (Eds.). *Contested spatialities, lifestyle migration and residential tourism* (pp.174-189). New York: Routledge
- Seepai, S., & Senerat, S. (2010). Lifestyle of Isan women who marry Western men: A case study in Pimai (Research report). Roi Et Rajabhat University, Thailand.
- Spiegel online. (2015). *Studie: Deutschland ist ein Auswanderungsland*. Retrieved June 26, 2015 from <http://www.spiegel.de/wirtschaft/soziales/auswanderung-aus-deutschland-neue-studie-zeigt-gruende-a-1022743.html>

- Stanley P. (2011). Superheroes in Shanghai: Constructing transnational western mens' identities. *Gender, Place and Culture*, 19(2), 213-231.
- Statista, 2015. Anzahl deutscher Auswanderer in den Jahren von 1991 bis 2013. Retrieved June 26, 2015 from <http://de.statista.com/statistik/daten/studie/2534/umfrage/entwicklung-der-anzahl-deutscher-auswanderer/>
- Sujirattanonta, L., & Khemapayana, V. (2014). Senior tourism promotion in Asia with focus on Thailand: Policy comparison and service providers' opinions. *SIU Journal of Management*, 4(1), 44-70.
- Sunanta, S. (2014). Thailand and the Global Intimate: Transnational Marriages, Health Tourism and Retirement Migration. *MMG Working Paper*, 14(2)
- Sunanta S., & Angeles, L. (2013). From rural life to transnational wife: agrarian transition, gender mobility, and intimate globalization in transnational marriages in northeast Thailand. *Gender, Place & Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography*, 20(6), 699-717, DOI:10.1080/0966369X.2012.709827
- Suntikul, W. (2013). Thai tourism and the legacy of the Vietnam War. In R. Butler & W. Suntikul (Eds.), *Tourism and War* (pp. 92-105). London: Routledge.
- TAT News. (2015, December 13). Thailand Tourism hitting record highs with the arrival of the 28 millionth tourist for 2015. Retrieved February 2016, from <http://www.tatnews.org/thailand-tourism-hitting-record-highs-with-the-arrival-of-the-28-millionth-tourist-for-2015/>
- Tarancon, A. N. (2013). Thailand's problem with the sexual exploitation of women in the 21st century. Master's Thesis, Liberal studies, Georgetown University.
- Thailand Investment Review. (2014). Retrieved August 3, 2016, from http://www.boi.go.th/tir/issue_content.php?issueid=108;page=42
- Thailand Visa Information: Non-Immigrant Visa "O-A" (Long Stay). (n.d.). Retrieved September 4, 2016, from [http://www.mfa.go.th/main/en/services/4908/15385-Non-Immigrant-Visa-%22O-A%22-\(Long-Stay\).html](http://www.mfa.go.th/main/en/services/4908/15385-Non-Immigrant-Visa-%22O-A%22-(Long-Stay).html)

- The Pattaya Expats club. (n.d.). Retrieved August 5, 2016, from <http://www.pattayapeopleadio.com/default.asp?Folder=16&IdArticle=5113>
- The Thailand Longstay Company. (n.d.). *About Us* . Retrieved August 3, 2016, from <http://www.thailongstay.co.th/service.html>
- Thompson, E., Kitiarsa, P., and Smutkupt, S. (2016). From sex tourist to son-in-law | Emergent Masculinities and transient subjectivities of farang men in Thailand. *Current Anthropology*, 57(1), 53-71.
- Top 10 Best Medical Travel destinations. (2013). Retrieved August 3, 2016, from <http://positivemed.com/2013/03/16/the-best-medical-travel-destinations/>
- Torkington, K. (2010). *Defining Lifestyle migration*. Retrieved September 10, 2013 from <http://sapiencia.ualg.pt/bitstream/10400.1/1403/1/torkington%202010.pdf>
- Torkington, K. (2014). Tourism-related mobilities and discursive landscaping in the Algarve. *Dos Algarves: A Multidisciplinary e-Journal* (24), 40-63. Retrieved July 20, 2015, from <http://www.dosalgarves.com/rev/N24/4rev24.pdf>
- Tosakul, R. (2010). Cross-border Marriages: Experiences of village women from Northeastern Thailand with Western men. In W. Yang & M. Lu (Eds.), *Asian cross-border marriage migration demographic patterns and social issues* (pp.179-200). Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Tourism Authority of Thailand. (2012). Retrieved May 16, 2015, from <http://marketingdatabase.tat.or.th/ewtadmin/ewt/admin/download/article/MarketProfilebyCtry2012/Q3/Europe/Germany.pdf>
- Tourism Authority of Thailand. (2014). *Pattaya to host first Amazing Seafood Festival*. Retrieved June 26, 2015 from <http://www.tatnews.org/pattaya-to-host-first-amazing-seafood-festival/>
- Toyota, M., & Xiang, B. (2012). The emerging Transnational 'Retirement Industry' in Southeast Asia. *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, 32(11/12), 708-719

- Trundle, C. (2009). Romance Tourists, Foreign Wives or Retirement Migrants? Cross-Cultural Marriage in Florence, Italy. In Benson and O'Reilly (eds.), *Lifestyle Migration. Expectations, Aspirations and Experience* (pp.51-68). Farnham: Ashgate.
- Truong, T. (1990). *Sex, Money and Morality: Prostitution and Tourism in southeast Asia*. London: Zed Books.
- Van Esterik, P. (2000). *Materializing Thailand*. Oxford: Berg.
- Van Laar, S., Cottyn, I., Donaldson, R., Zoomers, A., Ferreira, S. (2014). 'Living apart together' in Franschhoek, South Africa: the implications of second-home development for equitable and sustainable development. In Janoschka and Haas (Eds.). *Contested spatialities, lifestyle migration and residential tourism* (pp.190-203). New York: Routledge
- Vielhaber, C., Husa, K., Jöstl, J., Veress, K., & Wieser, B. (2014). Paradise found? Experiences of Farang retirement migrants in Hua Hin and Cha-am, Thailand. In K.Husa, A.Trupp & H.Wohlschlägl (Eds.), *Southeast Asian Mobility Transitions: Issues and Trends in Migration and Tourism* (pp.168-195). Vienna: Copydruck KG
- Wattanasukchai, S. (2009, November 12). Determined to shed its reputation as a red light city, Pattaya rebrands itself as a culture and sports destination. Phuketall – Phuket News. Retrieved June 22, 2016, from <http://www.phuketall.com/en/news/Travel-2009-11-12.php>
- Wilde-Menozzi, W. (2003). Grafting on Italian roots. *The Literary Review*, 47, 157-65
- Williams, A. M., & Hall, C. M. (2000). Tourism and Migration: New Relationships between Production and consumption. *Tourism Geographies*, 2(1), 5-27.
- Williams, A. M., & Hall, C. M. (2002). Tourism, Migration, Circulation and Mobility: The Contingency of Time and Place. In A. M. Williams & C.M. Hall (Eds.), *Tourism and Migration: New relationships between production and consumption*. London: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Ziesing, M. (1996). *I Walked Away: An Expat's Guide to Living Cheaply in Thailand*. Washington: Loompanics, Point Townsend.

ภาษาไทย

- ธีรภัทร เจริญสุข (18 กรกฎาคม 2557). ทำไมฝรั่งเกียยติถึงมาอยู่หนองคาย. *มติชนออนไลน์*. เข้าถึงเมื่อ 20 กรกฎาคม 2557, จาก http://www.matichon.co.th/news_detail.php?newsid=1405650347
- พนิดา อนันตนาท (2557). *ข้อเสนอยุทธศาสตร์ ตลาดสองสหาย : การศึกษาภูมิหลัง ทางวัฒนธรรม และการใช้ชีวิต ของกลุ่มเป้าหมาย ให้มากขึ้น*. TAT Review Magazine, 3. เข้าถึงเมื่อ 3 สิงหาคม 2559, จาก <http://www.etatjournal.com/web/menu-read-web-etatjournal/menu-2014/menu-2014-jul-sep/606-32557-longstay>
- พัทยา เรือนแก้ว (2555ก). 40 ปีการเคลื่อนย้ายประชากรหญิงไทยมาเยอรมนี บทนำ. ใน พัทยา เรือนแก้ว (บก.), *หญิงไทยและชุมชนไทย วันนี้ ในเยอรมนี*. เข้าถึงเมื่อ 18 สิงหาคม 2556, จาก <http://www.thaigeneralkonsulat.de/info/thaifrauen.pdf>
- พัทยา เรือนแก้ว (2555ข). สถานการณ์คนไทย 2555 ตัวเลขสถิติและปัญหา. ใน พัทยา เรือนแก้ว (บก.), *หญิงไทยและชุมชนไทย วันนี้ ในเยอรมนี*. เข้าถึงเมื่อ 18 สิงหาคม 2556, จาก <http://www.thaigeneralkonsulat.de/info/thaifrauen.pdf>
- พัทยา เรือนแก้ว (2555ค). หญิงไทยในฐานะภรรยาฝรั่ง (เยอรมัน) และมารดาของลูกคิด. ใน พัทยา เรือนแก้ว (บก.), *หญิงไทยและชุมชนไทย วันนี้ ในเยอรมนี*. เข้าถึงเมื่อ 18 สิงหาคม 2556, จาก <http://www.thaigeneralkonsulat.de/info/thaifrauen.pdf>
- สุชาดา ไบเยอร์ (2555). เตรียมความพร้อมสำหรับการทำงานแพทย์และพยาบาลในเยอรมนี: จากประสบการณ์พยาบาลไทย. ใน พัทยา เรือนแก้ว (บก.), *หญิงไทยและชุมชนไทย วันนี้ ในเยอรมนี*. เข้าถึงเมื่อ 18 สิงหาคม 2556, จาก <http://www.thaigeneralkonsulat.de/info/thaifrauen.pdf>
- โสภภาพร คอว์ช. (2555). ประสบการณ์เป็นนักร้อง (อิสระ) 5 ปี ในยุโรป(เยอรมนี). ใน พัทยา เรือนแก้ว (บก.), *หญิงไทยและชุมชนไทย วันนี้ ในเยอรมนี*. เข้าถึงเมื่อ 18 สิงหาคม 2556, จาก <http://www.thaigeneralkonsulat.de/info/thaifrauen.pdf>
- อัญชัญ เอียร์ลี่ง. (2555). นางแบบบอดีฟิตติ้งและโฟโต้โมเดล. ใน พัทยา เรือนแก้ว (บก.), *หญิงไทยและชุมชนไทย วันนี้ ในเยอรมนี*. เข้าถึงเมื่อ 18 สิงหาคม 2556, จาก <http://www.thaigeneralkonsulat.de/info/thaifrauen.pdf>

BIOGRAPHY

NAME	Kwanchanok Jaisuekun
DATE OF BIRTH	20 March 1989
PLACE OF BIRTH	Nakhonpathom Thailand
INSTITUTIONS ATTENDED	Chiang Mai University, 2008-2012 Bachelor of Arts (German) Mahidol University, 2013 – 2017 Master of Arts (Cultural Studies)
RESEARCH GRANTS	TRF Master Research Grants: TRF-MAG
HOME ADDRESS	30/14 M.5 Buapaktha, Banglen, Nakhonpathom, Thailand 73130 E-mail k.jaisuekun@gmail.com
PUBLICATION/PRESENTATION	1.Jaisuekun, K. & Sunanta, S. (2016) “Lifestyle Migration in Thailand: A Case Study of German Migrants in Pattaya”. Thammasat Review19 (2) 2.“German migrants in Pattaya, Thailand: Motivations, Lifestyle and Integration” in the 8 th EUROSEAS Conference 2015 in Vienna, Austria