Interpretation of shared culture of Baba and Nyonya for tourism linkage of four countries in the ASEAN community

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Abstract
The article presents: (1) a comparative study of interpretation types of Baba and Nyonya tourism and evaluates the interpretation results in four countries, (2) the development of the self-guiding interpretations of Baba and Nyonya tourism that present the shared culture in the four countries and, (3) the results of tests on the effectiveness and satisfaction of volunteers from the development of the self-guiding interpretation of Baba and Nyonya tourism. The research methodologies were: (1) a field survey of 18 Baba and Nyonya tourism destinations in the four countries—Phuket, Thailand, Penang and Malacca, Malaysia, Singapore, and the north coast of Java Island, Indonesia—together with in-depth interviews with 20 interpreters and five voluntary tourists and (2) the development of 10 self-guiding postcards for the interpretation of the shared cultures of Baba and Nyonya for tourism linkage among the four countries in the ASEAN community. The 10 postcards were tested and the information knowledge of 30 voluntary treatment tourists was compared with 30 voluntary control tourists; the former group was asked about the effectiveness of the postcards and their satisfaction. The test results were analyzed using a t-test and the effectiveness and satisfaction were analyzed using percentages.

The results showed that there were personal and non-personal interpretations providing differences in the Baba and Nyonya tourism areas. The results from the t-test between the treatment and controlled groups found that before the treatment group had read the 10 postcards, their knowledge was minimal; however, after they had read the 10 postcards for self-guiding interpretation, their knowledge after was significantly different at .05. Moreover, the treatment group recorded “satisfied” gradings for the 10 postcards overall with a score of 4.49 out of 5 using a Likert scale; while the highest satisfaction was with the quality of printing (4.80), but the lowest satisfaction was increased Southeast Asia culture concern and awareness (4.07).

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it is a way of presenting knowledge to the tourists regarding the long-term, cultural and historical heritage (Knudson, Cable, & Beck, 1999). This is similar in Phuket, Penang, Malacca, Singapore, and Indonesia where there are the well-known destinations for Baba and Nyonya tourists in Southeast Asian countries. The stories represent the roots of the history and culture of the people in these areas. Knudson et al. (1999) mentioned that visitors like to visit historical places for many reasons, such as finding out real personal backgrounds in the historical areas, searching for information on their own ancestors that was triggered by a historical class or movie, and finally, visiting historical places to increase their understanding.

However, each country presents and promotes the Baba and Nyonya tourism in its own country, but not for the whole Southeast Asian region. Consequently, now is the right time to study how well these four countries have prepared themselves for ASEAN tourism promotion. Therefore, this article presents the research results of, first, a comparative study of an interpretation type and the evaluation results of that interpretation in the four countries of Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, and Indonesia; second, the results of postcards that present the shared culture in the four countries; and third, the test results, in addition to the effectiveness and satisfaction results of the volunteers regarding the developed postcards.

**Literature Review**

**ASEAN Community (AEC)**

The AEC is an organization established on 8 August 1967 initially made up of five countries—Thailand, Singapore, the Philippines, Malaysia and Indonesia. AEC now comprises 10 countries, with the latter five being Brunei, Vietnam, Laos, Myanmar, and Cambodia (ASEAN Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2003). After joining, the members agreed that they would initiate and expand agreements on economics, society, cultures, and security, initially at the end of 2015 (Rhoopanitchki, 2011). This policy urged the peoples of the member countries to be ready for this upcoming AEC event. Similar to broader tourism in this region, there was a projected increase of 26 percent for AEC tourists and 20 percent for non-AEC tourists when the AEC began. Hence, the AEC members had to prepare themselves well regarding their combined identity and the languages for this change (Anonymous, 2013). This policy is thus concordant with the research objectives to investigate the effectiveness of the interpretation, especially on Baba and Nyonya tourism in the four countries.

**Generation of the Baba and Nyonya Culture**

Baba and Nyonya describe the children who were Straits-born—the Melaka Straits—that include Sumatra, the Riau Archipelago, Singapore, North Coastal Java (Cheah, 2009), Malaysia, Phuket, and the Philippines (Tantiwit, 2006). The male is called Baba, while the female is called Nyonya (Chai, 2011; Kim, 2009). Baba and Nyonya also have the same meaning as “Peranakan”—a person born in the country, but of a foreign race (Tantiwit, 2006). Peranakan is used for people of mixed birth, not merely the immigrating Chinese people and the locals, but also the people immigrating from India, Indonesia, and European countries (Chai, 2011). Therefore, the Peranakan can be divided into many mixed races between the locals and the foreigners, such as Indian-Hindu Peranakan, Eurasian Peranakan, Jawi Peranakan, and Chinese Peranakan (Kim, 2009). Chinese Peranakan is the most direct word and has the same meaning as Baba and Nyonya in this article. This is in accordance with Tantiwit (2006, quoted from Khoo Yoo Ee, n.d.) stating that “Baba is Peranakan, but not all Peranaks are Babas”.

Baba and Nyonya or Chinese Peranakan are the people of mixed births during the 15th–19th centuries as a result of interbreeding between the immigrating Chinese people and the local people in Southeast Asian countries, such as the southern part of Thailand in Phuket province, and the Penang and Malacca States in Malaysia, Singapore, and Indonesia. The Baba and Nyonya culture or Chinese Peranakan culture is the mixture of the Chinese culture brought from China and the local culture in the Southeast Asian countries where the Chinese people settled, in addition to the influence of cultures from the European countries during colonization. For example, the Chinese believe in the restrictions of ancestors’ respect and respect for God. The Nyonya girl usually wears a “Sarong”, which is made in the Batik fashion and is popular with ladies in Southeast Asian countries. The food cooked and eaten is influenced by the local spices; the Chinese wares and decorations were influenced mainly by China. The stories about their lives and their cultures then become most charming and popular for tourists eager to know and learn. For example, many countries have promoted this kind of tourism recently in Phuket province, Thailand, in the Penang and Malacca States in Malaysia, and in Singapore after the Singaporean movie, “the Little Nyonya” was broadcast. However, rarely is information distributed from Indonesia within the AEC while there is a “Peranakan Convention” occurring almost every year in Indonesia.

**History of Regional Political Patterns Forming the Baba and Nyonya Culture**

The Baba and Nyonya culture is a variety of mixtures, receiving influences from trading and migration from China and colonization from European countries, all mixed with the local Straits’ cultures. It was found that Captain “Zheng Ho” from China brought together the history and cultures of the region. He first received an order from the Emperor of the Chinese Dynasty to survey the world of the many the Chinese migrations, early in the Ayutthaya Kingdom period in Thailand. From the records, Zheng Ho’s influence helped solve the conflict between the Ayutthaya Kingdom and Malacca in 1407–1409. Later, he became very famous and respected by the people in Thailand; and finally, in remembrance, the Thai people used his name for the Toe Buddha in a temple in Ayutthaya province, Thailand (Phueangpracha, 2008). In addition, Kasetsiri (2013) mentioned the influences of the European countries on Southeast Asian countries during the following periods.
First Period

During 1350–1511, the King of Ayutthaya expanded the southern region of the Ayutthaya Kingdom to Nakorn Si Thammarat and the Malay state. In 1397, he had a good relationship with China; in 1405, Zheng Ho visited the Southeast Asian countries and found that Tumasek (Temasek) was the name for Singapore at that time. In 1448, the Sukhothai Kingdom and the Ayutthaya Kingdom became associated and had high influence in the south to Malacca.

Second Period

1511–1855 was the peak of European colonization. In 1511, the Portuguese governed Malacca and promoted Malacca as a new port. In 1617, the Portuguese lost Malacca to Holland. In 1819, England leased Singapore from Johor and Sir Stamford Raffles surveyed Singapore and founded the country. In 1826, Singapore was governed by the British as the “Straits Settlement”.

Third Period

1859–2011, from the middle of the Rattanakosin Period to the present. In 1867, Singapore belonged to England (a Crown colony); in 1939, Siam changed its name to Thailand; in 1945, Indonesia became independent from Holland; in 1957, Malaysia became independent from England; in 1963, Singapore became independent from England; and in 1965, Singapore separated from Malaysia.

Interpretation

Interpretation here means a simple explanation by the interpreter. The interpreter translates the meaning of the natural and cultural environments to help the tourists understand and enjoy traveling to museums, camps, or natural areas (Knudson et al., 1999, p. 3).

Baba and Nyonya tourism can be sorted into historical, cultural, ethnic, and urban tours that can be interpreted in conjunction with important historical places. Moreover, the interpretation will help the historical areas to become meaningful by linking the relationship of the times, memories of events, people, and things to tourists (Knudson et al., 1999).

The interpretation can be presented in many styles; however, it can be sorted into only the two types of personal and non-personal interpretations. Personal interpretations are tour-guided, third-person styles as costumed interpretations, while the first-person style is living history. Non-personal interpretations are museums and printed and mixed media. Consequently, this article will present the interpretation types from the survey results as above from Knudson et al. (1999).

Methods

There were two major research stages:

First Stage

A field survey of the Baba and Nyonya destinations in the four countries (Phuket in Thailand; Penang and Malacca in Malaysia; Singapore; and Java Island in Indonesia) recorded for the Chinese Peranakan or Baba and Nyonya situations, and where there are now tourism activities. This stage aimed to answer the first objective of the study, the comparative study of the interpretation. The field survey involved digital-camera recordings and in-depth interviews together with the voice recordings and field notes taken from 20 interpreters and the representatives of five tourists from each country on interpretation evaluation. Data were analyzed using content analysis, and the results were triangulated.

Second Stage

The self-guiding interpretation was developed into 10 postcards of the Baba and Nyonya interpretations in the four countries, which were then tested by 30 Thais in a voluntary control group and compared with 30 Thai people in the voluntary treatment group (two groups pre-test, post-test design). Both of the samples groups were asked to volunteer for this research pilot test and were selected by convenience sampling which Bernard (2000) suggested is useful for pilot studies; as well as having added advantages of the people being readily accessible and the budget could be controlled in this case (Pothisita, 2009). Finally, only the 30 people of the voluntary control group were asked about the effectiveness of and their satisfaction with the 10 postcards. Data were analyzed using a test of knowledge based on the t-test and percentages for the effectiveness and the satisfaction results. This stage answered the second and third objectives of the study.

Results

First Objective

It was found that there were both personal and non-personal interpretations in all 18 of the surveyed Baba and Nyonya destinations in the four countries. Personal interpretations had the ability to explain in their own local languages in addition to most interpreters being able to speak foreign languages as a second language, English and Chinese being the main foreign languages. Moreover, the German, Tagalog (Filippino), Japanese and French were the other foreign language options offered by the interpreters (Figure 1).

In addition, examples of non-personal interpretations were websites, printed media, signs, models, exhibitions, real objects, activities, and mixed media and social media as shown in Table 1.

Moreover, from the interviewee responses to the interpretation effectiveness, it was found that the interpretation results could be sorted into four groups.

(1) Interpretation was a tool for providing knowledge, awareness, changing behavior, promoting destinations for tourists, and importantly, peace building, especially in the Indonesian cases. For example, Mr Sayadhi Hendra commented as follows:
Obviously, the purpose of opening this museum is to educate people on and telling them about Peranakan... How the Chinese culture has influenced the local culture, and the other way round as well. Our culture is mixed with local culture, and then the Chinese here is not the newcomer... If we traced back, we have to agree that we were here in 1400 that's what we want to share. The other thing is politically,... we want to tell everyone that we are the same, there is no difference... It does worth a lot, because we don't want to differentiate." (Mr Sayadhi Hendra, Museum Benteng Heritage, Tangerang, Indonesia, personal interview, April 12, 2015).

(2) Interpretation was a tool for providing "edutainment". This meant that the interpretation was not only a tool for providing education, but it also should be a tool for entertaining the tourists whilst traveling, as shown in the following statement:

"... for me, if the guests are happy, as long as they are not getting bored, they are happy with my tour. I'm always happy. I'm very pleased, if they are enjoy the tour, like just now,... you have to make some jokes. So I'll entertain them, people will listen more, so make your tour interesting..." (Mrs Emily Wang, interpreter at Baba & Nyonya Heritage Museum, Melaka, Malaysia, personal interview, March 5, 2015).

(3) Interpretation was not always a tool for entertaining all tourists. On many occasions, it happened that not all tourists were interested in the same things. Such cases showed the limitations of the interpretation, as shown...
in the following statement from the interpreter at the Pinang Peranakan Mansion:

“... usually, depends! Majority, they are not. They only come and take pictures, when sometimes we speak a lot, they said no, no, no, can you speak faster? No time. And because the reason is their tour guide told them, they have half-an-hour here, because they come with the tour bus. One day, they go five to six places ... But if they come with the family ... is different. But you can see just now one of the ladies and the guy are not interested at all ... I can see, she said, oh, nothing to see ... depends on the group.” (Mr Bean [Anonymous], interpreter at the Pinang Peranakan Mansion, Penang, Malaysia, personal interview, February 13, 2015).

(4) Interpretation was a tool for gaining feedback from tourists. This could be good information for the interpretation improvement, as the following statement from an Indonesian tourist states:

“... Like a museum, I’ll suggest that we need the signs in two languages, in Bahasa and English. Like, if there is object or something, you know description "what is that?", information in two languages. And I, really because I am a postcard collector, so I really want every places have gift shop, and one of the postcards they sell. And ... maybe the tour guide, maybe make the tour guide more professional. Yeah, they can speak English, it will be the best. And they have the knowledge what they interpret, about the place.” (Miss Sudiyah Istichomah, Indonesian tourist in Indonesia, personal interview, April 17, 2015).

Second Objective

The self-guiding interpretation was developed into printed media as 10 postcards in this research. These postcards were produced following the recommendations of Ham (1992) who mentioned that self-guiding interpretation is able to introduce 15 to 30 destinations with no more than 60 words of interpretation. This suggestion was also similar to how Kanjanathip (2006) designed the postcards into 17 designs, unlike the embroidery-shoes postcards sold at the Pinang Peranakan Mansion that had only eight designs. However, the number of suggested destinations was not fixed, but flexible (Ham, 1992). Consequently, the postcards in this research were selected and developed from 18 destinations observed and surveyed in the four countries, and finally, designed into 10 postcards with 55–111 words of interpretation. The word count in Thai and in English is different to that suggested by Ham (1992); moreover, there were limitations in space and budgets for the postcards. One side of the postcard presented a picture of the Baba and Nyonya destination; on the other side, the Thai language interpretation was a narration for the pilot study for the next objective. Details of the 10 postcards interpretations are explained as follows.

(1) Sam Poo Kong Temple, Semarang, Indonesia: “Sam Poo Kong” in Semarang, Indonesia was the temple built in remembrance of Captain Zheng Ho, or Sam Poo Kong, who surveyed the world via ship from China from 1405 and stopped at many ports in Indonesia and other countries of Southeast Asia. (2) Batik shop, Lasem, Indonesia: Batik is the local knowledge mixture of various arts and cultures. The method of drawing the pattern on the cloth required very high concentration and endurance. The batik production at Lasem and Cirebon in Indonesia was believed to be influenced by Chinese people who traveled around the globe. Others assumed that the influence came from Vietnam. At present, the Batik is very popular for dressing up in the Southeast Asian countries. (3) Straits Chinese Jewelry Museum, Malacca, Malaysia: Baba-Nyonya means the children who were born of the Chinese people migrating from China, who lived and married with the local Malay, Thai and Indonesian people in the Melaka Straits—Baba means boy and Nyonya means girl. (4) Baba and Nyonya Heritage Museum, Malacca, Malaysia: “Malacca” is the center of the Baba and Nyonya culture. It was found that Malacca was a very important port attracting entrepreneurs from various places, in addition to the Captains from China who stopped there during the monsoon season and that was the best time to know the locals and to get married, finally, producing the children known as the Baba and Nyonya. (5) Pinang Peranakan Mansion, Penang, Malaysia: The Baba and Nyonya culture’s high peak was demonstrated by the accessories and decorations. Especially for those families that did business with the Western entrepreneurs, such as the British, Portuguese and Dutch, that influenced and governed Malaysia and Singapore at that time. Baba and Nyonya families recruited and mixed the Chinese, locals and the Western cultures altogether and finally generated their own culture. (6) Cendol, Tropical Spice Garden Cooking School, Penang, Malaysia: Baba and Nyonya families were very talented in cooking. Their ancestors who had migrated from China were not familiar with spicy food, but the Baba-Nyonya were getting used to it. They usually cooked food with the spices found locally, such as curry and Cendol—the dessert poured over with sugar palm syrup and topped with ice—because this area is hot and humid and people can cool off with this cold sweet. (7) Bead Shoes, Phuket, Thailand: The center of Baba and Nyonya was at Malacca, the important port in Malaysia. It spread its influence to Penang in Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia and Phuket, in addition to nearby Andaman provinces in Thailand. During the 18th and 19th centuries, Thailand extracted much tin from mining and needed laborers. This caused a migration of laborers and entrepreneurs from China to Thailand. They married with the local Thai women, and have retained their culture, such as bead shoes, until now. (8) Phuket Thailhua Museum, Phuket, Thailand: Phuket Thailhua Museum is one of the many museums in Phuket, Thailand that shows the Baba and Nyonya culture. In addition, there are the Chinpracha House, Talang National Museum and the Tin Mining Museum in Phuket that are waiting for interested tourists to visit them. (9) Baba House, Singapore: Baba House in Singapore is one of the Baba and Nyonya cultural conservations by the National University of Singapore (NUS)—the owner and the manager tries to preserve the culture and disseminate this culture to interested tourists. Tourists have to reserve a place for visiting in advance. Moreover, tourists are able to enjoy sightseeing the beautiful ancient buildings during the Baba and Nyonya era on the Neil Road.
Peranakan Museum, Singapore: Some Peranakans are Babas and Nyonyas. Because they were mixed ethnics and cultures from the Chinese who traveled around the globe, they traveled to this area for trading, migration and remained here, getting married to the locals in the Southeast Asia countries. The Baba and Nyonya culture then is extremely meaningful in the mixture of ethics and cultures from the locals and other nationalities that traded in this area. The tourists are able to understand this by visiting the Peranakan Museum in Singapore.

Third Objective

After the self-guiding interpretation was developed into 10 postcards as mentioned above, the cards were tested with the 60 voluntary tourists, separated into a treatment group and a control group. In addition, the treatment group with the 60 voluntary tourists, separated into a treatment 10 postcards as mentioned above, the cards were tested respondents. Age: It was found that both had more female that male respondents. Age: It was found that the age-range of the voluntary control group (20–45 years old) was wider than the voluntary treatment group (15–29 years old). Education: All the voluntary control group had completed their education to the Bachelor level, while the education of the voluntary treatment group varied: late secondary level (3.3%), Bachelor level (83.3%), and Master level (13.4%). Occupation: It was found that the voluntary control group worked in a variety of occupations, while the respondents of the voluntary treatment group were students (83.3%), laborers (13.3%), and staff in private companies (3.3%), respectively. Residents: Respondents from the voluntary control group were mostly living in Bangkok (60.0%), Songkhla province (26.7%), and other provinces (13.3%), while the respondents of the voluntary treatment group were mostly from Songkhla province (80.0%), other provinces (20.0%), and no one lived in Bangkok (see Table 2).

Baba and Nyonya Experiences: The results found that both voluntary groups had never traveled in the Baba and Nyonya destinations in the four countries. Although, Table 2 shows that both the control and treatment groups were quite different in their backgrounds, their Baba and Nyonya tourism experiences were the same as they had never traveled to the Baba and Nyonya destinations. Knowledge gained from the interpretation from the postcards of the Baba and Nyonya tourism in this case can be classified as informal education and lifelong education which depends on voluntary learning without limits of time, age, and place (Somboontrakoon, 2000).

Knowledge Comparison

Tables 3 and 5 show the comparative results between the voluntary control group (n = 30) and the voluntary treatment group (n = 30) of the knowledge tests from the 10 questions before reading the interpretations from the 10 postcards. There was no significant difference at the .01 and .05 levels. Tables 4 and 5 show the comparative results between the voluntary control group (n = 30) and the voluntary treatment group (n = 30) in the knowledge tests from the 10 questions. After only the treatment group had read the interpretation from the 10 postcards, it was found that the groups were significantly different at the .01 and .05 levels.

Satisfaction

The results showed that most of the voluntary treatment group (about 96%, n = 30) suggested to disseminate the 10 postcards to tourists. Moreover, the voluntary treatment group rated their satisfaction regarding the 17 issues from the least to the highest (1 – 5 score, Likert Scale). In general they were satisfied (4.49). The top three highest ratings were quality of printing (4.80), beautiful image (4.73), and clear

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>S.D.</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>Control</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>2.47</td>
<td>1.408</td>
<td>1.613</td>
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<th>S.D.</th>
<th>t</th>
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<td>Control</td>
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<td>1.073</td>
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<td>.000</td>
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<td>Treatment (Read)</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>7.77</td>
<td>2.112</td>
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<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 3 Comparative result of pre-test

Table 4 Comparative result of post-test
interpretation and gaining knowledge were at the same ranking (4.70). However, the three with the least rating were: these postcards increased the Southeast Asia culture concern and awareness (4.07), suitable font size (4.10), and suitable font color (4.23), (see Figure 2).

**Conclusion and Recommendation**

The research results from this study analyzed the interpretation of 18 Baba and Nyonya destinations in four countries and indicated that these would be a good source of information for tourism managers to learn how well the personal interpretations and non-personal interpretations prepared them for the ASEAN community project at the end of 2015, and for dealing with tourists from non-ASEAN countries. Additionally, tourists will learn more if there are suitable languages available for the interpretation and there is suitable accessibility. It would be interesting to carry out future research on the origin of cultural influences in Southeast Asia, such as Batik and kitchen ware. Furthermore, because the Chinese represent such a large market share, there should be more study on whether they are interested in this type of tourism, since it is related to their past migration.

The second stage of this research tried to develop the non-personal interpretation into a postcard form, as well as to develop questions to test visitors’ knowledge after reading them by comparing the result from a t-test between the control and treatment groups. The results showed that the treatment group had significantly higher knowledge than the control group. However, considering

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Question number</th>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Number of correct answers</th>
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<th>Post-test (n = 30)</th>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>Treatment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Who is Zheng Ho?</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Where is Sam Poo Kong temple situated?</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Where did the Batik in Indonesia from?</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>What is Baba and Nyonya meant?</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Where is the center of Baba and Nyonya culture?</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>What is Baba and Nyonya culture meant?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Where can we find Baba and Nyonya culture?</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Where can you learn Baba and Nyonya culture in Phuket?</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Where is the place of Baba and Nyonya culture in Singapore</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Which one is the Baba and Nyonya culture?</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 2** Satisfaction of the voluntary treatment group (n = 30)
the questions (Table 5), there was some ambiguity since not all questions showed the same trend in the post-test. These results can be judged using internal consistency, discrimination (r), and difficulty (p) in order to recruit the most effective questions for the test. However, the developed questions in this research were for the pilot test for informal education on Baba and Nyonya tourism in order to roughly investigate the knowledge gain after reading the postcards. The results from the test showed a similar trend from the in-depth interviews that the effectiveness of the interpretation was a tool for providing knowledge and providing edutainment, but these were not meant to reach all tourists. Finally, interpretation was identified as a tool for receiving feedback from the tourists. Additionally, the satisfaction rankings showed what was good and what could be improved upon for better Baba and Nyonya postcard interpretation.

Conflict of Interest

The authors declare that there is no conflict of interest.

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