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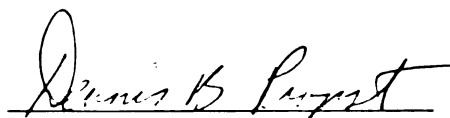
**Power through Tourism: A Blessing  
on Mahsuri's Eighth Generation  
in Langkawi?**

presented by

**Kalsom Kayat**

has been accepted towards fulfillment  
of the requirements for

Ph.D. degree in Park, Recreation and  
Tourism Resources

  
Major professor

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**POWER THROUGH TOURISM: A BLESSING ON MAHSURI'S EIGHTH  
GENERATION IN LANGKAWI?**

By

Kalsom Kayat

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to  
Michigan State University  
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2000



## **ABSTRACT**

### **POWER THROUGH TOURISM: A BLESSING ON MAHSURI'S EIGHTH GENERATION IN LANGKAWI?**

**By**

**Kalsom Kayat**

One of the frameworks used in earlier studies to understand residents' attitudes towards tourism development is based on social exchange theory. Basically, this framework explains that residents will have positive attitudes towards tourism if they feel that tourism gives them more benefits than costs. This study proposed that social exchange theory alone cannot sufficiently explain residents' attitudes towards tourism. A literature review indicated that power plays a role in the exchange between residents and tourism; thus it was proposed that power might play a role in determining residents' attitudes.

In-depth, semi-structured interviews were conducted with thirty residents from the 'power' group and sixteen residents from the 'no-power' group. An interview guide based on a conceptual framework established from literature reviewed was used during each interview. These data were then analyzed qualitatively.

Findings reveal that social exchange theory is useful in examining residents' attitudes towards tourism – during their exchange with tourism, residents indeed based their attitudes on their evaluations of the impacts. Power does not appear to affect residents' evaluations of these impacts directly. Instead, residents' general values (about religion, culture, equity, resources, and the environment), their dependence on tourism,

and their ability and willingness to adapt seem to have more direct influence on the evaluation of impacts than power. Study results are expected to be useful to researchers with interests in expanding conceptualizations on the understanding of residents' attitudes towards tourism. The results are also useful to tourism planners with interests in understanding issues that arise due to tourism development.

To those who taught me the most  
about the value of hard work and perseverance:  
my parents, Kayat and Suminah,  
my husband, Hidzir, and  
my children, Afandi and Dianah

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The research on which this dissertation is based could not have been carried out without the aid of Langkawi Development Authority (LADA). I would like to acknowledge them for their funding and active cooperation with the research.

Special thanks are due to the respondents who without advantage to themselves, shared their feelings, experiences, and inspirations regarding tourism in Langkawi with me. It is my hope that the research findings will help make their ideal future vision of Langkawi a reality.

I am thankful to my husband Hidzir, and my children, Afandi and Dianah; their smiles and capacity for happiness have contributed immeasurably to the attainment of this goal. Most specially, I want to acknowledge Hidzir, whose authenticity has challenged me to grow and whom I will always love.

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To all mentioned above, and the rest who have also contributed indirectly towards the completion of this dissertation by being a part of my life, I would like to dedicate these words:

***THAT MAN IS A SUCCESS***

*who has lived well,  
laughed often and loved much;*

*who has gained the respect  
of intelligent men  
and the love of children;*

*who has filled his niche  
and accomplished his task;*

*who leaves the world better  
than he found it,  
whether by an improved poppy,  
a perfect poem  
or a rescued soul;*

*who never lacked appreciation  
of earth's beauty  
or failed to express it;*

*who looked for the best in others  
and gave the best he had.*

*-author unknown-*

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES.....	xi
LIST OF FIGURES.....	xii
CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Background of the study.....	3
Tourism in Langkawi.....	3
The study of social impacts of tourism and Residents' attitudes.....	6
1.2 Purpose of the study.....	8
1.3 Beneficiaries.....	9
CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW	11
2.1 Social impacts of tourism.....	11
Social impacts of tourism to the Pacific Islands.....	12
Social impacts of tourism in Fuenterrabia.....	13
Social impacts of tourism in the West Indies.....	15
Social impacts of tourism in Green Turtle Cay.....	15
Summary.....	17
2.2 Residents' perceptions and attitudes toward tourism and its impacts.....	18
A study in Cape Cod.....	18
A study in Delaware.....	20
A study in Santa Marta, Columbia.....	22
Summary.....	24
2.3 Conceptual approaches related to residents' attitudes towards tourism.....	25
Tourism cycle development approach.....	26
Segmentation approach.....	30
Social exchange theory.....	34
Summary.....	38
2.4 Power, social exchange, and attitudes towards tourism.....	38
Summary.....	43
2.5 Problem Statement, conceptual framework, and objectives.....	43
Problem statement.....	43
Conceptual framework.....	44
Objectives of the study.....	45
Propositions.....	46
CHAPTER 3. METHODS.....	47
3.1 Definitions.....	48
3.2 Subjects.....	50

	Study population.....	50
	Sample.....	52
3.3	Procedures.....	56
	UCRIHS Review.....	56
	Recruitment.....	57
	Conduct of inquiry and instrumentation.....	57
	In-depth interviews.....	57
	Interview Guide.....	59
	Interviewing Process.....	61
	Informal Interview and Secondary Data.....	62
3.4	Data collection.....	62
3.5	Data Analysis.....	65
	Organizing.....	65
	Segmenting and coding.....	66
	Categorizing, Displaying, Pattern Generating, and Concluding.....	68
CHAPTER 4.	RESULTS AND DISCUSSION.....	71
4.1	Profiles of respondents.....	71
4.2	Tourism development and changes in Langkawi.....	72
	Physical development.....	72
	Employment and earning opportunities.....	74
	Entrepreneurial opportunity.....	75
	Lifestyle.....	76
	Newcomers.....	78
	Social deviance.....	78
	Competition for land.....	79
	Price inflation.....	80
	Discussion: Objective one.....	80
4.3	Variables that determine residents' attitudes.....	81
	Power as the determinant of residents' attitudes.....	81
	Proposition 1.....	81
	Resources and tourism benefits.....	82
	Capital.....	83
	Young age.....	85
	Knowledge.....	86
	Experience.....	87
	Access to information.....	88
	Connection.....	89
	Effort, ideas, and visions.....	89
	Discussion: Objective two, proposition one.....	90
	Proposition 2.....	91
	Resources and dependence.....	92
	Discussion: Objective two, proposition two.....	94
	Proposition 3.....	96

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	Perceived benefits and costs.....	97
	Differences in attitudes between ‘power’ and ‘no-power’ respondents.....	98
	Attitudes regarding employment and earning opportunities.....	98
	Attitudes towards tourism impacts on the younger population.....	100
	Attitudes towards tourism and social deviance.....	101
	Attitudes towards tourism and price inflation.....	104
	Relationship between residents’ power and attitudes towards tourism.....	104
	Respondents with very favorable attitudes towards tourism.....	105
	Respondents with favorable attitudes towards tourism.....	109
	Respondents with favorable attitudes towards tourism but wanted control.....	111
	Respondents with unfavorable attitudes towards tourism.....	113
	Discussion: Objective three.....	115
CHAPTER 5.	CONCLUSIONS.....	119
5.1	Influence of power on residents’ attitudes.....	119
5.2	Influence of other factors on residents’ attitudes.....	123
5.3	Qualitative data in studies of residents’ attitudes.....	125
5.4	Limitations of study.....	126
5.5	Recommendations for further study.....	129
5.6	Policy implications.....	130
APPENDIX A	Translated version of the interview guide.....	133
APPENDIX B	Informed Consent.....	135
APPENDIX C	Summary description for each respondent.....	137
APPENDIX D	Excerpts from the interviews regarding changes brought by tourism.....	139
APPENDIX E	Changes perceived as benefits.....	143
APPENDIX F	Changes perceived as costs.....	145
APPENDIX G	Difference in perceptions about benefits.....	147
APPENDIX H	Difference in perceptions about costs.....	149

APPENDIX I	Themes from each interview.....	151
APPENDIX J	Interview transcript (respondent 31).....	165
APPENDIX K	Interview transcript (respondent 25).....	168
APPENDIX L	Interview transcript (respondent 5).....	171
LITERATURE CITED.....		174

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.	Study variables.....	49
Table 2.	Resident distribution in Langkawi.....	51
Table 3.	Residents interviewed by group and by district (Langkawi Island, Malaysia, 1999).....	55
Table 4.	Interview Guide.....	59
Table 5.	Number of respondents per category.....	71
Table 6.	Number of respondents who perceived different types of resources as contributing to power.....	82
Table 7.	Respondents' dependence on tourism.....	92
Table 8.	Summary of respondents' attitudes towards tourism.....	104
Table 9.	'Power' and 'no-Power' respondents with very favorable attitudes towards tourism.....	107
Table 10.	'Power' and 'no-Power' respondents who favored tourism.....	109
Table 11.	'Power' and 'no-Power' respondents with favorable support towards tourism but wanting control.....	111
Table 12.	'Power' and 'no-Power' respondents with unfavorable attitudes towards tourism.....	113

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.	Map of Langkawi Island, Malaysia.....	4
Figure 2.	Residents' attitudes towards tourism.....	30
Figure 3.	Conceptual framework for understanding residents' attitudes toward tourism.....	44
Figure 4.	Districts in Langkawi.....	50
Figure 5.	A sample of segmented and coded portion of a transcript.....	67
Figure 6.	Framework established by Jurowski et al. (1997).....	120
Figure 7.	Interrelationships of variables that determine residents attitudes towards tourism.....	121





## Chapter 1

### INTRODUCTION

On Langkawi Island in Malaysia, local food stalls known as “warungs” are built in the front of well-located village homes, often near main roads. At one such warung on a hot afternoon, a group of school children in uniforms were observed walking in after finishing their morning session of school. Each of them took turns grabbing a plate and together they formed a line at the long table located in the middle of the warung. The table was filled with different local dishes beautifully displayed in serving trays. The children helped themselves anxiously to the feast and proceeded to the lady at the counter table to pay before they sat down to eat. The middle-aged owner of the warung turned to the researcher and said,

*“You see, they don’t even eat lunch at home anymore now. Their parents are either too busy working or they think that it is more convenient for the children to eat outside since there are many warungs that sell prepared meals today. All that the parents have to do is to give them the money. When I was growing up, we could only dream of eating these good foods so easily. These foods, the kinds that I sell here, would only be available at wedding ceremonies. On ordinary days, we did find our own food by going to the beach with friends to find shellfish. That’s how it was back then. These children do not know just how lucky they are today. Things have really changed and in such a short time too. In a way, I am glad they did. I have this business now and my life is better. Having things like these was only a dream back then.”*

The description given by this warung owner reflects his attitudes towards some of the social changes contributed by tourism development in Langkawi.

Located in northwest Malaysia, Langkawi is endowed with beautiful beaches, natural flora and fauna, and a tropical climate. These are all good reasons for Langkawi to become an attractive tourist destination. Prior to the late 1980s, when tourism began to be developed on a large scale by the local and central governments, Langkawi was one of

the least developed districts in the state of Kedah (Din, 1990) with the majority of the residents making their living by fishing or growing rice. On January 1, 1987, the federal government conferred Duty Free Port status to Langkawi. This has, to a large extent, hastened economic growth, especially in creating opportunities for the business, commercial, and service sectors of Langkawi. The rapid development of tourism coupled with its position as a duty free port are believed to be responsible for the major economic, physical, and social changes on the island during the past decade (Mohamad, 1997).

Some of the local residents may connect the sudden development to the legendary local beauty, Mahsuri, who put Langkawi under a curse when she was condemned to death for not being faithful to her husband while he was away at war against the Siam (Mohamed Shariff, 1980). There are many versions on how her death sentence was carried out. One version claims that as the executioner plunged his kris (Malay dagger) into Mahsuri, who was tied to a tree, white blood spurted from her body. Astonished, the villagers quickly untied the near dead Mahsuri. Lifting her hands to the sky, Mahsuri presaged that prosperity would elude Langkawi for seven generations to come (North Review 1995). Soon after her death, Langkawi did observe a decline in its prosperity, as described by a local historian, “...even grass refused to grow on the island” (Mohamad Shariff 1980). The sudden prosperity due to the aggressive tourism development could have marked the end of the curse. True or not, the legend and Mahsuri’s grave add to the attraction of the island.

This study examined the Langkawi residents’ attitudes towards and support for tourism both using social exchange theory (Blau, 1967) and power theory (Harsanyi, 1971). The guiding question for this inquiry was “what is the unique contribution of



power in explaining residents' attitudes towards tourism?" This study proposed that having the power to benefit from tourism would influence residents to perceive tourism more positively than if they did not have power to begin with.

### 1.1 Background of the Study

This section briefly introduces readers to some relevant terms as well as theoretical foundations for the dissertation. Chapter 2 is a more thorough review of the literature and theory that provides the background, framework, and rationale for this dissertation.

#### Tourism in Langkawi

Langkawi is located off the northwestern coast of Peninsular Malaysia between latitudes 6° 10' and 6° 30' north and longitudes 99° 35' and 100° east (Figure 1). It is about 30 km (18.6 miles) from Kuala Perlis and 51.5 km (32 miles) from Kuala Kedah, two points of departure located at the northwest of the Peninsular. Langkawi is comprised of 104 islands, of which, Langkawi Island with an area of 32,180 ha. (0.8 million acres) is the largest. Langkawi Island is divided into 6 mukims (districts), namely Kuah, Padang Matsirat, Ayer Hangat, Bohor, Ulu Melaka, and Kedawang (Langkawi District Council, 1992). All 6 districts are considered as the study sites for this research.

Langkawi Island is well endowed with natural resources and landscapes, such as tropical rainforests, white sandy beaches, unspoilt islands, and natural waterfalls. Histories and legends, such as the tale of Mahsuri mentioned above, add to the attractiveness of the island. Historical remains such as the Tomb of Mahsuri and the Field

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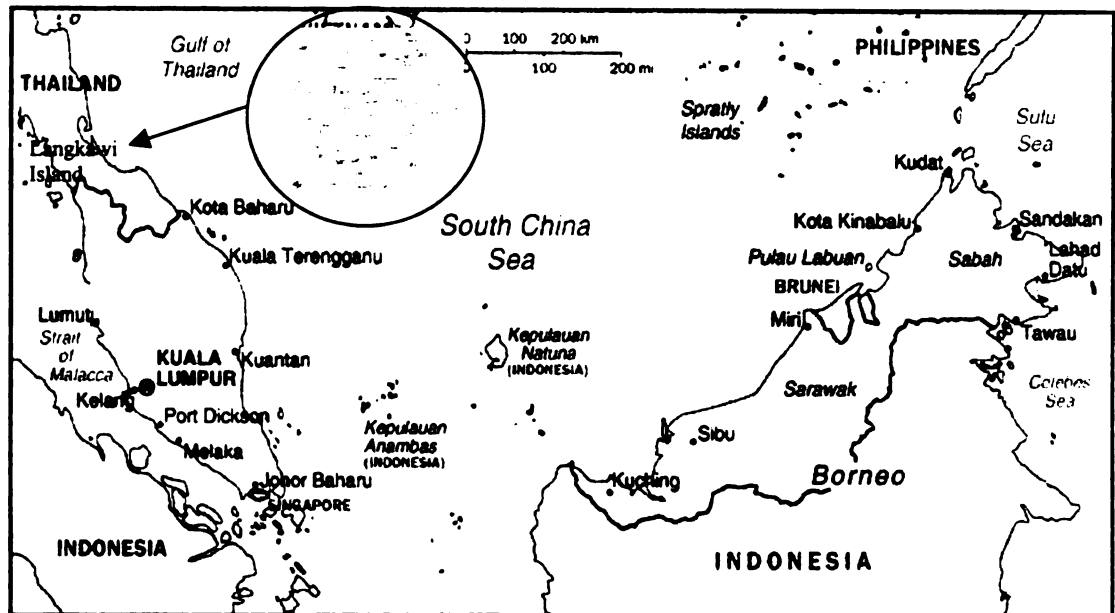
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of Burnt Rice are popular tourist attractions. Langkawi Island is also becoming a popular venue for many prestigious conferences, exhibitions, and sports events. International events are held annually in Langkawi such as the International Motor Show, World Powerboat Race, LeTour de Langkawi (an international cycling competition), and the Langkawi International Maritime and Aerospace Exhibition (LIMA) (Wayakone, 1999).



**Figure 1. Map of Langkawi Island, Malaysia.**

According to the 1999 Langkawi Residential/Socioeconomic Study, the population of Langkawi Island at present is 62,617 compared to 42,938 in 1991. About a third of the population consists of newcomers who are attracted to Langkawi Island by the economic opportunities that exist due to its status as a tourist destination and a duty free port (Langkawi Development Authority 1999).

The declaration of Langkawi Island as a free port has enhanced the potential for developing trading and commercial activities. The duty free status of the island has also contributed to tourism development as it has attracted enormous public and private

investment in the development of services and facilities contributing to the promotion of tourism. Since 1990 about 320 million ringgit (approximately US\$84 million) has been channeled through Langkawi Island Development Authority (LADA), a federal agency formed to co-ordinate development in Langkawi, and an additional sum of 350 million ringgit (approximately US\$ 92 million) has been allocated under the Sixth Malaysia Plan for socio-economic and infrastructure development in Langkawi. Meanwhile, a total of 4 billion ringgit (approximately US\$1 billion) from private developers funded 7,200 new hotel rooms since 1990 (North Review 1995).

Langkawi is experiencing considerable changes in terms of its economic performance and its socioeconomic base. In 1987, 79 percent of Langkawi's residents earned 500 ringgit (US\$143) or less per month (Langkawi District Council 1992). In 1999, only 11 percent of the residents were in this income bracket (LADA 1999). The Langkawi Residential/Socioeconomic Study 1999 reports that the majority (33.8 percent) of the present working population in Langkawi is involved in the wholesaling and retailing sector and only 19 percent of the working population work in the agricultural, forestry, hunting, and fishery industries (LADA 1999). This indicates a tremendous change from the situation in 1987 when the economic base of Langkawi was still dominated by the agricultural/fishery sector with 63% of the population at that time employed in this sector (Langkawi District Council 1992). The bulk of tourism businesses, including hotels and catering, are included under the wholesaling and retailing sector.

The growth of tourism and the tourist industry in Langkawi Island has been dramatic during the past decade. The number of visitor arrivals increased from slightly

more than 200,000 in 1986 to about 1,800,000 in 1997 (LADA 1999). This increase is consistent with the growth in the numbers of resorts, special events, and the number of other tourism related investments taking place on Langkawi Island. The Langkawi Structure Plan 1990-2005 (1992) strongly suggests that tourism should be the main focus of island development for the next five years. Although the censuses carried out by Malaysian government agencies do not establish tourism as an economic sector, it is apparent that tourism plays a vital role in the economy of Langkawi.

### The Study of Social Impacts of Tourism and Residents' Attitudes

Social impacts of tourism are the immediate changes in the host community's social structure. Such changes include adjustments to the destination's economy and industry (Murphy 1985). Cleverdon (1979) quotes the Tourism Compendium, a WTO publication, to describe its views about social impacts of tourism:

“For many observers...the benefits, both economic and social, conferred by tourism are so obvious as to be hardly worthy of deeper examination. They point to...the Spanish example where tourism could be the stimulus behind a whole economy's expansion and has seemingly enabled the largely farming communities of Spain's Mediterranean seaboard to move, relatively painlessly, from a life lived at near-subsistence level to one enjoying a relatively high prosperity in less than two decades. It is assumed that tourism is capable of similar successes in developing countries all over the world, whatever the nature of their economies or their social structure. At the other extreme are those who doubt...whether tourism confers any economic benefits at all, and who are convinced that it is socially very damaging. This attitude is especially prevalent in the Caribbean where it has been claimed that tourism has exacerbated social tensions, where a relatively low proportion of tourist expenditures have been retained in the island economies, and where it has had, apparently, a detrimental effect on the local wage structures, most notably in the agricultural sector...Such adverse comments regularly include accusations of neo-colonialisation – the perpetuation of the subservience of poor peoples to affluent visitors, and the creation of further wealth for foreign investors through the labour of the underprivileged.” (Cleverdon, 1979, p. 1)



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Thus tourism, like many other human activities, can produce both benefits and costs. Tourism advocates often emphasize tourism tangible benefits (Ap and Crompton 1996), such as increased income and employment, while its costs are less emphasized. Thus it may not be immediately evident that tourism is causing certain economic problems such as inflation. Tourism must be viewed as a local resource. The management of this resource for the common good and future generations should become the goal and criterion by which the industry is judged (Murphy 1985). This involves understanding tourism's benefits and costs from the residents' point of view. In other words, there is a need to understand residents' attitudes towards tourism and its benefits and costs (both tangible and intangible) to them in order to manage tourism in a sustainable manner.

This study proposes that social exchange theory alone cannot sufficiently explain residents' attitudes towards tourism. A person's attitude about a behavior is a function of his or her salient beliefs about this behavior, including the likelihood that the behavior produces certain consequences, and the evaluation of those consequences (Petty and Cacioppo 1996). In the context of this study, residents' attitudes towards tourism and their exchange decisions with tourism can be said to be a function of their beliefs that tourism produces certain consequences (benefits or costs) and how they value these consequences (Jurowski et al. 1997). Additionally, there are other variables that indirectly influence these attitudes as they affect residents' beliefs and values. One of them is power. Blau (1967) argues that power influences the process of social exchange. According to him, the partner with fewer alternative opportunities, hence less power, tends to be more dependent on and committed to the exchange relationship than the other partner (Blau 1967). Power may also influence residents' attitudes as it has an effect on

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how residents' evaluate the consequences of tourism. Hypothetically, a 'powerless' resident facing economic hardship may value the earning opportunity created by tourism higher than s/he does the environment. Thus, this study proposes that, based on social exchange theory, power must be considered when studying social impacts of tourism and residents' support for tourism.

The base of power is the resources (economic assets, constitutional prerogatives, military forces, popular prestige, etc.) that A can use to influence B's behavior. These include resources owned by an individual that s/he could offer as an exchange for something that helps fulfill her or his needs. Ap (1992) proposes that residents with no power will be the disadvantaged partner in the social exchange process relating to tourism development and thus will not support it.

## 1.2 Purpose of the Study

The literature on social exchange and power theories indicates that they could be used to explain residents' attitudes towards tourism. Several studies on residents' attitudes towards tourism have developed frameworks and models based on social exchange theory (Ap 1992; Jurowski et al. 1997) but none has attempted to empirically explore the role of power in determining these attitudes. The literature suggests two equally plausible but contradictory propositions.

The first proposition, provided by Blau (1967) in the previous section, is that lack of power will make residents become dependent on tourism and thus support its development. Ap (1992), on the other hand, argues that residents' lack of power will make them the 'disadvantaged' partner in the social process relating to tourism

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development. Based on Ap's argument, the second proposition is that the 'power-less' residents will view tourism negatively.

Jurowski et al. (1997), through their exploratory study of the residents surrounding Mt. Rogers National Recreation Area, believe that they have established a theoretical foundation for examining resident attitudes towards tourism based on social exchange theory. They found that residents supported tourism when they felt that benefits from tourism outweighed the costs. The authors suggest that future research is needed to uncover what influences residents to view a specific impact as a benefit or a cost and how the evaluation of each impact affects support for tourism. Following these recommendations and the two propositions discussed in the previous paragraph, the purpose of this study is to expand the theoretical foundation suggested by Jurowski et al. (1997), which is based on social exchange theory, with the inclusion of power theory. One way to do this is by examining the perceived changes that tourism has brought to the residents based on their actual experiences and observations. In particular, this research studied what these changes mean to them and how these changes and their meanings explain the residents' support for tourism development in their area. In addition, the study also explored the proposition that power influences the perceptions that residents have about the changes and their attitudes towards tourism.

### 1.3 Beneficiaries

At the beginning of this chapter, it was noted that many governments are anxious to promote tourism development. Many developing countries, anxious to reap the fullest benefits of tourism development have, without indulging into the proper analysis of

impacts, transformed their virgin areas into tourist centers that cater to the desires of mass travellers. Such rapid development can lead to a complete transformation of the area, with grave consequences such as extensive or irreversible damage to the natural environment (Wayakone, 1999) and local society. Currently, governments do not fully understand the costs and benefits of tourism. This may weaken natural resources planning in these countries. To assure that tourism or natural resources will be sustained, these governments need to understand the benefits and costs brought by tourism to the host population and to assess their attitudes towards tourism. This will in turn help the governments to plan efficiently and equitably as they will be more aware of the social consequences brought about by tourism and can then decide if those consequences are desirable for local society and the country as a whole. The results of the study can provide a basis upon which Langkawi tourism development strategies can be formulated.

The results of the study can contribute to a cumulative development of knowledge in tourism research. At present, the status of research on the social impacts of tourism suffers from the absence of theory and a lack of strong empirical foundation upon which to base policy decisions (Faulkner and Tideswell 1997). This study represents an effort to expand and integrate existing theories in order to establish a general framework that can guide empirical investigations of tourism's impacts and residents' attitudes towards those impacts.

## Chapter 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter presents the theoretical foundations for the dissertation. A review of the literature provides the background, framework, and rationale for analyzing residents' attitudes toward tourism development in their area. The chapter is divided into five sections. First, studies of the social impacts of tourism development are discussed. This will be followed by a review of studies that were carried out specifically to understand residents' perceptions and attitudes towards tourism. Then, the conceptual frameworks used in several studies of residents' attitudes toward tourism are discussed: tourism development cycle theory, segmentation and social exchange theory. This is followed by a discussion of the concept of power and its relevance to the study of residents' attitudes toward tourism. This chapter ends with statement of the research problem and discussion of the conceptual framework, objectives and hypotheses.

#### 2.1 Social Impacts of Tourism

Social impacts of tourism to the host community can be described as the "immediate changes in the social structure of the community and adjustments to the destination's economy and industry..." (Murphy 1985:117). Early studies on social impacts of tourism, including four of them reviewed in this section, were concerned with the social changes of having thousands of travelers visiting an area and of having this area developed to service these travelers. Most of these studies are exploratory in nature



and lack any theoretical orientation. They were undertaken primarily to describe major social impacts of tourism.

### Social Impacts of Tourism to the Pacific Islands

Studies of the social impacts of tourism have been reported as early as 1964 when Forster (1964) wrote about the sociological consequences of tourism on the Pacific Islands based on his personal observations, interviews, and published reports in Hawaii and New Zealand. Tourists, he observed, brought money to a destination and for this reason they were tolerated and sometimes actively courted by the residents. Tourism changed both the standard of living and the lifestyle of the community. In several parts of the Pacific, the increased need for cash and the opportunity provided by tourists to fulfill this need had caused the establishment of cottage industries for the production of native handicrafts to be marketed to the tourists. In this way, tourism has helped rekindle the handicraft practice. Tourists needs are not limited to just the handicrafts, and these other needs had brought increased competition for the resources in the community. According to Forster (1964), this competition often took place to the extent that local resources, like food and land were restrained. In the case of land, there is often a drastic increase in values. Fulfilling tourists' needs required more than the local resources. Thus, tourism also increased the dependence of the Pacific Islands on external sources of supply and capital. With this external capital and external trade came new ideas, values, and opinions which contributed to the changes in the community.

Tourism had also transformed local culture, such as traditional courtesy and ritual observances into performance for getting cash from the tourists. "Phony" folk cultures, as

Forster (1964) puts them, emerged within the community. Human capital required to service the tourist industry created new jobs especially for the younger generation but these in turn created stratification of the community along with a heightened generational conflict. Conflicts arose due to the ability of tourism development to draw people from diverse backgrounds. Tourism made a small town where everyone knew everyone else grow by having a large transitory population. Since the economies of the Pacific Islands are not “well-rounded” due to the unequal development of their various sectors, Forster (1964) felt that the islanders would be more liable to be socially disrupted by tourism. However, the residents in such an area have no resistance to such a development as “...land will be available, and for many people the new occupations will be more desirable than the old” (Forster 1964).

### Social Impacts of Tourism in Fuenterrabia

A field study was undertaken by Greenwood (1972) to analyze the historical development and socio-economic effects of tourism on the local community of Fuenterrabia. Fuenterrabia is a Spanish Basque destination that in the summer of 1969, despite the small size of the town – 10,000 inhabitants living on 2,450 hectares (less than 61 million acres) of land – an estimated 40,000 tourists spent time there. At the time it was written, Fuenterrabia was at the beginning phase of tourism development. It began its tourism development in 1965 when the government established national touristic planning to promote national economic growth. The development involved massive outside intervention by the central government and large investors. Fuenterrabia’s culture and monuments became centers of promotion, speculating, and manipulating by outside

investors, making Fuenterrabia look more like an enterprise than a town (Greenwood 1972).

Greenwood (1972) found that tourism development has affected the rhythm of life of the residents of Fuenterrabia, the physical and architectural characteristics of the town, and social life in general. Economically, all sectors experienced unparalleled economic growth. The municipal economy became far more dependent on national and international business cycles. Balance of payment problems and policies, inflation, and exchange restrictions came to affect the people of Fuenterrabia directly. Social differentiation increased with economic growth as the wealth received from tourism facilitated upward mobility. At the same time older ties of co-operation and mutual aid between families began to lapse because most families had the economic strength to fend for themselves without incurring obligations to neighbors. Barter and reciprocity were replaced by cash exchanges. Family size decreased, couples married at younger age, and families became more mobile than before. Generational conflict took place, as happened in the Pacific Islands (Forster 1964). As the value of small family businesses soared, sibling conflict over inheritance violently erupted. Farming became commercial and declined relatively to the other sectors in the economy. Greenwood (1972) concluded that total impacts from tourism development in Fuenterrabia raised questions about the contradictions possibly inherent in tourism as an industry and as a source of economic growth.

### Social Impacts of Tourism in the West Indies

Perez (1973/4) observed that tourism made the economies of the West Indies more dependent on the influences from the outside, thus bringing the West Indies further into underdevelopment. Instead of stimulating the local economy, as predicted by the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission, tourism in the West Indies actually served to sustain metropolitan economic growth and foreign imports because imported materials, foods prepared abroad, and expatriate employees made up the tourism support system. Since the industry was foreign-owned and controlled from abroad, tourist expenditures did not remain within the region but were repatriated to metropolitan centers. Tourist employment among West Indians was in the capacity of low wage jobs such as waitresses and dishwashers as they were unable to access the higher positions due to a lack of education or experience.

According to Perez (1973/4), tourism had also increased land value in the West Indies. Thus only the local elite and foreigners could afford to own land while the local population, in search of cheaper land, was pushed further away from the coast into the mountainous interior. Infrastructures and facilities development projects made additional claims on West Indian budgets, but such projects accommodated the tourists' needs, not the national priorities. In short, tourism contributed little to economic development in the West Indies (Perez 1973/4).

### Social Impacts of Tourism in Green Turtle Cay

LaFlamme (1979) studied the social and cultural consequences of increased tourism within the context of a small community in Green Turtle Cay, which is located

off the coast of Great Abaco Island in the northern Bahama Islands. Large-scale tourism reached Green Turtle Cay in mid-1960. Laflamme (1979) observed that middle-class tourists to Green Turtle Cay did not seem to compete with the local population for resources. Upper class tourists were also deemed acceptable, as they did not interfere with the residents' daily chores such as commercial fishing. At the time of his study, the quaint villages in the area still lacked the artificial, contrived appearance as no one ever intended the villages to be an attraction (LaFlamme 1979). No "phony folk cultures" (Forster 1964) have emerged within the community.

The most obvious changes had been the dramatic increases in the material living standards of virtually all community members. Imported goods had become more widespread due to a greatly expanded amount of cash. Similar to the developments reported by Greenwood (1972) in Fuenterrabia, LaFlamme (1979) also observed that cash exchanges had almost completely replaced barter and reciprocity in the study area. Thus, he concluded that Green Turtle Cay had evolved from a subsistence-oriented community to a minor tourist center with a cash-oriented economic system. Some traditional occupational skills, such as boatbuilder's crafts, had changed in relative importance due to the rapid expansion of tourism. The boatbuilder's craft, once a regional specialization of note, was not being passed on to members of the younger generation as new tourism-related occupations have come into being.

Tourism has also altered the economic role of women. Tourism created jobs for women who used to just stay at home or work in family-run shops before. These new opportunities, observed LaFlamme (1979), had not yet brought about strikingly different behavioral roles for local women but he argues that the potential for this to happen exists.

Tourism decreased the potentially explosive gulf between the Green Turtle Cay community's two racial enclaves. Today, due to tourism, blacks and whites in that area receive equal wages for equal work in most instances. Other impacts that often take place in other destinations have appeared not to happen in Green Turtle Cay. For example, tourism in this area did not produce high foreign investment nor reduced control over the tourist influx. Also, host-tourist interactions had not evolved from personal to impersonal, as has happened at other destinations (Noronha 1975). LaFlamme (1979) concluded that many of the negative consequences of tourism had been avoided due to the relatively small numbers of tourists to this area, the absence of organized mass tourism, and the ability of the host culture to maintain its integrity. The majority of the residents wanted the material benefits offered by tourism, but they also preferred to maintain their communities' traditions.

### Summary

The preceding paragraphs illustrate the different impacts of tourism on the host communities of the tourist destinations. Tourism is capable of changing the standard of living and lifestyle of destinations' residents (Forster 1964; Greenwood 1972), transforming local culture (Forster 1964), rekindling local arts for monetary gains (Forster 1964), producing social stratification (Forster 1964; Greenwood 1972), profiting outsiders at the expense of the locals (Forster 1964; Perez 1973/4), making the local economies more dependent on the external business cycle (Greenwood 1972), creating conflicts both among residents and between residents and outsiders (Greenwood 1972), changing traditional occupational skills (LaFlamme 1979), and altering race relations

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(LaFlamme 1979). These studies imply interesting hypotheses concerning the consequences of tourism as far as social change is concerned. The foregoing studies did not include what the residents have to say about these changes. That is, do residents have positive or negative attitudes towards tourism and its impacts? Which types of residents view tourism negatively and positively? This chapter now turns to a review of studies on residents' attitudes and perceptions towards tourism in their areas.

## **2.2 Residents' Perceptions and Attitudes toward Tourism and its Impacts**

Tourism brings about changes in the host communities – changes welcomed by some segments of the communities and arousing contention among others (Lundberg 1985). The previous section illustrates that tourism is capable of bringing both beneficial and adverse impacts to the host societies. For tourism in a destination area to thrive, its adverse impacts should be controlled, minimized, and it must be viewed favorably by the host population (Ap 1992). Earlier studies on the perceptions and attitudes of residents toward the impacts of tourism include limited explanatory analysis as to why some people are, or are not, favorably disposed to tourism (Husbands 1989). Three of these studies are reviewed in this section. The subsequent section reviews studies that attempted to develop theoretical understandings of residents' attitudes toward tourism.

### **A Study in Cape Cod**

Pizam (1978) undertook an exploratory study to investigate residents' perceptions of the impacts of tourism in Cape Cod, Massachusetts. Pizam (1978) hypothesized that heavy tourism concentrations in a destination area might lead to negative resident



attitudes and behaviors towards the tourists. The study also hypothesized that the residents' attitudes towards tourism and tourists would be a function of their economic dependency on tourism. Additionally, it was anticipated that the overall attitudes towards tourism would be a function of certain demographic characteristics such as age, income, occupation, and place of employment. No theoretical framework was used to develop these hypotheses.

A total of 1,636 residents and 212 entrepreneurs (business owners) in Cape Cod were interviewed. Each group was given a different questionnaire. The respondents from both groups indicated that tourism affected their quality of life both positively and negatively. Tourism on the Cape improved residents' income, unemployment, standard of living, quality of police and fire protection, understanding different people, availability of recreational facilities, and opportunity for shopping. At the same time, tourism also was perceived to have brought unfavorable impacts to the following: traffic conditions, litter, noise, vandalism, higher prices for goods and services, drug abuse, and alcoholism.

A much larger portion of the resident and the entrepreneurs sample felt an overall negative effect from the impact of tourism in Cape Cod than those who felt an overall positive effect. Pizam's first hypothesis seemed to be supported. However, this study took place only in Cape Cod, a famous tourist destination that attracts thousands of visitors annually. The first hypothesis may have received more support had the author also studied an area that had comparatively less tourism concentration.

As for the second hypothesis, the findings ascertained the relationship between an individual's economic relationship with tourism and the individual's general attitude toward tourism on Cape Cod. It was found that the most negative attitudes towards

tourism on the Cape were expressed by residents employed in non-tourism enterprises, followed by residents employed in tourism enterprises, residents who were unemployed, and non-tourism business owners, respectively. The most positive attitudes were expressed by the tourism business owners. Using multiple regression it was found that residents' economic dependency on tourism, their income, and their occupations were the best predictors of their attitudes toward tourism, while the entrepreneurs' tourist contact and their economic dependency on tourism were the best predictors of the entrepreneurs' attitudes toward tourism. The amount of variance left unexplained was not mentioned by the author of the study.

#### A Study in Delaware

Rothman (1978) noted that research on resort communities neglected the permanent population of the communities. Little was known of how permanent residents felt about their communities or how they reacted to the presence of large numbers of transients in their community (Rothman 1978). An exploratory study was undertaken by Rothman (1978) on this topic in two resort communities on the Atlantic coast in southern Delaware, namely Rehoboth and Bethany, using multiple research techniques. Rothman (1978) carried out a survey among residents to determine how seasonal vacationers influenced their lives and how they felt about the visitors. The data from the survey was supplemented by interviews with public officials, conversations with business people, and several lengthy interviews with two older residents who acted as informal historians of the area.

The two communities differ from each other. Rehoboth Beach is a community consisting of 1,614 permanent residents with a long history as a resort community dependent upon seasonal visitors. In contrast, Bethany Beach, which only has 189 permanent residents, has evolved as a family-oriented community of private residences. Summer visitors came for religious, not secular activities. Besides a relatively uncongested beach area, it did not provide many other recreational facilities. The findings of the study revealed that in both communities, the presence of tourists generated contradictory responses in residents. On one hand, tourists were perceived to produce negative consequences for the community as they generated noise, litter, traffic congestion, increased crime, overcrowding, heightened tension, increasingly hectic community and personal life, and increased prices. On the other hand, tourism brought positive outcomes to the communities. These were in the forms of revenues, seasonal jobs, an expansion of commercial and municipal services, and an opportunity to see old friends. There appeared to be some fundamental divisions within both communities regarding their attitudes towards tourism. One group, comprising 22 percent in Rehoboth and 36 percent in Bethany, believed its community would be better off with no vacationers. Another group, comprising of 17 percent in Rehoboth and 26 percent in Bethany, would prefer the community to increase its attractiveness, thus indicating that they preferred to see more vacationers in their communities. A third group, representing a majority, exhibited ambivalence. This group perceived both advantages and disadvantages from having tourism in their communities. They were optimistic about tourism, but they agreed that their community experienced a better time when the vacationers are gone in winter, indicating that vacationers were perceived to be

burdensome. Those who favored tourism development were more likely to be economically dependent upon vacationers and more likely to be in contact with tourists. In contrast, those who were less favorably inclined were from a somewhat older group and were more likely to have moved to the study areas for retirement purposes. The investigator concluded that while vacationers had a significant impact upon the community, the impact did not appear to be disruptive because the communities could reconcile the demands of residential and commercial growth.

### A Study in Santa Marta, Colombia

Just like Rothman (1978), Belisle and Hoy (1980) also noticed that not much was known about local residents' perceptions of tourism. According to them, this gap was very obvious in developing countries. Stressing the notion that in developing countries economic benefits of tourism may not be as great as often thought, while the environmental and social impacts from tourism are detrimental, Belisle and Hoy (1980) sought to study the positive and negative impacts of tourism as perceived by the residents of Santa Marta, Colombia, and to determine the influence of selected variables on the residents' responses. Two hypotheses were used to accomplish the study purposes: (1) The perception of tourist impact varies with the distance a person lives from the tourist zone (defined as a three-street ribbon extending along the Santa Marta beach) and (2) The perception of tourist impact varies with the residents' socio-economic status. Psychological research as well as geographical theory supported the first hypothesis. No explanation was offered to support the second hypothesis.

Using structured interviews to a sample of 108 respondents, the study found that fifty eight percent neither agreed nor disagreed about tourism impacts, indicating that they were neutral about tourism development in their area. However, the study found that positive tourism impacts were recorded more than twice as frequently as negative tourism impacts, indicating greater satisfaction than dissatisfaction with the industry. Most respondents agreed that tourism potential was the area's most important economic resource but tourism only benefited a minority of the population or companies and individuals outside the area. Nevertheless, they indicated that further tourism development would contribute to increasing their average living standards.

Tourism was also perceived by the respondents as the reason for the improvement of transportation, employment, artisans' standard of living, and seasonal variations in food prices. Tourism was perceived as the cause of increased robberies and to a lesser extent, drug trafficking, smuggling, and prostitution. Tourism was not perceived to have much impact on agriculture and fishing, on the improvement of public services facilities, or on the cost of land and housing. Overall, tourism was not thought by respondents to disrupt traditional ways of life and local culture in Santa Marta, unlike what was reported by Forster (1964) and Greenwood (1976) in their studies in the Pacific Islands and Fuenterrabia, respectively.

The respondents appeared to want more tourism development. This was reflected in their responses that they wanted their government to offer more economic incentives to stimulate tourism, disapproved of a higher tax on tourist expenditures, disapproved the government's limiting the number of visitors at each tourist site, and favored foreign-controlled hotels. Among the five variables (distance, socio-economic status, education,

age, and sex) that were selected as independent variables, only distance was found to significantly affect the perception of tourism impact. Thus, the second hypothesis used in this study, which was “the perception of tourism impact varies with the residents’ socio-economic status,” was rejected. The results of the study indicated that all groups found some direct or indirect benefits in tourism. The study’s investigators rationalized that the positive attitudes of the Santa Marta residents toward tourism were possibly a function of the incipient stage of tourism development in Santa Marta (Belisle and Hoy 1980). Santa Marta appeared to be in the first stage of the Irritation Index constructed by Doxey (1976).<sup>1</sup> Residents’ attitudes may no longer be positive as tourism development increases in their area (Belisle and Hoy 1980).

### Summary

It can be concluded from the foregoing discussion that there tends to be general agreement among residents that tourism contributes to favorable economic impact. However, there appears to be a degree of ambivalence among residents regarding social impacts of tourism in their areas and communities. For example, Belisle and Hoy (1980) reported that residents in their study perceived that tourism did not disrupt their ways of life, while the findings by Rothman (1978) in an earlier study indicated that residents perceived tourism had caused increasingly hectic communities and personal lives.

Belisle and Hoy (1980) used Doxey’s (1980) Irritation Index to explain their findings regarding residents’ attitudes towards tourism in Santa Marta. Other studies

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<sup>1</sup> . \* Doxey (1976) proposed the Irritation Index to explain that residents’ reactions towards tourists change according to the cycles of development that the destinations are in. Doxey suggested that residents’ attitudes towards tourism are initially positive but residents become irritable and begin to resent tourism in later stages of the development.

reviewed above could not do the same with their findings. Pizam (1978) and Rothman (1978) concluded that the degree to which residents depend on tourism for their economic well-being predicts their attitudes. On the other hand, Belisle and Hoy (1980) found that distance from tourism development was the variable that explained these attitudes. It is apparent that authors of the above studies were unable to explain why any particular constellation of variables accounts for differences in the residents' attitudes. Why is economic dependency important in predicting the residents' attitudes toward tourism in Cape Cod, Rehoboth, and Bethany but not important in predicting the residents' attitudes in Santa Marta? The foregoing studies are lacking in theoretical orientation (Ap 1992). Due to the exploratory and descriptive nature of the studies, no theoretical frameworks were used by the authors to rationalize the approaches they took. This literature review now turns to the discussion of theoretical approaches related to resident attitudes toward tourism and how they are used by several authors in their studies of the social impacts of tourism. A combination of two of these approaches is used as the basis of this dissertation.

### 2.3 Conceptual Approaches Related to Residents' Attitudes toward Tourism

Several approaches for understanding the determinants of residents' attitudes towards tourism have been suggested (Hernandez et al. 1996). Three of these approaches, which specifically relate to how residents assess the changes brought by tourism, will be discussed here.

### Tourism Cycle Development Framework

The tourism cycle development framework explains that resident attitudes towards tourism change as the tourism industry develops (Hernandez et al. 1996). The framework suggests that communities have a certain capacity to absorb tourists. Growth beyond this capacity or threshold may result in negative social and environmental impacts and diminishing returns on tourism investments (Allen et al. 1988). Two well-known tourism cycle development frameworks are the Irritation Index model (Doxey 1976) and the cycle of evolution (Butler 1980). In his Irritation Index model, Doxey (1976) explains that tourist destinations pass successively through stages of euphoria, apathy, irritation, and antagonism, to the final stage in which people have forgotten what they cherished and the environment is destroyed. The stages of affective reaction to tourism are: stage I – euphoria where tourist-host relation is very friendly and tourists are welcome, stage II – apathy where residents continue to be hospitable but their satisfaction with tourism has reached its peak and beginning to decline, stage III – annoyance where residents feel that their community has changed and stress levels are experienced, stage IV – antagonism where residents openly demonstrate their dissatisfaction with the industry, and finally stage V – residents now must learn to live with a changed ecosystem. The level of irritation arising from contacts between the hosts and the tourists will be determined by the mutual compatibility of each, with the assumption that even with seemingly compatible groups, sheer numbers may generate tensions, with differences in culture, economic status and nationality as complicating factors (Mathieson and Wall 1982).



Butler's (1980) model explains that the cycle starts with the 'exploration' stage, when there are very few tourists and the structural development for tourism is minimal. As time passes by, the number of tourists increases and some local residents enter the 'involvement' stage. The 'development' stage sees heavy structural development to facilitate the growing number of visitors. At the 'consolidation' stage, major franchises and chains will represent the industry. The model predicts that the peak number of visitors will be reached in the 'stagnation' stage. This is when the resentment towards tourists starts, as the capacity levels are exceeded. In the 'decline/rejuvenation' stage, the area will either face a declining market as it loses the visitors to competing destinations or revive itself, thus rejuvenating itself as a tourist destination. In short, then, these two models explain that residents' attitudes toward tourism depend on the developmental stage that the industry is in: they have favorable attitudes toward tourism at the earlier stage but the attitudes became unfavorable as the development advances. Belisle and Hoy (1980) used the Irritation Index model (Doxey 1976) to explain why the residents of Santa Marta, Columbia welcomed tourism and did not perceive it as disrupting their ways of life.

Referring to the suggestion by Doxey (1976), Butler (1980), and Cooke (1982) that tourism may be related directly to the degree and/or stage of development within the host community, Allen et al. (1988) conducted a study to determine the relationships between levels of tourism development and residents' general satisfaction with community life in 20 rural Colorado communities. The degree of tourism development was determined through an analysis of lodging, eating and drinking establishments' retail sales as a percentage of the community's gross retail sales receipts. The authors admitted

that these percentages are very conservative estimates of retail sales attributable to tourism, but they provide a common base that is consistently available in each community and are more reflective of tourism activity in these communities than tourism density or intensity measures. A comprehensive questionnaire investigating residents' perceptions of the importance of, and their satisfaction with, 33 elements of community life was hand-delivered to a random sample of adults in each community. A response rate above 65% was received. Respondents rated items on a five-point scale. The authors grouped the 33 elements into seven dimensions of community life: public services, economics, environment, medical services, citizen involvement, formal education, and recreation services and opportunities.

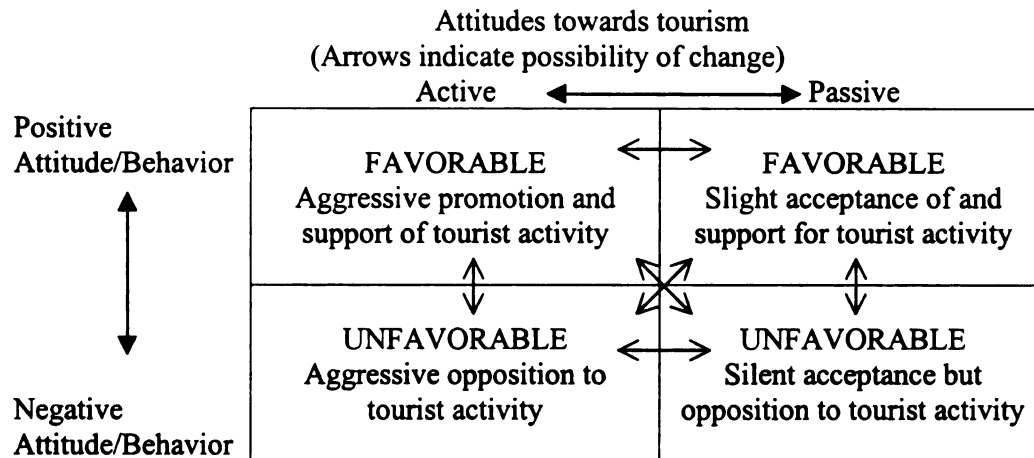
The percentage of retail sales attributed to tourism activities, which is the measure for tourism development in the study, and community size were treated as the independent variables and the 33 elements which measure community life were treated as the dependent variables. Community size was included because it was assumed that it influences the availability of services and opportunities and that it is an important consideration when attempting to determine the influence of tourism development on residents' perceptions of community life. A multivariate approach using canonical correlation analysis was chosen to analyze the data. Two relationships between residents' perceptions of community life and level of tourism development and community population size were found. The first relationship suggests that satisfaction with medical services and recreation opportunities and the importance placed on environmental issues are more a function of community size than level of tourism development. The second relationship revealed that as tourism development increased, residents' satisfaction with

opportunities for citizen involvement and public services decreased, as well as the importance residents attached to citizen involvement. The importance residents attached to environmental concerns was found to increase as tourism development increases. These findings support the concept of a threshold for tourism development as suggested by Cooke (1982) above. The threshold effect, however, appears to be confined only to certain dimensions of community life.

The authors concluded that the findings of the study contribute to identifying a downward trend in the data at the upper level of tourism development, but the findings did not establish an absolute threshold beyond which tourism development should stop. Each community is different, and the tolerance for tourism activity will depend upon several factors including the economic, social, and environmental resources of the community (Allen et al. 1988). Further studies are obviously needed to substantiate this conclusion. The study also indicated that residents were not homogeneous in terms of their attitudes toward tourism, a point overlooked by the models proposed by Doxey (1976) and Butler (1980). Similar to the conclusion arrived by Allen et al. (1988), Lankford and Howard suggested that understanding residents' attitudes toward tourism require the consideration of "the complexity of factors that can influence, either positively or negatively, residents' attitudes towards tourism" (Lankford and Howard 1994:135). The two frameworks do not consider these factors and they also fail to explain the reasons for the non-homogeneity in residents' perceptions in each of the stages. Lankford and Howard (1994) suggest that the segmentation approach is more useful to explain residents' reactions to tourism. His study, which used this approach, is discussed in the next section.

### Segmentation Approach

The segmentation approach considers how the attitudes towards tourism differ for different segments of the population. Butler (1975) suggests a framework, based on the matrix below, to explain this.



**Figure 2. Residents' attitudes towards tourism.**

Individuals or groups in a host community may view tourism positively or negatively, and they may show off their attitudes actively or passively. The combinations of these attitudes and behaviors result in four forms of reactions to tourism, as represented by the four matrices. As far as this researcher knows, this framework has not been tested either by Butler or by any other researchers, and it still does not answer the underlying question: Why do these different groups or individuals view tourism the way they do? This question was touched upon in a study conducted by Thomason et al. (1979) in Corpus Christi, Texas. Suspecting that there might be different views among different groups in a community, Thomason et al. (1979) undertook a study to evaluate the impact of winter

visitors to the Texas Gulf Coast on three groups in the host community: the entrepreneurs, the public sector personnel, and the residents.

A series of 24 unstructured personal interviews was undertaken over a three-day period with representatives of the resident, entrepreneur, and public provider segments of the Corpus Christi area population. Content analysis of the tapes resulted in an exhaustive list of frequently repeated words and phrases relating to winter visitors. Antonyms were developed for each identified word and phrase. These verbal expressions were then used as the polarized items in the development of a series of seven-point semantic differential scales. The scales were subsequently grouped and incorporated into a questionnaire. Copies of the questionnaire were mailed to a probability sample of 283 residents, 93 entrepreneurs, and 94 public providers. 156 residents, 55 entrepreneurs and 50 public providers responded to the questionnaires.

Entrepreneurs perceived visitors significantly more favorably than did the other two respondent groups. Public service providers felt that visitors placed strains on community services, while the residents felt visitors tend to crowd beaches and fishing areas. The results suggest that respondents' attitudes toward winter visitors were influenced by the relative costs and values brought about by those visitors as perceived by each group. They bring additional income to the entrepreneurs who in turn perceived them most favorably. Their presence placed additional responsibilities upon public providers and required them to accrue additional resources in order to service the winter visitors. The findings also confirmed what Rothman (1978) and Pizam (1978) found – those who favored tourism development were most likely to be economically dependent upon the tourists for their livelihood.

Arguing that the segmentation approach is more useful than the tourism cycle development approach in explaining residents' reactions to tourism and that there is a need for standardized measurement of resident attitudes toward tourism development, Lankford and Howard (1994) developed a multiple item tourism impact attitude scale (TIAS). They (Lankford and Howard 1994) then used a multiple regression model on the TIAS to assess the effects of selected independent variables cited in the literature on resident attitudes toward tourism development in the Columbia River Gorge region of Oregon and Washington. The authors employed the basic procedures in developing the scale for measuring resident attitudes toward tourism suggested by Likert (quoted in Lankford and Howard 1994) and others. Four steps were taken to develop the TIAS. First, items representing resident attitudes toward tourism were generated. Second, the items were pretested on a screening sample of residents drawn from two Pacific Northwest tourist destination communities. Third, scale purification was conducted. Fourth, the scale was further verified by testing it on larger samples from the Columbia River Gorge area.

The selected independent variables then were analyzed to determine their unique contribution to explaining the variance of the 2 factors identified in the TIAS. Factor 1 was identified as "concern for local tourism development" and Factor 2 was interpreted as the "personal and community benefits" dimension. Establishing these two factors functioned as a way to segment the respondents in the study based on their perceptions of how tourism personally impacted their lives and their community. The authors found that the extent to which local residents felt they maintained some level of control over its planning and development process favorably influenced attitudes toward tourism. The

results of the study also revealed that if local residents felt that increasing numbers of visitors impinged on their access to and use of preferred outdoor recreational areas, their attitude toward tourism development diminished dramatically. This finding indicates that residents put high value on outdoor recreational activities in their lives and this in turn influences their attitude towards tourism. This is in agreement with the suggestion by Thomason, Crompton, and Kamp (1979) that resident attitudes are influenced by the perceived costs and values brought about by tourists to them. Additionally, the finding from the study by Lankford and Howard (1994) also supports earlier findings by Pizam (1978) that the more dependent residents are on tourist for their economic well-being, the more supportive they are of its growth and development. However, Lankford and Howard (1994) found that level of attachment to the local area did not have much bearing on resident attitudes toward tourism as was found in the studies by Rothman (1978).

It can be noted that studies that used the segmentation approach as discussed above help overcome the weakness of the development cycle framework, which assumes that residents are homogeneous in their reaction toward tourism development in the different stages of its development. A pattern consisting of several common explanatory factors emerge from the two studies above. Thomason, Crompton, and Kamp (1979) found that residents' attitudes were influenced by the relative costs and values brought about by those visitors as perceived by each group. Lankford and Howard (1994) obtained a similar finding: residents' attitudes are influenced by what they value. It can be concluded then, that how residents assess the costs and benefits of tourism plays a role in determining their attitude – a suggestion offered by social exchange theory, which is discussed next.

### Social Exchange Theory

Social exchange refers to voluntary actions of individuals that are motivated by the returns they are expected to receive and typically do in fact receive from others (Blau 1967). With these returns acting as goals, an individual or a party engages into an exchange of resources or favors with another. Social exchange differs from strictly economic exchange because social exchange entails unspecified obligations. The prototype of an economic transaction rests on a formal contract that stipulates the exact quantities to be exchanged. Social exchange, in contrast, involves the principle that one person does another a favor, and while there is a general expectation of some future return, its exact nature is not stipulated in advance. In every exchange transaction, each participant's goal is to gain much at little cost (Blau 1967).

Basically, exchange theory rests on the principle that human beings are reward seeking and punishment-avoiding creatures, and that people are motivated to action by the expectation of profits (rewards minus costs, investments, and foregone rewards). Rewards are not solely in the context of monetary returns, but may be social or psychological in nature (Napier and Bryant 1980). Since the future return from an exchange is unspecified, the individual's decision to enter into a social exchange depends on 'perceived' rewards and 'perceived' costs that the individual expects from the exchange. The individual will choose to be involved in the exchange if the perceived rewards from the exchange exceed the perceived costs from it (Skidmore 1975).

Ap (1992) introduced a model of the social exchange process to help facilitate understanding of residents' perceptions of tourism. The process begins with need



satisfaction as the driving force behind the exchange. According to Ap (1992), it is assumed that the driving force for a community in developing tourism is to improve the economic, social, and psychological well-being of its residents. This is the basic rationale used by the governments to justify their decisions to develop tourism in their countries. The driving force for tourism development may not come from the residents themselves, but it may be imposed upon them through the decisions of others. The residents, then, must evaluate the perceived benefits and costs and determine whether they want to enter the exchange (support tourism) or not. As long as residents perceive that tourism brings more benefits than costs to them, they will view them favorably. But if tourism is perceived to create costs that impinge on them adversely, they may develop negative attitudes to tourism in their communities. Studies have shown that residents will support tourism if they perceive that tourism brings more benefits than costs (Rothman 1978; Thomason, Crampton, and Kamp 1979; Belisle and Hoy 1980; Milman and Pizam 1988).

Jurowski et al. (1997) applied the social exchange model to examine community support for tourism in five counties surrounding the Mt. Rogers National Recreation Area (NRA) located in southwest Virginia. Their proposed path model showed that support for tourism depends on three intervening endogenous variables - the respondents' perceptions of economic impact, the respondents' perceptions of social impact, and the respondents' perceptions of environmental impacts of tourism. Their perceptions of the three types of impacts, in turn, depend on four exogenous variables – economic gain, use of the tourism resource, attachment to the community, and attitudes toward the environment. Jurowski et al. (1997) found that the perception of tourism's impact is a result of assessing benefits and costs, and that this evaluation clearly depends on what

they value, a suggestion put forward by Thomason et al. (1979) in a much earlier study.

The potential for economic gain leads to direct and positive support for tourism. This variable also positively influences the manner in which the residents evaluate the impacts (economic, social, and environmental) of tourism. As for the resource use variable, it was found that residents who use the same resource as tourists are relatively neutral toward tourism development but they believed that there would be economic, social, and environmental benefits from an increase in tourism. Thus, these residents support tourism even though they have to share these resources with the tourists. Further, the greater the degree of community attachment the more residents evaluate the economic and social impacts positively but the environmental impacts negatively. Lastly, the respondents with strong ecocentric attitudes did not perceive tourism favorably as their attitudes influence their perceptions of the impacts of tourism.

The use of social exchange theory is a notable attempt by Jurowski et al. (1997) but there are at least three problems which require modification. First, there is usually a lag between the benefits and the costs that result from such exchanges. This is in accord with Blau's (1967) proposition that the exact nature of returns in an exchange is mostly not stipulated in advance. Thus, residents' evaluation of the elements of exchange may indicate that the residents' support for tourism is based only on the immediate benefits that they receive, but not on the cost that they will realize in the long run. They may not even realize what the long term costs are. For example, a previously unemployed resident may see tourism as very beneficial to him because it allows him to get a job. He may have no knowledge of the costs that tourism may bring as the costs will only take place in

the future. His support for tourism is based only on the benefit (getting a job) he received from tourism. The costs from tourism may not even enter his mind during the exchange.

Secondly, this theory needs to take into consideration the condition that Blau (1967) argues will influence the process of social exchange, which is the character of the relationship between exchange partners. Although social exchange requires trusting others to reciprocate (Blau 1967), what B gives to A in exchange for whatever A gives to B may not be equivalent in value. There is a possibility that A may not have other alternatives but to exchange with B. The partner with fewer alternative opportunities tends to be more dependent on and committed to the exchange relation than the other (Blau 1967). A resident faced with poverty and the need to survive is an example of the partner with restricted alternative opportunities. He may not be in favor of tourism but still commit himself to an exchange with the tourists in order to receive an income. This argument will lead to the concept of power, which will be discussed later.

The third problem is related to the unit of analysis used in the exchange process. There is a great possibility that the residents view the results from tourism to be *individually* beneficial, but may view the costs to be borne by the society as a whole, not just to themselves. The benefit in this case is personal, but the cost is broader. Most people will choose personal benefits knowing fully well that there are social costs, especially if the personal benefit is a difference between being jobless and having a job as a means to support a family, which is a typical situation faced by a resident in a developing country. This may explain the results of the study by Liu and Var (1986) on the tourism impacts upon Hawaiian residents. The results of their study show that residents of Hawaii regarded environmental protection as more important than economic

benefits of tourism but they were unwilling to sacrifice their standard of living for environmental conservation.

### Summary

The three problems discussed above suggest that social exchange theory alone cannot sufficiently explain residents' support for tourism, especially in the case of the residents in the developing countries. Many areas in these countries that have been developed into tourism destinations are homes to native people who are, in most cases, facing economic hardships. Understanding how residents evaluate the benefits and costs of tourism will help explain why residents perceive tourism the way they do. Their evaluation of rewards and costs of tourism may be influenced by certain factors that explain the power that the residents have. Constrained by not having the power to make their future lives better, the residents may support tourism development in their area due to the fact that the immediate impacts from tourism is individually beneficial to them without considering, or even knowing, the cost of tourism to their area and their community in the long run. The literature review now focuses on the discussion of power and power relations, and their role in the exchange process.

#### 2.4 Power, Social Exchange, and Attitudes toward Tourism

There is no universal definition for power. In four studies included in the book entitled Studies in Social Power, four slightly different definitions of power were used (Cartwright 1959). Generally, power is viewed as "the ability of one person (or group) to influence or control some aspect of another person (or group)" (Cartwright 1959: v).

Wolfe (1959) lists a number of assumptions about the nature of the individual and of interpersonal relations that are relevant to the concept of power. First, it is assumed that every individual is continually attempting to satisfy her needs and desires and to attain her goals (Wolfe 1959). This assumption is consistent with the explanation by Ap (1992) that the social exchange process that takes place between residents and the tourism actors begins with the drive to satisfy the needs of both parties. Thus, there appears to be a linkage between power and social exchange. The second assumption is that most of the individual's needs are satisfied and goals attained through social interaction with other persons or groups (Wolfe 1959). Finally, it is also assumed that during this interaction, there is a continual exchange of resources that contribute to the satisfaction of individual needs and to the attainment of individual or group goals (Wolfe 1959). The last two assumptions again imply the appropriateness of including the power concept in social exchange theory. Within this general conception of and assumptions about power, its applicability in understanding resident support for tourism lies in the understanding of residents' ability to achieve the goals that are important to them. But how do we measure this ability or power? To answer this question requires one to consider the source of power.

A resource is anything, such as property, money, skills, competence, or knowledge, owned by an individual that "can be made available to others as instrumental to the satisfaction of their needs" (Wolfe 1959: 100). The resources owned by residents may be a source of power (Harsanyi 1971; Nagel 1975) as they dictate the residents' ability to influence the tourism development process in order to satisfy her/his needs. Resources represent power that residents could use to satisfy their needs from the

exchange with tourism development. Resources, then, are crucial considerations in the exchange process involving residents and tourism development.

Ap (1992) also suggested the inclusion of power in the study of residents' perceptions towards tourism impact. Power is the central variable of exchange as it provides the basis for determining the form of the exchange relation (Ap 1992). If both the actors in an exchange have high levels of power, then the exchange relation is said to be symmetrical. If the levels of power between the actors are uneven, with one actor's level of power higher than the other, the exchange relation is said to be asymmetrical. Residents with high levels of power are at the more advantageous positions than those with low levels of power as they will be more able to obtain something that they value from the exchange (i.e. from tourism development). Since it is argued above that a resource owned by a resident will influence how much power s/he has, it can be implied then that the resident with more resources has more power than the resident with fewer resources.

Findings from a study by Peck and Lepie (1989) of recreational tourism on three coastal communities in North Carolina reflect the proposition made by Ap (1992) about the role that power plays in tourism development. Peck and Lepie (1989) examined the hypothesis that both community/involvement and control (power) over the change would affect the amount and distribution of payoffs and trade-offs associated with increased tourism. In their study, "power" included the ownership of land that is developed, the source of financing, input from local people, and the relation of local traditions to tourism development projects. This definition of power coincides with the definition of the source of power given by Harsanyi (1971) and Nagel (1975), indicating a close link

between resources and power. Peck and Lepie (1989) define “payoffs” in their study to include benefits to the host culture from tourism and “tradeoffs” to include the social impact, which changes the nature of the communities.

They used a participatory observation technique in three coastal communities in North Carolina, each representing a different style of tourism development, to test their hypothesis. The three communities were Oriental, Bath, and Harkers Island. Peck and Lepie (1989) concluded from their findings that the differentiating factor in determining the positive or negative impact of tourism development on the host community was the source of regulatory power, that is, whether or not the host community perceived they had access to that power. Harkers Island was found to be an “unincorporated” community; it has no truly functioning local political or governmental mechanism and it lacks political strength and cohesiveness. As a result, the community is poorly equipped to cope with problems of integrating rapid changes, especially the ones brought by tourism. Although islanders apparently do not welcome the tradeoffs from tourism, they are resigned to the attitude that there is not much that they could do to change the almost “apocalyptic” process they envision. Oriental, on the other hand, has a strong and active local government. It also has appropriate commercial infrastructure. In the face of the increasingly rapid development of its tourist industry, Oriental is found to have fared well. Although there are some tradeoffs from the tourist industry that they are not keen to have, Oriental residents seem to appreciate its payoffs enough to want an expansion of the tourism development. Bath has successfully resisted change by maintaining a strong town government that takes control of planning for the community. As opposed to the residents of Oriental, Bath’s residents did not perceive that tourism was giving them the

payoffs that they needed. Thus, the town of Bath has established a land-use plan for a number of years, and has stuck to its policy of very limited development. It has also resisted attempts to develop marinas along the Pamlico. These findings indicate that, with power, a community is better able to direct tourism development according to their own needs and compatibility. Ap (1992) proposed that residents with high levels of power are in more advantageous positions than those with low levels of power as they will be more able to get something that they value from the exchange. Equivalently, a community with high levels of power (such as Oriental) is more able to direct tourism development than another community with a low level of power (such as Harker Island). Consequently, members of a more powerful community have more positive attitudes towards and exchange (i.e., from tourism development) than members of a less powerful community.

But in many economically peripheral areas such as those in developing countries the creation of some jobs from tourism is better than no jobs at all (Hall, 1994). Due to this, primary control of tourism development lies with government, which will mostly collaborate with non-local companies and the local elites. The other residents do not possess sufficient power to control the development but yet they may still be willing to support tourism and enter into an exchange with the tourists even when they get less from the exchange (i.e., when their benefits are lower than the costs). This creates a situation of power-dependence where the local residents (the party that complies with the 'more powerful party') are dependent on the tourism industry (the 'more powerful party') for continuous supply of the needed benefits (better standard of living) (Emerson, 1962).



### Summary

Existing studies indicate that understanding destination residents' reactions towards tourism requires a contextual exploration of each individual destination. In practice, the residents in a destination are never homogeneous in their views with regard to the exchanges taking place in their support for tourism. Social exchange theory offers an underlying framework for understanding residents' attitudes towards tourism because it deals with how residents evaluate the costs and benefits of tourism. This literature review concludes that unless we consider the role of power, social exchange theory cannot sufficiently help explain why residents have certain attitudes toward tourism development in their area. The inclusion of power relations in social exchange theory in the tourism context will provide a more useful framework to explain support for tourism by residents in a developing country than just social exchange theory alone. The residents or group of residents with more resources will have relatively more power than the residents or groups who lack those resources as they will be more able to get something that they value from the exchange (i.e. tourism development). This, in turn, may determine their attitudes towards tourism.

## **2.5 Problem Statement, Conceptual Framework, and Objectives**

### Problem Statement

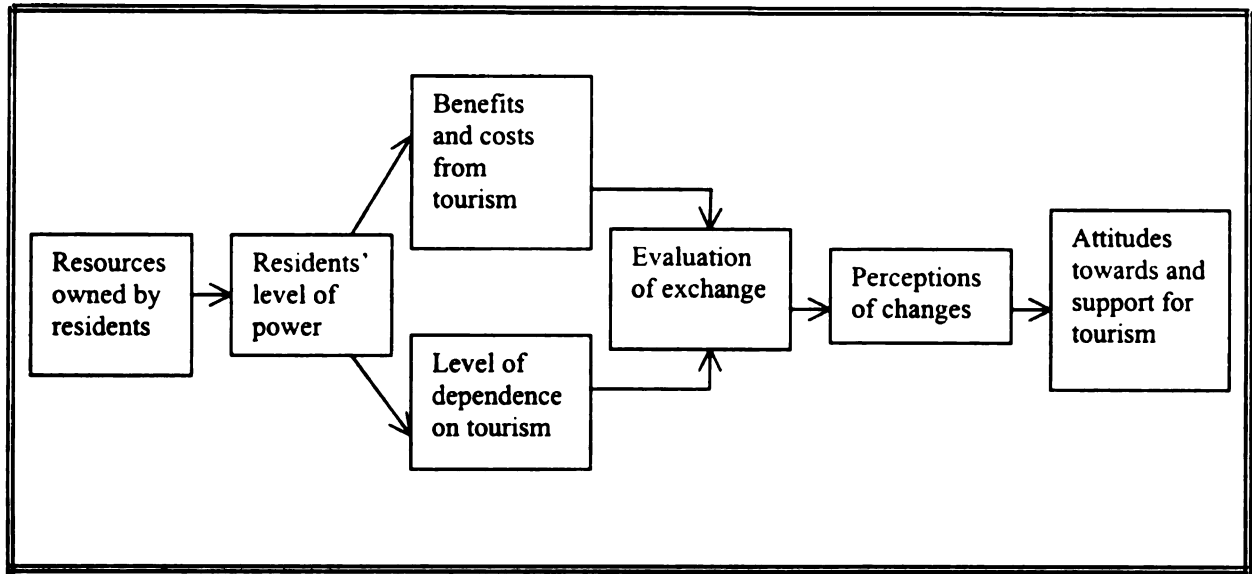
Jafari (1973) suggests that tourism development without proper planning may cause the host society to experience 'premature modernization', which is reflected by rapid replacement of traditional lifestyles with those practiced by the tourists of whom

the majority originate from the West. Tourism can evidently bring mixed outcomes to the host society, and these outcomes can differ substantially from one society to another (Harrison, 1992). There is a need to study these outcomes in each specific society as “in the final analysis, the ‘truth’ about the impact of tourism must surely be context-specific” (Din, 1989).

Recent studies indicate that insights derived from social exchange theory stand out as significant contributions to the development of knowledge about residents’ attitudes towards tourism and its impacts (Ap 1992; Jurowski et al. 1997). Social exchange theory explains that generally, residents view tourism favorably if they perceive that tourism brings more benefits than costs to them. But this alone does not provide a strong foundation upon which residents’ attitudes could be fully comprehended. The inclusion of power into social exchange theory would strengthen its use in understanding tourism impacts and residents’ attitudes towards tourism.

### Conceptual Framework

Based on the literature review, a conceptual framework for the study is depicted in Figure 3. According to the framework, the resources owned by the residents define their level of power. Power influences their ability to use the opportunities offered by tourism and their level of dependence on tourism, which in turn influence their evaluations of the exchange they make with the tourism actors. The evaluations of exchange affect the way tourism is perceived by the residents. These perceptions determine residents’ attitudes towards and support for tourism.



**Figure 3. Conceptual framework for understanding residents' attitudes toward tourism.**

### Objectives of the Study

1. To identify the changes brought by tourism to Langkawi.
2. To strengthen the theoretical foundation used in studies on residents' attitudes towards tourism by using both power and social exchange theories guided by three propositions discussed in the next section.
3. To explore variables, other than power, that may also determine residents' attitudes towards tourism.
4. To make recommendations for tourism policy, planning, and further research.

### Propositions

Referring to the second objective, the following propositions are used to guide the study:

**Proposition 1:** The more resources the residents have, the more able they feel they are to take advantage of the opportunities offered by tourism, thus the more power they feel they have.

**Proposition 2:** The fewer resources (less power) the residents have, the more dependent they are on tourism.

**Proposition 3:** The power possessed by the residents influences their attitudes toward changes brought by tourism and the meaning they attach to these changes. This is because:

- (a) The more power they have, the more able they are to benefit from tourism, and hence the more positive their attitudes and support.
- (b) The less power they have, the more dependent they will be on tourism, and hence the more positive their attitudes and support.

## Chapter 3

### METHODS

This study employed the constructionist research paradigm, which is most broadly known in current jargon as “naturalistic inquiry” (Lincoln and Guba 1985). This paradigm competes with positivism, which tends to emphasize quantification in its methods. The methods used in constructionism are typically qualitative and aim at providing a rich portrait and a better understanding of the phenomenon under study than the more traditional quantitative methods (Hernandez, Cohen, and Garcia 1996). Given that the study was looking for patterns in order to help explain residents’ attitudes, that an in-depth probe would be more valuable than surface understanding, and that there was a need to have contact with the residents themselves in order to understand how tourism influences them (Mathieson and Wall 1982), a qualitative approach was chosen for this study. Jurowski et al. (1997) also recommend the use of this approach in order to reveal elements that *residents* (as opposed to researchers) feel they might be exchanging in return for the benefits of tourism development.

Qualitative designs can either be loose (unstructured) or tight (prestructured). The research design used in this study lies between these two extremes. The study has a conceptual framework, a set of propositions, a sampling design, and a procedure determined at the beginning of the study. The study collected information primarily from residents with different power levels on Langkawi Island, Malaysia regarding their perceptions of the changes brought by tourism development to their lives and their attitudes toward tourism development in Langkawi. The data were analyzed to explore

how power influences residents' attitudes. The data were also analyzed to discover other determinants of residents' attitudes that may contribute to the study objectives.

### 3.1 Definitions

To achieve its objectives, the study focuses on a number of variables that emerged from the literature reviewed. Based on the literature reviewed and the conceptual framework, the study variables, their definitions, and how they are measured are shown in Table 1.

**Table 1. Study variables.**

<i>Variables</i>	<i>Definition</i>	<i>Questions used to measure variables</i>
Power	Residents' ability to take advantage of the opportunities offered by tourism development.	Based on resources owned by residents. Residents had power if they indicated they had at least one of the five resources listed under the 'resources' definition below. Residents had no power if they indicated that they had none of the listed resources.
Resources	Anything owned by residents that they could use as an exchange for the benefits from tourism.	Five determinants of power were used at the beginning of study: ownership of land, access to capital (accumulated stock of wealth, for example money or property, used by a person in business), knowledge level (due to education and experience), young age (forty years old or less), and leadership position in the community. Respondents were also asked about the kinds of resources they thought could help them benefit from tourism.
Benefits from tourism	Changes from tourism development, which improves residents' lives.	Interview questions: Do you consider these changes as benefits to you/your community?
Costs of tourism	Changes from tourism development, which degrades residents' lives.	Interview questions: Do you consider these changes as costs to you/your community?
Level of dependence upon tourism	The degree of residents' reliance on tourism for their living.	Respondents' perceptions on the importance of tourism to residents' lives and to their community.
Evaluation of exchange	How residents assess the benefits and costs of tourism (whether it is beneficial or costly to them).	Respondents' perceptions on the tradeoffs that are involved by having tourism in Langkawi.
Attitudes toward tourism	Residents' predisposition or action tendencies to tourism (whether they are favorable of tourism or not), which is a function of their beliefs that tourism produces certain consequences and how they value these consequences.	Interview questions: Do you support tourism in your area? Are you in favor of tourism in Langkawi? Do you have any comments about it?

### Study Population

[illegible]

50



In terms of tourism, Kuah, Padang Matsirat and Kedawang have more tourism attractions and development compared to Ayer Hangat, Ulu Melaka, and Bohor.

Shopping and commercial activities are concentrated in Kuah town. Beautiful beaches and hotel development are mainly in Kedawang, Padang Matsirat, and Air Hangat.

Kuah has the largest number of residents (37.9% of Langkawi population) followed by Ulu Melaka, Air Hangat, Kedawang, Padang Matsirat, and Bohor (Table 2).

**Table 2. Resident distribution in Langkawi.**

<b>District</b>	<b>Number of residents</b>
Kuah	23,750
Ulu Melaka	9,417
Ayer Hangat	8,458
Kedawang	8,050
Padang Matsirat	7,654
Bohor	5,288
Total	62,617

Source: LADA, 1999

The present number of residents on Langkawi is 62,617, indicating a 46% increase from the 42,938 in 1991. Approximately a third of the present population consists of newcomers who were attracted to Langkawi by the economic opportunities offered by its development as a tourist destination and a duty free port (LADA, 1999).

Malays represent the largest ethnic group in Langkawi (91.2%), followed by Chinese (5.1%) and Indians (2%). The majority of the Malays live in Bohor, Air Hangat, Ulu Melaka, and Kedawang while the majority of the non-Malays are concentrated in Kuah and Padang Matsirat (LADA 1999).

Less than half of the population is employed while the rest is not employed mostly because they are either still in school, housewives, or retired. Prior to the development of tourism in the island, the residents were dependent on fishing and other agricultural activities for their income. However, this situation had changed since the early 1980's when the island was turned into one of the main tourism destinations in the country. LADA (1999) reports that the majority (33.8%) of the present working population in Langkawi is involved in the wholesaling and retailing sector, which includes the bulk of tourism business, including hotels and catering. Nineteen percent of the working population work in the agriculture, forestry, hunting, and fishery sector. The situation was very different in 1987 when 63% of the working population then was concentrated in the agriculture/fishery sector (Langkawi District Council, 1992). The residents are also experiencing improvement in their incomes. In 1987, 79% of Langkawi residents earned RM500 (US\$132) or less monthly (Langkawi District Council, 1992). In 1999, only 11% of the residents were in this income bracket (LADA, 1999). Seventeen percent of the residents earn between RM501 (US\$132) and RM1,000 (US\$263) a month and a small percentage (0.6%) earn more than RM3,000 (US\$789) a month. The majority (62.7%) of the residents report that they do not have any fixed earnings. This is in accord with the high percentage of non-working residents mentioned earlier. These residents depend either on their families or on odd jobs for their livings.

### Sample

Patton (1990) and Kuzel (1992) together describe some sixteen types of sampling that can be used in qualitative research. Most sampling in qualitative research is not

probability sampling but rather nonprobability sampling. In probability sampling, each member of a population has the same random chance of being chosen for the study. This allows for statistical generalizing to the population of interest. Nonprobability sampling uses subjective judgement to determine the units of the population to be included in the sample. Qualitative samples tend to be purposive, rather than random (Kuzel, 1992). Miles and Huberman (1994) explain that this tendency is because social processes, which qualitative research are mostly interested in, "...have a logic and a coherence that random sampling can reduce to uninterpretable sawdust" (Miles and Huberman, 1994). Thus, choices of the sample are being driven by the conceptual questions, not by a concern for 'representativeness'.

Miles and Huberman (1994) suggest that sampling in qualitative research should involve two actions: (1) setting boundaries to define aspects of the cases or subjects that the researcher wants to study within the time and resource limits, yet connect the researcher directly to the research questions; and (2) creating a frame to help the researcher uncover, confirm, and qualify the basic constructs on which the study is based. A conceptual framework and research questions, such as the ones used in the present study, can help set the boundaries for sampling decisions. Researchers select respondents because the respondents are believed to be the experts in an area or privileged witnesses to an event (Weiss, 1994). Information is the factor that drives qualitative sampling, not the number of people.

The sampling strategy adopted in this study was a purposeful one. From a positivist research perspective, it could be argued that the main weakness of purposive sampling is that the researcher's subjectivity can introduce bias in the selection of the

subjects for the sample. However, if the criteria for selecting the sample are established beforehand and the researcher strictly adheres to the criteria, this problem can be minimized. It was established early in the study that the sample would consist of residents who have different levels of power, which would be determined by certain resources that they owned, namely ownership of land, access to capital (access to income, savings, assets, and other financial resources that could be used as capital), knowledge level, young age, and leadership position. The strategy used for selecting the sample in this study was based on the rationale that comparisons need to be made between how 'power' and 'no-power' residents think about tourism in Langkawi. Land, capital, knowledge, young age, and leadership position qualify as bases of power as these factors allow residents who own them to take advantage of the employment and earning opportunities offered by tourism development. Residents who own land may sell their land to the tourism developers or they may develop the land themselves. They may also use the land that they own as collateral to secure loans from the bank to set up their own businesses. Residents who have access to capital are capable of setting up businesses in a business-conducive environment created by tourism development. Having knowledge based on education or experience increases a resident's ability to either get an employment or start a business. Physiologically, a younger resident is in a better position to be employed by the tourism industry than an older resident is. The base of power for younger residents come from physical ability rather than their wealth or political position. Those with leadership positions are able to use their authority and influence to gain from the development. The sampling strategy above helps the researcher to evaluate the theoretical proposition put forth at the beginning of this study.

Based on the research framework, the researcher canvassed randomly selected communities in each district in Langkawi to recruit early respondents from both the 'power' group (consisting of these sub-groups: 'ownership of land', 'access to capital', 'knowledge level', 'young age', and 'leadership position') and the 'non-power' group (consisting of those residents who possess the following characteristics: no land, no access to capital, low level of knowledge and expertise, over forty years old, and no leadership positions). Each county has a number of 'kampungs' or villages. Each of these villages has its own 'Jawatankuasa Kampung (JKK)' or community committee that represents the communities in different issues and activities that effect their kampungs. Lists of each county's community committee were used to recruit respondents from the leadership position sub-group. From interviews with initial respondents, the snowball technique was used in recruiting subsequent respondents. One of the sampling principles in qualitative research is to stop interviewing at the point of "saturation". This principle was followed as, in each district, no new respondents were interviewed when the researcher felt that no new information would be uncovered from them in order to answer the research questions.

Forty-six residents were interviewed: thirty from the 'power' group (six respondents from each sub-group) and sixteen from the 'non-power' group (Table 3). The sampling design for this study assured that the characteristics of the respondents could provide credibility to the development of a framework for understanding residents' attitudes toward tourism. Nevertheless, the non-probability sampling design does not allow extrapolation of the results to the study population.

**Table 3. Residents interviewed by group and by district (Langkawi Island, Malaysia, 1999).**

		<b>DISTRICT</b>						
<i>Group</i>	Sub-groups	Kuah	Kedawang	Padang Matsirat	Bohor	Ulu Mela ka	Ayer Hangat	Total
Power	Ownership of land	1	1	1	1	1	1	6
	Financial source	1	1	1	1	1	1	6
	Knowledge level	1	1	1	1	1	1	6
	Young age	1	1	1	1	1	1	6
	Leadership position	1	1	1	1	1	1	6
No - Power		2	3	2	3	3	3	16
Total Respondents								46

### 3.3 Procedures

The research program consisted of a series of field research components and the analysis of the qualitative data obtained from individual in-depth interviews.

#### UCRIHS Review

In accordance with Michigan State University and federal regulations, the dissertation research project was submitted for review by the University Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects [UCRIHS], an institutional review board, before data collection began. Pursuant to those regulations, no data collection can begin until UCRIHS approval of the proposed project has been received. UCRIHS approved the dissertation project as adequately protecting the rights and welfare of its human subjects and its methods to obtain informed consent on June 4, 1999.

### Recruitment

Following the purposeful sampling technique discussed earlier, the researcher recruited respondents for individual interviews with the help of two research assistants. The research assistants were graduates from a local university who had experience working with the Center for Research and Consultancy, Universiti Utara Malaysia. At the early stage of the fieldwork, the research team stayed on Langkawi Island to meet with local government agencies to establish networks and potential relationships. The research team then canvassed the communities in each district – stopping in local establishments, engaging people in ‘warungs’, etc. – having non-formal conversations with members of the communities in their effort to recruit and screen potential respondents. In some cases, the non-formal conversation with a particular resident led to that resident being chosen as a respondent. In other cases, the non-formal conversations resulted in names and addresses of potential respondents being secured. Nevertheless, an attempt was made by the team to recruit respondents that represented the ‘power’ group and the ‘no-power’ group. In the end, forty-six people from the six districts and nine local officials were recruited and interviewed during approximately five weeks of interview activity.

### Conduct of Inquiry and Instrumentation

#### In-depth Interviews

In-depth interviews were conducted with Langkawi residents to ascertain the costs and benefits brought by tourism as perceived by them. The questions were open-ended and the interview informal and semi-structured. The main advantage of in-depth interviews is that a better understanding of respondents’ thinking and attitudes on some

issues could be achieved than when structured interviews are conducted (Hernandez et al. 1996). Hernandez et al. (1996) refer to the problem regarding the use of structured interviews in the Santa Marta study described in chapter two (Belisle and Hoy 1980). In the study, respondents were asked to react to an a priori theoretical framework devised by the researchers, which may or may not have corresponded to their personal experiences. Results of the study showed that 58% of responses were in the neutral category. These results might have been different if the study had used less structured interviews that would allow interviewees to explain their experiences in their own way.

In qualitative research, the primary instrumentation of the research project is the human observer, who is also the interviewer. In order to have confidence in the data collected, there must be confidence in the quality, consistency, and accuracy of human observers and the technique used to collect such data. For these reasons, two days were spent with the research assistants to familiarize them with the research objectives, procedures, the interview guide, and the interviewing techniques. The research assistants also helped in translating the questions in the interview guide from English to Malay. As a result, the research assistants developed an understanding of the phenomena under study, the research questions, the interview questions, and the non-directive probes and prompts used in the study. The research assistants were also familiar with the language and culture of the study population and this was helpful for the team in carrying out the interviews. During the actual interviews, the researcher accompanied the research assistants on a random, alternating basis. That is, the researcher would observe an interview conducted by one research assistant, debrief the research assistant after the interview, and offer the assistant suggestions for the next interview before locating the



other research assistant for observation. The researcher would then observe, debrief, and assist the other research assistant with his future interviews.

This system of in-field observation and debriefing was aimed at increasing the conformity across different interviews and the quality of the data. Likewise, at the end of each day, the researcher would meet with both research assistants to discuss the findings and difficulties of the day and to exchange ideas about the progress of the data collection. As a result of the training, interview observations, and daily debriefing sessions, it is believed that a high degree of inter-interviewer consistency was maintained for the in-depth interviews.

#### Interview Guide.

An interview guide (Table 4) was developed for use during the in-depth individual interviews. The guide was organized to help the researcher answer the research questions using a semi-structured interviewing technique. The questions in the interview guide were translated to Malay as the interviews were carried out in that language (Appendix A). Since qualitative procedures were employed, the interview guide was not strictly followed. The order and specific wording of the questions varied from interview to interview. However, the guide helped interviewers to continually focus the interviews onto topics of interest for the dissertation research. Interviewers' question choice and phrasing did evolve throughout the interviewing activity to assure that the study variables were addressed to and to capture any other variables that were not determined early in the study but anticipated to assist in accomplishing the research objectives.

**Table 4. Interview Guide.**

Interview questions	Probing questions
1. How long have you lived in Langkawi?	
2. When (what year) did you first realize that you are living in a tourist area? What made you realize this?	
3. From your own experiences and observations, what are the changes brought by tourism to your life?	
4. From your own experiences and observations, what are the changes brought by tourism to your community?	
5. How do you feel about these changes?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. What do these changes mean to you?</li> <li>b. Do you consider these changes as benefits to you/your community?</li> <li>c. Do you consider these changes as costs to you/your community?</li> </ul>
6. What kind of opportunities do tourism offer to the residents?	
7. How do you think you can benefit from tourism?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Do you think you could benefit more if things were different?</li> <li>b. Do you think you could benefit more if you have certain resources that you do not have right now?</li> <li>c. What kind of resources do you think could help you to benefit more from tourism?</li> </ul>
8. Do you support tourism in your area?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Are you in favor of tourism in Langkawi?</li> <li>b. Do you have any comments about it?</li> </ul>
9. What do you know about the residents' ability to voice out their opinions?	Have you ever voiced out your opinions?
10. How would you like Langkawi to be in the future?	

### Interviewing Process

Depending on the respondents' preference, the interviews were conducted either at the respondents' home, office, business place, or at public places such as the 'warungs' or restaurants. Each interview began with the interviewer explaining the goals of the project in the most general terms. Then, the interviewer followed the approved format and asked the respondent for their informed consent to be interviewed (Appendix B). In short, the informed consent explained to respondents that the study was a partial requirement for a Ph.D. program, that their participation was voluntary, and that their identity and responses would be kept confidential. Respondents were also asked if their interviews could be audiotaped.

On average, each interview was 40 minutes long. Following the basic rules for conducting interviews suggested by Berg (1995), several minutes were spent chatting with the respondent to establish a comfortable rapport. The interviewers were instructed to always keep the respondent on track and have a copy of the interview guide in front of them. They were also reminded to use the probes in the interview guide and also to probe whenever they were given a yes-and-no answer. At the end of each interview, interviewers summarized the key points of the ideas given by the respondents and the respondents were asked to confirm these points. Respondents were thanked for their participation and instructed how to contact the research team if they had additional questions or comments.

### Informal Interview and Secondary Data

To support and complement the primary data gathered from in-depth personal interviews, the candidate also conducted informal interviews with key informants and collected secondary data. Nine key informants, consisting of officials affiliated with different local and federal government agencies were contacted and interviewed in between the resident interviews. Unlike the resident interviews, key informant interviews were informal and unstructured. The purpose of the conversations was to discover the changes taking place in Langkawi from different aspects. An attempt was made to seek informants' opinions on the connection between tourism development and these changes and to seek clarification on issues that stood out in the resident interviews prior to the key informant interviews.

Published secondary data was gathered from different government offices and local libraries. These data were published statistics and reports concerning the development of Langkawi. Data from the key informant interviews and the secondary data were used to confirm or disconfirm the data from the resident interviews and to assist in the interpretation of the results.

### 3.4 Data Collection

Regardless of the type of method and data used, all research should pay attention to how the data are collected (Ruderstrom and Newton 1992). Data recording should facilitate analysis and not interfere with real world phenomena (Marshall and Rossman 1989). In some situations, even note taking interferes with, inhibits, or in some way acts upon the setting and the subjects. Some typical data collection and management strategies

used by researchers are field notes, diaries, theoretical notes, analytic memos, videotape recording, and audiotape recording.

The researcher used debriefing notes and notes from the interviews with informants to help clarify and interpret some responses and to gain a better understanding of tourism development in Langkawi. However, the primary data of the individual in-depth interviews were audiotape recorded. Audiotape recordings were chosen because recordings are easily retrievable and this was particularly helpful because it allowed for the typing of accurate transcripts for subsequent use in data analysis. Audiotape recordings also help assure that responses are accurately captured and that interruptions caused by awkward pauses in conversations as their comments were written down are minimized. This practice conforms to the recommendations of Marshall and Rossman (1989).

The researcher together with a research assistant who was fluent in the local northern Malaysian dialect transcribed the recordings of the interviews (in the original Malay language). A primary purpose of qualitative research is to understand the meaning of the respondent's words as s/he does. Thus, throughout the transcription process, the candidate made every effort to include words, sentence structures, and punctuation marks that seemed to best express the respondent's perspective. Because this is a subjective process, and thus open to reliability and validity problems, the researcher designed guidelines for transcription of probable punctuation and content selection.

The transcription punctuation choices made by the researcher were based on four guiding criteria. Sentence breaks were made when the respondent's words and vocal intonations appeared to indicate that s/he had completed a thought. Paragraph breaks

were created when the interview conversation seemed to move to a different topic. Occasional bold letters were used to show vocal emphasis on specific words and phrases. And instead of noting all utterances (such as “uh” and “um”) by the respondent, only words exchanged in the conversation were included. Similarly, the interviewer’s expression of interest, such as “Iya?” – meaning “really?”, “O.K.”, or “saya faham” – meaning “I understand”, were not noted. These statements were used to express interest, not add to the interview discussion. The researcher’s interpretations were separated from observable phenomena by the use of brackets. As the transcription process progressed, and later into the translation process, the entire candidate’s bracketed thoughts and opinions were inserted in the proper places within the translated interview transcripts.

After the recordings were transcribed, the researcher then translated the transcripts from Malay to English. To retain the meaning of the statements and ideas contained in the transcripts, word-to-word translation was avoided. Instead, translation was made on each sentence. These translated transcripts were then reviewed for accuracy by a colleague of the candidate, who is also from Malaysia. These verified translated transcripts of the in-depth individual interviews became the data used in subsequent data analysis.

Unlike the resident interviews, audiotape recordings were not used during the informant interviews. Brief notes were taken during the conversation, which were expanded soon after each interview. Data from the informal, informant interviews were used to help interpret the residents’ interviews, but not as the primary data for analysis.

### 3.5 Data Analysis

Data analysis is the process of bringing order, structure, and meaning to the mass of collected data in a search for general statements about relationships among categories of data. The purpose of the analysis is to interpret, explain, and understand the data. Miles and Huberman (1994) explain that qualitative analysis consists of three concurrent flows of activity: data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing. Thus in qualitative studies, analysis occurs continuously throughout the life of the research project. In this research study, data analysis refers to a process undertaken by the researcher in her attempt to support the propositions put forth at the beginning of the study.

Data reduction aims at selecting, focusing, simplifying, abstracting, and transforming the data that appear in written field notes or transcriptions so that the data will be more manageable (Miles and Huberman 1994). The general steps involved in this process are organizing the data, coding them by putting labels on statements of interest, decoding these labels by compartmentalizing the codes, and generating themes and patterns. Data display facilitates explanation and interpretation by assembling the information in an organized and compressed way. The researcher eventually draws the conclusions as the meaning from the data becomes explicit and grounded (Miles and Huberman 1994).

#### Organizing

Transcribing the recordings of the interviews and translating the transcripts were the early steps taken to organize the data in the study. The translated transcripts were

typed with wide right hand margins to allow the researcher to make early comments or notes about different aspects such as the main issues or themes that may surface; the research questions and variables in the initial framework that may be touched upon; and new speculations that may be suggested. At the same time, the translated transcripts were saved in computer files in 'text-only with line-breaks' format and were imported as *primary documents* into ATLAS/ti, a software program (ATLAS.ti 1998) that was used to facilitate data analysis in this study.

### Segmenting and Coding

Once they were imported into ATLAS/ti, data from the translated transcripts were then coded. This coding process involved segmenting and coding, two tasks which together Tesch (1990) describes as 'de-contextualization' the data. According to Tesch (1990), to 'de-contextualize' or to segment the data is to separate relevant portions of data from their context and then categorize these segments into an organizing system. The researcher did this by carving segments of the data out of their context in such a way that they retained their meaning. The segments could consist of a sentence, paragraph, or a question and response segment within an interview.

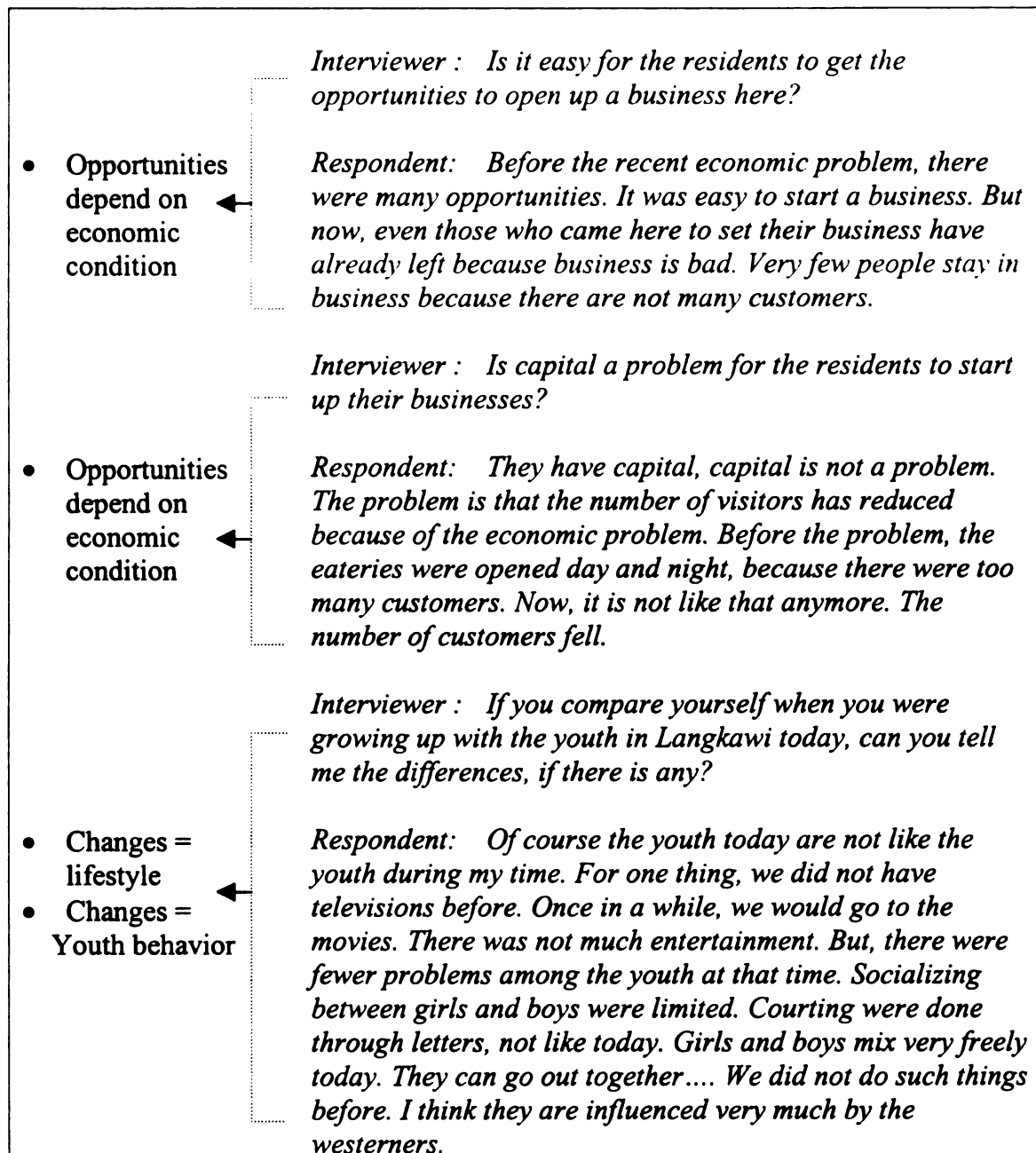
After segmenting the data, the data had to be categorized by coding them according to an organizing system. There are two ways for establishing an organizing system: (1) it can be created from prior material, such as the theoretical framework adopted for the research and/or the research questions that guide the investigation; or (2) it can be constructed from the data themselves (Tesch 1990). The two methods were combined in the data analysis of this study. The researcher assigned codes or labels to the



different segments of the data. The coding scheme used in this study was initially guided by the research questions but as the coding process developed, the scheme iterated as new and different issues surfaced. The predetermined codes developed at the beginning of the study were:

1. Length of residency
2. Situations that made respondents become aware of tourism development in Langkawi
3. Changes brought by tourism development in Langkawi:
  - To their personal lives
  - To their communities
4. The meaning of the changes:
  - Changes they considered as benefits
  - Changes they considered as costs
5. Their attitudes regarding opportunities made available by tourism in Langkawi
6. Their support for tourism in Langkawi
7. Their opinion regarding residents' participation in planning
8. Their level of dependence on tourism
9. Their hope for Langkawi's future.

The coding procedure was performed using the different coding techniques offered by ATLAS/ti. These resulted in quotations being linked with codes (Figure 5).



**Figure 5. A sample of segmented and coded portion of a transcript.**

### Categorizing, Displaying, Pattern Generating, and Concluding

To prepare the coded data for interpretation, the data had to be categorized according to the guideline: "... everything that belongs in one category must be assembled in one place" (Tesch 1990: 122). Tesch (1990) describes this assembling as

‘re-contextualizing’. ‘Re-contextualizing’ allows the researcher to read in a continuous fashion about a certain concept of interest, for example, about everyone’s attitudes regarding opportunities made available by tourism in Langkawi. Thus, a category deals with one concept, representing a ‘pool of meanings’ that forms the new ‘context’ of a segment (Tesch 1990). This ‘re-contextualizing’ task was performed through ATLAS/ti. Since the codes used by the researcher were the same as categories/concepts, ATLAS/ti allows this ‘re-contextualizing’ task to be performed by obtaining a compressed report of all primary document passages (quotations) assigned to a code. This allowed the researcher to view ‘who’ and ‘how many’ respondents said ‘what’. That is, respondents and their responses were grouped into categories and the ‘content’ of each category could be viewed by clicking on a specific code. In the end, the researcher was able to assemble all segments of the responses that belonged to each different concept and was ready to go to the next step of this data analysis, which was the display of data.

Displaying of data means reducing them into matrices of the ideas that could facilitate thinking about common patterns that would provide the answers to the research propositions (Miles and Huberman 1994). Using the reports for each of the codes produced by ATLAS/ti, conceptually clustered matrices (Miles and Huberman 1994) were developed to describe ‘*what* is happening’ in each category or concept under study. These matrices consist of rows (representing the codes, research questions, or two or three research questions clustered to provide conceptual coherence) and columns (representing the type of respondents – power or non-power). Miles and Huberman (1994) imply that such displays are particularly helpful in studies like this, where some clear conceptual themes have already been identified in literature.

With those descriptions in hand, the candidate proceeded in developing explanatory matrices (Miles and Huberman 1994) in order to articulate the discoveries and patterns. An explanatory matrix may contain patterns, quotations, and researcher's explanation for these patterns. Using this matrix, relationships between different variables under study could be explored. Thus, conclusions moved from understanding *what* changes were brought by tourism and *what* the respondents' attitudes about tourism were to explaining *why* these are so. Bernard (1988) suggests that explanation makes complicated things understandable by showing how their components fit together according to some rules. The explanation phase concluded the data analysis and was used by the researcher to examine the propositions that were constructed at the beginning of the study.

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

A qualitative data analysis procedure was used to discover if social exchange and power theories are useful in understanding Langkawi residents' attitudes toward tourism. Audio-taped interviews were transcribed and translated in order to examine the relationship between the respondents' level of power and their support for tourism.

This chapter focuses on the results of the study. It begins with a description of the profiles of respondents. Results of the analysis of the changes brought by tourism in Langkawi follow. Lastly, each proposition is analyzed and the variables that were found to determine residents' attitudes are presented and discussed.

### **4.1 Profiles of Respondents**

Forty-six individuals from the different districts of Langkawi participated in this study. Thirty of them fulfilled the 'power' definition and sixteen of the others fulfilled the 'non-power' definition as indicated in Table 1. The respondents who were in the 'power' category were those who had at least one of the five resources listed under the definition of 'resources' in table 1. Six respondents, one from each district, representing each of the resources that define the power category were selected (Table 5). The respondents who were in the 'no-power' category had none of the listed resources. Three respondents were chosen from Kedawang, three from Bohor, three from Ulu Melaka, three from Ayer Hangat, two from Kuah and two from Padang Matsirat (Table 5).

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**Table 5. Number of Respondents Per Category.**

<b>Group</b>	<b>Sub-group</b>	<b>Number of respondents</b>
<b><i>POWER</i></b>	Own lands	6 (1 each from 6 districts)
	Access to capital	6 (1 each from 6 districts)
	Hold positions	6 (1 each from 6 districts)
	Have high education/experience	6 (1 each from 6 districts)
	Younger age (< 35 years old)	6 (1 each from 6 districts)
<b><i>NO-POWER</i></b>		16 (3 each from 4 districts and 2 from 2 districts)
	<b>Total</b>	<b>46</b>

All of the respondents had lived in Langkawi since 1987, the year it was declared as a duty free island. Five of the ‘power’ respondents and four of the ‘no-power’ respondents were females. Ten of the respondents were non-Malays (either Chinese or Indians). A description of each respondent is provided in appendix C.

#### 4.2 Tourism Development and Perceived Changes in Langkawi

This section discusses the findings pertaining to objective one: “to identify the changes brought by tourism to Langkawi.”

##### Physical Development

The respondents expressed that tourism and the duty free status have changed Langkawi and their lives in different ways. Among the changes described, physical development was mentioned most often. All forty-six respondents mentioned that they observed tremendous physical changes in Langkawi since the late 1980s. An elderly man from Ulu Melaka district described this in his remark about the changes that he observed in Langkawi:

*"Approximately since 1988 or 1989, around that year. It began to develop slowly, and then bit by bit, the development became more rapid. I would say that in the year 1990, the development became very rapid. Especially over there, at the Pantai Chenang area, development was very rapid over there. Before, that area, you know... Pantai Cenang and Padang Matsirat, those area were all not developed at all, there were nothing except jungle and coconut trees there, but now, you can look for yourself. Now those areas are full with buildings. So many different kinds of projects, like the marine park."*

Tourism has been the primary development in Langkawi for the past decade, as is explained by LADA's (Langkawi Development Authority) objective:

**"The key objective of LADA is to make Langkawi a major tourism destination and to upgrade the socio-economic standards of the local people as stipulated in the Draft of the Langkawi Structural Plan 1990-2005." (Langkawi Development Authority, 1996)**

There is little doubt that tourism development is responsible for Langkawi's physically transformation.

Physical development is among the tourism impacts typically described in the literature review. Tourism reportedly has improved investment, development, and infrastructure spending in other destinations such as in southern Delaware (Rothman 1978), the U.S. Virgin Islands (Sethna and Richmond 1978), Santa Marta, Columbia (Belisle and Hoy 1980) and in Central Florida (Milman and Pizam 1988). Published data reflects that the infrastructure development in Langkawi, especially in areas identified for tourism development, has been accelerated (North Review 1995). Since 1990, about 320 million ringgit (approximately US\$110 million) has been channeled through LADA for infrastructure and public facilities development. Most of the allocated money was spent for road development, sewage projects, water supply and distribution systems, and the beautification of the Island (North Review 1995). The improved infrastructure allows residents to live more comfortably as it improves their quality of life (Zainuddin, 1997).



Besides the infrastructure development and expansion, numerous other projects approved by LADA were completed in Langkawi, most of them related to tourism. Examples of the projects are theme parks, resorts, and jungle trekking facilities. Some of these projects involve developing the inland areas of Langkawi (North Review 1995). Thus, it is not a coincidence that the present study found respondents expressing their awareness of tremendous physical changes in Langkawi due to tourism development.

### Employment and Earning Opportunities

Tourism creates employment and earning opportunities to the residents (Pizam 1978; Belisle and Hoy 1980; and Liu and Var 1986). Indeed, increases in employment and earning opportunities were often mentioned by people when they were asked about the changes brought by tourism to their lives. A taxi driver's comment "*when there is tourism...income has increased indeed*" was often repeated by Langkawi residents. The spin-off effects of increased earnings, such as improvement in residents' life situations, were also mentioned by the respondents. A lady who runs a small business in her *warung* described her hardships before tourism was developed in Langkawi:

*"I faced hardship before, people ...did not like your uncle (her husband). We had to work so hard, doing odd jobs for other people, at people's rice fields and rubber trees. My children, when they were smaller, I used to just let them lay down on old blankets, just like that, on the floor. I cannot tell you how difficult live was for us, it makes me sad. I don't want my children to go through what we have gone through".*

Other authors have also found such changes in other tourism destinations (Belisle and Hoy 1980; Liu and Var 1986).

The present study found that the group mostly affected by the increase in employment opportunities was the younger generation. Due to the rapid development in

Langkawi, the younger generation is better able to find employment compared to before tourism development, as was observed by a respondent from Bohor, *“The young people, many of them work with the hotels, because in Langkawi, there are many hotels.”*

Haralambopoulos and Pizam (1996) found the same change in their study in the island of Samos in Greece. Respondents in their study felt that tourism was responsible for the increased economic independence of young adults from the family and for the decrease in the out-migration of young family members because they were able to find employment mostly with the tourism-related workplaces. In Langkawi, the increase in the number of young people employed not only increases their economic independence, but it also helps in their family income. An elderly man who described himself as poor expressed his relief regarding this situation, *“ Youngsters whose parents are poor like us are all working. The young people now can afford to buy motorcycles ...and some could even buy cars ”.*

### Entrepreneurial Opportunity

Besides opening opportunities for increased employment, tourism development has also opened up opportunities for residents to have their own businesses. A large number of residents became entrepreneurs by selling food, souvenir items, and traditional medicine and herbs, and by opening car rental companies, travel agencies, and many other businesses. This has been acknowledged by the Prime Minister of Malaysia, Dr. Mahathir Mohamad, in his message in the special issue of the New Straits Times, *“ ...the people of Langkawi have been involved in all kinds of lucrative businesses. Even roadside stalls selling fried bananas can give a very good income (Mohamad, 1997).”* A

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religious teacher from Kuah agreed to the Prime Minister's remark, "*Before tourism...things sold by the people in Langkawi were wasted, nobody bought them. Things like coconut and other fruits, nobody was to buy them...But after tourism development, businesses were booming, because there are now many customers.*" The increase in the number of entrepreneurial activities is also indicated by the increased amount of financial assistance given to qualified entrepreneurs. MARA (Majlis Amanah Rakyat or People's Trust Council), a federal agency that offers assistance to the Malays interested in setting up their own businesses, saw an increase in the amount of loan repayment from RM210,935 (US\$52,733) in 1990 to RM607,650 (US\$151,912) in 1998 (Majlis Amanah Rakyat Langkawi 1998).

### Lifestyle

It was apparent from this study that tourism has brought changes in the way in which Langkawi residents think. Such changes are not widely mentioned by other authors. As earning opportunities emerge and as the residents observe the changes that accompany their increases in earnings, the way they think about their future also changes. The increment in their earnings may become a motivation for them to work even harder to earn and produce even more. Similar change was observed by Richter (1978) among the Kulebele of the northern Ivory Coast. The enhanced economic position the Kulebele enjoy through tourist art market participation made them realize a new goal in their lives: to acquire wealth to support their expanded needs. A fisherman remarked, "*I think the future is going to be bright for us in Langkawi... Last time, old folks had nothing to do,*

*they would only waste their time at the coffee stalls. Nowadays, everybody have things to do, to make money. Time is money. It was not like that before. "*

Previous studies reported that tourism altered the lifestyles of several communities. Residents of Delaware, for example, noted a decline in time spent with the family (Rothman 1978). Tourism development affected the rhythm of life of the residents of Fuenterrabia where more of residents' time and energy were channeled to satisfying the tourists (Greenwood1972). Tourism was blamed for disrupting traditional relationships among family members by creating changes, which affect the internal family structure (Forster 1964). Forster also found from his study of the Pacific Islands that tourism work patterns influenced the established order of daily life that was in the past based on a different timetable. Indeed, respondents in the present study revealed that tourism has changed their lifestyles. Most of the younger generation practices a totally different way of life than their parents. Their economic independence is making them want to take control of their own lives and to create a space between them and their parents. Money and material wealth have taken over close relationships with families and friends as the important things in residents' lives, as was declared by a young man from Padang Matsirat:

*"Before, I never went out...I was at home all the time. My friends and I never hang out and gossipped. Now, there are many places that the young people can go to hang out. I think that hanging out is their favorite things to do, to just talk and relax at hang out places. Most of them don't even stay with their parents anymore. They have their own jobs, and some prefer to stay with friends. They will only go home to their parents during the weekend... In short, things have changed, and the most obvious change is the residents' ways of lives. Money and material have become very important in their lives now. "*

Another youth described the present lifestyle of people in Langkawi as “ *what do you call that, modern?* ” as he thought that, compared to the present situation, “*people were much closer before too.*”

### Newcomers

The increase in the opportunities to earn and to open businesses has also attracted many newcomers to Langkawi, as was observed by a college student in the study. “*We see many newcomers in our community,*” he explained. Between 1987 and 1999, there was a 54 percent increase in the number of out-migrated Langkawians who returned to Langkawi and the number of ‘immigrants’ from outside of Langkawi (LADA 1999). This finding coincides with the finding from a study in Dawlish, South Devon, United Kingdom (Brunt and Courtney 1999). Respondents in the study observed that employment in the tourism industry attracted outsiders to the area. When asked if he observed many newcomers in the area where he lived, an elderly man who runs a small sundry shop replied, “ *Yes, they came here to start their businesses. Some came from very far, like from Pakistan...It is a good place to come and find jobs here.* ”

### Social Deviance

Previous studies (Pizam 1978, Belisle and Hoy 1980, Milman and Pizam 1988) found that tourism led to an increase in alcoholism, prostitution, and/or drug problems. Respondents in this study perceived that such social problems, particularly alcoholism and drug use have increased in Langkawi because of tourism. These problems are considered to be serious by many respondents since the majority of Langkawi residents

are the followers of the religion of Islam, which prohibits such activities. A government officer remarked, “ *...tourism is able to bring social problem...This may ruin the Malay culture and the Islamic values...we need to adhere to these values.*” The duty free status makes alcohol inexpensive and lack of selling regulations makes it easily accessible. A contractor living in Ayer Hangat voiced this concern when he noted with irritation, “ *There are even incidents where the school children ...drink and socialize in ways that are so unlike our culture. The beers are cheap...they are 80 cents per can...Many shops, even in small villages, sell that stuff (beer)...there is no way of stopping people to buy the stuff (beer)...it is easily accessible.*” Many of the respondents blamed this problem on outsiders and visitors who have influenced the locals to do the same, as was expressed by an elderly woman from the Kuah, “ *The teenagers...They have become bigheaded. They smoke and became wild. Last time...there were no such things. They are influenced by the tourists' cultures.*”

### Competition for Land

Forster (1964) suggests that tourism causes increased competition for certain resources in the host communities. Many respondents in the present study explained that tourism has made land in Langkawi highly sought after either by private businesses or by the government. This has increased land prices in Langkawi, and many residents ended up selling their land and received large sums of money. Just like residents on the Pacific Islands (Forster 1964), changes in the socioeconomic status of some individuals also occurred among residents on Langkawi because their land suddenly acquired considerable value. An elderly man mentioned these changes when he stated, “ *The government took*

*the villagers land for the development and paid them. The price was good. This was when those people... lost their selves, they were shocked. They married other women (practicing polygamy) and bought cars.”* Another elderly man thought that the exploitation of the land’s sudden commercial value has made the land in Langkawi to become scarce. He remarked, “ *If you want to buy land here in Langkawi, you may buy the land on the hills, that is all the land that is left. Some Langkawians even live outside Langkawi.*” A young man from Ulu Melaka observed that those who sold off their land “ *were not able to get another land.*” One respondent who felt that land as too important an asset to lose, stated, “ *...they (the government) should replace the lands to the villagers, giving the remuneration is not enough...at least (then) they would have some asset.*”

### Price Inflation

Respondents also indicated that tourism development was responsible for price inflation. Although several of them did not perceive this as a burden to them, other respondents believed that price inflation affects those in low-income groups. An elderly man from Kuah spoke of this, “ *I observe that the prices of food have increased...This is a burden to the residents, especially to those who are not rich.*” Other authors, for examples Peck and Lepie (1989) argue that tourism-induced inflation places a continuing strain on the community.

### Discussion: Objective One

This study finds that tourism brought many different changes to the residents of Langkawi. Several excerpts from the interviews are presented as evidence. Appendix D



provides additional quotes that support the results presented here. Most of these changes have also been found in previous studies on tourism impacts. In general, changes such as the improvement of infrastructure, earning opportunities, ways of living, and ways of thinking were perceived by the respondents to be beneficial. Changes that degrade their lives, either socially or physically were perceived to be costly. Thus far, no analysis of the differences of these perceptions between the 'power' and 'no-power' group has been presented. This analysis is presented within the next section, where the analysis of the study propositions is discussed.

#### 4.3 Variables that Determine Residents' Attitudes

To strengthen the theoretical foundation used in studies on residents' attitudes towards tourism, the second objective of this study aims to uncover the role of power in the social exchange between residents and tourism development. Besides power, the study also aims to explore other variables that may determine residents' attitudes towards tourism (objective 3).

##### Power as a Determinant of Residents' Attitudes

Proposition 1: The more resources the residents have, the more able they feel they are to take advantage of the opportunities offered by tourism, thus the more power they feel they have.

According to Ap (1992), residents' decisions in the exchange process depend on their level of power to benefit from tourism development in their area as much as they can at relatively little cost. Wolfe (1959) explains that a resource is something that one

owns that one can use to satisfy one's needs. As reflected by Harsanyi (1971), there is an apparent relationship between power and resources owned by an individual. The base of power, according to Harsanyi, is determined by the resources that a party has (e.g., economic assets, constitutional prerogatives, military force, and popular prestige). The first proposition in the study proposes that the resources owned by the residents can predict how much 'power' they have. Some questions used by the researcher during the in-depth interviews were aimed at discovering how the respondents thought they could take advantage of the opportunities offered by tourism, and if they thought they would be more able to take advantage of these opportunities if they had certain resources that they did not have at the time of the interview.

### Resources and Tourism Benefits

Respondents from both groups recognized that certain resources are needed in order for residents to be able to benefit from tourism. There are two ways for residents to benefit from tourism: by obtaining jobs that are made available by tourism development or by becoming entrepreneurs, since tourism opens up new business opportunities (Mohamad 1997; Zainuddin 1997). Both tourism development and the duty-free status create a suitable condition for business to flourish in Langkawi. Businesses related to tourism, retailing, construction, souvenirs, traditional medicine, and telecommunication have grown ever since the government began a serious effort to develop Langkawi as a tourism destination and a duty-free port. The effort includes the development of projects such as golf courses, accommodations, commercial establishments, and recreational facilities. Development of apartments and chalets can be observed in the Pantai Cenang

and Pantai Tengah areas. Meanwhile, shopping and commercial complexes and recreational attractions mushroomed in Kuah. In fact, plans are under way to have more commercial and business establishments in other areas such as in Padang Lalang and Padang Matsirat (North Review 1995). This development has opened up employment and business opportunities, but most respondents did not believe that these opportunities are opened for just everybody. They believed that, in order to achieve these benefits, residents must have certain resources. Among the resources mentioned by the respondents were capital, young age, knowledge, land, influence, connection, access to information, vision, and effort (Table 6).

**Table 6. Number of respondents who perceived different types of resources as contributing to power.**

<b>Types of resources perceived as contributing to power</b>	<b>‘Power’ Respondents (n=30)</b>	<b>‘No-power’ Respondents (n=16)</b>
Capital	17	14
Young age	7	4
Knowledge	9	4
Experience	5	0
Access to Information	4	0
Connection	2	1
Effort	7	1
Vision	6	0

### Capital

To take up business opportunities made available by tourism development requires one to have capital. Capital is defined here as accumulated stock of wealth (money or property) used by a person in business (Samuelson et al. 1995). Seventeen of the thirty ‘power’ respondents spoke of the importance of capital in determining whether

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or not one can start up a business and fourteen of the sixteen 'no-power' respondents explained that lack of capital is the reason for them not to start their own businesses, as shown by the following excerpts:

*"...those who have money or land, many of them open their own businesses, built chalets, etc."* (Power).

*"Other people really have the opportunity because they have... money."* (Power).

*"Those who have capital...they know how to develop their lives."* (Power).

*"I do not take part in it (businesses)...Where do we get money to build up chalets?"* (No-power).

*"Really, the thought (of opening a business) has come through me, but the problem is that I do not have the capital."* (No-power).

*"...not everybody can take the opportunity out there...me...no capital, it is quite difficult to do anything."* (No-power).

Many respondents indicated that residents who sold off their land, which appreciated in value due to tourism development (Mohamad 1997), were better able to take advantage of the business opportunities as they were then able to come up with their own capital. A chalet owner in Kedawang (a 'power' respondent) remarked that tourism development offers many unlimited opportunities for the residents but declared, *"I received a little bit of money when I sold my land. I started a small business...I used my own capital."* A young girl from Kuah (a 'power' respondent) also made a remark indicating that residents who sold off their land are at more advantageous positions. *"My father..."* she said, *"opened this stall, selling fried bananas...now the business is doing very well. We sell many different foods here today."* Then she added, *"...he (her father) received some money when my grandfather sold off his land...he used that money to start this stall."* It has been mentioned earlier in this dissertation that many residents did not have high income prior to tourism development. They rarely owned any other asset besides land, which many of them do not even have. For those without any land, tourism opened up opportunities for them to find jobs and increase their earnings just enough to

allow them to purchase household items and transportation, which they were not able to buy before but are needed to ease their lives. An elderly man (a 'no-power' respondent) asserted, *"Our lives have changed and have become easier...there are many things that we have today that we did not have before, like the washing machine, the telephone, and other appliances."* Like him, most other residents do not have extra money to be used to open new businesses.

### Young Age

Capital was not the only requirement that respondents perceived one must have in order to gain from tourism development. Several respondents (seven from 'power' group and four from 'no-power' group) thought that jobs created by the tourism industry are mostly tailored to those who are young. One of the 'power' respondents who is an appointed official indicated that being young also increases one's ability to benefit from tourism. *"...the village folks in this area,"* he said, *"eighty percent of them work with the hotel, I mean the young people..."* Tourism-related jobs and small business require skills and physiological characteristics offered by the younger generation on Langkawi. They also require some level of education that many of the older generations do not possess, as has been mentioned elsewhere in this study. In addition, an elderly respondent from the 'no-power' group observed that being old also minimizes one's chances to be given the opportunity to benefit from tourism. When he tried to apply for a shop lot from the local authority, he was told that his application had to be declined because of his old age. He said, *"For me, I don't see anyway I am able to do anything. But for the young people, I*

*think they should try to make the best of it. I did put my name for the application (for a shop lot), but they said that I am already 70 years old, I was too old to be given a shop."*

### Knowledge

Respondents in this study (nine from 'power' group and four from 'no-power' group) suggested that power, as defined in this study, could also be determined by one's level of knowledge. Knowledge increases residents' ability to gain from tourism. Knowledge, which is not just limited to knowledge gained through proper training and education, aids residents in getting jobs, securing loans for starting businesses, planning, and managing these businesses. The more one knows the better the chances s/he has to be hired or to earn. An example was given by a young respondent who works in a hotel, "*...many Langkawi's young people,*" he explained, "*...do not know English...even the interviews (for jobs at the hotels) are conducted in English. They kept quiet during the interview. How could they get the job? (In) tourism job..., we need to speak English.*". English, which is the second language in Malaysia, is one of the compulsory subjects taught to all of the grades in the Malaysian school system. A person who has some level of education has a better chance to take advantage of the opportunities compared to those who did not get any education at all. An elderly man from the 'no-power' group declared that he did not have much opportunity because of his low education level, "*I did not go to school. The only thing I know to do is growing (rice). There is not much opportunity for people like me.*" Since rice growing is not one of the "developments" planned for Langkawi (Langkawi District Council 1992), most growers have moved to other types of

employment. But being old and uneducated certainly restrict the opportunities for them to find jobs as in the case of this elderly respondent.

### Experience

Experience expands one's knowledge and increases one's ability to gain from tourism. With the increased opportunities in the building, commercial and retailing sectors coupled with the increase in the residents' purchasing power (Zainuddin 1994), those with skills such as cooking, building, traditional medicine making, and marketing are able to make better livings with their experience. Five respondents from the 'power' group reflected this. A businesswoman who owns a travel agency described that her experience is important for her in running her business. Her father started the business in 1987 and she *"was involved since I was in form 3...I worked with my father, helping him while I was still schooling."* Since she took over the business, the travel agency has expanded. *"We used to have only one office...now we have three,"* she explained proudly.

Another woman entrepreneur in this study also attributed her success to her experience in having a small business. Describing herself as not knowing *"how to read or write,"* she explained that her business has helped her to get out of poverty. She observed that many residents take advantage of the tourism development by using their experience. *"Some...get contracts to plant grass,"* she said about her neighbors. Then she continued, *"Me, I cannot do other things too well...The only thing I have is experience...I just do this business."* A special publication in the New Straits Times also reported that tourism development in Langkawi has opened opportunities for those with related



experience when it noted a successful traditional medicine practitioner turned entrepreneur. According to one of the articles, the 65 years old Hussin Salleh decided to set up the country's first gamat (sea cucumber) factory in tandem with the rapid development on the duty free island (Bakar 1997). The factory manufactures nearly thirty types of remedies for various ailments made from gamat, which is known for its healing property.

### Access to Information

Four respondents from the 'power' group shared that access to information about tourism development helps certain people to benefit more than others. A contractor saw that having access to information regarding existing opportunities is an important factor for businesses to be successful. He explained, "*...I knew ahead of time about the exact date that Langkawi was to become a duty free island. But that was all I knew, the date. The day Langkawi became a duty free island, the Chinese already had ships in the port full with products...That was how fast they were. They had the information and they used it.*" A young man from Mata Ayer indicated that having access to information on how to take advantage of the opportunities would help Langkawi residents in grabbing these opportunities. He remarked, "*They (Langkawi residents) saw the opportunity, but they have no way of taking this opportunity. The responsible authority should show these people the way. The people do not have their chances...they still stay poor.*"

### Connection

Two 'power' respondents and one 'no-power' respondent insisted that having 'connections' with influential individuals who are involved with decision-making helps some people in grabbing the opportunities. When asked about the benefits that residents are able to obtain from tourism, a contractor responded, *"Yeah...they bring in their own contractors and they don't open the jobs for tenders. Only certain people would get the job...We had never heard about the projects before that at all."* A motel owner expressed a similar view:

*"You know, the big shots, they plan and arrange everything, if they plan for Langkawi to have a certain type of restaurant, for example, they will arrange to have a restaurant owner from outside, for example from Kuala Lumpur, to open the restaurant here in Langkawi...I see no opportunity...We are weak. Other people...has the opportunity because they have influence or money. They give the opportunity to these people, to their own people."*

### Effort, Ideas, and Vision

While they did not deny that the above resources are important, some respondents stressed that effort and ideas are also required for a person to take advantage of the opportunities offered by tourism. A head of a district from the 'power' group, was one who believed the importance of effort. Obtaining employment made available by tourism development requires effort, as explained by an elderly man in the 'no-power' category, *"Those who are willing to work hard, they could gain something...by finding jobs...For those who are lazy and do not want to find jobs, they cannot be gaining anything."*

Several respondents in the 'power' group, but none from the 'no-power' group, expressed that more vision and motivation are the most important qualities to possess. A chalet owner from the 'power' category indicated that one could be motivated to grasp

the given opportunities only if one has a vision to be successful in the future. When asked if residents who did not grasp the opportunities could be blamed for not doing so when they were powerless, the chalet owner replied, *"Maybe they did not get the information or guidance...You know there are many types of people. Some just want to stay at the old level...They did not think far...You want something, you work for it. If you want to be rich, you look for ways to become rich. You see what I mean?"* On the same question, an airline worker from the 'power' category respondent, *"I think the people of Langkawi still are not able to visualize the opportunities...(they) have not awakened to the opportunities."*

Another respondent who holds a position in his community described that most Langkawi residents are not thinking about being successful, as they are complacent with their lives. He remarked, *"They are complacent with their lives...we need to change their attitude so that they can catch up with the development...The school children...they do not care very much about passing the examinations because they know even if they fail, they can still find jobs to support themselves. Worse come to worse, they could become fishermen and earn good money catching fish."*

#### Discussion: Objective Two, Proposition One

Respondents felt that certain resources, namely capital, young age, knowledge, experience, access to information, connection with influential individuals, effort, and vision, are required for residents of Langkawi to take advantage of the opportunities offered by tourism (i.e. have 'power'). The results also indicate that the more resources a resident has the greater the ability the resident will have to prosper from tourism. This

finding coincides strongly with the suggestion by Ap (1992) that, in an exchange situation, power is derived from having and controlling resources that another actor needs and values. Bringing various resources to an exchange, an actor who has an array of valued resources available to exchange with the other actor is the one with more power. A resident with more resources to exchange with the tourism industry has relatively more power than the resident with fewer resources as those with more resources have more alternative opportunities. Respondents from both groups reflected that because of the different levels of resources owned by residents of Langkawi, the degree of benefit that they are able to gain from tourism also differ.

Residents with more resources or with certain types of resources felt more powerful than those without. Residents in the 'power' group felt that people should have many types of resources in order to seize the opportunities. The 'no-power' respondents felt that only capital, young age, and knowledge are needed for one to have power, while the 'power' respondents mentioned that experience, access to information, connection, effort, and vision are also needed. Thus, the proposition that the more resources residents possess, the more power they feel they have to benefit from tourism is found to be true in this study.

**Proposition 2: The fewer resources (less power) the residents have, the more dependent they are on tourism**

Emerson (1962) suggests that the power of a partner in an exchange process depends on the control this partner has over what the other partner values. In an exchange between A and B, A's power resides in B's dependency on A. The more control A has on the items in exchange that B highly values, the more dependent B will be on A. In

short, according to Emerson (1962), power resides implicitly in the other's dependency. Blau (1967) argues that the partner with fewer alternative opportunities tends to be more dependent on and committed to the exchange relation than the other. The analysis of proposition 1 indicated that the fewer resources a resident has, the fewer alternative opportunities these resources bring him or her. Going back to Blau's (1967) argument, then, it can also be argued that the partner with fewer resources tends to be more dependent on to the exchange relation than the other. No specific question was used to allow respondents to directly indicate their level of dependence upon tourism during the in-depth interviews. But level of dependencies of each respondent was reflected in their explanation about the benefits that tourism brings and about their support for tourism.

### Resources and Dependence

A sample of responses from several respondents that reflect their level of dependence upon tourism is shown in Table 7. The sample of responses (Table 7) indicates that Blau (1967) appears to be correct. That is, the partner with fewer resources tends to be more dependent on the exchange relation than the other. Although those with more power were also dependent on tourism, respondents with fewer resources, especially those who had to face economic hardships before tourism development, perceived that tourism created opportunities for them to overcome the hardships. They then became dependent on tourism for the earnings that tourism allowed them to have and with which their lives became economically better. Respondents 33 and 36 are examples of respondents who fit this description.

**Table 7. Respondents' dependence on tourism.**

Power	No-power
<p><u>Respondent 9</u>            "Last time when there were not so many tourists and not many people, money was also hard. I could not even get a hundred ringgit sales a day. But, sales are good today."</p> <p><u>Respondent 41</u>            "You see, tourism helped developed Langkawi...by providing the infrastructure and this helped me a lot. You know, you are better and productive when the place you live in has good roads and have all the facilities."</p> <p><u>Respondent 23</u>            "I think Langkawi now really depends on tourists. When the tourists come, then businesses are good. But when they don't come, like when the economic recession hit recently, many businesses slowed down. Many left Langkawi and moved to other places."</p> <p><u>Respondent 16</u>            "The problem is that the number of visitors has reduced because of the economic problem. Before the problem, the eateries were opened day and night, because there were too many customers. Now, it is not like that anymore. The number of customers fell."</p>	<p><u>Respondent 36</u>            "The development has helped me in terms of my earning opportunity...There is <i>not much opportunity</i> for people like me...(but) because of tourism, I could get roots and sell to people who make traditional medicine. Those things sell good in Langkawi...I also help sell these medicines. In that way, tourism helps me get some extra money... My wife works too. She washes dishes at one of the food places in Kuah. There are many businesses that need people to work with them."</p> <p><u>Respondent 33</u>            "I used to...worked in the field and did odd jobs. Sometimes I did not have any money at all...But since tourism started to be developed in a big scale in Langkawi, I am able to earn better...Especially at the beginning, when they first started with the development. The construction companies use workers like me, and this has help my income."</p> <p><u>Respondent 25</u>            "...the tourism projects, the building projects and such, they give me a way to earn money...when the contractors need people to help build buildings, they look for us, me and my friends, all get jobs with the contractors...their (the residents) ability to earn have really increased. More tourism is better because then we can have more jobs, and we can earn more money."</p>

For respondents in the power group, especially the ones who own businesses (for example, respondent 9), tourism was perceived to have a strong influence on their success. Thus, these respondents became dependent on tourism. The sharp drop in visitors due to the 1998 regional economic crisis (Hiebert 1998) hurt many of these

businesses, as well as most other segments of Langkawi's economy. Visitor numbers dropped so sharply that the head of the Langkawi taxi owners association reported that 80 percent of its members faced difficulty making payments on their vehicles (Hiebert 1998). A government official interviewed in this study shared his observation on the impact of the economic downturn on the tourism industry in Langkawi. He said, *"Before the economic downturn, Langkawi was full with tourists. But since the economic downturn, we only see tourists during the school holidays. But tourists from overseas still come here...the problem has effected the domestic tourists."* Although the situation is improving, the study found that Langkawi depends very much on tourism, which in turn depends on the external economies. Another respondent who is a fisherman explained that tourists are important to them as it has increased the demand and hence the price for their catch. He remarked, *"If there is no tourism, our spirit will be down. We cannot just depend on the Langkawi residents to buy our catch, that market will not be enough. Tourism brings tourists and outside people that come to work here. That help increases our buyers."*

Respondent 41 reflected that he depends on tourism to be productive and to have a better life. Tourism development seems to have improved Langkawi's facilities and infrastructure, which in turn make residents' lives much more comfortable.

#### Discussion: Objective Two, Proposition Two

Respondents felt that, overall, tourism played an important role in their earnings, either through employment or business. They also depended on tourism for the comfort they obtained from the improved infrastructure. Nevertheless, the degree of dependence

was higher for those who were in the 'no-power' group compared to those in the 'power' group. This is because those who lacked power depended on tourism to fulfill their basic needs while those with power depended on tourism to fulfill their secondary needs. The degree of dependence on tourism seems to be less for those in the 'power' group as they felt that the overall economy was more important than tourism. For example, respondent 23 responded that many businesses moved away because the number of visitors had dropped during the recent economic turmoil, "*... when the economic recession hit recently, many businesses slowed down. Many left Langkawi and moved to other places.*" Without tourism, or during the time when the number of visitors decrease, the business owners seemed to have the ability to open their businesses elsewhere. But the residents who lacked resources did not have such ability. They were more affected by the drop in visitors compared to those who had resources. They are less able to handle the consequences that arise if the tourism industry fails or if fewer visitors come to Langkawi. Thus, Blau (1967) is correct: in an exchange, the partner with fewer resources tends to be more dependent on the exchange relation compared to the partner with more resources. This means that proposition 2 is supported by the data from this study. The degree of dependence was higher for the 'non-power' respondents than the 'power' respondents.

For either 'power' or 'non-power' residents, the benefits from tourism could be offset by an overall economic downturn. Tourists' disposable income, which is influenced by the economic condition in the tourist generating region, is a major constraint to tourism demand (Bull 1995). It can be implied, then, that Langkawi residents do not depend only on tourism for their livelihood, they are also dependent on



the overall economic situation. This clarifies the finding that Blau's (1967) argument above is only partially correct in the case of social exchange involving residents and tourism development.

**Proposition 3: The power possessed by the residents influences their attitudes toward changes brought by tourism and the meaning they attach to these changes. This is because:**

- (i) The more power they have, the more able they are to benefit from tourism, and hence the more positive their attitudes and support toward tourism.
- (ii) The less power they have, the more dependent they will be on tourism, and hence the more positive their attitudes and support toward tourism.

The research aimed to study the variables, including power, which may determine residents' attitudes towards tourism. In the context of social exchange theory, how residents view and evaluate a specific impact (i.e., as a benefit or a cost) is indicative of the exchange made between residents and tourism (Jurowski et al. 1997). According to social exchange theory, residents will support tourism if the changes brought by tourism hold positive meaning to them (i.e., if they perceive the changes as benefiting them as opposed to costing them). However, Jurowski et al. (1997) suggest that merely knowing residents' evaluations of these impacts is not sufficient in explaining residents' support and attitudes towards tourism. They recommended future research to uncover the factors that influence residents to view a specific impact as a benefit or a cost and how the evaluation of each impact affects support for tourism.

The present study argues that the element of power will also influence residents' support for tourism. Being 'power-less' may also cause residents to be dependent (Blau 1967) upon tourism for their livelihood. Brown (1998) observes an example of this

phenomenon taking place in Boracay. This study proposes that ‘power-less’ residents may also support tourism due to their dependency upon tourism.

This section first presents findings pertaining to the meanings of the changes brought by tourism (i.e., if residents perceive the changes as benefits or costs to them). Then, the differences in these perceptions between ‘power’ and ‘no-power’ respondents are discussed. Finally, the results of the relationship between residents’ power and attitudes towards tourism are presented.

### Perceived benefits and Costs

Respondents considered some of the changes brought by tourism as benefits and some of them as costs. The changes they perceived as benefits were (1) improvement of infrastructure and facilities, (2) increased employment and earning opportunities, (3) improvement of living situations, (4) increased residents’ purchasing power, (5) improvement in performances of businesses, (6) high remuneration for lands sold to the government or the developers, (7) improvement of the residents in term of their lifestyles and way of thinking, and (8) increased exposure for the younger generation. The changes they perceived as costs were (1) increases in social problems particularly alcohol and drug abuse, (2) loss of religious and cultural values, (3) loss of residents’ lands to development, (4) increase in “unhealthy” influences from the outside, (5) degradation in youth behavior, (6) inflation and higher prices, and (7) losses to outsiders due to residents’ lack of resources.

Each of the different changes perceived as benefits (Appendix E), except for improvement of residents’ lifestyle and increased exposure for younger generation, was expressed by at least one respondent from both respondent groups. Each of the different

changes perceived as costs (Appendix F) was also expressed by at least one respondent from both respondent groups. Differences in the attitudes between the ‘power’ and ‘no-power’ respondents were not very clear. Thus, in addition to analyzing the data to discover what the changes brought by tourism meant to the respondents, the data were also analyzed to find differences in these perceptions between ‘power’ and ‘no-power’ respondents.

#### Differences in Attitudes between ‘Power’ and ‘No-power’ Respondents

Respondents from the two groups differed in what they perceived as benefits and costs (Appendix G and Appendix H). The results are presented in the order that they were discussed in section 4.2

#### Attitudes Regarding Employment and Earning Opportunities

The majority of the respondents explained that tourism brought employment and earning opportunities to the residents. These perceived benefits have been found to produce positive attitudes toward tourism among residents, especially among those who are directly affected (Brougham and Butler 1981; Haralambopoulos and Pizam 1996). However, in the present study, several respondents argued that these benefits took place only under certain conditions. This was alluded in the discussion of proposition 1. Respondents perceived that employment and earning opportunities depended on the different resources that residents possessed, suggesting that the resources owned by residents influence their perceptions towards tourism impacts. A quotation from a respondent in the ‘no-power’ group (Appendix G) reflects this phenomenon:

*"I am saying tourism is good, good for the people who have businesses. The people, who have businesses, tourism is really good. But not everybody has a business, right? So, those ordinary people, there is not much changes to them. Those who are willing to work hard, they could gain something, you know, by finding jobs."* As explained in the discussion regarding proposition 1, the more resources one has, the more able they are to obtain employment or become successful in their businesses. This perception was held by respondents from both groups.

Tourism is often credited with generating new employment opportunities for the host population, particularly in developing communities (UNESCO 1976). However, some scholars claim that uncontrolled tourism development on a massive scale generates employment for migrants/immigrants and expatriate labor, rather than the local population (Forster 1964; MacNaught 1982; Brown 1998). Well-paid managerial and professional jobs are mostly filled by expatriates (Mathieson and Wall 1982; Brown 1998). While a large number of unskilled or semi-skilled workers may be available locally, they are often characterized by low status and low pay (MacNaught 1982; Brown 1998), bringing the concern about the quality of the jobs as opposed to the quantity of jobs. A 'power' respondent from Ayer Hangat expressed that this is also the case for Langkawi:

*"Jobs, of course, there are plenty of job opportunities in Langkawi today. If you yourself were to look for a job today, I am very sure you will face no difficulties in getting one. But the question is what kind of jobs? There are many openings at the hotels but not office jobs. Professional and technical jobs are rare. And also, hotels are more inclined to hire foreign workers instead of the locals, as the foreign workers are cheaper. So they hire Filipinos instead of Malaysians."*

A 'no-power' respondent agreed that tourism only brings low status jobs. He said, *"What jobs? As coolies, yes those jobs are plenty."* Thus, tourism was seen to bring more

low-paying jobs to residents in Langkawi than high paying or professionals ones.

Residents' low education level may have caused this, as explained by respondent 22 about the difficulties that he had to face in terms of hiring:

*"For example, we had difficulties in getting the staff, getting people to work with us. It was difficult for us to get staff from among the locals. Firstly, their education level did not qualify them. The numbers of applicants who had SPM (Malaysian Certificate of Education) and STP (Higher Secondary Certificate) were low...most of the Langkawi people only went to school up to the SPM or STP level. This level is low. Even if they could get jobs, they have limited opportunities for career advancement."*

This response concurs with findings from other studies. For example, Macnaught (1982) found that local employment with the hotels in Fiji was minimal and menial in nature, with the real benefits going to expatriates in the managerial positions.

#### Attitudes towards Tourism Impact on the Younger Population

Respondents in this study perceived that many young people in Langkawi are now able to find jobs due to the development in the tourism sector. To some of the respondents, this has brought economic independence to these young people. However, with the money that they earn, coupled with the influence from outsiders, many respondents explained that young people are inclined to involve themselves with unreligious and non-traditional behavior such as drinking, smoking, using drugs, and unlimited socializing between males and females. Many respondents, such as an elder woman interviewed in Ulu Melaka, considered this as a 'cost' to the society on Langkawi that needs to be controlled. The woman asserted, *"The teenagers, they have problems. They are not grown up, but they have become bigheaded because they make they own money now. They smoke and become wild. Last time, there were no such things. They are*

*influenced by the tourists' culture...they (the government) also need to develop the children...their behavior and their education."*

On the other hand, several respondents, as shown in Appendix H, considered having employment for the young people in Langkawi as benefiting their families and Langkawi as a whole. For the low-income families, young adult children who work supplement family earnings. Some of these families, in fact, become dependent on their young members who work and bring home money to help support the families. This is definitely a change from former times. Employment opportunities for the young people in Langkawi were rarely available before tourism. A government officer interviewed in the study observed that most of them ended up going to sea and *"became fishermen like their fathers,"* or leaving Langkawi to find work elsewhere.

#### Attitudes towards Tourism and Social Deviance

Many respondents claimed that unhealthy influence brought into Langkawi by the outsiders due to tourism has caused increases in social problem. Several respondents, like the ones quoted in appendix H, indicated that tourism and the tourists no longer bring 'culture shock' to the people of Langkawi as they adapt to the tourists and the outsiders. *" At the beginning, yes it was a shock with the different cultures brought in by the tourists but after one point the situation went back to the old situation. In other words, the people have become used to it,"* remarked a chalet owner in Kedawang. In fact, some respondents believed that tourism is not the one causing the social problem. A respondent from the 'power' group who held a position in his community explained that families are responsible for making sure that their children are not involved with the social problem.

It was his opinion that social problems like the ones taking place in Langkawi are typical with the social problems elsewhere in Malaysia:

*"One problem is about the socio-cultural problem. Because those tourists that come here, they are from all sorts of culture. But the people in Langkawi are already used to that, they know how the tourists are like. But only the younger generation, the parents need to control them because if not, they could follow the wrong ways. Like in the villages, there is a problem with the young people because they are too free to do anything that they like....But I do not think that we should blame any one because this is a common problem with big cities. It is the same in any other big cities, only that the situation and location is not the same...The problem is with the kids 15 years and older. But I think that no matter where you live at, it is the same. The important thing is that we have to take care of our children so they would not become like that. My brother-in-law is in Kuala Lumpur, but he has no problems with his children. His children are all good, you see. The important thing is the family."*

Many respondents in the present study claimed that the social problems are caused by influences brought into their communities by tourists or outsiders, a phenomenon labeled by other writers as the '*demonstration effect*.' According to Greenwood (1972), the presence of tourists, with or without interaction with residents, arouses the desire of the locals to imitate the behavior they see especially that which violates the standards of their own community. Similarly, the wealth of tourists is thought to induce envy and materialistic desires beyond the hope of local fulfillment, thereby adding to the restlessness of young people and reinforcing local feelings of deprivation (Macnaught 1982). Tourism development, then, has been said to have a disruptive role in reinforcing social and economic aspiration that the local inhabitants cannot attain (Mathieson and Wall 1982). The demonstration effect is in most cases seen as the principal causative factor of change in community values brought by tourism and thus is often invoked to arouse negative emotions about tourism.

But according to Macnaught (1982), even if tourism seems to have a direct effect on residents' values or behavior, it is because one section of the population desires the

changes and is already challenging the values or conventions of the past. Findings by Hernandez et al. (1996) who studied the perceptions of the residents in Isabela, Puerto Rico, regarding the development of a resort in their community coincide with this suggestion. Hernandez et al. (1996) found that young respondents who favored the tourism project in the study did so not only for economic reasons but also because it brought a more desirable modern way of life. A young government officer in this study reflected the same opinion. When asked about tourism social impacts in Langkawi, the respondent described that the community is more advanced in their lifestyle than before. He remarked, “ *Socially the people of Langkawi have changed. They seem to be more dynamics and more like forward thinking. Langkawi has become famous now in the whole Malaysia so we should not be backward anymore. Outside influence causes this change.* ” As a young man, he realized that the changed behavior among the adolescents indicated development. According to him, “ *Oh, yeah, the behaviors of the people, mostly the younger generation, are not favored by others especially the older generation. But, the thing is...the older generation does not seem to mind. Anyway, I think this is part of development.* ” When asked if the change of behavior among the young people bothered him, he answered, “ *No, it does not really bother me. We do silly things, but those things do not hurt anybody.* ” He then explained about the ‘silly things’ that most youngsters do, “*Oh, things like going out and hanging around, especially at the cyber cafes. Or we stay out late and just hang around.* ” It is apparent then, that the changes among the younger generation in Langkawi represent the changes experienced by many other young people in Malaysia and may not be caused by tourism alone.



### Attitudes toward Tourism and Price Inflation

Although several respondents agreed that prices of goods in Langkawi have increased because of tourism, they indicated that the increase does not pose as a threat to the residents. This is because, with the increase in their earnings, these respondents believed that residents could afford the higher prices of goods. Burns and Holden (1995) wrote that many residents in different tourism destinations try to cope with changes brought by tourism to their lives. The present study found that respondents did not think that a higher price of goods caused by tourism development was a burden to them. In fact these respondents, such as a fisherman interviewed in Kuah (Appendix H), did not consider these changes as problems. He stated, “ *High prices? I do not feel that prices of goods are high in Langkawi, no...no problem with the prices.* ” Langkawi residents are not bothered by the higher prices of goods in Langkawi because according to him, “... *we all can afford it.* ” This finding may be explained by the fact that Langkawi residents have been able to adapt to the situation, just as residents in Delaware were able to adapt to the inconveniences caused by tourism (Rothman 1978).

### Relationship between Residents’ Power and Attitudes towards Tourism

Appendix I contains benefits and costs of tourism as perceived by each respondent, the weight each respondent put on her/his perceived benefits and costs, the respondent’s degree of dependency on tourism, the respondent’s perception regarding local involvement in tourism planning, and the respondent’s attitudes towards tourism. Table 8 below summarizes the findings from Appendix I.

**Table 8. Summary of respondents' attitudes towards tourism.**

Attitudes	<i><b>Power Group</b></i>		<i><b>Non-power Group</b></i>	
	Respondent	Total	Respondent	Total
Very favorable	7, 14, 19, 31, 42, 44,	7	1, 8, 10, 25, 28, 36, 39, 45	8
Favorable	2, 15, 21, 27, 30, 32, 34, 35, 37, 40, 41, 46	11	13, 26, 29,	3
Favorable but wants more control	4, 9, 11, 16, 20, 22, 23, 24, 43	9	6, 12, 33, 38	4
Not favorable	3, 5, 17	3	18	1
Total		30		16

All respondents in the 'power' group, except for three, expressed favorable attitude and support towards tourism in Langkawi. Among the respondents of the 'power' group who were favorable toward tourism, seven of them strongly supported tourism and wanted to see expansion in tourism development in Langkawi while nine of them wanted to see some control over the development. Fifteen out of the sixteen respondents in the 'no-power' group were favorable of tourism in Langkawi. Among them, eight strongly supported tourism and four supported tourism but wanted to see it be controlled. Each of the five levels of support requires further clarification.

#### **Respondents with Very Favorable Attitudes towards Tourism**

Seven out of thirty 'power' respondents and eight out of sixteen 'no-power' respondents indicated very favorable attitudes towards and strong support for tourism in Langkawi. These respondents indicated that what they perceived as benefits greatly outweighed what they perceived as costs. Respondents from both groups who strongly supported tourism perceived that tourism did not bring serious negative impacts to the people in Langkawi (Table 9). For example, respondents 10 (no-power), 28 (no-power),

and 31(power) indicated that tourism brought no problem whatsoever to residents. *"No, no problem, I see no problem, "* said respondent 10. Likewise, respondent 28 indicated the same thing, *"No, there is nothing negative. I mean, the residents are so used to tourists, even the small children. The tourists do not bother their lives as all."*

Respondent 31 indicated that tourism did not bring any negative impact to Langkawi. He indicated that it was impossible for residents to say that they did not benefit from tourism, unless residents did not put forth any effort to grasp the benefits. He remarked, *"No (negative impacts from tourism). Some people think that tourism only benefit certain people...but I think they are just lazy...just because they don't want to do anything, they feel mad at others who do."*

Those in the 'very favorable' category, who mentioned the existence of some social problems in Langkawi due to tourism, expressed that the individuals with the problems cause these problems themselves and the problems have nothing to do with tourism or the tourists. They were optimistic that the authorities could easily control the problems. In addition, respondents in this segment indicated that residents are adapting to the physical, economic, and social changes brought by tourism and they perceived this adaptation favorably.

Most of the 'power' respondents in this category indicated that they were dependent on tourism because their businesses depend on tourism, either their jobs or their parents' jobs depend on tourism, and/or Langkawi's development and progress depend on tourism. Respondent 31, a young man who goes to school and helps with the family's business in his spare time, represents the 'power' respondents who strongly support tourism. An excerpt of the interview with him is shown in Appendix J. The

interview with this respondent indicates that tourism means greater earnings and a more comfortable life for him. His family depends on tourism as the success of their family business is influenced by the growth in the tourism industry.

All of the 'no-power' respondents who showed strong support for tourism showed great dependence on tourism. They were either fishermen, whose earnings were raised because of tourism, owned business establishments, or worked in the hotels. Overall, the eight 'no-power' respondents (e.g. respondent 25 in Appendix K) perceived that tourism brought money and material wealth to them and to the people on Langkawi and these benefits were very important to them.

Table 9 provides a sample of statements from the interviews that describe the evaluation of tourism to these respondents and their level of dependence on tourism.

**Table 9. 'Power' and 'no-Power' respondents with very favorable attitudes towards tourism.**

	Power	No-Power
Benefits outweigh costs	<p><u>Respondent 7:</u> "I ... support tourism ...tourism benefits the residents very much."</p> <p><u>Respondent 19:</u> "... there are some problems due to tourism, but that happens anywhere else too. We cannot blame tourism because it really is up to each individual."</p> <p><u>Respondent 31:</u> "(Tourism brings) many benefits...I support tourism entirely."</p>	<p><u>Respondent 1:</u> "Without tourism, things would be just like before. With tourism, there are many jobs...they (the residents) do not have any objections...they want more development because the development help raise their income."</p> <p><u>Respondent 10:</u> "The biggest change from tourism is that it is easier for me to work and earn my living...I see no problem (from tourism)...no problem with the prices...because we all can afford it."</p> <p><u>Respondent 28:</u></p>

		<p>"I am very satisfied...there is nothing negative (from tourism)...More tourists the better...Tourism...means progress to us...who does not want progress? I do not have any problem with progress."</p>
<p>Social costs are under control, no social problem as residents can adapt</p>	<p><u>Respondent 7:</u>          "There are also some residents who are involved with alcohol. But I think it is under control."  <u>Respondent 19:</u>          "Tourists do bring in some unnecessary influences especially in the aspect of culture and ways of lives...the society could not accept this at the beginning, but later they learnt to accept."</p>	
<p>Attitudes toward social costs, society can adapt</p>	<p><u>Respondent 7:</u>          "We cannot determine the seriousness of the problem (from tourism) because it is difficult to really see. The outsiders do most of the negative things."  <u>Respondent 19:</u>          "...to join them...drinking I up to each individual."  <u>Respondent 31:</u>          "No (negative impacts from tourism). Some people think that tourism only benefit certain people...but I think they are just lazy...just because they don't want to do anything, they feel mad at others who do."</p>	<p><u>Respondent 28:</u>          "...the residents are so used to tourists, even small children. The tourists do not bother their lives."</p>
<p>Dependence on tourism</p>	<p><u>Respondent 7:</u>          "My business depends on it (tourism)."  <u>Respondent 19:</u>          "I am...involved (with tourism), I have two chalets."  <u>Respondent 31:</u>          "Since my tourists began to come...my father started to open this stall...now the business is doing very well."</p>	<p><u>Respondent 1:</u>          "...the villagers are all stupid, they do not have any education...when they received money (from tourism development), they became quiet and have no power to object anything."  <u>Respondent 10:</u>          "I am a fisherman, fish prices have really gone up...that</p>

		really has helped me.” <u>Respondent 28:</u> “I have had this warung (coffee stall) for almost 20 years...The fishermen drink in this warung more than they drink coffee in their own homes...my business have improved.”
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### Respondents with Favorable Attitudes towards Tourism

This segment consisted of respondents from both groups who indicated their support for tourism development in Langkawi and who perceived that the benefits brought by tourism are about equal to, if not more, than the costs (Table 10). They generally were satisfied with its economic benefits and perceived that the negative social impacts do not pose serious threats to Langkawi. They were not disturbed about the negative social impacts, as the impacts were perceived either to be ‘under control’ or not caused by tourism. Several of them indicated that they were not worried about the negative impacts of tourism, as they were not directly affected by those impacts. Most of the respondents who supported tourism had high levels of dependence on tourism because their jobs or businesses were directly or indirectly related to tourism.

**Table 10. ‘Power’ and ‘no-Power’ respondents who favored tourism.**

	Power	No-Power
Benefits weigh the same or more than costs	<u>Respondent 2:</u> “The good of tourism is there...tourism makes this place to be well known...tourism creates jobs...in terms of the bad things...(are) the social problems...The benefits are more.”	<u>Respondent 13:</u> “I think the (tourism) development is good, it gives us jobs and easier lives.” <u>Respondent 26:</u> “(I) never (complain)...those things I am not happy about, they do not really relate to

	<p><u>Respondent 15:</u> “If I think in a negative way, there are many impacts. But if I think in a positive way, I see many benefits.”</p> <p><u>Respondent 21:</u> “The trouble about tourism...those who drink, they leave the beer cans inside the mosques...(But) I do not have anything I am not satisfied about (tourism).”</p> <p><u>Respondent 27:</u> “I feel that there are no negative impacts from tourism, most changes are positive.”</p>	<p>me.”</p> <p><u>Respondent 29:</u> “...it is good to have tourism because it gives us jobs.”</p>
Social costs are under control	<p><u>Respondent 2:</u> “...the Religious office take good eyes on (monitoring) this problem (drinking).”</p>	<p><u>Respondent 13:</u> “The government is doing something (about the social problems).”</p>
Attitudes toward social costs	<p><u>Respondent 2:</u> “...the moral problems...come from us.”</p> <p><u>Respondent 15:</u> “...the bad always come from our own self.”</p>	<p><u>Respondent 26:</u> “...those things I am not happy about, they do not really relate to me.”</p> <p><u>Respondent 29:</u> “We cannot blame the tourists for our children’s (bad) behavior.”</p>
Dependence on tourism	<p><u>Respondent 2:</u> “I am a wage earner, I work with the government.”</p> <p><u>Respondent 15:</u> “I am indirectly involved with the tourists because of my business.”</p> <p><u>Respondent 21:</u> “(I work) As a mechanic (Datai Resort).”</p> <p><u>Respondent 27:</u> “...my children, they may start something (tourism business).”</p>	<p><u>Respondent 26:</u> “I work with a hotel.”</p>

### Respondents with Favorable Attitudes towards Tourism But Wanted Control

Nine respondents in the 'power' category and four respondents in the 'no-power' category expressed both their support for tourism and their concern about the costs that they perceived are brought by tourism. They were optimistic about tourism, but they agreed that their community has to solve problems such as social deviance and equity for tourism development to be truly beneficial. Respondents (from both groups) who wanted to see tourism to be controlled indicated that they wanted the actors responsible for tourism development to limit the perceived costs that they mentioned during the interviews. All of them expressed their satisfaction with the economic benefits they received from tourism but perceived that the social costs were serious. Most of them perceived that the (uncontrolled) costs from tourism would eventually outweigh its benefits. They were aware that tourism development benefited certain groups of communities, especially those who have power, while costing the others.

Interestingly, six of them either own a business that is directly influenced by tourism or have jobs that are related to tourism. Although they expressed their concern about the costs, they also indicated that Langkawi's development was dependent upon tourism. "*Langkawi is nothing without tourism,*" said one of them. Working with a group of fisherman, this respondent reflected that tourism in Langkawi helped in his earnings. "*Yes, it does,*" he said when asked if tourism contributes to his earnings. Then he continued, "*...because the demand for fish has increase, so that helps us.*" As tourism development raised the demand of fish, this particular respondent who depended on fish was also dependent on tourism for his living. Table 11 contains a sample of responses from interviewees in this segment.



**Table 11. ‘Power’ and ‘no-Power’ respondents with favorable support towards tourism but wanting control.**

	Power	No-Power
Weight between benefits and costs, high value on race, religion, and equity.	<p><u>Respondent 4:</u> “...tourism development...has brought...up...our standard of living. But the respective parties need to control...tourism development...must be compatible with the residents. If they only think about the profit, the residents will be at a loss... I agree with the development but I wish it is in the Malay and Islamic direction...I agree with the development but let us take care of the Malays...we have to be fair to everybody.”</p> <p><u>Respondent 9:</u> “...Yes I do (support tourism)...but when the situation becomes too much, I don’t think I will support anymore...At this rate, now, the Malays don’t get anything, the outsiders get most of the things...we need to take care of our own people.”</p> <p><u>Respondent 11:</u> “I think tourism brings good things to the people...what do they (villagers) gain, maybe...get a job easier, that is all...There are many obstacles...Yes, I do (favor tourism), but they need to put limits and help people (the villagers). That is important.”</p>	<p><u>Respondent 6:</u> “I think there are many good things from tourism and many not good things...I support the development, but I do not support the impacts, they are too burdensome to me. So, I would like the development to be balanced.”</p> <p><u>Respondent 12:</u> “I do support tourism, but I don’t like the strange things (social problems) that are happening to the young people...I hope that the activities will be controlled so that things will not get worse.”</p> <p><u>Respondent 33:</u> “I think the development and the moral development are not balanced...There are times when I feel like I am in favor of tourism development in Langkawi because it helps improvise our standard of living. At times, I do not favor tourism when I look at the social problems it creates.”</p>
Dependence on tourism	<p><u>Respondent 4:</u> “...my parents and I...we built small places and chalets for the local tourists...”</p> <p><u>Respondent 9:</u> “I opened (the sundry shop)...about three years ago...my earnings has improved a little bit.”</p>	<p><u>Respondent 6:</u> “...with tourism, people’s lives are better, not like before. I managed to open this small business, because people need to buy stuff.”</p> <p><u>Respondent 12:</u> “I have this small</p>

	<u>Respondent 11:</u> "I work with a hotel."	business...(tourism changed my life) a little bit. My children's lives are a little bit better. Langkawi is a much better place." <u>Respondent 33:</u> "Tourism has helped my family because tourism brought many jobs."
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### Respondents with Unfavorable Attitudes towards Tourism

Three respondents in the 'power' category and one respondent in the 'no-power' category indicated unfavorable attitudes towards tourism in Langkawi. They also indicated that they did not support tourism development in Langkawi as they perceived that costs brought by tourism outweighed the benefits. They took the social problems in Langkawi seriously and perceived that tourism was the cause of those problems. They reflected that they put higher values on their religion and culture than on economic and physical benefits alone. They indicated their concerns and dissatisfaction over the fact that community involvement in the development planning was very minimal.

Although they indicated that tourism development has improved their standard of living, these respondents also indicated that they did not depend on tourism (Table 12). For example, respondent 5 indicated that, although he has a business and that tourism does help his business, his business does not really depend on tourism. The conversation that the researcher had with him is attached as Appendix L.

**Table 12. 'Power' and 'no-Power' respondents with unfavorable attitudes towards tourism.**

	Power	No-Power
Costs outweigh benefits, benefits are not equally distributed, high value on culture, society, and religion.	<p><u>Respondent 3:</u>            "A tragedy was what happened to Langkawi (because of tourism)...they need to take care of a lot of the bad things that I have said...they (residents) sold off their land to the people (developers)...the developers become richer, while the Langkawi folks become poorer."</p> <p><u>Respondent 5:</u>            "Tourism brings more threats than benefits ...I support tourism if it doesn't bring bad things to us, but now we know it is able to make bad things to happen. Thus, I am not really keen for them to development tourism any further...I do not deny that they (residents) have more income now...But...we cannot evaluate everything based on money."</p> <p><u>Respondent 17:</u>            "Some changes are beneficial to the residents, some are not beneficial...The not so good things are related to the social problems....now (the social problems) are worse, much worse...I think our lives were okay without tourism. No tourism is still okay. Last time we were not well off, but we were much happier...I think it would be good if they slow down a little bit for now because they need to take care of the problems."</p>	<p><u>Respondent 18:</u>            "Tourism does create jobs, but the jobs are limited...they work and get paid three, four hundred, but they have to spend five, six hundred...They (local authority) develops things unnecessarily."</p>
Attitudes toward community involvement in planning	<p><u>Respondent 3:</u>            "...They did call us...to come to...the D.O. (District Officer) office. We discussed...After much talking I just left...I wanted to go to sleep at home. Sleep could cure the heartache I got from the discussion...they need to study why we have objections..."</p> <p><u>Respondent 5:</u>            "The problem is that you do not know</p>	<p><u>Respondent 18:</u>            "They (residents) do object, but if we give the objections to the village head...he just keep the objections in the book...They always say that the villagers only know how to complain and object.</p>

	<p>anything about whatever plans they have. They just develop, they don't let us know anything....I don't know if anybody else get any information about their plans, but I certainly don't."</p> <p><u>Respondent 17:</u> "There were many meetings, and we put forward many objections in those meetings...but there were no responses."</p>	<p>But the villagers object because what they do is wrong."</p>
Dependence on tourism	<p><u>Respondent 3:</u> "I have a business I started a long time ago in Kuah town."</p> <p><u>Respondent 5:</u> "In some cases, yes, I do benefit from the development. Like when a part of my land is involved with the airport development plan, so I did receive some direct benefits from cases like that. But, I cannot say that I used that money for my business, because I already had the capital even before that...I cannot say that my life has benefit so much from tourism."</p> <p><u>Respondent 17:</u> "I am working with MAS (Malaysian Airlines)."</p>	<p><u>Respondent 18:</u> "I am a contractor but I do not have many opportunities."</p>

### Discussion: Objective Three

The above analysis includes a sample of the interviews with respondents from both the 'no-power' and 'power' groups. Respondents in the 'no-power' group had relatively less resources or power than the respondents in the 'power' group. Ap (1992) suggests that the form of the exchange relation measured in terms of the power of the actors involved provides a basis for explaining why residents perceive the impacts of tourism to be either positive or negative. According to Ap, residents with greater power (more resources) will be in the advantageous position in the exchange (between them and the tourism actors) as they are able to obtain an additional valued resource(s) from

tourism development. Meanwhile, residents with less power (few resources) will be in the disadvantageous position, and will see the exchange between them and the tourism actors as unfair. Ap proposes that when the form of the relation involves an imbalance and is asymmetrical, the advantaged residents' perceptions toward tourism will be positive while the disadvantaged residents' perceptions toward tourism will be negative. But Blau (1967) contended that the partner with fewer alternative opportunities tends to be more dependent on and committed to the exchange relationship than the other, and thus would have less power. Residents faced with poverty and the need to survive may commit to an exchange with the tourism actors and support tourism because they depend on the tourism actors and the tourists for their earnings. Hence, according to proposition 3, these respondents would support tourism more because they are dependent on tourism than because they are really able to benefit from it. On the other hand, respondents in the 'power' group have relatively more resources or power than the respondents in the 'no-power' group. It was proposed that these respondents would support tourism not because they are dependent upon tourism, but because they are able to benefit much from it.

While Ap's (1992) explanation was partially supported by the data from this study, Blau's (1967) contention was supported more fully. The study found that, as opposed to Ap's proposition above, the percentage of 'no-power' respondents who were favorable of tourism was much higher than the percentage of 'power' respondents who were favorable of tourism. The reason for this could be that the 'no-power' respondents were not totally in the 'disadvantaged' situation, as they did not perceive that the exchange is unfair, as Ap would have suggested.

The study also found that respondents who indicated dependence on tourism were not disturbed by the costs that they perceive tourism brings to their community. They were more willing to 'accept' these costs in their lives and their community as long as they could obtain from tourism what they valued most; that is, the opportunity for them to escape a life of hardships and poverty. These respondents viewed tourism positively. In this way, they are similar to the Boracayans who endured the costs of tourism to their society and who enjoyed having cash with which to buy material wealth (Brown 1998). Their dependence on tourism affected their evaluation of tourism. They refused to blame tourism for the changes that they perceived as 'costs'. Instead, they put the blame on themselves.

Many of the respondents, such as respondent 25, indicated their "powerlessness" by choosing to be passive toward tourism development. According to them, they would be much better off keeping their dissatisfaction about the development to themselves and to support tourism than to voice their opinions. The respondents explained that by voicing their opinions, they would risk losing the benefits from tourism that they are enjoying. These respondents saw tourism as a way for them to earn, which they perceived as very important to them. Again, this finding does not coincide with a part of Ap's (1992) proposition that says "...the disadvantaged host actors' perceptions toward tourism will be negative" (Ap 1992: 683). In fact, none of the respondents in the 'no-power' group perceived the exchange as unfair and all them, except one, supported tourism in their community.

Several respondents expressed their concern about the social costs brought by tourism to their community. These respondents indicated that they put high values on

their religion, culture, and community. They did not try to ignore the problems but instead stressed that there is a need for the problem to be controlled or resolved. They indicated that they were more proactive about the Island's development and that they were keen to participate in the policy and decision making process. Although they were able to benefit much from tourism, they still wanted to have control of their community's development and to make tourism work for them, rather than hurt them.

Several of those who indicated their willingness to 'accept' the costs brought by tourism to their lives and their community also perceived that they have adapted to the changes brought by tourism. Thus, these respondents were not 'disturbed' by certain changes that were perceived as 'costs' to others.

## CONCLUSIONS

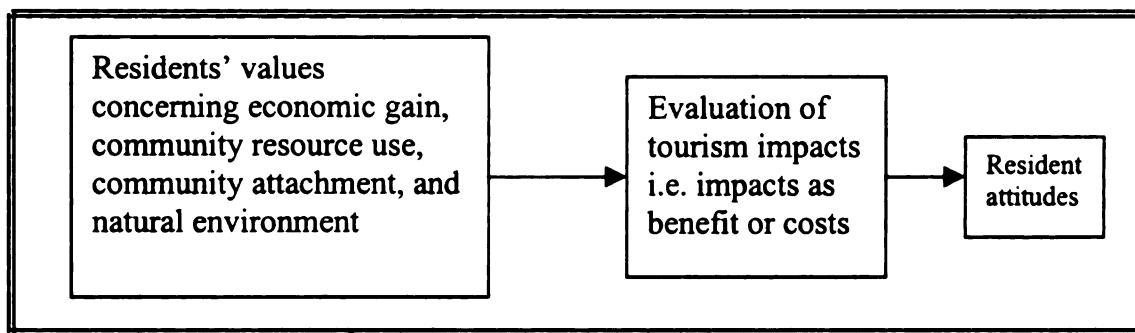
The results of this study indicate a need to revise the social exchange conceptualization that is used to explain residents' attitudes towards tourism. The desire to build some conceptual linkages led to a series of propositions that focus on the role of power in the exchange relationships between residents and tourism. The primary significance of this study lies in the fact that, not only is the role of power in the exchange relationship clarified, complex relationships among power and other variables that influence residents' attitudes were discovered. These other variables were found to influence the relationship between power and residents' attitudes towards tourism. In other words, this study has synthesized and expanded the conceptualizations put forth by earlier authors (i.e., Blau 1967; Ap 1992; Jurowski et al. 1997) in the effort to understand residents' attitudes towards tourism development. This discovery was made possible by the use of qualitative procedures.

### 5.1 Influence of Power on Residents' Attitudes

Jurowski et al. (1997) established a framework using social exchange to examine resident attitudes towards tourism. Based on their study, Jurowski et al. (1997) found that resident attitudes were determined by their evaluation of tourism impacts, which was in turn influenced by their values (Figure 6). Thus, residents who were more ecocentric, for example, perceived tourism unfavorably as they perceived tourism effects the physical environment negatively. Jurowski et al. (1997) suggested further research to study what



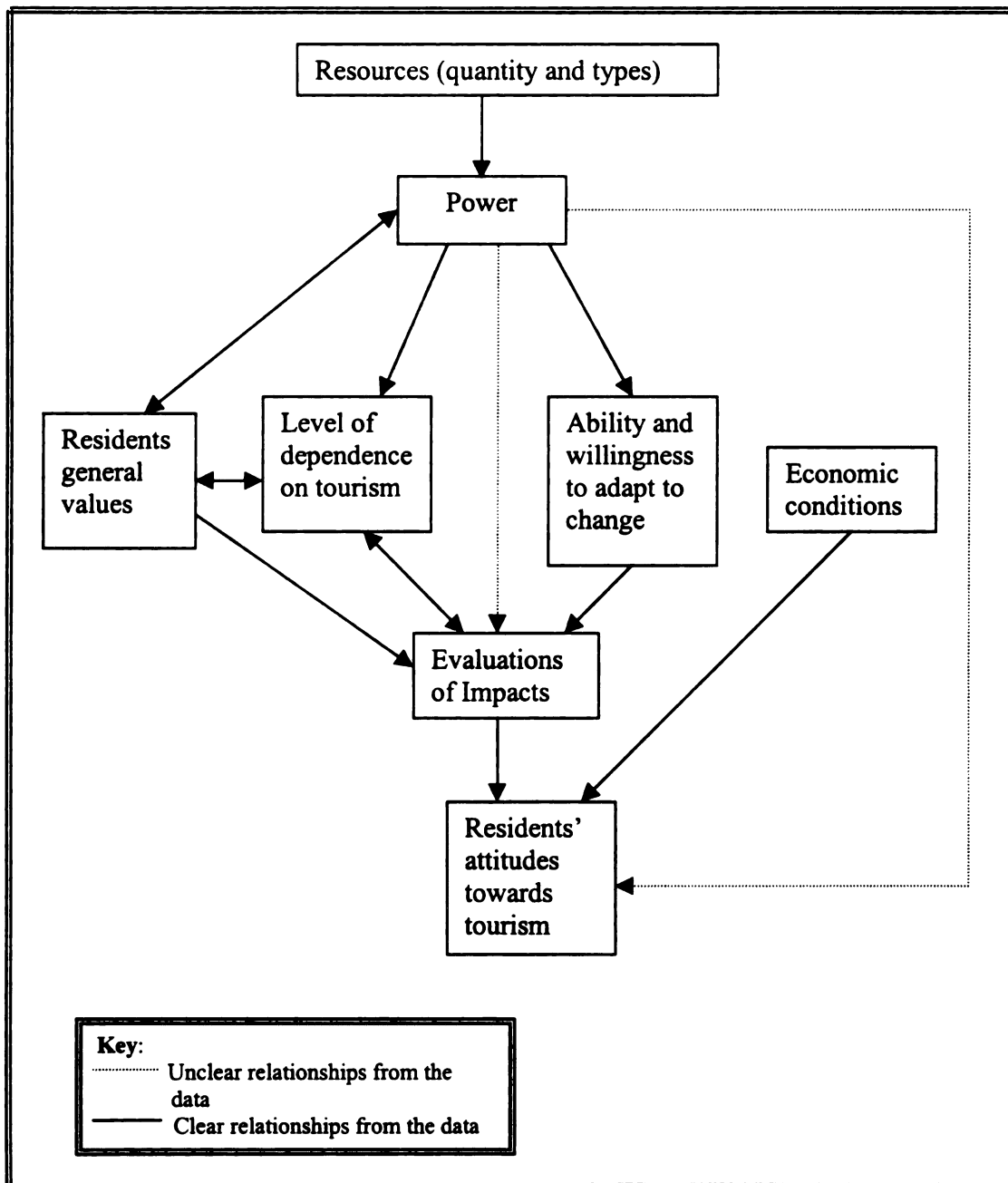
influences residents to view a specific impact as a benefit or a cost and how the evaluation of the tourism impacts affects resident attitudes. A review of the literature regarding power led this researcher to propose that power determines whether residents evaluate tourism impacts as positive or negative through its influence on residents' ability to benefit from tourism and on residents' level of dependence on tourism for their livelihood (Figure 3).



**Figure 6. Framework for understanding residents' attitudes towards tourism established by Jurowski et al. (1997)**

The study concludes that social exchange theory is useful in examining residents' attitudes towards tourism because during their exchange with tourism, residents indeed based their attitudes on their evaluations of tourism impacts. The study also concludes that, in examining residents' attitudes towards tourism, other variables that influence residents' evaluations need to be examined. Analysis of the propositions put forth in this study leads to the conclusion that power has an effect on the evaluation of impacts but it does not appear to be a direct effect as was suggested by Blau (1967). Instead, residents' general values (about religion, culture, equity, resources and the environment), their dependence on tourism, and their ability and willingness to adapt seem to have more direct influence on the evaluation of impacts than power. These intervening variables

moderate the influence of power, as operationalized in this study. These relationships are indicated in Figure 7.



**Figure 7. Interrelationships of variables that determine residents attitudes towards tourism.**

Power, as indicated by the results of this study, depends on how many and what types of resources residents possess. Respondents asserted that those who possess specific resources are indeed in an advantageous position to reap the benefits brought by tourism. In the case of the social exchange between Langkawi residents and tourism, residents' power is vested in the number and availability of these resources that may be used by the residents to benefit from tourism.

The results from this study establish a relationship between power and residents' dependency on tourism for their livelihoods. Respondents from both groups were found to be dependent on tourism. However, the results indicate a difference in the way these two groups depend on tourism. Respondents with fewer resources, especially those who had to face economic hardships before tourism development, perceived that tourism had created opportunities that allowed them to escape the hardships. They then became dependent on tourism for the earnings with which their lives became economically better. Respondents with more resources indicated that they were dependent on tourism to make their earnings even better than what they already were. The study concludes that although the two groups evaluated the benefits and costs differently, their attitudes toward tourism were the same: tourism is good for Langkawi in general.

Also, it was found that power and level of dependence contribute to the value held by residents, which in turn determine how residents evaluate the impacts brought by tourism. Those who were dependent on tourism were found to put high value on economic returns over religion and maintaining their culture. For example, low-income parents whose children work because of tourism development put high value on the money that these children brought into the households. Although it cannot be concluded

that these parents put lower value on religion and culture, this result indicates that they put higher value on the money comparably to those parents who have higher incomes. The low-income parents indicated dependence on tourism and perceived Langkawi youngsters as being productive and helpful. The relationships between values held by residents, their evaluation of tourism impacts, and their support towards tourism were like those proposed by Jurowski et al. (1997).

## 5.2 Influence of Other Factors on Residents' Attitudes

Other relationships emerged from this study pertaining to residents' attitudes (Figure 7). Findings strongly indicate that residents' evaluation of tourism impacts (i.e. its benefits and costs) greatly determine their attitude towards tourism. These findings support the model established by Jurowski et al. (1997). Respondents in the present study who positively evaluated tourism impacts indicated that its benefits outweighed its costs while respondents who did not favor tourism indicated that its costs outweighed its benefits.

Several factors were found to influence the evaluation of these impacts. Dependency was strongly related to (a) the perception of benefits and costs and (b) attitudes towards tourism. Those who did not perceive tourism favorably (those who thought that costs exceeded benefits) did not indicate dependence on tourism. Those who thought that benefits exceeded costs, and who either indicated or did not indicate that costs need to be controlled, stated that they personally or Langkawi in general depended on tourism.

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Values held by residents contributed to their evaluation of tourism impacts. Residents who valued what their religion dictates about appropriate behavior above all else were reluctant to show support for the impacts of tourism while residents who put high values on economic gains from tourism indicated dependence on and support for tourism. It can be concluded that while power contributed to the values held by residents, these values, in turn, contributed to residents' power and dependence, and their evaluation of tourism impacts.

The study also found that residents' evaluation of tourism impacts is influenced by their ability and willingness to adapt. Those who viewed adaptation positively and who were willing to adapt to the changes brought by tourism indicated that tourism brought more benefits than costs. Examples of adaptations in the interviews included becoming accustomed to tourists' culture, changing of lifestyles, and income and price increases.

Further, a unique finding rarely mentioned in previous studies was that the state of the national and global economy directly influences residents' attitudes towards tourism. Since a destination's tourism demand depends on the economic conditions in both the tourist generating and the tourist receiving regions (Bull 1995), a healthy economy creates a favorable condition for tourism to prosper in Langkawi. In this way, economic conditions have a direct effect on residents' attitudes towards tourism. In another way, economic conditions effect residents' attitudes indirectly through their effect on dependence and adaptability. Economic conditions affected residents' level of dependence and their ability to adapt to the changes brought by tourism, which, in turn, influenced residents' attitudes towards tourism (Figure 7).

### 5.3 Qualitative Data in Studies of Residents Attitudes

The purpose of this study was to expand theoretical ideas that explain why residents develop positive or negative attitudes toward tourism. To do this, the study required a method that would help the researcher to not only examine the role played by certain variables proposed at the beginning of the study, but one that would also allow her to discover other variables as well. Yow (1994) suggests that a researcher can better understand the meanings that lie behind human behavior by obtaining rich, thorough descriptions from the respondents. One way to do this is by using the in-depth interviewing technique. This technique is often used to obtain the personal descriptions and accounts that can be helpful in developing a theory, as opposed to measuring certain variables suggested by a theory. A quantitative technique is more suitable for the latter goal. Thus, in-depth interviews were used for gathering the qualitative data used in this study.

In this study, qualitative data were instrumental in determining the factors that influence residents' evaluation of the benefits and costs brought by tourism. In-depth interviewing was a flexible method of discovering how respondents' attitudes were formed. Data from the in-depth interviews were invaluable for understanding the meanings behind why Langkawi residents feel the way they do towards tourism development.

If the study had begun with a quantitative technique, information would be limited to the questions asked, and in the form in which they were asked. Given that this study was based on the review of power literature and previous studies on residents' attitudes, the questions asked would be formulated to measure only variables identified

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by this literature. This would mean that no questions about the variables discovered by this study (values, dependence, adaptability, and economic conditions) would be asked. Results might have shown that power had no effect on residents' attitudes, leading the researcher to conclude that future studies need to look at other variables that might explain attitudes toward tourism. The qualitative method provided the researcher with rich data that allowed her to discover the role of power, how residents evaluate the impacts of tourism and the variables that effect this evaluation.

#### 5.4 Limitations of the Study

The qualitative approach is frequently criticized for questionable reliability and the lack of generalizability (Henderson 1991). Due to time and financial constraints, to some extent, these are also limitations of the present study.

Qualitative research can achieve trustworthiness or "true value" if attention is paid to the methodology so as to make the data and findings credible, transferable, dependable, and confirmable. Several strategies could be utilized to help the researcher to assess trustworthiness: make data collection explicit, minimize data collection and data interpretation bias, use specific examples from the data, check for participants' truthfulness, check for representativeness, triangulate data sources and methods, and go back and forth between data discovery and data interpretation (Henderson 1991).

As is evident in chapter three, the present researcher utilized some, but not all, of the suggested strategies. Specifically, although used in transcribing and translating, a second opinion was not used in data coding and interpretations. The researcher with a research assistant who was fluent in the local northern Malaysian dialect transcribed the

recordings of the interviews (in the original Malay language). Guidelines for transcription were designed to reduce reliability and validity problems (Chapter 3). After the recordings were transcribed, the researcher translated the transcripts from Malay to English. The researcher's colleague, who is also from Malaysia, then reviewed the translated transcripts for accuracy. Afterwards, the researcher alone coded and interpreted the translated transcripts. This opens the present study to dependability problems; that is, the study findings are open to consistency and reproducibility problems (Henderson 1991).

However, several strategies were utilized to help overcome these problems:

1. The researcher had a sense of what she was researching as the conceptual framework and the plan for data collection were made explicit. This helped increased the dependability of the study.
2. Researcher subjectivity that may have introduced bias in the selection of the subjects for the sample was minimized because the criteria for selecting the sample were established beforehand.
3. The interviews were tape recorded to assure the confirmability of the data.
4. Efforts were taken by the researcher to have confidence in the data. This was done through interviewers' training, interview observations, and daily debriefing sessions with the interviewers.
5. At the end of each interview, interviewers summarized the key points of ideas given by the respondents and the respondents were asked to confirm these points. This 'member check' helped in verifying conclusions and should increase data credibility.
6. Descriptions and quotes were used to support conclusions.

7. To some extent, triangulation of data source was utilized. Secondary data were analyzed with the key informant interviews to add credibility to the conclusions.
8. The interviews were conducted by interviewers who were occasionally accompanied by the researcher. The interviewers provided each respondent with informed consent and cover letters from the local university where the researcher is employed. These letters indicated to the respondents that the study was undertaken by a neutral party and this, in turn, helped the interviewers to obtain honest responses from participants.

Unlike quantitative studies from which scholars may be able to generalize to study populations based on statistics, qualitative research is limited to making claims only about the people studied. While qualitative studies are usually used to study a single setting or a small sample, this does not mean that qualitative studies are never generalizable beyond the settings or respondents studied (Maxwell 1996). Often, qualitative studies can be generalized when there are no obvious reasons not to believe the results could be applied more generally (Kaplowitz 1997).

Data obtained from the in-depth interviews were not designed to be generalized to the greater population of Langkawi residents. Nevertheless, this study may hold interest for members of other communities in developing tourist destinations that may also be experiencing sudden growth in and dependence on tourism development. Decision-makers in those communities may be the most appropriate people for determining whether their locale holds many similarities with Langkawi and thus whether these findings have interest for their own communities.

Lastly, Langkawi Development Authority (LADA) published some of the secondary data used in this study. As has been mentioned elsewhere in this dissertation, LADA is a federal agency formed to co-ordinate development in Langkawi. Over reliance on these secondary data may naturally lead to pro-development bias. To minimize this bias, the study also used both the primary data from the interviews and other published secondary data in its analysis.

### 5.5 Recommendations for Further Study

This study marks the early stage in the building of a theoretical framework. The concepts explored by and the variables discovered from this study can be used to build a theoretical framework, which may account for the impacts perceived by the host residents. This theoretical framework, which is based on social exchange and power theories, lays the groundwork for forthcoming studies in the realm of tourism social impacts.

The results from this study open up further questions regarding the interrelationships among the variables in Figure 7. Additional data using a quantitative method and an expanded sample either in Langkawi or elsewhere are needed to test and measure the interactions and variance of the variables that evolved from this study.

In addition, it would also be interesting to learn whether similar findings could be found in other developing tourist destinations, either in Malaysia or other countries, or whether Langkawi is a unique location in terms of tourism development. Future research should study other tourist destination communities to learn about their attitudes toward

tourism development in their area and whether the meanings behind their attitudes are similar to those of Langkawi residents.

Lastly, it should be kept in mind that the researcher used one of the many possible ways of measuring power in this study. The amount and types of resources owned by respondents that would allow them to benefit from the tourism industry were used to define and measure power. This definition and measurement of power were the most useful in describing the people of Langkawi. Other researchers may wish to consider other definitions and measurement of power in their studies. One example would be individual's ability to participate in the planning process. For the individuals affected by any decisions to exercise power, they need to be able to participate in the decision-making process (McDonough and Wheeler 1998).

## 5.6 Policy Implications

These findings hold many implications for tourism destination management decisions and evaluation. To assure successful tourism development, planners and policymakers must understand the issues that arise due to the development. The fundamental policy option is not whether a community should be 'for' or 'against' tourism, but whether tourism will bring the desired degree of 'progress' with the least undesirable impacts on the community. When there is no opposition from the residents toward tourism development, it does not necessarily indicate that tourism development has brought the desired degree of 'progress' nor does it indicate that tourism brings no harm. It is important to study what factors determine the attitudes residents have with regard to tourism. For example, the non-anxiety expressed by the residents about tourism

negative impact on the community may be attributed to their dependence on tourism for their livelihood. The frequency and the intensity with which people spoke of how tourism in Langkawi was effected by the recent economic upheaval implies that residents may show favorable attitudes only as long as a favorable national or global economy are able to bring tourists to Langkawi. Residents may show different attitudes if tourists no longer wish to visit Langkawi.

The inability to seize the opportunities offered by tourism and to participate in the tourism development process was expressed by several respondents. In this sense, power helps explain who gains and who loses from tourism development. Regardless of support, certain groups are able to benefit from tourism development, while others cannot. Benefits achieved by some at the expense (economic, environmental, or social) of others are unjust. While it is important to know residents' support for tourism, it is also important to make certain that the residents have equal access to the benefits offered by the development and that they are empowered to voice out their feelings towards the development. This is especially crucial if the goal for having tourism is community development. According to Bilinski (1969):

... "success" cannot be the sole criterion of evaluation. How the decision was made may be as important as the outcome; equity as important as success. By equity, it is meant not only the distributive effects of outcome, but whether those effected by the decisions were able to, and did, participate in making it. To make decisions, to participate in the decision-making process, is to exercise power. The exercise of power is recognized as the attribute not only to the "citizen", but of the "free" man in a free society (Bilinski 1969:241).

If the areas likely to affect the equitability of tourism development can be identified, measures to help make a more balanced development can be made. Some of the measures include the need for integrated, long-term planning and impact assessment

that avoids the temptation to go for short-term gain; the need to set proper goals and identify which areas should be the main beneficiaries of tourism; the need to involve local people in the decision-making process and the industry itself; and the need for local authority control of land-use.

The mitigation of undesirable impacts "...seems to rest ultimately on residents achieving more extensive control of tourism's course (Macnaught 1982: 377)." For a tourism-based economy to sustain itself in local communities, the residents must be willing partners in the process and must be allowed to control its growth. Residents must be able to be involved in the planning. They must be informed and consulted about the scope of development (Cooke 1982) and their attitudes toward tourism and perceptions of its impact on community life must be continually assessed.

## APPENDIX A – TRANSLATED VERSION OF THE INTERVIEW GUIDE

<u>Soalan Temubual</u>	<u>Soalan Susulan</u>
1. Telah berapa lama Encik tinggal di Langkawi?	
2. Bilakah (tahun bila) Encik mula menyedari tempat tinggal Encik merupakan sebahagian dari satu kawasan pelancongan? Apakah yang menyebabkan anda menyedari fakta ini?	
3. Adakah Encik sendiri atau sesiapa di dalam keluarga Encik yang terlibat dengan sektor pelancongan di Langkawi?	a. Pernahkah Encik/mereka bekerja secara langsung dengan pelancong? b. Pernahkah Encik/mereka membuka perniagaan yang berkaitan dengan pelancongan?
4. Dari pengalaman dan pemerhatian Encik, apakah perubahan yang dibawa oleh pelancongan kepada kehidupan Encik?	
5. Dari pengalaman dan pemerhatian Encik, apakah perubahan yang dibawa oleh pelancongan kepada komuniti Encik?	
6. Bagaimanakah perasaan Encik terhadap perubahan ini?	a. Apakah erti perubahan ini kepada Encik? b. Adakah Encik merasakan bahawa perubahan ini memberi manfaat kepada Encik? c. Adakah Encik merasakan bahawa perubahan ini membebankan Encik?
6. Adakah Encik menyokong pelancongan di kawasan tempat tinggal Encik?	a. Adakah Encik menyumbangkan tenaga dalam pembangunan industri ini?
8. Adakah Encik terfikir bahawa Encik mempunyai sumber dan keupayaan yang cukup yang membolehkan Encik mengambil kesempatan di dalam industri pelancongan bagi membolehkan Encik melakukan sesuatu bagi memajukan kehidupan Encik?	



9. Adakah Encik merasakan bahawa Encik boleh mempengaruhi/membuat keputusan tentang pembangunan pelancongan di kawasan Encik?
  - a. Adakah Encik merasakan bahawa Encik mempunyai kuasa untuk mempengaruhi keputusan mengenai pembangunan di Langkawi?
  - b. Adakah Encik merasakan bahawa pandangan Encik diambil kira?
  - c. Adakah Encik menyuarakan pendapat/pandangan Encik kepada pihak terbabit?
10. Apakah yang Encik lakukan untuk mempengaruhi keputusan yang dibuat tentang pembangunan pelancongan?
11. Masakan depan yang bagaimana yang Encik mahukan untuk Langkawi?

## APPENDIX B – INFORMED CONSENT

### Statement of Informed Consent

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this interview. It is very important because the study that I am doing requires the researcher to understand the changes brought by tourism in Langkawi as experienced and observed by the residents on Langkawi; we will discuss our general ideas about the costs and benefits from tourism.

This interview will last for one hour or less and will be audiotaped. The participation in this study is entirely voluntary. If you wish to withdraw from the interview, you may do so at any time, and you do not need to give any reasons or explanations for doing so.

The names of all the people in the study will be kept confidential.

You will not receive any direct benefit from participating in this study, but your participation may help others in the future.

The members of the research team will answer any questions you may have about the study.

-----  
I have read and understand this information and I agree to take part in this study.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Today's Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Your signature

If you have concern or questions about this study, please contact either Kalsom Kayat, telephone number: (517) 355-2917; or the chair of Michigan State University Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects (UCRIHS), 246 Administration Building, East Lansing, MI 48824-1046, USA. Telephone number: (517) 355-2180.

(MALAY VERSION)

Pengakuan

Terima kasih kerana bersetuju untuk mengambil bahagian di dalam temuramah ini.

Temuramah ini penting memandangkan kajian ini memerlukan penyelidik memahami perubahan yang telah dibawa oleh sektor pelancongan di Pulau Langkawi seperti yang dirasakan/dialami dan diperhatikan oleh penduduk Langkawi, kita akan membincangkan tentang idea/pendapat tentang kos dan keuntungan yang diperolehi dari sektor pelancongan.

Temuramah ini akan mengambil masa satu jam atau kurang dan akan dirakamkan/direkodkan.

Penyertaan di dalam kajian ini adalah secara sukarela.

Jika anda berhasrat untuk tidak meneruskan temuramah ini anda bolehlah berbuat demikian pada bila-bila masa tanpa perlu membuat sebarang penjelasan.

Nama-nama mereka yang terlibat dalam kajian ini adalah dirahsiakan.

Walaupun anda tidak mendapat sebarang faedah kewangan dengan penyertaan dalam kajian ini, tetapi penglibatan anda dapat membantu orang lain pada masa hadapan.

Ahli-ahli dalam kumpulan penyelidik akan menjawab sebarang pertanyaan yang anda mungkin ada mengenai kajian ini.

---

Saya telah membaca dan memahami segala isi kandungan dan bersetuju untuk mengambil bahagian dalam kajian ini.

.....  
(Tandatangan)

.....  
(Tarikh)

Segala pertanyaan hendaklah ditujukan kepada Kalsom Kayat, nombor telefon: (517) 355-2917; atau kepada *The chair of Michigan State University Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects (UCRIHS), 246 Administration Building, East Lansing, MI 48824-1046, USA*. Nombor telefon: (517) 355-2180.

APPENDIX C – SUMMARY DEMOGRAPHIC DESCRIPTION FOR EACH  
RESPONDENT

<i>ID #</i>	<i>District</i>	<i>Category</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>Race</i>
1	Kuah	No-power	Male	Malay
2	Kedawang	Power (position)	Male	Malay
3	Padang Matsirat	Power (land)	Male	Malay
4	Bohor	Power (land)	Female	Non-Malay
5	Ayer Hangat	Power (land)	Male	Malay
6	Kuah	No-power	Female	Malay
7	Kuah	Power (financial)	Female	Non-Malay
8	Kedawang	No-power	Male	Malay
9	Bohor	Power (financial)	Female	Malay
10	Kedawang	No-power	Male	Malay
11	Ulu Melaka	Power (land)	Male	Non-Malay
12	Kedawang	No-power	Female	Malay
13	Padang Matsirat	No-power	Male	Malay
14	Padang Matsirat	Power (position)	Male	Non-Malay
15	Bohor	Power (position)	Female	Malay
16	Padang Matsirat	Power (financial)	Male	Malay
17	Ayer Hangat	Power (young)	Male	Malay
18	Padang Matsirat	No-power	Male	Non-Malay
19	Kedawang	Power (land)	Male	Non-Malay
20	Ayer Hangat	Power (financial)	Male	Malay
21	Padang Matsirat	Power (knowledge)	Male	Malay
22	Ayer Hangat	Power (position)	Female	Malay
23	Ulu Melaka	Power (financial)	Male	Malay
24	Ayer Hangat	Power (knowledge)	Female	Malay
25	Ayer Hangat	No-Power	Male	Malay
26	Ayer Hangat	No-power	Male	Non-Malay
27	Ulu Melaka	Power (position)	Male	Non-Malay
28	Ayer Hangat	No-power	Male	Malay
29	Ulu Melaka	No-power	Male	Malay
30	Kuah	Power (young)	Male	Malay
31	Kedawang	Power (financial)	Male	Malay
32	Padang Matsirat	Power (young)	Male	Malay

33	Ulu Melaka	No-power	Male	Non-Malay
34	Kuah	Power (land)	Male	Malay
35	Bohor	Power (young)	Male	Malay
36	Ulu Melaka	No-power	Male	Malay
37	Ulu Melaka	Power (young)	Male	Malay
38	Bohor	No-power	Male	Malay
39	Bohor	No-power	Male	Malay
40	Kuah	Power (Position)	Male	Malay
41	Ulu Melaka	Power (knowledge)	Male	Malay
42	Bohor	Power (knowledge)	Male	Non-Malay
43	Kedawang	Power (knowledge)	Male	Malay
44	Kedawang	Power (young)	Male	Malay
45	Bohor	No-power	Female	Malay
46	Kuah	Power (knowledge)	Male	Malay

**APPENDIX D - EXCERPTS FROM THE INTERVIEWS REGARDING CHANGES  
BROUGHT BY TOURISM**

Changes	'Power'	'No-power'
Physical changes and improved infrastructure	<p><u>Respondent20</u> "Changes? Really, the changes we see buildings, many buildings, hotels, shops. Last time, in the 60's, 70's, 80's, there were not many buildings."</p> <p><u>Respondent46</u> "Changes are mostly about the life situation. I was not able to enjoy the basic facilities before, like the facilities that there are today in Langkawi. So, life was not so easy when I was small. I still remember that there were many things we had to live without before, like good toilet and also telephones. Hmmh, I think the communication system and the transportation system are much better now, so that really changed my life."</p>	<p><u>Respondent25</u> "Approximately since 1988 or 1989, around that year. It began to develop slowly, and then bit by bit, the development became more rapid. I could say that in the year 1990, the development has become very rapid. Especially over there, at the Pantai Chenang area, development was very rapid over there. Before, that area, you know... Pantai Cenang and Padang Matsirat, those area were all not developed at all, there was nothing there except jungle and coconut trees there, but now, you can look by yourself. Now those areas are full with buildings. So many different kinds of projects, like the marine park."</p> <p><u>Respondent12</u> "Everything is easier for them today. Not like last time, we did not have much facilities. Lives were more difficult and less, much less comfortable than they are today."</p>
Increased in employment and earning opportunities	<p><u>Respondent20</u> "The changes, like they say, when there is the duty free status...income has increased indeed. "</p> <p><u>Respondent32</u> "Tourism has helped my family in terms of our earning. My father's income, he once told me, was less than 500 ringgit monthly before. Now, his earning increased, he is earning more than 500 ringgit now with the hotel. So</p>	<p><u>Respondent10</u> "Changes in me, well the biggest change is that it is easier for me to work and earn my living....I am a fisherman, fish prices have really gone up. So, that really has helped me very much."</p> <p><u>Respondent25</u> "Oooh, yeah, the tourism projects, the building projects and such, they give me a way to earn money, you know, when the contractors need people to help build</p>

	<p>our family life got better, more comfortable. “</p> <p><u>Respondent35</u> “Personally, tourism has also helped increased the standard of living of my family. Both my parents are in the business line and they became involved in business due to tourism.”</p>	<p>buildings, they look for us, me and my friends, all get jobs with the contractors. That allows us to earn extra money.”</p> <p><u>Respondent13</u> “Because I feel that the work is a bit more easier with a bit more income than before. During the old times, I had to always hunt for work, I did anything for pay and for my family’s necessities. I had to climb up the hill and find rattan from the jungle. “</p>
Business opportunities	<p><u>Respondent31</u> “Since tourists began to come to Langkawi in big numbers, my father started to open this stall, selling fried bananas. As the development expanded, Langkawi became more attractive to tourists and more of them come to Langkawi. This has brought many customers to my father’s business and now the business is doing very well. We sell many different foods here today.”</p>	<p><u>Respondent 29</u> “Before tourism, before tourists came to Langkawi, things sold by the people in Langkawi were wasted, nobody bought them. Things like coconut and fruits, nobody to buy them...But after tourism development, businesses were booming, because there are many customers. ..I am saying tourism is good, good for the people who have businesses. The people, who have businesses, tourism is really good. But not everybody has a business, right? So, those ordinary people, there is not much changes to them.”</p>
Lifestyles	<p><u>Respondent 32</u> “Oh, okay. Before, I never went out. I mean, I was at home all the time. My friends and I never hang out and gossip. Now, there are many places that the young people can go to hang out. I think that hanging out is their favorite things to do, to just talk and relax at hang out places. Most of them don’t even stay with their parents anymore. They have their own jobs, and some prefer to stay with friends. They will only go home</p>	<p><u>Respondent38</u> “I think the people were much closer before too. I think the people here today are much, what do you call that, modern? “</p> <p><u>Respondent25</u> “Things were very, very different before tourism. You see, last time, one would not dare to walk in this area at night, now, you can sit here by yourself until 10 or 11 o’clock at night without feeling scared or worried. It is not too quiet here</p>

	<p>to their parents during the weekend. The middle aged people, most of them work, either on their own, or with others. They are trying to make as much money as possible and trying to grab the opportunities by having small businesses. There are many consumers in Langkawi today, consisting of both tourists and the locals themselves. So, businesses flourish. The older people, those who used to catch fish and still are strong now, they still do catch fish today. In short, things have changed, and the most obvious change is the residents' ways of lives. Money and material have become very important in their lives now."</p>	<p>now, with many cars passing by, it is not quiet anymore, it is not too scary anymore. "</p> <p><u>Respondent38</u>          "And the people in the community are busy working that they are not close any more. They do not know what is going on even if the things are right in front of their noses. I think they are more concern with their own lives only and they have also become materialistic. It is difficult to seek help from the community members now. For example, more people that have wedding festivals have to use contract people to cook for the food. Before, the whole village used to cook together themselves for weddings did not have to pay others to cook."</p>
More newcomers	<p><u>Respondent46</u>          "Tourism has also brought in many outsiders that also want to work or open their businesses here. So, we see many newcomers in our community."</p>	<p><u>Respondent1</u>          Interviewer: "Are there many more newcomers?"          Respondent: "Yes, they come here to start their business. Some come from very far, like from Pakistan. They also come and work here. It is a good place to come and find jobs here."</p>
Social deviance	<p><u>Respondent7</u>          "Really, tourism does bring in some negative outcomes. Langkawi is a duty free island, so you know... people like coming here because they want to buy liquor. There are also some residents who are involved with alcohol. But I think it is under control.</p>	<p><u>Respondent6</u>          "The teenagers, they have problems. They are not that grown up, but they have become bigheaded. They smoke and become wild. Last time....there were no such things. They are influenced by the tourists' cultures."</p>



Competiti on for land	<p><u>Respondent 16</u></p> <p>“Land, for example, is one of the major aspects. Many Langkawi people still do not own land. Those poor people who cultivated the land, especially the land at the strategic tourism area, they worked those lands for many years, but they were not given grants to the land. The government does not allow grants to be given to these people, but they turn around and give out the grants to other parties. The parties who get land are the ones that are close to them.”</p>	<p><u>Respondent 12</u></p> <p>“If you want to buy land here in Langkawi, you may buy the lands on the hills, that is all the lands that are left. Some Langkawi people live outside Langkawi too.”</p>
Price	<p><u>Respondent 17</u></p> <p>“Things are also expensive now. This put burden to ordinary people here.”</p>	<p><u>Respondent 29</u></p> <p>“ I observe that the prices of food have increased. The prices are higher compared to the prices at the other places in Malaysia. You yourself, compare how much you pay to eat at a restaurant here in Langkawi with how much you pay in Alor Setar. You will be surprise how much more expensive it is in Langkawi. This is a burden to the residents, especially to those who are not rich. In fact, I feel that the high prices may hinder the tourists from coming back to visit us here. Actually, I do not understand why some parties have to take advantage of the situation by putting high prices to the goods. I do not agree on this at all.”</p>

## APPENDIX E – CHANGES PERCEIVED AS BENEFITS

Types of benefits	Respondents	
	Power	No-power
Improved infrastructure and facilities	“I am proud of the Prime Minister because he make certain that other things develop together with tourism development.”	“Well, there are many facilities that were not available in this area before. And also, it is faster today. Last time, if I needed to go to Kuah, I did not have my own transportation, then I had to depend on the taxis...Last time, when we had to wait for the taxi, if our children felt hungry, then we had to cook rice first to feed them, and then wait for the taxi. Even then, the taxi would not be here yet...To visit our relatives in Kuah would take us a whole day. Now, as soon as we go to the road, the taxis will already be passing by and we do not have to wait at all.”
Increases job opportunities	“In the aspect of unemployment, it has decreased...In fact the LADA people had told me that there are more jobs than applicants. Some of the employers have to go inside the villages to find workers.”	“The changes brought by tourism development are mostly economic. Jobs are easy to get...you know with all the hotels being built here, the hotels give plenty of jobs to the people in Langkawi. Before Langkawi was developed, there were not many jobs, it was not like what it is today at all.”
Increases earning opportunities	“If there was no development ...There might not be so many opportunities. Not many opportunities to increase our income.”	“...the tourism projects, the building projects and such, they give me a way to earn money...when the contractors need people to help build buildings, they look for us, me and my friends, all get jobs with the contractors.”
Improves lives	“The residents here, those who had difficult lives before, now many have easy lives.”	“If there is no tourism, Langkawi will be like before, no development, no progress. There will be nothing in Langkawi. Lives will be hard. Now, lives are easier compared to before.”
Increased purchasing/spending power	“Economically, the changes are obvious. There were many of us who lived in hardships before. Things were different, we could not buy anything much except the very basic	“The people of Langkawi are doing better in terms of economic. There are many different jobs to do. Almost everybody has a job today. They are capable to buy many things that they want.”

	things.”	
Improves businesses	“There are many consumers in Langkawi today, consisting of both tourists and the locals themselves. So, businesses flourish.”	“Of course, I see some of the villagers are really good. They try to sell something, like prepare dishes and food and then sell them at the ‘warung’. They try to gain something by selling.”
High remuneration for land	“Like when a part of my land is involved with the airport development plan, so I did receive some direct benefits from cases like that.”	“Yes, a lot of changes, good changes. For example, let us say somebody used to be not so well off before, with low-income, then a party came and bought his land. He could use the money he got from the land sale to do other things such as starting his own business, or buy cars to start a car rental company, things like that. So, he is able to earn more money for his family because he has more opportunity.”
People improvement	“I think one of the benefits is that the residents are more exposed to the outside world now, not like before, like they say, we lived like a frog under the coconut shell. We did not know what was going on out there. The development for tourists also benefits the residents. The minds of the people have changed now, they are more motivated to compete with the outside people in many different sectors. Competition is good, it helps make us better, I think.”	
Increased youth exposure	“Socially, before, the young people used to not know how to mix around that much. I think they did not mix like we are today. They stayed at home most of the times. Nowadays, the young people like to go out and check things out.”	

## APPENDIX F - CHANGES PERCEIVED AS COSTS

Costs	Respondents	
	Power	No-power
Increased in social problem	<p>"I don't feel the cost to myself personally but I know that the community suffers because what is happening to the young people. The young people are influenced easily to do the strange things, especially if they go to the entertainment spots in the hotels or elsewhere. There are even incidents where the school children are involved. They drink and socialize in ways that are so unlike our culture."</p>	<p>"A little problem with alcohol consumption. Every time I come back from the sea, I will see empty beer cans on the beach. It is difficult for me to say, as this is my place, my home, but I do see the problem that people here are now drinking alcohol."</p>
Loss of religious and cultural values	<p>"Well, at the same time, tourism is able to bring social problem especially with the entrance of many different cultures and different people. This may ruin the Malay culture and the Islamic values. Like I have said before, we need to adhere to the good values ..."</p>	<p>"In 1988....they started to have luxurious development. The government took the villagers lands for the development and paid the land prices to them. The price was good. This was when those poor people at that time had lost their selves, they were shocked. They married other women and bought cars. They forgot about God."</p>
Residents lose lands to tourism development	<p>"Now, the government took their lands, and they are not able to get other lands to replace those lands. Maybe they could get the lands on the hill and plant rubber or fruits, but that is all."</p>	<p>"Like the lands that they took to make hotels. By right they should replace the lands to the villagers, giving the remuneration is not enough. They need to give a different land to the buyers, at least they would have some assets. Sometimes what happen is that those who sold off their lands had nowhere to go but to put up at relatives' homes in the villages."</p>
Unhealthy influence from outsiders	<p>"Outside people should be blamed as well. Now they have opened many colleges here in Langkawi, the Lagenda college at Delima,</p>	<p>"The teenagers, they have problems. They are not that grown up, but they have become bigheaded. They smoke and become wild. Last time there were</p>

	the outside kids who came to that college, they brought it a lot of bad influences...”	no such things. They are influenced by the tourists’ cultures.”
Degradation in youth behavior	“Social problems, especially among the younger generation. Crimes, drugs, smoking, and drinking. Those kinds of things are evidently on the rise right now.”	“But now, there is a lot of unhealthy problems since we have tourism here. There are so many youth who have their behavior ruined in this village. Now, they are introduced to beer drinking. Some of them take drugs. Their socializing is too much, they are free to mix girls and boys.”
Inflation in prices	“I think that things are expensive in Langkawi today. Food is expensive, ferry fare is expensive....The only cheap things are the dishes, batiks, cigarettes, and alcohol. Most of us in Langkawi go shop outside for festivals such as Eid day because things are expensive in Langkawi. The goods here do not have high quality.”	“Now... if your wage is 500...600...you can’t barely have enough. Food are expensive, fish’s price is high. I think the price in Perlis is much lower. I have been to Alor Setar, Perlis, and Terengganu. If you go out and eat, 3... 4 people, it would be about 15 ringgit. In Langkawi .....it would be more....like 20 something ringgit.”
Residents lose to outsiders	“But the government took the land and build buildings, but they sold the buildings to the Chinese, even Chinese from outside. When they brought in these outside Chinese into Langkawi, what is going to happen to the Malays of Langkawi? What is going to happen to the Langkawi Malays in the future?”	Interviewer: “I have heard that they have started the Langkawi Trust Share. Do you invest in it?” Respondent: “Shares....we do not know how to buy or do. The people up there make it, and then the outside people bought them. I did hear about it on TV and radio, but the villagers do not know or they are not exposed to it. Even when they bought the lands from the villagers, they did not talk completely, they give small amount of money for the lands, and that was all. Later on, they resold the land and made a lot of profit.”

# APPENDIX G – DIFFERENCE IN PERCEPTIONS ABOUT BENEFITS

Benefits denied	Respondents	
	Power	No-power
Tourism increases in employment and earning opportunities	<p>“Jobs, of course, there are plenty of job opportunities in Langkawi today. If you yourself were to look for a job today, I am very sure you will face no difficulties in getting one. But the question is what kind of jobs? There are many openings at the hotels but not office jobs. Professional and technical jobs are rare. And also, hotels are more inclined to hire foreign workers instead of the locals, as the foreign workers are cheaper. So they hire Filipinos instead of Malaysians.”</p>	<p>“I am saying tourism is good, good for the people who have businesses. The people, who have businesses, tourism is really good. But not everybody has a business, right? So, those ordinary people, there is not much changes to them. Those who are willing to work hard, they could gain something, you know, by finding jobs.”</p>
Tourism improves residents’ lives	<p>“What happened? You can see by yourself. A tragedy was what happened to Langkawi. The development was so sudden and drastic that the residents did not even know what was going on. That was when the tragedy happened. At first, when they wanted to buy the land, the villagers asked them, what do they want to do with the land? They said they want to do this, or that.... Actually they were just waiting for buyers, buyers from outside... Buyers from Kuala Lumpur, Japan, or Korea. Those people came and wanted land to do their project, so they sold this land to these outsiders, 2 acres they bought for 40,000 but they could sell for 100,000. They are the residents of Langkawi too, but they speculate, or they know more than other people do. If they</p>	

	want to build government offices. Well, we don't have any objections. Or if they want that land to build a hospital, or clinic. But no, they make it for tourists and brought the orangutan here."	
Tourism 'develops' people in Langkawi	"I am worried about the future of Langkawi in terms of tourism. I used to joke with my friends that one day, the people of Langkawi will become the only attraction in Langkawi due to their mentality and attitude. Since they cannot catch up with the development, they will become the tourist attraction. I am worried that if I were to become a tourist guide one day, I would bring a group into a village and introduce the group to Pak Mat, and say "Pak Mat, why don't you show the group how you get the coconuts from the coconut tree". This could happen if they couldn't catch up with the development. Another thing, I think the school children in Langkawi are not sensitive with what is going on around them. They still do not care very much about passing the examinations because they know that even if they fail, they could still find jobs to support themselves. They would say that "my parents do not have proper jobs, but they can still survive". So, you see, they do not see the importance of moving forward and improve themselves."	

## APPENDIX H – DIFFERENCE IN PERCEPTIONS ABOUT COSTS

Costs denied	Respondents	
	Power	No-power
Tourism produces problems with youth	<p>“Before, after completing form five, a young man had not many choices but to follow his dad and go to the sea to become a fisherman, or go to the field to grow rice, or become a rubber tapper. Well, since in rice is grown only once a year in Langkawi, most of them used to only be fisherman, or be both fisherman and rice grower. Now, they choose to do other work, mostly related to commerce or tourism.”</p> <p>“I think if Langkawi has no tourism, the young people would go away from Langkawi, and the old folks would go to sea.”</p>	<p>“There is no problems because the young people are all working. Those who are not working are those with rich parents. Youngsters whose parents are poor like us are all working. The young people now can afford to buy motorcycles, sometimes big motorcycles and some of them could even by cars. We could never afford that when we were young.”</p> <p>“The young can go to work. They can profit from the projects. They can bring home money for their families.”</p>
Residents are influenced by tourists and outsiders	<p>“At the beginning, yes it was a shock with the different cultures brought in by the tourists but after one point the situation went back to the old situation. In other words, the people have become used to it. At the beginning it was difficult to accept the changes, but slowly people began to accept. For example, in the old time many residents waste their time by gossiping at the coffee stalls, now they began to discuss about businesses at the coffee stalls.”</p>	<p>“No, there is nothing negative. I mean, the residents are so used to tourists, even the small children. The tourists do not bother their lives as all.”</p>
Higher consumer prices	<p>“The prices are high but we can still afford it.”</p>	<p>“High prices? I do not feel that prices of goods are high in Langkawi, no...no problem with the prices.... because we all can afford it.”</p>



Overall problems with tourism	<p>“Some people think that tourism only benefit certain people who are lucky enough to take advantage of the situation, but I think they...benefit from the development too, but just because they don’t want to do anything, they feel mad at other people who do. I think that is not fair. This is our chance to change our life, we are all lucky actually. I think other people in other parts of Malaysia would...die for this kind of opportunity. Langkawi is blessed with its ability to become a tourist destination. Other places do not have what Langkawi has. I support tourism entirely.”</p> <p>“I feel that there are no negative impacts from tourism, most changes are positive.”</p>	<p>“I see no problem at all, no problem at all.”</p> <p>“Oh, no ... no, no burden at all, why burden? We can earn more now...with the earnings we can buy more, well, as much as we could afford. If we cannot afford it, then don’t buy. Don’t you think so? If things are expensive and you cannot afford to buy, then don’t buy them. It is that simple ... don’t you agree?”</p>
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# APPENDIX I – THEMES FROM EACH INTERVIEW

Respondent	Perceived benefit	Perceived cost	Weight of Perceived benefit Vs. Weight of Perceived cost	Degree of dependency	Support tourism?
<u>Power</u> Position (#2)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• More jobs.</li> <li>• Jobs for younger residents.</li> <li>• Increased earning opportunities.</li> <li>• Economic growth.</li> <li>• Provide business opportunities for those with certain resources.</li> <li>• Residents more productive.</li> <li>• Improved infrastructure.</li> <li>• Improved quality of lives.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Social problems but perceives that individuals, not tourism is to be blamed</li> </ul>	Benefits outweigh costs. Perceives that social problem under control.	Little because he is a government officer.	Support.
Position (#14)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Improved infrastructure</li> <li>• Increased earning opportunities</li> <li>• More jobs</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Social problem.</li> </ul>	Benefits outweigh costs, perceives social problems are not caused by tourism but are part of modernization	Perceives that Langkawi development depends on tourism	Strongly support
Position (#15)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Personally opened a business</li> <li>• Increased business opportunities</li> <li>• Improved infrastructure</li> <li>• Improved residents' way of thinking</li> <li>• Increased job opportunities to youth with little qualification</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Social problem but perceives that individuals, not tourism, to be blamed for this.</li> </ul>	Benefits outweigh costs	Respondent's business depends on tourism	Support
Position	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increased in low-paying jobs</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Environmental</li> </ul>	Costs outweigh	Does not depend on tourism	Support but

(#22)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Increased business opportunities</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>degradation</li> <li>Residents lose to outsiders</li> </ul>	benefits, perceives that tourism does not 'develop' the people		wants more control
Position (#27)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Improved infrastructure</li> <li>Increased earning opportunities</li> <li>More jobs</li> </ul>	None	Put a lot of weight on increased earning opportunities	Income not dependent on tourism	Support
Position (#40)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Increased earning opportunities</li> <li>More jobs</li> <li>Increased business opportunities</li> <li>Langkawi residents more advanced</li> <li>Improved infrastructure</li> <li>Improved in way of thinking, forward thinking</li> <li>Increased jobs for youth</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Increased problems among youth</li> <li>Social problems</li> </ul>	Put a lot of weight on increased income Put little weight on problem with youth, perceives that as part of development	Does not depend on tourism	Support
Land (#3)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Business opportunities (but not so much for locals)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Residents lose their lands</li> <li>Loss to outsiders</li> <li>Residents lose because of nepotism</li> <li>Social problem especially among youth</li> <li>Unhealthy influence from outside</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Perceives that residents do not benefit much</li> <li>Costs outweigh benefits</li> </ul>	Business indirectly influenced by tourism, but respondent perceives that business cannot compete with outsiders	Do not support
Land (#4)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>More jobs</li> <li>Increased income</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Personally lose business to outsiders.</li> </ul>	About the same	His business depends on tourism.	Support, but worries about costs. Urged

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Economic growth</li> <li>Improved infrastructure</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Social problem</li> <li>Increased problem among youth</li> </ul>			that costs be controlled
Land (#5)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Received money for land.</li> <li>Increased residents' earning opportunities.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Locals lose to outsiders.</li> <li>Locals lose because of nepotism.</li> <li>Loss of traditional values.</li> <li>Social problems.</li> <li>Locals lose land.</li> </ul>	Costs much higher than benefits.	Repondent's business is effected by tourism but on tourism. Perceives that he can move his business away from Langkawi.	Don't support tourism.
Land (#11)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>More jobs</li> <li>Increased residents' earning opportunities.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Residents lose their land and money from land sales</li> <li>Social problem</li> <li>Unhealthy influence from outside</li> <li>Loss of traditional values</li> <li>Problems among youth</li> <li>Lose to outsiders</li> </ul>	Costs outweigh benefits	Langkawi development depends on tourism	Support but wants control, wants government to think about Malays
Land (#19)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Received money for land</li> <li>Residents able to start own businesses</li> <li>Increased residents standard of living</li> <li>Improved infrastructure</li> <li>Increased earning opportunities</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Some social problem, but individuals, not tourism to be blamed.</li> <li>Culture shock at the beginning, but residents got over</li> </ul>	Benefits outweigh costs, perceives economic benefit is much needed	Owens chalets and depends on tourism	Strongly support

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Improved way of thinking</li> <li>Improved quality of life</li> <li>Increased purchasing power</li> </ul>	it.			
Land (#34)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Increased residents' earning opportunities</li> <li>Improved residents' quality of lives</li> <li>Economic growth</li> <li>Increased purchasing power</li> <li>Increased business opportunities</li> <li>Youth become modern</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Social problems</li> <li>Unhealthy influence from outside</li> </ul>	Benefits outweigh costs	Father's earning depends on tourism	Support
Financial (#7)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Business growth</li> <li>More jobs.</li> <li>Increased residents' standard of livings</li> <li>Job opportunities for youth</li> <li>Improved infrastructure</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Social problem, especially relating to alcohol</li> <li>Lose to outsiders</li> <li>Price inflation</li> <li>Residents lose lands</li> </ul>	Benefits outweigh costs	Her business depends on tourism. Also, perceives that tourism is the root for physical development in Langkawi	Strongly support
Financial (#9)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Business growth.</li> <li>Increased residents' earnings.</li> <li>Improved residents' quality of lives.</li> <li>More jobs.</li> <li>Improved infrastructure</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Problem among youth</li> <li>Social problem</li> <li>Loss of traditional values</li> <li>Influence from outside</li> <li>Lose to outsiders</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>About the same, but she perceives that individuals, not tourism should be blamed for costs</li> </ul>	Her business depends on tourism.	Support but wants costs to be controlled
Financial (#16)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Business growth.</li> <li>Increased residents' earnings.</li> <li>Increased spending power.</li> <li>Improved infrastructure.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Locals lose land to development.</li> <li>Becoming dependent on external economy.</li> </ul>	Costs outweigh benefits	His business depends on tourism.	Support but wants costs to be controlled

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Higher prices.</li> <li>• Increased problem among youth.</li> <li>• Loss of traditional values.</li> <li>• Social problems.</li> <li>• Negative influence from outside.</li> <li>• Lose to outsiders.</li> </ul>			
Financial (#20)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Improved infrastructure</li> <li>• Slight increase in living standards</li> <li>• Improved quality of lives</li> <li>• More jobs</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Price inflation</li> <li>• Residents lose their lands to development</li> </ul>	About the same	He is a taxi driver, depends on tourism for earnings	Support but thinks that development must be controlled	
Financial (#23)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Improved infrastructure</li> <li>• Opportunities for residents and outsiders to open business</li> <li>• More jobs</li> <li>• Increased earning opportunities</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Residents lose to outsiders because lack of information</li> <li>• Social problems (alcohol, smoking) especially among youth</li> <li>• Loss off religious and traditional values</li> </ul>	About the same	Owns a car rental company, dependent on tourism	Support but wants more control so that costs will be minimized	
Financial (#31)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Economic growth</li> <li>• Business opportunities</li> <li>• Increased earning and job opportunities</li> <li>• Landowners get money for land</li> </ul>		All benefit	Family business depends on tourism	Strongly support	

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Improved infrastructure</li> <li>Improved quality of life</li> <li>Youth more modern</li> </ul>					
Know-ledge (#21)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Raised residents' standard of livings.</li> <li>Improved quality of lives.</li> <li>More jobs.</li> <li>Migrated to Langkawi.</li> <li>Improved infrastructure.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Loss of traditional values.</li> <li>Higher prices.</li> <li>Social problems.</li> </ul>	Benefits higher than costs. Perceives that residents adapt to tourism.	Perceives that earnings and Langkawi development depend on tourism	Support	
Know-ledge (#24)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Increased earning opportunities for the residents</li> <li>Residents able to make money</li> <li>Improved way of thinking</li> <li>Residents more productive</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Social problems among youth</li> <li>Loss of traditional and religious values</li> <li>Residents lose to outsiders because lack of knowledge</li> <li>Youth do not put importance on education</li> </ul>	Perceives benefits have slightly bigger weight because Langkawi cannot survive without tourism	He is a government officer, jobs does not depend on tourism	Support but wants control especially in the aspect of religious and educational values	
Know-ledge (#41)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Increased standard of living</li> <li>Increased employment and earning opportunities</li> <li>Langkawi more advanced</li> <li>Improved way of thinking, more forward thinking</li> <li>Improved infrastructure</li> <li>Improved life style, more productive</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Loss in traditional values</li> <li>Social problem among youth</li> <li>Unhealthy influence from outside</li> </ul>	Benefits outweigh costs	Job does not depend on tourism	Support	

Know- ledge (#42)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Improved residents' quality of lives</li> <li>Increased earning opportunities</li> <li>Residents have opportunities to own businesses</li> <li>Residents more productive</li> <li>Residents receive money for lands</li> <li>Improved infrastructure</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Social problems, but perceives that individuals, not tourism, to be blamed</li> </ul>	Benefits outweigh costs, perceives Langkawi development depends on tourism	Family's income depends on tourism	Strongly support
Know- ledge (#43)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Increased income</li> <li>Increased earning opportunities</li> <li>Residents get out from poverty</li> <li>Improved residents' ways of thinking</li> <li>Improved infrastructure</li> <li>Residents have opportunity to open businesses</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Social problems especially among youth</li> </ul>	Benefits outweigh costs	Livelihood does not directly depends on tourism, but perceives tourism very important for development	Support but wants control
Know- ledge (#46)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Improved infrastructure, leading to better quality of life</li> <li>Increased residents' standard of livings</li> <li>Increased employment and earning opportunities</li> <li>Langkawi more beautiful</li> <li>Increased business opportunities for residents and newcomers</li> <li>Residents more exposed</li> <li>Residents more competitive</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Environmental degradation</li> <li>Social problems, especially among youth</li> <li>Make some people greedy</li> </ul>	Put great weight on improved quality of life he is enjoying	Is not directly dependent on tourism	Support
Young (#17)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Increased opportunities for businesses</li> <li>Increased employment and</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Social problem, particularly alcohol</li> </ul>	Cost higher than benefit.	His job is not dependent on tourism	Does not support, respondent



	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• earning opportunities</li> <li>• Improved infrastructure</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• consumption</li> <li>• Loss in traditional values</li> <li>• Loss to outsiders</li> <li>• Price inflation</li> <li>• Youth work instead of pursuing higher education</li> <li>• Residents lose their lands</li> </ul>			thinks that development needs to slow down and costs controlled.
Young (#30)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Improved infrastructure</li> <li>• Improved standard of livings</li> <li>• More residents afford cars</li> <li>• Residents receive money for land</li> <li>• Improved residents' quality of lives</li> <li>• Langkawi becomes famous</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Land becomes scarce</li> <li>• More newcomers compete for fish</li> </ul>	Benefits outweigh costs	Father is a fisherman, high earning is influenced by tourism	Support
Young (#32)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increased earning opportunities</li> <li>• Improved residents' quality of lives</li> <li>• Physical development</li> <li>• Improved ways of thinking</li> <li>• Increased productivity</li> </ul>		Perceives tourism does not bring any costs. Change in traditional value is not a cost	Father works in a hotel	Support
Young (#35)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increased standard of living</li> <li>• Increased business opportunities</li> <li>• Increased employment and earning opportunities</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Things more expensive</li> <li>• Social problems (Alcohol)</li> </ul>	Benefits outweigh costs	Family's business depends on tourism	Support

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Economic growth</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Unhealthy influence from outside</li> <li>Loss of traditional values</li> </ul>			
Young (#37)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Increased exposure for youth</li> <li>Increased employment and earning opportunities</li> <li>Langkawi more beautiful</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Culture shock among residents</li> </ul>	Benefits outweigh costs	Not directly dependent on tourism	Support
Young (#44)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Increased purchasing power</li> <li>Residents afford more things</li> <li>Improved residents' quality of lives</li> <li>Many more things to do</li> <li>Langkawi more beautiful and cleaner</li> <li>Increased residents' confidence</li> <li>Improved his English</li> <li>Youth more open</li> <li>Youth make friends with outsiders</li> <li>Increased shopping places</li> <li>Youth more educated</li> <li>Improved way of thinking</li> <li>Improved infrastructure</li> <li>Increased residents' standard of living</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Social problem due to outsider influence</li> <li>Loss of religious values</li> </ul>	Benefits outweigh costs	Not directly dependent on tourism but shows great appreciation for the current lifestyle	Strongly support

No- power #1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Increased employment and earning opportunities</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Loss of traditional values</li> <li>Social problems, but perceives that individuals, not tourism, to be blamed</li> <li>Culture shock among residents</li> </ul>	Benefit higher than cost; perceives having jobs most important	Low. Perceives that residents depend on tourism for money.	Strongly support
#6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Improved residents' quality of lives</li> <li>Increased employment and earning opportunities</li> <li>Opens businesses opportunities for residents</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Problem among youth.</li> <li>Increased in prices.</li> <li>Residents lose lands.</li> </ul>	About the same	Low.	Support but want costs to be controlled
#8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Improved employment and earning opportunities</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Social problem but individuals, not tourism, to be blamed.</li> <li>Lose to outsiders</li> <li>Problem among the young</li> <li>Residents lose lands</li> <li>Erode family cohesion</li> <li>Culture shock among residents</li> </ul>	Does not perceive that there is problem with high prices. Thinks that benefit is about the same as cost.	Perceives that residents depend on tourism as it is root of development in Langkawi	Strongly support.

#10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Improved employment and earning opportunities</li> <li>Improved infrastructure</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Residents lose land to development</li> <li>A little problem with alcohol</li> </ul>	Perceives that tourism does not bring any problem in terms of social or higher prices	He is a fisherman and his children own a restaurant business. So, he depends highly on tourism	Strongly support
#12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Improved infrastructure</li> <li>Residents' lives more comfortable</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Social problem especially among youth (alcohol, drug)</li> <li>Residents lose to outsiders because lack of capital and information</li> </ul>	Benefits outweigh costs	He opens a small stall at the roadside Perceives that Langkawi development depends on tourism	Support tourism but want social problems reduced
#13	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Improved employment and earning opportunities</li> <li>Residents receive money for their lands sold to projects</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Residents with no capital or lack of knowledge lose</li> <li>Higher costs of living</li> <li>Social problem (Drinking)</li> <li>Loss of religious and social values</li> <li>Residents lose lands to development</li> <li>Residents lose to outsiders because lack of</li> </ul>	Benefits outweigh costs, perceives money and job are very important	His job is not directly related to tourism, but he perceives that because tourism, Langkawi there is a development in Langkawi, thus giving him his job	Support

		knowledge			
#18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Slight increased in earning</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Residents lose due to nepotism</li> <li>Social problem</li> <li>Price inflation</li> <li>Increased in living expenses</li> </ul>	Cost higher than benefit Does not perceive that tourism brings about good jobs	Cannot depend on tourism because lack of resources to benefit	Does not support
#25	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Increased earning opportunities</li> <li>Increased income</li> <li>Residents have opportunity to own businesses</li> <li>More jobs for youth</li> <li>Improved infrastructure</li> </ul>		Benefits outweigh costs, perceive income and job benefits very important Do not feel burdened by tourism Do not feel that higher prices is a problem	He is a fisherman and sometimes work with construction projects	Strongly support, wants to see more development
#26	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Increased employment and earning opportunities.</li> <li>Increased spending power.</li> <li>Residents have opportunity to open businesses.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Negative influence from outside (But perceives that tourism should not be blamed).</li> <li>Loss in traditional values.</li> <li>Social problems.</li> <li>Perceives that above problems</li> </ul>	Benefits outweigh costs.	High, job and earnings depend on tourism.	Support.

		do not affect him personally.			
#28	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Many residents become wealthy</li> <li>Increased earning opportunities</li> <li>Improved residents quality of lives</li> <li>Residents can afford many things</li> </ul>		Perceives no problem with tourism, but perceives there will be problem without tourism	Owens a small warung. Overall, perceives that Langkawi development depends on tourism	Support and wants to see expansion in tourism
#29	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Increased business opportunities among the residents</li> <li>Increased employment and earning opportunities</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Things more expensive</li> <li>Social problems</li> <li>Loss in religious values</li> </ul>	Benefits outweigh costs Perceives that social problems should be blamed on the individuals, not tourism	Perceives that Langkawi development depends on tourism	Support
#33	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Increased employment and earning opportunities</li> <li>Improved residents' quality of lives</li> <li>Higher standard of livings</li> <li>Improved infrastructure</li> <li>Residents more productive</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Things more expensive</li> <li>Social problems</li> </ul>	About the same weight	Father's earning depend on tourism	Support but wants more control for social problems
#36	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Improvement in ways of thinking, not backward anymore</li> <li>Increased earning opportunities</li> <li>Improved infrastructure</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Social problems (perceives individuals, not tourism, to be blamed)</li> <li>Less</li> </ul>	Benefits outweigh costs,	Thinks tourism means money, depends on tourism	Strongly support

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Langkawi more modern</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>cohesiveness in society</li> <li>Environmental pollution</li> </ul>			
#38	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Economic growth</li> <li>Increased earnings</li> <li>Increased standard of living</li> <li>Increased purchasing power</li> <li>Improved infrastructure</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Things more expensive</li> <li>Social problems</li> <li>Less cohesiveness in community</li> <li>Environmental degradation</li> <li>Residents lose their lands</li> </ul>	Benefits outweigh costs	Father is a fisherman, earning depends on tourism	Strongly support
#39	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Increased standard of living</li> <li>Availability of modern facilities such as cyber café</li> <li>More jobs</li> <li>Increased business opportunities</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Loss of traditional values</li> </ul>	Benefits outweigh costs	Father works with a hotel, earning depends on tourism	Strongly support
#45	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Improved infrastructure</li> <li>Increased employment and earning opportunities especially for the youth</li> <li>Improved quality of life</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Loss of traditional values</li> <li>Erosion of family cohesion</li> </ul>	Benefits outweigh costs	Many family members work with tourism establishments May depend on tourism for livelihood	Strongly support

## APPENDIX J – INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT (RESPONDENT 31)

Interviewer: *"Can you share with me about the development that Langkawi has undergone lately, like since 10 years ago? Did you realize about the development?"*

Respondent: *"Yes. Langkawi has developed so much since that time, about 10 years ago, since it became a duty-free island. And since then, Langkawi has been developed to attract many tourists."*

Interviewer: *"Is tourism the main economic activity in Langkawi?"*

Respondent: *"Yes, it is. All these developments that take place in Langkawi are related to tourism. Tourism is the reason Langkawi has become what it is today, I mean more advanced than before."*

Interviewer: *"So, the local economy depends on tourism a whole lot?"*

Respondent: *"Yes, I mean, tourism in Langkawi is quite important not just to Langkawi, but also to Malaysia. The government wants tourism to be an important sector in the country's economy."*

Interviewer: *"Has tourism development changed your life or your family's life?"*

Respondent: *"Economically it has. Since tourists began to come to Langkawi in big numbers, my father started to open this stall, selling fried bananas. As the development expanded, Langkawi became more attractive to tourists and more of them come to Langkawi. This has brought many customers to my father's business and now the business is doing very well. We sell many different foods here today."*

Interviewer: *"What did your father do for a living before the development?"*

Respondent: *"He worked at the rice field and did other jobs around the village. His earning was not fixed. I don't remember noticing him saving any money. But he received some money when my grandfather sold off his land. I think he used that money to start this stall."*

Interviewer: *"Who did your father sell his land to?"*

Respondent: *"Actually he did not intend to sell it. It so happened that the government was building a road, and a bit of my grandfather's land was involved. So, the government paid some money to my grandfather for that."*

Interviewer: *"Does your father or your grandfather have anymore land?"*



Respondent: *" No, only the land where our house is on now. My grandfather passed away last two years. I don't think my grandfather had anymore land either. "*

Interviewer: *" What are the other changes that you observe due to tourism? "*

Respondent: *" The infrastructure has improved in the area where I live. Last time it was bad, Langawi was bad. There were not many good roads around Langkawi. I remember ....my elder siblings had a hard time going to school because the road's condition was bad. Especially during rainy days, sometimes they missed schools because the road was bad. Other facilities have also been developed like the telephone lines and the hospital. Especially near the town area, it really looks different. It is more beautiful now. "*

Interviewer: *" How about your village, does it look beautiful? "*

Respondent: *" Well, my village still, you know, is a village. But many basic facilities are built here. But they don't beautify the village like they do in the town. "*

Interviewer: *" Socially, have you changed because of tourism? "*

Respondent: *" I think I have because I am now more receptive towards the tourists. I am able to communicate better with the tourists. I go out often with my friends to just see the places around Langkawi. That is all. "*

Interviewer: *" What about your community, what are the changes in your community have you observed, which are due to tourism? "*

Respondent: *" In my community, there are more people working now because there are many job opportunities, especially in the tourism sector. If they don't work, they usually have some business going on. The development requires many workers, like in the hotels and the shops. So, there is less unemployment in the community. The people can earn more money now to allow them to buy things. "*

Interviewer: *" So you think that tourism brings many benefits to the people of Langkawi, including you? "*

Respondent: *" Yes, many benefits. I think tourism is enabling us to live more comfortably and to know about other different cultures. I am proud whenever I could explain things to the tourists. "*

Interviewer: *" Has tourism cause any negative impacts to you or to other people? "*

Respondent: “ *To me.....? No. Some people think that tourism only benefit certain people who are lucky enough to take advantage of the situation, but I think they are just lazy people. I think they benefit from the development too, but just because they don't want to do anything, they feel mad at other people who do. I think that is not fair. This is our chance to change our life, we are all lucky actually. I think other people in other parts of Malaysia would die for this kind of opportunity. Langkawi is blessed with its ability to become a tourist destination. Other places do not have what Langkawi has. I support tourism entirely.* ”

## APPENDIX K – INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT (RESPONDENT 25)

Interviewer: *"How about your community, how did tourism development change the community where you live?"*

Respondent: *"Nowadays, the people here are better off, it used to be, it was very difficult for us to find jobs and get money. You see, last time, the person who sold 'cucur' at the roadside, it was difficult to sell even 2 'cucur', no body wanted to buy. Nowadays, she could easily sell off 100 of them, sometimes even 100 is not enough. You see, how good their lives now, compared to last time, they are much better off. If they say that they are not better off now, I just do not know what to say."*

Interviewer: *"I see, so the people's ability have increased?"*

Respondent: *"Sure, their ability to earn have really increased. Last time, it was really hard."*

Interviewer: *"Do you support tourism in Langkawi then?"*

Respondent: *"Surely I do, we all do, jobs are easy to get. And the young people too, they all have jobs now. Both of my children are working at the factories. There were no factories before, you just depend on catching fish, that was all. Now, the young people have more opportunities, job opportunities and this is good for them. Even the girls in the area could work now and this helps their parents. Even if you only pass LCE, you can still find a job now. Even if you only go to school until grade six, at least if you now how to read, you can already find a job you see. There are jobs in the hotels, even with the government. It used to be that parents were worried because their children could not get any jobs after they finished their schooling."*

Interviewer: *"What do you feel about the changes?"*

Respondent: *"What do you mean?"*

Interviewer: *"I mean, do you feel good about the change, or do you feel burden by the changes?"*

Respondent: *"Oh, no ... no, no burden at all, why burden?"*

Interviewer: *"Well, some people say that things are more expensive nowadays compared to before the development."*

Respondent: *"I don't feel it. We can earn more now. I do not know about others, but with the earnings we can buy more, well, as much as we could afford. If we cannot afford it, then don't buy. Don't you think so? If things are expensive and you cannot afford to buy, then don't buy them. It is that simple, don't you agree?"*

Interviewer: *"That is a good way of thinking. So, if there were no tourism in Langkawi, how would Langkawi be?"*

Respondent: *"If there is no tourism, Langkawi will be like before, no development, no progress. There will be nothing in Langkawi. Lives will be hard. Now, lives are easier compared to before."*

Interviewer: *"So you see no problem with tourism?"*

Respondent: *"No, no problems at all. Nobody is unemployed, and that is important."*

Interviewer: *"Do you support tourism in your area?"*

Respondent: *"Of course I do. More tourism is better because then we can have more jobs, and we can earn more money."*

Interviewer: *"As a fisherman who depends on the environment, do you observe any problem with the environment now, after tourism?"*

Respondent: *"Last time, there were not too many people. But there were plenty of fish. Now, there are many people, but the catch is smaller. But, although we had bigger catch before, we could get less money than we get now. This is because, the price of the fish or the prawns is higher. 1 kilogram of prawns could only be sold for 4 ringgit, but today we can sell 1 kilogram of prawns for 27 ringgit. Just like for example, last time, with 1 ringgit one could go to the coffee stall to drink with friends, today, we cannot drink coffee with just one ringgit, but...to find money is easier. So you see, it is hard to say about the changes. There is always good and bad about any thing."*

Interviewer: *"Have you ever been involved in meetings about the development in your area? Do you participate?"*

Respondent: *"Yes, I do go to meetings whenever they have meetings. I do not really participate. Whenever they ask for opinions, I would always say, 'it is up to you, if you say this plan is good, that it is good'. Ha...ha, you know, as long as it is going to bring good things to us, we will always support. Why should we object? If we object, and then they give us money, then maybe that is fine. If we object, we do*

*not get even a dime, so I think it is better that we do not object, but just follow. At least, if we support, the chance that we are going to get a dime is there."*

## APPENDIX L – INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT (RESPONDENT 5)

Interviewer: *"How has tourism benefit or effect your life?"*

Respondent: *"Tourism brings more threats than benefits, especially to the younger generations. They follow the foreign culture very easily."*

Interviewer: *"But how about to yourself, how has tourism benefits or poses costs to your own life? How has your life change due to tourism?"*

Respondent: *"In some cases, yes, I do benefit from the development. Like when a part of my land is involved with the airport development plan, so I did receive some direct benefits from cases like that. But, I cannot say that I used that money for my business, because I already had the capital even before that. I was a contractor even before the tourism development, so, I cannot say that my life has benefit so much from tourism."*

Interviewer: *"How about the community of Langkawi, how has tourism changed them?"*

Respondent: *"Tourism hasn't really brought direct benefits to them."*

Interviewer: *"Did many of them take advantage of the situation and did something for their future, for example by opening businesses or things like that?"*

Respondent: *"Oh, no, only very few did like that. Really very few."*

Interviewer: *"How do you evaluate the changes brought by tourism development in your area? Do you see tourism brought in the benefits or costs to the residents?"*

Respondent: *"Benefits? What benefits? The tourists, especially those who have big money, they come and stay in big hotels, they don't come to stay in small places owned by the residents. Most of the time, contracts for big projects are not put out for tender, they just came and began the project with their own contractors. We had never heard about the projects before that at all. In fact, even LADA does that, they would usually have their own contractors already when they started any development projects. The local contractors only get small jobs, leftover jobs."*

Interviewer: *"They choose certain contractors only?"*

Respondent: *"Yeah, like I said, they bring in their own contractors and they don't open the jobs for tenders. Only certain people would get the job."*

Interviewer: *"Don't the residents gain anything at all from the tourism development?"*

Respondent: *"I don't see the residents gain very much. From my observation, the residents who start any businesses, their businesses have not improved ever since they started. For example, one resident opens a souvenir shop. It will be hard for his business to flourish if he does not give good commissions to the tourist guides. The tourist guides would not bring the tourists to your shop if they can get better commissions somewhere else. And it is hard to compete with the other big businesses in terms of commissions."*

Interviewer: *"How about the costs from tourism? Do you feel that tourism imposed costs to you or to your community?"*

Respondent: *"I don't feel the cost to myself personally but I know that the community suffers because what is happening to the young people. The young people are influenced easily to do the strange things, especially if they go to the entertainment spots in the hotels or elsewhere. There are even incidents where the school children are involved. They drink and socialize in ways that are so unlike our culture. The beers are cheap, I think they are 80 cents per can. They are very tempted to try the drink, and sometimes they continue drinking. Many shops, even in small villages, sell that stuff. And there is no way of stopping people to buy the stuff, so it is easily accessible."*

Interviewer: *"Do you support tourism in Langkawi?"*

Respondent: *"I support tourism if it doesn't bring bad things to us, but now we know it is able to make bad things to happen. Thus, I am not really keen for them to development tourism any further. They need to control these things too."*

Interviewer: *"Do you plan to take advantage of what tourism development has to offer by getting involved in the tourism sector yourself?"*

Respondent: *"No."*

Interviewer: *"Why is that?"*

Respondent: *"I see that it is difficult to do anything successfully here. I am a contractor, and I find business elsewhere, not in Langkawi. I have businesses outside Langkawi, in the mainland."*

Interviewer: *"Do you feel that you have the power or ability to be involved in the development planning of your community?"*

Respondent: *"The problem is that you do not know anything about whatever plans they have. They just develop, they don't let us know anything. They don't discuss with us, the residents, or ask our opinions. Nothing whatsoever. I don't*

*know if anybody else get any information about their plans, but I certainly don't."*

Interviewer: *"Can I safely say that you do not want tourism in the future of Langkawi?"*

Respondent: *"Yes, you can say that I don't think tourism is the way to develop Langkawi. There are more bad things about tourism."*

Interviewer: *"But the residents' income did increase because of tourism?"*

Respondent: *"I don't deny that they have more income now. But the additional income cannot help fix the damage. For example, they get an additional 1,000 ringgit per month, especially those young people, they used to not have jobs before. But, at the same time, their generations are ruined, and that is permanent, the 1,000 is not permanent because they are going to spend this money. The damage that happens in the society, it is going to be with the society for a long time. We need to look at this thing this way, we cannot evaluate everything based on money."*



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