

CONSERVATION IN MALAYSIA:
LANDSCAPE, TOURISM AND CULTURE

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Doctor of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

Conservation and development issues have been the focus of the global community in this decade; as a result of massive industrialisation and urbanisation which have led to the degradation of our environment, loss of ecosystems and biodiversity, and social disintegration. Whilst anxiety about the tourist industry increases, so does tourism's impact on the economy, social, cultural and resources of the host country: foreign exchange 'leakage'; social change and moral behaviour; acculturation and destruction of local cultural character; and destruction and pollution of pristine environment. Despite its impact, tourism has provided employment to millions, and given pleasure and variety of experiences to countless number of people.

The purpose of this study is to establish an approach towards a reconciliation and a compromise between the two conflicting activities: conservation and tourism development, particularly in rural areas where agricultural or the notion of '*cultural landscape*' is predominant. The study emphasises the need to build productive partnership between the tourist industry, the authorities and the communities. To meet this challenge: *It is necessary for rural areas to have management plan and policies that strive to conserve the character and qualities of the area, and to take into consideration the social, economic and cultural needs of the local communities; that will ensure the endurance and continuation of culture and tradition.*

The approach is to present a general understanding on culture and society, the tourist industry, and development of rural areas, with particular reference to Malaysia, and to consider practical conservation strategies for the Islands of Langkawi within the context of economic development and improvement of the social well-being of the islanders. Finally this study attempts to:

- understand the operation of the tourist industry on Langkawi and the implementation mechanism with respect to present policies or the lack of them,
- identify and assess the impact of tourism on the landscape and the environment of the island,
- examine the locals' attitude to and perceptions of their surrounding environment and the industry through survey and interviews,
- propose a number of guidelines to better facilitate conservation measures and to assist the local authorities for future planning strategies.

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**In the name of Allah, the Beneficent,
the Merciful**

"And in the earth there are tracts side by side and gardens of grapes and corn and palm trees having one root and (others) having distinct roots - they are watered with one water, and We make some of them excel others in fruit; most surely there are signs in this for a people who understand".

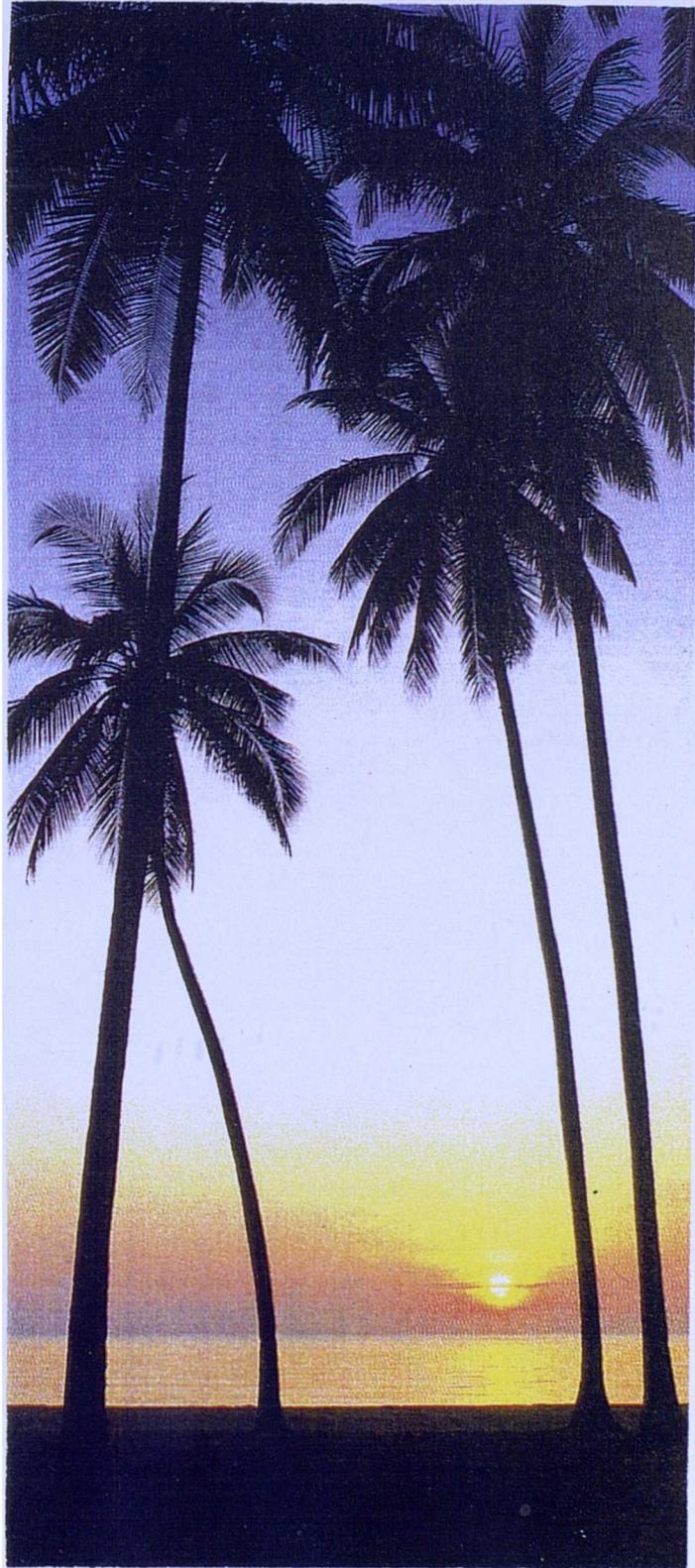
(Quran Ch.13:4)

"It is He who hath produced you from earth and settled you therein: then ask forgiveness".

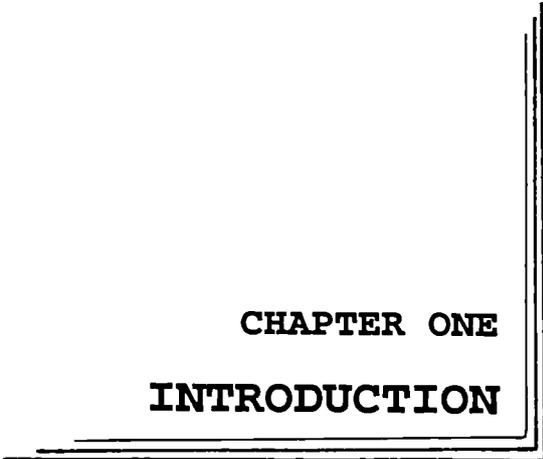
(Quran, Hud:61)

"O David! We did indeed Make thee a vicegerent on earth: so judge thou Between men in truth (and justice): Nor follow thou the lust (of thy heart), for it will mislead thee from the Path of Allah: for those who Wander astray from the Path of Allah, is a Chastisement Grievous, For that they forget The Day of Account".

(Quran, Sad:26)



CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION



CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

"...Preserving the relics of past economic glories is no more than aestheticism at best and costly sentimentality at worst. But tourism can provide significant long-term economic benefits if the investment is made in the preservation, enhancement and interpretation of villages [and associated landscapes] whose charm and scarcity will attract people from afar."

(Binney and Hanna, 1978:53)

1.1. Background

There has recently been mounting concern expressed about the destruction of many of the world's cultural landscapes. This is due to the increasing awareness of society about wider environmental issues such as pollution, global-warming, the continuing destruction of the remaining rain forests and other environmental management issues which were not being highlighted before. The public are also becoming more conscious that so-called development activity can also destroy. This growing consciousness is perhaps the result of the Stockholm Conference in 1972 on the Environment and the Earth Summit '92 in Rio de Janeiro on the Environment and Development. Both UN conferences emphasized the need for a more sustainable development process and for the preservation and improvement of the natural and human environment for the benefit of all. As was proclaimed at the Stockholm conference;

"Through ignorance or indifference we can do massive and irreversible harm to the earthly environment on which our life and well-being depend. Conversely, through fuller knowledge and wiser action, we can achieve for ourselves and our posterity a better life in an environment more in keeping with human needs and hopes."

(United Nations, 1972, p.3)

In addition, there are certain groups of people around the world who are campaigning for the conservation of the main

ecological and cultural elements that help to give character, as well as aesthetic and educational interest to what have come to be called cultural landscapes. However, the greatest response towards conservation of rural landscape heritage has been shown only by certain countries, such as America, Great Britain and some of the European countries (Millman,1978:8), where perhaps the perceived threat is greatest. In the case of Britain for instance, there are certain factors that have helped to draw attention to their deteriorating landscape. These have to do with vulnerability, high density and the modernisation of farming methods over the last 40 years. Thus the combination of economic, social and technological change has to be carefully addressed in the planning of policies, so as not to aggravate further deterioration of the landscape.

The number and range of voluntary organisations and interest groups that exist in this country that deal with the environment and countryside are very encouraging. They are a reflection of public concern and interest in those issues. Today, there are about 637 of such organisations in England and Wales and over 160 in Scotland (Environmental Council,1993). For instance, the establishment of 'Quangos' (Quasi autonomous non-government organisations), such as the Countryside Commission, to conserve and enhance the natural beauty of the countryside is a good example. The catalytic role played by the Commission in influencing and persuading those with an interest in the countryside helps to accelerate conservation work even further. Currently, the topic of cultural landscape is a world-wide interest, not only to the environmentalists, but to a broad spectrum of professions such as politicians, historians, archaeologists, landscape architects and planners. However, it has to be said, that there are many in those and other professions who still show very little concern for this issue.

Generally, cultural landscapes include those landscapes having acquired a primarily cultural interest (such as Stonehenge in UK and the rice terraces in Bali) and those having a remarkable and mutually reinforcing combination of natural, scenic and associative interests (such as Cape Cod in the USA and the Lake District in the UK). According to Goodchild (1991), there are three general types of cultural landscapes: they are ethnographical landscapes i.e. landscapes that are the product of economic and social systems; associative landscapes; and adjoining landscapes, though these are not mutually exclusive.

It is to be hoped that every nation makes some effort to conserve and maintain their selected historic sites and cultural resources. In Malaysia, although a special law to protect and preserve historic premises has been in existence since 1957 (Abdul Rahman, 1986), the subject of conservation has become a focus for public concern only over the past few years. 'Badan Warisan Malaysia' (The Heritage of Malaysia Trust) is a non-profit organisation responsible for preserving buildings of architectural and historic interest in the country. It was formed and registered in August 1983 and its main interest is to protect the National Heritage for the benefit, education and enjoyment of the people of Malaysia and for overseas visitors. Our situation proves that even though the legislation is in place, it can still be willfully ignored by those in power, who do not insist on it being strictly enforced. According to Raja Osman (1986), the Director of Planning and Building Control of Kuala Lumpur City Hall, in his paper on the 'Conservation in the Planning Context';

"...the subject of conservation by legislation achievements are likely to be constrained due to the lack of proper and adequate legal and procedural facilities."

Another explanation could be that he and his superiors are simply not doing the job they were appointed to do. This

implies that the government should be more courageous and firm in enforcing the existing law and reinforcing it if necessary, in order to achieve our agreed conservation objectives. If we want the public, as well as the private sector to be far more committed in their actions to protect our best interests, we are entitled to ask why they are not doing so. After all this is in line with what has been agreed by the Government on our behalf in Principle 27 of the Rio Declaration where;

"States and people shall cooperate in good faith and in a spirit of partnership...in the further development of international law in the field of sustainable development." (Grubb, 1993:89)

In addition, the major 'action agenda' of the conference i.e Agenda 21 also places emphasis on the provision of an effective legal and regulatory framework at the international, national and local levels to enable the transformation of environment and development policies into effective action. To do this in Malaysia requires constant reviews and assessments of our legal and regulatory instruments (i.e administrative systems) to make them more effective and comply with the balanced needs of our country. Unfortunately, quite a number of developing countries (including Malaysia) do not perform according to international agreements regarding the enactment and enforcement of specific conservation laws and environmental management regulations, due it is said to the lack of sufficient numbers of trained staff. Hence, more often than not the legal process is poorly used within the scale and pace of economic and social change (United Nations, 1993:53).

This phenomena is further aggravated by changes in the rural economy due to mechanisation and capitalisation of the industry. Not only has this forced migrant labourers into the cities to seek work, but the modern agricultural practices have been recognised to cause environmental

degradation, such as pollution (through excessive use of pesticides and fertilizers), soil erosion and loss of biodiversity (through land clearing). All these problems are exacerbated by the increasing trend to bring alternative means to boost rural development i.e through adhoc tourist projects, which incidentally are also well known for their often adverse impacts on the environment.

There is no doubt however, that economic activity is needed in order to support more sustainable rural communities. With this in mind, a United Nations agency for Sustainable Agriculture and Rural Development (SARD) was established, as a result of a jointly hosted conference between the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) and the Dutch Government in 1991 at Den Bosch. The broad aims of the agency are to : improve food security; encourage employment and income generation in rural areas; *and encourage the conservation of natural resources and enhance environmental protection* (United Nations, 1995:2). In order to achieve these objectives, the member countries (124 of them) have to review their agricultural policies and practices and to reorientate them so as to move towards more sustainable policies and practices, both in developed as well as in developing countries. However, it is agreed that the developed and industrialised countries will have to play a leadership role in this. It is they who rely on the imports of food and agricultural inputs from the developing countries. It is they who are the cause of the exploitation of environmental and natural resources in the developing world because of their selfish trade policies, dominant financial flows and ruthless business practices regarding the agricultural commodity markets, the bias in GATT (General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs) and the demands of their consumers (Ibid, 1995:6). Because of these activities, the developing countries are forced into practices that often contribute to environmental degradation, mono-cropping

and generally the pursuit of non-sustainable development policies such as tourism.

The current unsustainable pattern of consumption of resources and environment in the developing world, particularly by the developed countries (through capitalised agriculture and tourism development) has proven hazardous to the environment and the social well-being of many local communities. Thus with the growing concern over global development and environmental problems, urgent action was taken through Agenda 21 and the Rio Declaration to ensure that human development objectives are met within the Earth's environmental limits. This set the priorities for a sustainable pattern of development so that;

"The management and conservation of the natural resource base, and the orientation of technological and institutional change in such a manner as to ensure the attainment and continued satisfaction of human needs for present and future generations"
(United Nations, 1995:2)

These are true sentiments but in order to achieve the objective of sustainable development, policies are needed first to encourage and then to enforce the right approach to the conservation and management of our resources and environment. This is because both environmental resources and development are closely linked. Major adjustments are needed in agricultural, environmental and economic policies, not to say practices in pursuit of achieving a sustainable agriculture and a balanced rural development. In the case of Malaysia, agricultural and rural development has been the focus of government policy ever since Independence until the 80's when all the emphasis was on economic growth and sectoral development. However, with the shortfalls in commodity export earnings due to factors such as high production costs and international competitive pressures, the government has switched the country's direction more towards manufacturing and industrialisation. The strong

growth in these sectors with annual per capita incomes growing more than four-fold between 1970 (US \$1,142) and 1985 (US \$4,609), marked the transformation of Malaysia from a country dependent on its raw material base (principally rubber, tin, oil palm and timber) to a more diversified economy (Taylor and Ward, 1994:101). The tourist industry is another option widely adopted and encouraged by the government. The generally positive responses to these new opportunities can be examined against the background of our social and political system, that in turn is being shaped by the development of the national economy. In addition, in order to fully understand the significance of industrialisation, it is important that the interrelationships between the social, cultural, economic and political elements are explored (see Chapter Two). This helps to better understand and establish the nature of the processes and pressures that govern development and better conservation management. The trouble here, like everywhere else, is that generally environmental management is subject to manipulation by socio-economic elites, who have and do exercise the power to distort outcomes in their favour (Brookfield, 1994:282). Hence, we must remember that, the task of establishing *effective* legislation is one aspect but its implementation is another.

Conservation in Malaysia to a certain extent has been closely associated with the development of the tourist industry (see Chapter Five), which has emerged as the third major contributor to the country's GNP after palm oil and rubber. Tourists are drawn to this country principally by the heterogenous and diverse culture (derived from the multi-racial society), its natural resources (beaches and national parks) and the national heritage, which includes buildings and areas of historical and cultural significance, such as Merdeka (Independence) Square, the National Mosque, the Sultan Abdul Samad building (i.e. the State Secretariat

Office), and many others. Examples of prominent buildings of the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries that are being preserved for their unique styles are Wisma Loke, Bok House and PAM (Association of Malaysian Architects) buildings, which are all located in Kuala Lumpur. Meanwhile many buildings of the mid-18th century can be found along Jalan Tun Tan Cheng Lock in Malacca, comprised mainly of terrace houses and shophouses (Fig.1-1). An important point to make here is that most of the conservation and preservation efforts are concentrated mainly on buildings rather than on sites or the landscape. Conservation of landscapes other than those of the National Parks is very rare.

As some of us are aware, one of the ways to protect species and habitats of our country is through the establishment of legally protected areas. As such conservation of landscape and the countryside is fundamental in achieving a sustainable approach to the use of our natural resources; and prevent them from being over-exploited and degraded. Thus the concept of 'protected landscape' can be adopted to serve the purpose, where the wise use of the resources and effective management of land in rural areas will help to contribute towards reversing the trend of environmental deterioration from 'destructive' development.

The history of tourism development in Malaysia has not been as a result of organised government intervention until the late 1980s. In the past, the activity was carried out by private entrepreneurs and multi-nationals based overseas. The 1972 Pacific Area Travel Association (PATA) Conference called upon governments and tourist-related agencies of the Pacific and South East Asian countries to embark on development of the tourist industry and expansion of their promotional efforts. Malaysia's tourism industry picked up its momentum and achieved its present status over this

period. In addition, the establishment of the Tourist Development Corporation (TDC) (presently known as the Malaysia Tourism Promotion Board - MTPB) through an Act of Parliament on March 23, 1972 has helped to encourage the industry. As the name implies this Corporation plans and



BOK HOUSE, JALAN AMPANG
KUALA LUMPUR
BUILT c. 1900
NEO-CLASSICAL STYLE

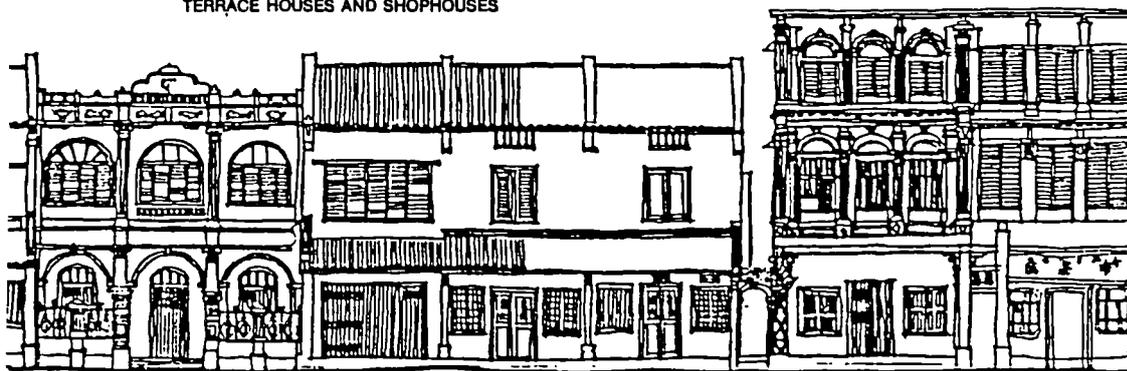


PAM BUILDING, 4/6 JALAN TANGSI
KUALA LUMPUR
(FORMERLY WISMA CHOW KIT)
BUILT c. 1890s
STRAITS ECLECTIC STYLE



WISMA LOKE, LORONG MEDAN TUANKU
KUALA LUMPUR
BUILT 1880s
STRAITS ECLECTIC STYLE

TERRACE HOUSES AND SHOPHOUSES



c. 1800'

c. MID-1700s

c. 1880s

JALAN TUN TAN CHENG LOCK

MALACCA

Fig.1-1 Examples of buildings that have been preserved.
Source: Badan Warisan Malaysia (1990).

coordinates the activities at the national and international levels, and makes recommendations to Government with regard to measures and policies to be adopted (TDC, 1975). It was anticipated that the global economy will continue to be conducive to growth in world tourism. There is also a positive shift to long-haul travel with the introduction of the jumbo jet, modernisation of airport facilities and the building of modern international standard hotels. All these may be viewed as mixed blessings but they do offer substantial opportunities for countries like Malaysia to exploit. Thus, as the economy grows as a result of the industry, one can expect to see the phenomena of Kuala Lumpur becoming a world class city, with all the attendant benefits and costs that come with that status.

All this activity was brought together by the Federal Government initiative; the Visit Malaysia Year in 1990, with the desired result in further development and growth in the industry. According to the Government of Malaysia (1991, p.234 and 237);

"Foreign exchange earnings from tourism have increased significantly, contributing to the improvement in the service account of the balance of payments. Gross receipts from tourism grew by 24.5% per annum during the period...and the share of tourism earnings in total services receipts increased steadily from 23.5% in 1985 to 28% in 1990, mainly due to the increase in foreign arrivals....In terms of development of basic infrastructural facilities, a number of projects were completed...[this includes] the upgrading of the Pulau Langkawi airport, rebuilding jetties at major tourism areas, such as Kuala Tahan, Pulau Langkawi and Pulau Tioman..."

Even though Malaysia is a relatively new entrant in international tourism, compared with other counterparts in the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN - made up of 6 countries; Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, Indonesia, Philippines and Brunei), the growth prospects are encouraging.

On the other hand, one perceives that a too rapid expansion of tourism or too much reliance on the industry would bring in adverse impacts on social, cultural, economic and the environment of the host country. This has sadly happened to many countries where tourism has been allowed to become a major revenue earner. For instance, in Cyprus the great demand for land created by rapid tourism development has outstripped the available facilities; and the rise in land values has enabled a few people to become very wealthy at the expense of many others. Likewise in Malta, tourism is recognised to have caused the loosening of traditional bonds of many a closely-knit family. Employment opportunities generated by tourism has removed unmarried women from the mother-controlled housebound tradition. Meanwhile the expansion of tourism has also caused persistent shortage in agricultural labour of the islands of the Seychelles. These classic examples provide a good lesson for Malaysia not to repeat the same mistakes; a compromise has to be sought to ensure balanced development.

During the term of the Sixth Malaysia Plan 1991-1995 the tourism sector will be promoted as an important economic activity contributing to the overall socio-economic development of the country. A Special Fund has been set up by the Federal Government to further support the effort to develop this sector. The budget allocated is about 534 million Ringgit (approx. £134 million) (Government of Malaysia, 1991), which is approximately 0.3% of the total national budget. During this period, a variety of attractions, activities, facilities and services will be developed to provide for different interests and preferences of tourists. This includes the provision of affordable tourist accommodation and construction of tourist-related infrastructure and facilities. According to the Plan (p.242);

"The main thrust will be on preserving and enhancing existing natural and cultural assets...including the preservation and restoration of historical sites, enforcement of environmental conservation, and development of natural and cultural tourism products..."

Thus it is crucial to put in place monitoring systems so that our unique assets are not excessively modified and over-commercialised. Some of the budget (10% would yield £13 million) must be set aside to protect our landscape, culture and way of life. This is a very important aspect of sustainable tourism development, the quality of life (people), the resources (culture) and the experience (tourists) have to be considered (Schouten, 1993:34) in maintaining the continuity of our past in the future. Furthermore, incorporating a cultural dimension in development strategy will help to ensure the policies respond to the needs and aspirations of our communities, and utilise the people's resources to find *local solutions* to local problems. According to UNESCO (1994:11),

"There can be no really successful or sustainable development that does not recognise, and utilise, culture's vitalising force, and which ignores the lifestyles, value systems, traditions, beliefs, knowledge and skills of the community."

Based on this common sense notion it is pertinent that cultural and economic development be maintained in a mutual relationship; and this requires the active participation of community leaders and local interest groups. The island of Bali for example, has gained a great opportunity to profit from tourism through the dancing, painting and carving which are part and parcel of the Balinese way of life. Income generated from these activities is being used to sustain the religious and secular bonds of the community. A similar situation can be seen in the concept of a 'living farm'. In the Pinelands or 'pine barrens' of New Jersey, USA, the farmers are allowed to maintain row crop farming and cultivate cranberries and blueberries in the traditional

fashion, as a means to control intrusive developments that might threaten the character of the region. This type of action does not only help to maintain traditional ways of life and the values of a particular community but at the same time helps to create a harmonious balance between people and their environment; while at the same time maintaining and even contributing to economic vitality.

A current trend in the marketing strategy appears to be giving emphasis to the nation's 'green' attributes and the diversity of our natural landscapes. This perhaps is due to the increasing number of travellers who are interested in learning about the diverse natural attractions that Malaysia possesses, such as the coral reefs (Sipadan Island), the large cave formations (Sarawak), our ancient lakes (Lake Chini - Pahang), and the most species-rich tropical rainforests (more than 3,500 species of trees), etc. (Malaysia Airlines, 1993, p.16). In addition, according to Dr. Illar Muul (1993) of Integrated Conservation Research, Malaysia, in his article on the 'Burden of Conservation', stressed that;

"One economic activity which greatly benefits from a diversity of species, habitats, and landscapes, is native [nature] tourism. Among other forest-related activities, native [nature] tourism shows great economic potential, the profits from which would demonstrate the value of conserving extensive natural areas and the biodiversity they support."

Looking at the prospect and interest from a world perspective, it seems nature tourism has become the highlight in the itineraries of travel in Malaysia. Thus it is necessary that these resources (the diverse species, habitats, and landscapes) be conserved and managed in a proper manner. We must ensure their ecological sustainability so that they can also be enjoyed for our future benefit.

But tourism is not the only reason. We need to conserve our natural ecosystems because of the ecological balances that help to keep our Earth fit for natural and human life; they help to regulate climate, maintain hydrological cycles, create and regenerate soil, disposal of wastes and pollutants, and cycling of nutrients. In addition, the precious "genetic library" of biodiversity that the ecosystems provide is a good source of education and research for the betterment and enhancement of human knowledge, as well as for human survival. This has been stressed by Munasinghe (1993:135) who points out that the conservation of natural habitats and the protection of biological diversity is essential for sustainable development and it has to be applied both globally and locally. Malaysia can make a unique contribution in this field by attracting researchers from around the world to support us in this task.

1.1.1 Tourism: the fastest growing industry

Today, tourism whether domestic, international or intra-regional has become one of the most important industries in most of the countries of the world. To show that this activity is taking place at a tremendous rate, Young (1973) in his discussion on the implementation of tourist infrastructure, points out that;

"... the green fields of Europe will shortly be covered with airports; the air will be filled with the noise of jets flying in jumbo-loads of tourists; our capitals will be submerged in a sea of new hotels; the roads congested with tourist coaches; historic buildings even more cluttered with culture-seeking visitors; streets populated with souvenir shops, boutiques and strip clubs. Already the phrase 'pollution by tourist' has been coined."

According to the World Travel and Tourism Council (1991), between 1970 and 1990 world tourism grew by nearly 300 percent, with 112 million people employed worldwide and with

revenue expected to go beyond US\$3.1 trillion by 1992 (EBER, 1992). Between and despite two global recessions in 1972/75 and 1981/84, the industry has generated an annual turnover the equivalent of 6% of world GNP and accounted for nearly 7% of the world's capital investment (Aitchison and Beresford, 1992:5). Looking at these figures, there is little doubt that tourism will be one of the world's fastest growing industries this century. The World Tourism Organisation (WTO) has predicted that tourism will be the world's largest export industry by the year 2000. This rapid growth and development however, has stimulated a growing public concern about its contribution to the people, culture, environment and economies of host countries. Like most other human activity, there are positive and negative aspects. O'Grady (1975) has said that:

" Tourism has both benefits and evils, it holds out a promise and also a threat. It is both benefactor and mischief-maker."

1.1.2 The important aspects of tourism

It has been claimed that tourism can bring in great benefits to the destination countries, like increases in capital and foreign exchange earnings, improve the living standards of the people, and create awareness and better understanding between tourists and local communities. Such sentiments have been emphasised by Powell (1978);

"There is no better bridge between people, ideas and ideologies, cultures than travel. It can nurture understanding within a country and between countries."

and, Kaiser and Helber (1978);

" Tourism in its broadest, generic sense, can do more to develop understanding among people, provide jobs, create foreign exchange, and raise living standards than any other economic force known."

(cited in Murphy 1985:30)

In order to determine whether tourism has more of the positive aspects or vice-versa, one has to really study its consequences in various perspectives. Ideally, we want to maximise the positive and minimise the negative sides. However, in reality this is not often the case. Some, if not most of the time, the negative aspects of tourism over-rule in the search for the 'big buck'. Normally, the national benefits of tourism are quantified by expenditure and yet the disbenefits for the region or the local area are not so easily quantified. Thus there is the potential that a saturation point for a given locality or region can be reached before anyone becomes aware of the situation. If this level is allowed to be exceeded, the costs of tourism start to outweigh the benefits. This itself can create more problems than benefits for the host country.

Many studies carried out in the developing world have shown that tourism has had as many adverse effects on people, their culture, environment and their local economies (Bryden, 1973; O'Grady, 1990; DeKadt, 1979; Archer, 1973; Negi, 1990; White, 1974; Badger, 1992; and Equations, 1989) as so-called 'benefits'. It is therefore crucial that those negative phenomena are recognised and mitigated, for the sake of future generations in general, and for the benefit of the host countries and the local people as a whole. Even though the total amount of money generated might be tremendous, 'leakages' in the system might be high too. Ryan (1990) has defined leakages as savings, taxation and imports. According to Wyer and Towner (1988) estimating foreign exchange leakage is much more problematic. The UN Center for Transnationals estimates that foreign exchange leakage associated with tourism, in the countries like Thailand, India, Kenya and the Seychelles, is about 21%-50% or more of total tourism receipts. This means that more than half of the money generated goes back to the transnational enterprises or even to the tourists themselves. Hence, the

proportion of benefit acquired through tourism development may not be much after all (DeKadt, 1979) compared to the cost of modifications to the environment and ecological imbalance induced by the industry (Negi, 1990).

In terms of tourism planning, the effect of different situations and visitor expectations certainly influences the carrying capacities of destination areas (Murphy, 1985). Every actual or potential tourist destination has a certain 'carrying capacity', a level of tourist development or recreational activity beyond which the environment is degraded (environmental carrying capacity), facilities are saturated (physical carrying capacity) or people's enjoyment diminished (perceptual or social carrying capacity). The tourist carrying capacity concept is a fundamental prerequisite to establishing, in measurable terms, the number of visitors and the degree of development that can take place without detrimental effects to nature and people (O'Grady, 1990). D'Amore (1983) has defined social carrying capacity as that point in the growth of tourism, where local residents perceive on balance an unacceptable level of social disbenefits from tourism development (in Murphy, 1983). Thus, it is vital that the carrying capacity of the destination areas is integrated into the tourism planning process, so that it does not pose a threat to ecological or social systems. A study carried out for the 'Planning for Amenity and Tourism' in Dublin, has suggested that the ratio of one tourist for every fifty residents is a desirable target, with a maximum of three tourists for fifty residents in some areas (Young, 1973). Besides biological parameters of a site, a 'carrying capacity assessment' must also take into consideration the activity patterns and needs of visitors. This is because different landscapes possess different tolerance levels for visitors. There is no doubt that the carrying capacity concept can be manipulated by management for local planning objectives, at least it can

create a framework and a guide for analysis and assessment for better decision-making. The successful development and management of tourism destinations requires the development of a perspective which recognizes that the quality of life enjoyed by the host population and the tourist are interrelated (Martin and Uysal, 1992).

Tourism also demands the protection of the scenic, historic, cultural and natural heritage. It is needed because, "without an attractive environment, there would be no tourism" (Dower, 1974). As Murphy (1985:32) notes that;

"A paradox of tourism is that the industry carries within it the seed of its own destruction. Successful development of a resource or amenity can lead to the destruction of those very qualities which attracted visitors in the first place....in fact a good simile for the modern tourism industry would be that of a household fire. When the fire is contained and managed within the hearth it offers beauty and comfort to the household. When it runs out of control, it can destroy the very household it was designed to support."

Here we can see that there is harmony as well as potential conflict. So, how can these two phenomena be reconciled? This is not an easy task. However, in order for the tourism industry to be sustainable, its development must be environmentally sensitive and produce economic and social benefits for present and future generations. This has been supported by Henley (1974) who emphasised that;

"Tourism is here to stay and we have to try to influence tourism in such a way that we can mitigate the devastation. We have to introduce measures which will go some way to making tourism pay for conservation, which needs money."

1.1.3. Tourism and Conservation: securing a balance

The conservation of beauty and heritage are key factors to the industry's survival and development, and there are many examples of its support for the protection of natural and cultural resources (Murphy, 1985). This was supported by the

then Minister at the Department of Environment (DOE) in Britain, Mr. Dennis Howell, who in his speech at the 'Tourism and Conservation Conference' in Autumn 1974, stressed that;

"... we have to develop our skills in the planning and management of our countryside..., and to improve and increase the amenities available without in any way detracting from the traditional character of the countryside, which has to be retained."
(ETB, 1974)

The number of conferences, workshops and active conservation groups, formed during the past decade throughout the world, illustrate the intensifying activity in response to widespread concern. One of the resolutions adopted by the ICOMOS European Conference held in March 1990 is that, a significant proportion of revenue earned from tourism should be set aside to benefit conservation, both nationally and regionally (ICOMOS UK, 1990). This is an ideal situation when the implementation and control can be regulated and enforced in most developed countries. However, the term 'conservation' is a new concept in most developing economies. Therefore many developing countries, who are suffering from capital and foreign exchange scarcities, do have to turn to more rapid sources of economic revitalization, such as tourism. Thus, in many cases the tourist industry has been promoted and developed at an alarming rate. Exploitation of natural and cultural resources and overstressing the environment of the potential destination areas are rapidly going ahead with little regard for the consequences. It is therefore a difficult political and management challenge for these countries to secure a balance between tourism and conservation. The Malaysian government does often have the necessary long term view when it comes to some economic development projects but they have yet to show similar qualities in respect of conservation. All governments have to realise that development and conservation are not mutually exclusive but complementary to

each other.

Hence, if tourism is to be truly beneficial to all concerned and sustainable in the long term, it must be ensured that resources (cultural and natural) are not over consumed. Natural and human environments must be protected, and tourism is integrated with other activities, that it provides real benefits to the local communities who are often the basis of tourism enterprise, that local people are involved and included in tourism planning and implementation, and that cultures and peoples are respected. Most important of all is that tourism must take its place as part of programmes for 'integrated rural development' of local economies (Eber, 1992). In addition, conservation and tourism has to be approached in a much wider perspective and in a more comprehensive way, so that both can complement each other. There have to be some kind of enforceable measures and controls in ensuring the balance. Only then can tourism and conservation be reconciled. As has been suggested, one way of doing this is, a significant proportion of revenue earned from tourism should be applied for the benefit of conservation, both nationally and regionally (Stirling, 1990).

Thus from here one can say that the continuing efforts of conservation are vital. Oyadomari (1992) points out that;

"Although it is important to seek universal means of preserving the natural and cultural heritage of each country,... utilizing traditional ideas and cultural traits are more often what makes conservation and management more effective and successful."

1.1.4 Cultural Landscape

In looking at the issue of conservation of cultural landscapes, it is first of all necessary to define the meaning and understand the term, as has been suggested by Brandon (1978:22). Taking a look into the national

perspective, there are a couple of definitions regarding cultural landscapes. In Slovenia for example, cultural landscape is defined as the landscape that has valuable cultural qualities, such as those that are productive (economic), natural (ecological) and artistic (visible) (Curk,1992:9).In Australia, Taylor (1993) has written,

"Cultural landscapes are the everyday landscapes which surround us and in which we conduct our activities.They are the result of human intervention in the natural landscape and present a record of human activity and human values."

However, a much simpler definition is given by the Canadian Park Service, that is; the landscape of any geographical area that has been modified or influenced by human activity (Bugey,1992:5). From all these definitions, it is thought that Taylor's definition seems more realistic and universal, and perhaps more suitable to the Malaysian context.

Besides looking into the definitions of cultural landscapes, the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) is also working on the criteria for judging and evaluating the landscape. It is very important to put the identification, protection and management of cultural landscapes on a par with the standard of evaluation used for the natural heritage. Currently, the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee is considering criteria for evaluation under the cultural resources category. A guideline has been adopted whereby all cultural landscapes should possess adequate examples of landforms and land uses associated with traditional life-styles (ILWG Newsletter,1991:9 and 1992:11). The nature and scope of the Cultural Resource Conservation movement in rural Japan, also emphasises the conservation of cultural and vernacular landscapes that are used and maintained for the everyday life of a locality and its people (Goto and Alanen,1987,p.42).

1.2. Defining the Problem

According to the Deputy Secretary General in the Ministry of Culture, Arts and Tourism Malaysia (1991), tourism development strategy in the Sixth Malaysia Plan will give greater emphasis to developing a more distinct Malaysian image and identity, especially in the preserving and conserving of the natural and cultural heritage. This is an ideal situation, when there is a favourable socio-cultural and political-legal support system to achieve it. However, in some if not most cases, unfavourable aspects still persist. There is a lack of awareness and appreciation of the importance of conservation and there is also not enough recognition of the role of conservation in the context of planning and policy guidelines. Thus a problem of effective implementation of a conservation strategy exists. Chahl (1986) in his paper on 'Conservation in the legal context', points out that under Section 58(2)(f) of the Town and Country Planning Act 1976 of Malaysia, there is no specific statutory recognition given to the 'area concept' of conservation, even though the 'Manual on Functions, Form and Content' for the preparation of Development Plans (JPBD, 1981) has identified 'Conservation, Townscape and Landscape' as a subject for the Structure Plan and has specifically mentioned 'conservation areas'. Therefore, positive efforts towards this direction are urgently required.

As perhaps, at this stage, we should expect the most significant aspect of tourist development in most island resorts of Malaysia is that it has been initiated and pushed by the Federal and State governments, rather than by the local initiatives and responses. Thus the concern for land acquisition and alienation by the authorities for the various projects and infrastructural development is an important issue. This has caused some dissatisfaction among the people, particularly those whose livelihood has been depended on the land. For example, according to Bird (1989),

at Tanjung Rhu Langkawi, over 70 families were affected when their lands were reclaimed by the State government for the Langkawi Resort development. The people were displaced and split from their community, and also for most of them their source of income was lost due to the damage to the 'ikan bilis' (anchovy) industry which they have relied on. Therefore it is interesting and important to find out the responses of the local people, in terms of their support and participation in new tourist-related activities.

Another problem which is also significant in terms of landscape and architectural quality is the absence of a 'code of design' in creating a well built environment. This is because most of the activities are probably organised on an ad-hoc basis resulting in a design that does not complement the surroundings. The issue of the role of local architecture in portraying Malaysia's image or identity has always been discussed among architects, policy makers and even tourist promoters. Nevertheless, most of the hotels and resort developments have failed to play their role in doing so. Most of these developments are of international or modern style, which in some cases have become intrusive in the landscape. Thus it would be appropriate that the flavour of Malaysian traditional or local architecture be looked into, especially in the development of tourist-related facilities for Langkawi which is rich in history and natural beauty.

Many of the traditional rural (village) landscape settings, have a serene and modest atmosphere, whose cultural and natural resources serve as an attraction to many tourists. Due to the increasing number of visitors to this type of area, there are many chalets and other tourist-related facilities sprouting like 'mushrooms', in the villages. To some extent these new developments have disregarded the traditional and natural character of the village

surroundings and thus negate not only their purpose but the impact of the whole village. The continuing ad-hoc and unregulated nature of these facilities have resulted in a marked deterioration of the visual aspects of the physical and natural environment of these settlements. This is partly because, according to Marwick (1977) in his report on the 'Visitor Destination Master Plan of Langkawi' states;

"...no land use controls currently exist, to our knowledge, that restrict the specific use of a land parcel. The absence of land use controls not only allows for random development, but also for potential inappropriate use of land such as commercial facilities on prime agricultural land."

This situation must be rectified over the forthcoming Plan period; (a) Legally based Planning Controls must be introduced to all areas where 'environmental aesthetics' could be an issue in connection with tourist development areas. Also, (b) urgent steps must be taken to train and put in position, in all local authority planning offices, trained Conservation Officers. These officials can be drawn from a range of disciplines such as historians, biologists, ecologists, horticulturists and the fine arts, as well as those of planning, landscape and architecture.

If this fast changing situation is not speedily monitored and properly controlled, the whole setting of our rural areas will be destroyed and its assets will be 'land-scraped' due to indiscriminate development by so-called 'insensitive' developers. We will resemble those rural 'shanty towns' found in so many locations in rural America; bill-boarded and windswept.

It is therefore very urgent for the Malaysian government and the local authorities to establish and adopt a conservation policy that can be incorporated into an Area Structure Plan. By doing this the related agencies can more closely monitor the continual development of the rural areas. As a

principle, the process of evolution and change of the countryside should take account of the characteristic and 'historic' features of our past way of life by skillful incorporation into today's visual and therefore highly sensitive landscapes while trying to meet the needs of the present (Hunter, 1978:33). It has generally been achieved in Britain, so if it is not asking too much, it can be done with enlightened self-interest in mind.

According to the Brundtland Report (1987), the principle of sustainable development is;

"Development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs".

(cited in Owen, 1991)

Hence, we might formulate two research questions as follows:

(1) Will it be possible to pursue modern economic activity (tourism) without compromising traditional lifestyles, so as not to destroy the cultural values and character of a particular area?

(2) Can this improved development balance (equilibrium) fulfill the demands of tourism development and contribute to the quality of life of the people in the rural areas?

1.3. Scope of the Study

Looking at the rapid development and seriousness of the Malaysian government's drive towards a sustainable tourist industry, it is now very urgent to undertake a study before things become too bad. We must 'quality assess' the cultural landscapes of the areas engaged in tourist activity. With this in mind this author has attempted just such an exercise within the limits of the scope of doctoral research. For this purpose, the still largely unspoilt Langkawi Island, located off the north-western coast of Peninsular Malaysia,

will be used as a case study (Fig.1-2).

Malaysia has several offshore islands with extensive beach areas that are attractive as actual and potential vacation land. These idyllic tropical islands have now been the focus of both regional and international tourist activity. One of these important islands is Langkawi, one of the Districts in

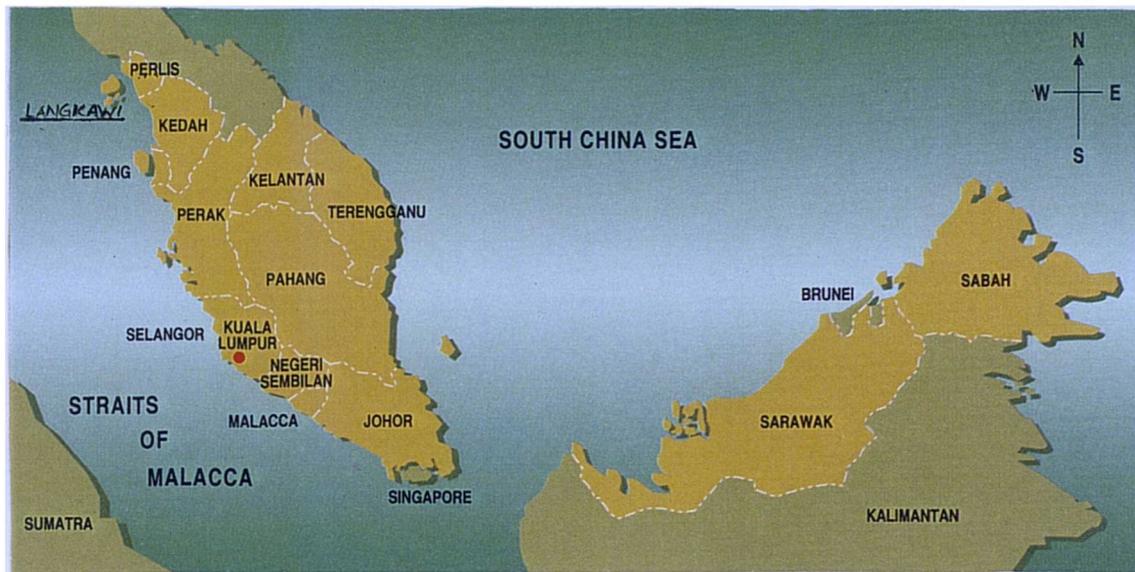


FIG.1-2 Map of Malaysia

the State of Kedah Darulaman. Langkawi has a long maritime history deriving from its important location at the western entrance to the Straits of Malacca on the trade routes between the West (India, the Middle East and Europe) and the East (China and the Spice Islands). Today, even though the island is quite isolated from the mainland (ie. Peninsular Malaysia), its strategic location, between Penang and Phuket (Thailand), in terms of a tourist attraction, makes it a desirable and important stopover destination.

Langkawi and the surrounding islands contain numerous beach areas that have physical attributes to be developed into a resort area. For the purpose of this study we will concentrate on the largest island, among the 104 islands making up the group i.e. Langkawi Island, with an area of 32,180 ha. The other islands are much smaller in size and are still in their natural state. Our research is intended to contribute to their inevitable later development.

Travellers began to know Langkawi only in the 1980's, but the infrastructure then was not enough to cater to a higher number of visitors to the area; nature's way of keeping certain categories of visitors away. However the situation changed when plans were drawn up in the mid-80's to promote Langkawi as a major tourist destination. From the conservationist's point of view, the kiss of death was the duty-free status added on the 1st January, 1987. Naturally these events have resulted in greatly increased development activity, especially along the coastal and some of the inland areas. The acknowledged success story up till now of the tourist industry has resulted in the increased installation of modern tourist-related amenities. National and international hoteliers and resort developers competing with one another in the provision of accommodation facilities and associated tourist attractions. To some extent, these have spilled over into the villages within the locality. Ad-hoc and unregulated development of all these facilities has resulted in the marked deterioration of the physical environment and landscape quality of these villages and settlements.

Thus, the area is an urgent and suitable case to be researched into in order to illustrate the pressing and potentially devastating threat from all this largely insensitive development activity. We want to highlight the important need for more suitable development strategies and

management policies and practices.

1.4. Research Aims and Objectives

As has been stated above this study will look into the impact of a new form of development i.e. tourism, on the landscape of traditional villages in Malaysia. Specifically, it tries to understand the landscape character through influences and changes in land use and land management.

Even though there may be other studies being done with regards to tourism for the area, nevertheless the implications and effects of introducing tourist facilities and services on the cultural landscape and its conservation has never been touched on before. This is due to the limited knowledge of the area and the general lack of awareness of the importance of these potentially damaging phenomena. To date most similar studies have concentrated either on the economic, social or environmental aspects, and have very seldom made any attempt to combine these into a multidisciplinary approach, as this study intends to do.

It is has now become crucially apparent that answers to all the questions on the implications and degree of the changes, as well as the community values and perceptions toward landscape and tourism activity are of great significance to the future of the island's economy. In the coming years, this approach to development may be useful as a basis for monitoring development of rural areas throughout Malaysia with respect to the conservation and management of our cultural landscape.

There is no doubt that market forces will eventually exploit the development potential with regards to tourism in certain areas of Malaysia; thus my study may serve to temper the careless exploitation of these timeless and priceless assets

by assessing the impact of development activity and to offer policies and procedures that will try to ensure their better protection and at the same time contribute to the living standards of the communities.

Basically, the study will attempt to analyse the tourism operation in Malaysia, focussing on Langkawi Island and a number of traditional farming and fishing villages there, and to assess the degree of the changes to the physical characteristics of the landscape of selected settlements. Thus, the study has been conducted with the following objectives:

(1) To understand the operation of economic forces, especially the tourist industry on the island, with respect to present policies or the lack of them and implementation mechanisms by which the various agencies carry out their work/projects.

(2) To survey the attitudes of the local communities, their perceptions and awareness towards their landscape and tourism activity.

(3) To assess the actual and likely impact of the tourist industry upon the landscape and environment of the area.

(4) To consider remedial measures and guidelines for the future development of tourism and conservation of cultural landscapes particularly for Langkawi, and generally for Malaysia.

1.5. Research Design and Methodology

In order to achieve those objectives it is necessary that a research design and framework is formulated. This is

summarised in Fig.1-3 in which we attempt to:

- Define the nature of the problem.
- Develop a theoretical and experiential understanding of the issues that contribute to the problem, giving particular attention to the Malaysian case.
- Combine these factors, using the situation on Langkawi Island, to analyse, synthesise and propose options for more appropriate solutions.

Based on this framework, the research was carried out as follows:

First, through a literature study, the relevant theoretical concepts are reviewed so that the problem can be identified, and appropriate aims and scope of the research formulated. The subjects of conservation, cultural landscape, tourism and rural development, and the impacts of such development on rural economic structure and environment are reviewed and analysed. In addition with the input from the author's own experience, as well as from the literature on social and cultural aspects of Malaysian society, a general idea about the study area was developed as a basis for a clearer understanding.

Second, a field study was conducted in order to evaluate the conditions of the area and to get a clearer picture of what is actually happening, based on the issues identified. The field work has involved:

- An opinion survey of 150 sample of respondents using a structured questionnaire and informal interviews. The various categories of respondents included were mainly the villagers (within tourism development areas, such as the coastal fringe), hotel and chalet operators, hotel employees, shopkeepers, officials from local authorities (MDL, LADA and Land Office), village leaders and transport operators. They were selected according to their

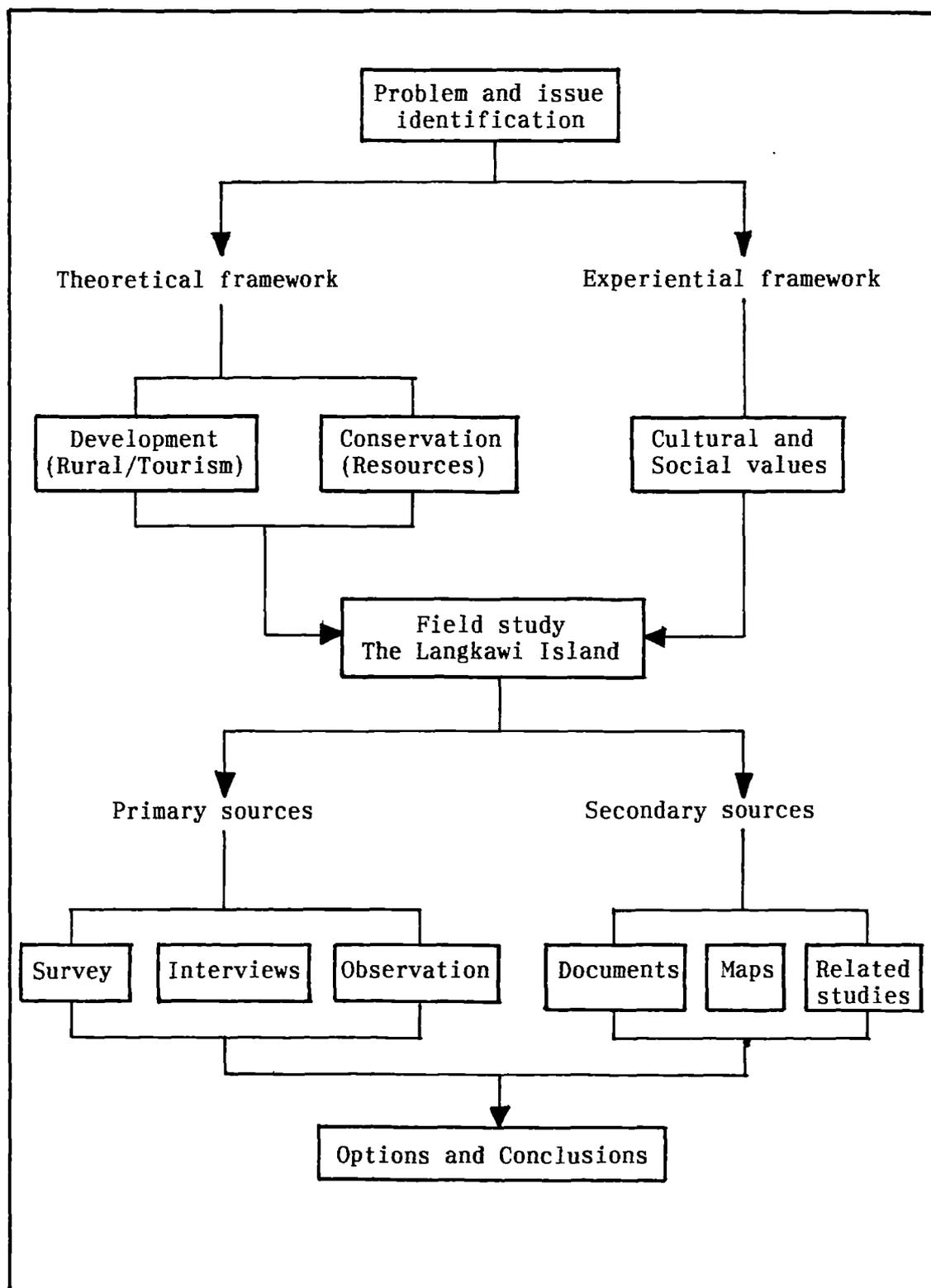


Fig.1-3 The research framework

availability and willingness to spare their time in filling in the questionnaire form (see Appendix IV). Although the sample might not strictly represent the opinions of the whole population of the Langkawi Islands, it was designed to represent a cross-section of the main participants involved. The main aim was to get an idea of their attitudes to and satisfaction with their surrounding environment and tourism development.

In administering the questionnaire, and due to the nature of the questions and subject related to landscape, we found that the topic was quite new to many of the respondents. The author had to carry out the survey herself completely, in order to make sure that each of the respondents understood the exact and similar meaning of the questions asked. Following the questionnaire, the respondents were then interviewed informally, in order to examine further their feelings and attitudes on the subject. It was found to be a time-consuming task. Taking these factors (time and available resources) into consideration, the stated number of samples was thought to meet the needs of this study satisfactorily.

■ An observational survey (ie. by going round the island and looking at the overall picture) on the present physical condition of the environment; landscape, buildings, public facilities and infrastructure, environmental conditions (pollution, erosion, etc), on-going development. Observations on the activities of the community and their lifestyle were also made.

■ A documentary survey from published and unpublished sources (such as maps, land transaction records etc.) was carried out for a more detailed information on the study area. Details on the socio-economic pattern, land ownership, Structure and Local Plans were obtained. Reports and papers

on related studies available were also consulted for the purpose.

Finally, based on the analysis and synthesis of the information and data collected, options for management and development as well as conclusions were formulated (see Chapter Seven).

1.6. Limitations of the Study

In carrying out the study, a number of limitations and constraints have been identified, and they include the following:

(i) *Sources of information* - There were very few published sources of information and data available on the study area. Those that were accessible were mostly too out-of-date. Studies concerning the history of the islands and information about their flora and fauna were largely lacking. Archival local authority documentation on development activity, in the form of maps, plans, photographs and consultants reports were not available; either they were not properly kept or not documented at all. It is only recently that this serious situation is beginning to be recognised as of public concern; unfortunately, probably such information as there was has already been lost. Regretably it would have taken more time than was available to pursue information that was difficult to access.

(ii) *'Red-tape' and bureaucracy* - When dealing with official policy documents and legal issues concerning the status of land and its change of use, too many constraints are enforced before such information can be made accessible (that is, if it exists and is approved by the authority concerned). The same is true

concerning land and population survey material or topographic maps and aerial photographs of any area within the country. These are considered 'classified items' and are therefore very hard to obtain. Due to these formalities, much time by the author was required to seek approval to access what should be in the public realm anyway . Hence the author has had to adapt some of her planned activity.

(iii) *Available time and resources* - Due to factors like the distance to the study area, even within Malaysia, the limited duration for carrying out the field survey, and the constraints as mentioned earlier, the author has had to make the best possible means with all the resources available. This is partly the reason why only one area was able to be surveyed, with a smaller sample number than would have been more desirable. But in the circumstances the author believes that her survey is certainly unique in Langkawi and one of only a handful in Malaysia on this topic. It was an invaluable experience for the author and will be useful in her future research work.

For above all this study has revealed the great lack of detailed knowledge and understanding of these issues among the decision-makers at all levels.

1.7. Structure of the Study

Chapter One is a brief introduction to the subject of conservation, cultural landscapes and tourism with the literature review cited. It highlights issues and problems that serve as a basis for the study and it also describes the methodology used in carrying out the largely social research survey. Limitations to the study are also given.

Chapter Two sets out to provide a background to Malaysian society with our diverse cultural and social values discussed. The slow but important process of moving towards national integration in our multi-ethnic culture is described. Exploring the nature and characteristics of this subject is important in understanding actions, attitudes and perceptions of the society towards issues related to development and conservation of the rural environment.

Chapter Three examines the mutual links between tourism and the conservation of rural resources in managing the environment. Definitions of the terms are given and it illustrates challenges that the tourist industry has brought to and imposed up on these resources. The cultural landscape, being one of the most important resource of our rural areas is given particular attention; the concept, its importance and the values based on Malaysian experience are demonstrated.

Chapter Four deals with the role of rural development in land development programmes and in presenting the process and types of development that our natural habitat has undergone. This helps to provide an overview of the changes that are occurring, their impacts and possible trends for future development. It also intends to set the scene for alternative approaches such as sustainable tourism to rural development.

Chapter Five is a brief but comprehensive review of the current tourist industry in Malaysia and its contribution to our national economic development. The policies and strategies are outlined in an analysis of the costs and benefits from the industry, and key organisations involved are described. The chapter also discusses the present trends of development activity and concludes with a challenge for better balanced and sustainable development policies to be

employed in future Plan periods.

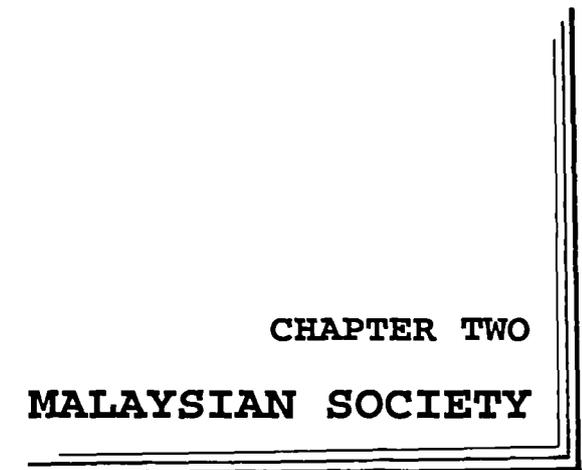
Chapter Six presents the field researched case study, by focussing on the process of tourism development on Langkawi Island. It tries to illustrate the impacts of such developments on the social, economic and natural environment of the area. The chapter also highlights the findings from the field survey on the attitudes and perceptions of the people toward their surrounding environment.

Chapter Seven tries to demonstrate the result from the synthesis of all these issues, where decisions on the need for suitable action and fresh approaches have been suggested. The recommendations for action have to be taken by both the authorities and the local communities. Topics for future research are also included.

Finally, the Appendices at the end of this dissertation provide information on:

- The Langkawi Declaration on the Environment.
- List of policies in the Langkawi Structure Plan.
- Procedures for Environmental Impact Assessment in Malaysia.
- Questionnaire survey form.
- Statistical results from the field survey.

CHAPTER TWO
MALAYSIAN SOCIETY

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CHAPTER TWO

MALAYSIAN SOCIETY

"Modern society is a society that is characterised by the process of nationalisation in the political dimension and of industrialisation in the economic dimension"
(Francis, 1976:392)

2.1. Introduction

Malaysia is a multi-cultural society, composed of peoples of very diverse origins. A number of ethnic groups are recognised officially in the country, and combined for government reference into three major 'races': Bumiputra (Malays and other indigenous peoples), Chinese and Indians. In Peninsular Malaysia, Malays, Chinese and Indians predominate; in East Malaysia, the ethnic mix is more complex. Besides the Malays, Chinese and Indians, in Sabah there are Dusun/Kadazan, Muruts, Bajaus and many other smaller groups, while in Sarawak there are Ibans, Bidayuhs, Melanaus, Kayan, Kenyah and a number of other indigenous ethnic groups with small populations.

Malaya became an independent state in 1957, and in 1963 was joined by Sarawak and Sabah to become Malaysia. Since that date Malaysia has been striving to build a nation by integrating its multi-ethnic population. As each ethnic group has its own languages, identity and cultural qualities, this has been a slow process, and not without difficult problems as the tragedy of the 13th May 1969 race riots proved. The hope is that the different entities will be increasingly drawn together and unite with undivided loyalty as one nation. The aim is to produce a single society in Simmie's sense of the term, that is;

"Society is a fundamentally co-operative collection of groups and individuals virtually all

sharing roughly the same values and aspirations"
(Simmie, 1974:17)

According to Wan Teh (1983:4), there are three models for social integration in use, as identified by Cynthia Enloe in her study of Multi-Ethnic Politics. These are: full assimilation, where minority groups are drawn together into a larger ethnic community; cultural pluralism, defined as, 'accommodation under the boundary of national loyalty'; and construction of a new community, which absorbs the present cultures but does not immitate any one of them. Out of these models, she also mentions that one of them has often been chosen by the government. However, based on personal observation and experience, it is not so much one of the models that was chosen but more a mixture of them. This is due to the complexity of our plural society, which makes it difficult to adopt only one model. Nevertheless, if we carefully scrutinise and analyse certain places or regions, it would probably become much clearer as to see which model applies to each place or region. For instance, in the City of Kuala Lumpur, majority of the inhabitants come from various places and regions all over the country. With them they bring a variety of cultures, values, norms and, to a certain extent, dialects of speaking. When it comes to areas of residence, some of them live in a particular race-dominant district eg. Kampung Baru or New Village, where a majority of the inhabitants are Malays. While in Petaling Street or China Town there is a dominance of Chinese. However, most residential areas comprise a mixture of these races. Thus, it is likely that all the models can be found to exist in Kuala Lumpur but the degree may vary. This is generally because there will be some factors that act as a barrier. This is undeniably a challenge to the full integration of all our different races so that they may live with a greater sense of security and harmony.

In the context of achieving national integration and to solve the problem of ethnic pluralism, it is important to

understand the character, attitudes and codes of ethics of each of the groups so as to reduce tension and build in more social tolerance. It is the aim of this chapter to explore these issues on the various aspects of Malaysian society (mainly relating to the three major ethnic groups) with the intention of contributing to the process of national unity and building up our national culture. Understanding more fully this intricate system of ethnic relations will benefit our effort to project a distinctive Malaysian image and identity.

2.2. Malaysian society

As has been mentioned earlier, the three major races of Malaysia are the indigenous Malays, the Chinese traders and the Indians brought in by the British. From a total population of 18 million in 1990, the Chinese and Indians together make up over 44 percent, while the Bumiputra (mainly Malays) comprise about 54 percent.¹ Historically, these different groups of people are not only divided by race, but by religion, language, culture, customs, dress and even food. In addition, they are also divided by occupation and living areas. These distinct diversities are more prominent in rural areas, where each racial community lives in a world of its own: the Malay *kampung* or village; the Chinese shop-house usually along main street; and the Indian labourer who lives in quarters mainly on rubber estates. Nevertheless, after Independence the distinctions have been greatly reduced due to the increase in social mobility and greater opportunities for integration. This does not mean that certain barriers like religion, custom and probably various taboos associated with each community have been disregarded.

¹ The percentage are an estimate based on 1980 figures.

Now let us examine the nature of each social group and try to understand and analyse how they fit into the whole system that functions as Malaysian society.

2.2.1 The Malays

Generally, the Malays are broad-minded Muslims, easy-going and tolerant of the social and cultural practices of non-Malays. They have indeed been characterised as humble, and they do not like to impose their will upon others and vice-versa. Characteristics that are always admired and respected are moderation and self-control, politeness and courteousness: their non-aggression and their tendency not to criticise are normally praised. The worst insult and admonition that can be directed at any Malay is to accuse him or her of being *kurang ajar*, lacking in manners. Although it may sometimes be true of a particular person, such an accusation indirectly puts the blame on the parents for not having brought them up properly. This is a very serious offence because in Malay society parents are supposed to be highly respected within the family. It is against the teachings of Islam *engkar*, go against parental wishes. In the light of these attitudes, opinions and beliefs, frequent misinterpretation and misunderstanding by non-Malays, and even sometimes by members of the Malay community can occur. As a result, not only interpersonal relations but social, economic and political domains can be affected.

The foundation of the basic social organisation of the Malays is the village or *kampung*. Although the size may vary, a typical village is comprised of many individual houses, each housing an extended nuclear family. The village is not only a form of territorial community, it usually relates to kinship ties among the villagers. Within this kinship group, the husband or the head of the family, the

main provider, is usually engaged in agricultural activities. In urban areas however, there may be more than one 'bread-winner' in each family but the main responsibility still lies with the male. Nevertheless, due to economic growth of the country and the increased employment opportunities available, in rural areas, the trend is changing both in terms of the number of income earners in each family, as well as the types of employment. More recently many of the younger generation prefer white collar jobs, rather than working in the agriculture sector. There is an increasing trend for employment in the more lucrative world of tourism. This has been the experience of many farmers in the Langkawi Islands (see Chapter Six).

At the village level, everybody is treated as having equal status. Those individuals having a higher income, religious knowledge and political influence are highly respected and are usually looked up to. It is important to clarify here that in the context of the rural community, if a person has strong economic backing it does not necessarily mean that they have plenty of cash to spread around. Instead, the extent of land ownership and other kinds of fixed assets usually become the yardstick of respect from others. One important aspect of the socio-political organisation of a Malay village is that it is headed by a leader referred to as *Penghulu*. His main duty is to look after the welfare of his villagers. In addition, a penghulu is chosen by the state to act as an intermediary between the government and the people.

In terms of political strength, the Malays have been predominantly the strong force in politics. This is true ever since they were under the colonial regime. The Malay politicians were the ones who fought hardest (through discussions and negotiations) to get Independence from the British. The Malay and pro-Malay parties had been largely

represented in Parliament. It was only after the formation of Malaysia (in 1963) that non-Malay parties became part of the government (Rao et.al, 1977:21).

The main Malay party in the government is the United Malay National Organisation (UMNO) and the main party in opposition is also Malay - the Pan-Malayan Islamic Party (PAS). Over the years the existence of these two political parties has indeed created many conflicts and defended the rights of members of Malay society. Recently and only to a certain extent, there were religious sentiments and accusations expressed by PAS; saying that some of the UMNO policies were not following the strict teachings of Islam. This kind of accusation usually takes place during general election campaigns. Since the Malays are very sensitive about their religion, such accusations usually lead to quarrels and agitations among party members. When this happens in a village, it is very difficult to get full cooperation from the people. As we see from this, it is obvious that the different political ideologies, even within the same racial group, could disunite society. We must do everything in our power to unite the totally different races and beliefs in Malaysia. Surely this is not an easy task.

It is a common phenomenon that political strength goes hand in hand with economic power. However in Malaysia, particularly within the context of Malay society, this is not the case. The Malays are strong in politics but not as strong in the community's economy. For example, according to Rao et al. (1977:22) in Peninsular Malaysia in 1970 about 85 percent of those earning less than MR100 (£25) a month were the Malays. He also pointed out that about two-thirds of the increase in Gross Domestic Product (GDP) went to non-Malays and foreigners. This is also reflected in the amount of shares in the corporate sector, whereby in 1990 the share of the Malays (Bumiputera) was only 14 percent of the total

paid up capital of MR110 billion, as compared to 46 percent of the non-Malays (i.e. Chinese 45 percent and Indians 1 percent) and 25 percent foreigners (Government of Malaysia, 1991:14). This is an indicator that the Malays are still weak in economic and financial resources, despite various forms of assistance by the government.

There are many theories and explanations for the cause of the Malay's economic backwardness. However, the two prominent ones are related to employment and location. A large percentage of Malays are involved in the so-called traditional sector that is low in productivity, and therefore low in income. In 1990 about 76 percent of the bumiputera were employed in agriculture. Despite the latest farming techniques and the high-yielding variety of seeds that have been introduced, the level of productivity is low. One main reason is due to the uneconomic size of farms, which are getting smaller upon the death of the head of a family. According to Muslim Law in respect to inheritance, all property of the deceased (including land) should be divided among the children and the wife. This trend of land fragmentation will not only create problems of farms too small to be economically viable but leads to other related problems. As a result, many land-holdings are left idle since they are no longer economic to work. However those who have no other means of employment tend to carry on their farming activity in spite of the land size. Thus their income barely meets their basic needs.

Regarding location, about 65 percent of those living in rural areas are Malays (Rao et.al, 1977:24). Since those areas are less developed than the urban, the Malays are concentrated there. Therefore they have benefited less from major investment and development that generally takes place in urban areas. Realising these facts has made the government divert some of its development focus to the rural

areas and to try to improve the living standards of rural communities through development programs such, as agriculture, land (see Chapter Four) and tourism development (Chapter Five).

2.2.2 The Chinese

Historically the Chinese originated from the southern provinces of Kwangtung, Fukien and Kwangsi in China: they are well known for their entrepreneurial aptitude and hard work. This is reflected in their way of life, in which they are willing to engage in just about every form of activity, from labourers to business, executives to gangsters. As a result, they can be found in all corners of Malaysia but more often than not grouped in large numbers, mainly in the towns and cities. This was partly a result of the Colonial administration, who certainly tried to keep the Chinese close to the British authority, in recognition of their contribution to trade and commerce, apart from their supervisory role on the plantations and in the tin mines. In addition, it was also part of colonial policy to separate the Chinese from the Malay people, who were considered the permanent residents of Malaya and who therefore had more rights to the land.

Since these Chinese immigrants came from different provinces of China, they could not form a homogenous group within Malaysian society. They spoke different dialects as well as living in different communal groups from those they belonged to originally. In Malaysia there are four main groups of Chinese: the Hokkiens, the Cantonese, the Hakkas (Kheh), and the Tiu-Chiu. Nevertheless, Koentjaraningrat (1975:129) has reported that according to a Malaysian historian, Wang Gungwu (1970), the Chinese in Malaysia could be divided more readily into three categories. The first category are those who were pro-China and strong followers of China-oriented

political activities. The second, who made up of large number of the Chinese in Malaysia, were those who worked closely with the colonial government but adjusted themselves cautiously to local politics. Meanwhile, the third category were those who mixed between British and Malay-oriented or Baba Chinese.² As we can see from this, since colonial times to the present day, Chinese society is made up of a complex group of people. Hence, it is also a great challenge for the Malaysian government, just as it is within Malay society, to bring this group together to a mutual understanding.

However, despite their diversity, many Chinese are specialised and well versed in trading and commercial activities. Their natural flair for business activities has made them successful and advance in economic status. As indicated in the Sixth Malaysia Plan (Government of Malaysia, 1991:34), there are about 57 percent Chinese engaged in sales as compared to 36 percent Malays. In addition, a large percentage of them are involved in high productivity activities such as construction (50%), and wholesale, retail, hotels and restaurants (54%). Unlike the Malays, only 16 percent of the Chinese in Malaysia are engaged in the agriculture sector (Government of Malaysia, 1991:36), a consequence of pro-Malay colonial policies which attempted to exclude them from land-holding.

Even when they are farmers (mainly market gardeners) or smallholders, their incomes are higher than those of the Malays in the same sector. In other words, there is no competition by the Malays or the Indians in terms of economic achievement. The prosperous position of the Chinese in the Malaysian economy is reflected in their ownership of

² Baba Chinese are Chinese who adopt elements from Malay cultures (eg. dressing) and retain elements from their original cultures (eg. names and beliefs).

share capital as stated earlier. They have three times more control over the corporate and financial resources than do the Malays. It is partly due to this gap in economic status and partly to reduce racial inequalities, that the government of Malaysia favours the Malays in giving financial assistance and other forms of support. In spite of that the Chinese are still economically ahead.

With respect to their social system, they are not much different from the Malays, where kinship is an important element. Within the kinship system stands the nuclear family, where the father is the traditional head of the household. In the traditional Chinese clan system, the importance of a male or son in the family to carry on the line of descent, is very prominent. This kind of favouritism for boys has to a certain extent encouraged some households to adopt children through purchase. This trend however, is gradually disappearing among the educated Chinese.

2.2.3 The Indians

Being the third major group in Malaysian society, the Indians are very similar to the Chinese, in that many were also descendents of immigrants who were brought in by the British to work on the rubber plantations. However the numbers are very much smaller than the Chinese. Originally mainly from Madras, the majority of them speak Tamil and a lesser number speak Malayalee and Telugu. This makes them less of a homogenous society due to the existence of distinct languages and customs among the various groups.

Although the majority of these Indians came to work in plantations, some of them came in response to commercial opportunities and government employment as administrators, doctors, soldiers and policemen. This is particularly true for the northern Indian group. Unlike the Chinese, the

Indian plantation labourers are generally contented with their isolation and homely environment provided on rubber estates. Hence, they tend not to seek a higher level of economic power. As a result, the vast majority of them have been, and still are, in low income and unskilled occupations. Although some have found their niches and managed to secure better paid employment, the numbers are very few. Most of them are hooked into life on the plantation. This attitude of contentment is in real contrast to the Chinese, who are mobile and always striving for higher incomes and economic status. This helps explain why they are generally ahead of other races and consequently strive to become a progressive society.

In the aspect of share ownership of wealth, the Indian share has been very small, i.e about 0.9 percent in 1985 and 1.0 percent in 1990 (Government of Malaysia, 1991:14). This is partly due to the low income level which makes it unfeasible to commit higher amounts to investment. Another reason may be due to the general perception, among some Indians, who viewed Malaysia as a temporary place of residence. Their intentions of returning to their country after gathering enough wealth are inevitable. Many of them send large amounts of their savings to dependents and relatives in India, instead of investing in Malaysia. This practice is still being carried out to this day, particularly by those commercial entrepreneurs who have been doing very well. Most of them are in food retailing, restaurants and textile merchandising, which makes up about 7 percent of the total employment in this sector in 1990.

With respect to the structure of Indian society, one obvious situation indicated by Rao et.al (1977;44) is that there was not much interaction and communication between the small middle class (the higher paid professionals and entrepreneurs) and the large working class (plantation

workers). This has resulted in the formation of extremes within the community, whereby the urban well-off and wealthy class lives comfortably, while their fellow rural, poorer and lower class live in distress. The disparity in the society has been exacerbated by a factor like education, where the middle class have better opportunities for higher education due to better urban facilities and their enhanced financial situation. Thus with higher levels of education and qualifications, they are able to secure their employment in the higher paid positions in both public and private sectors, and thus keep pace with the other two ethnic groups. The popular professions among Indians are doctors, lawyers, dentists and veterinary surgeons. The number of Indians in these occupations are above the number of Malays and Chinese (Table 2-1). Meanwhile, their involvement in other occupations is minimal.

After having looked at the background of the major ethnic groups, it is important next to understand their cultural associations in order to be fully aware of the constraints and opportunities in the movement towards an integrated Malaysian society and subsequently the Malaysian nation.

Profession	Bumiputra %	Chinese %	Indians %
Architects	2.0	3.2	0.2
Accountants	5.3	20.0	6.5
Engineers	59.7	51.9	19.9
Dentists	3.5	3.7	7.4
Doctors	16.6	10.7	44.9
Veterinary Surgeons	2.1	0.7	4.7
Lawyers	6.0	7.0	15.6
Surveyors	4.9	2.8	0.9

Table 2-1 Registered professionals by ethnic group, 1990
Source: Government of Malaysia, 1991:35.

2.3. Cultural background and identity

Although Islam has been adopted as the official religion of the country, other ethnic groups are guaranteed freedom to practise their own religions. Thus all Malays in Malaysia share a common religion (Islam) and also a common language (Malay), but not all Muslims in Malaysia are Malays. There are quite a high number of Indians who are Muslims though there are very few Muslim Chinese. The majority of Chinese practice Buddhism, although other faiths like Confucianism, Taoism and Christianity are also popular. While Hinduism is the religious faith of most Indians. Due to the multiracial and multireligious make up of its people, one can expect to find a variety of places of worship in every corner of Malaysia; mosques for Muslims and temples for Buddhists and Hindus.

As we are fully aware, culture is something that exists in a society over a long period of time. Therefore it has some roots in the history and culture of the people. Sometimes, some aspects of it become vague due to modification and exploitation after each generation. In Malaysia sometimes it is difficult to distinguish between a religious and a customary activity. This is because the two elements blend together and are carried out simultaneously. For example, the *bersanding*³ ceremony in traditional Malay marriages, was actually adopted from ancient Hindu customs of the pre-Islamic period and was not part of the Muslim solemnisation ritual. It is quite common to find religious rituals intermingled with traditional culture of the Malay society in everyday life, especially in the rural communities. This kind of assimilation has come about because it is common practice to begin and to end any ceremonial activity with

³ Bersanding is a ceremonial seating of the bridal couple on a dias observed by family members and guests. The couple is then to be blessed by both parents of the couple and some respected guests.

verses from Quran, the Muslim holy book. Today, with greater awareness of Islamic concepts and values, Quranic verses are more commonly used and recited by most Malays. To further enhance the performance of Islamic rites among the working Muslims, almost all offices in the public sector are furnished with *surau*⁴ so that the office workers can perform their prayers while in the office (i.e during lunch break). While in the private sector, management is encouraged to provide a space in the premises to be used by their Muslim staff.

On the other hand, this practice is opposite to what is being observed in Britain. Although there are many churches around, many have been made redundant and become tourist attractions if they are of architectural significance. The majority of church goers appear to consist mainly of the older generation. This observation was probably true when Gerard (1985:50) mentioned that only one person out of seven attended church weekly, while more than 70% of Britons rarely or never read the Bible. Here it looks as if modern British society seems to be moving away from religious commitment and tradition while the modern Malaysian Muslims are becoming more committed to religion. Although this is true for some, there are others who do not fully practice the Islamic rules such as those on gambling, drinking and corruption. Despite these activities being forbidden, many Muslims are practising them; though discreetly. It all falls back on the personal values, beliefs and moral integrity of the individual.

⁴ A praying area, much smaller than a mosque.

Among celebrations and cultural activities observed by the Malays are *Hari Raya Aidilfitri* (local name for Id) to mark the end of Ramadhan; *Hari Raya Aidil Adha* - to celebrate the pilgrimage to Mecca and the idea of sacrifice; the Prophet Mohammad's birthday; and *Muharram* - the new year for Muslims. All these events are marked with special rituals and activities. At village or local level, there are many more cultural activities observed and practiced particular to specific communities.

One important aspect of Muslim culture in Malaysia is women's rights. Unlike Muslim women in Saudi Arabia, Malay women are allowed to carry out all sorts of jobs to supplement their family's income. As a result, we can find many of them holding various positions in society, from managerial level to labourers; some run independent enterprises. One important point to make here is that Malaysian women are fortunate, unlike their counterparts in Britain or probably other European countries in terms of employment and wages. As long as our qualifications and scope of work are the same, women and men receive the same amount of salaries and wages from their employer. The limitations on women's employment and accompanied lower wages in Britain have been reported by Brown et.al (1985:112). She pointed out that average male non-manual workers receive 462.3 pence per hour, while their female colleagues receive on the average of only 282.2 pence per hour, that is about 39% lower. Based on this fact it is no surprise that the 'Women's Liberation' movement in this part of the world is active, in contrast to the South-East Asian region, particularly in Malaysia. Although sometimes, the preference for a male employee is sought after, especially for a job that demands high mobility and travelling, this does not at all discourage women from making applications. Therefore, with the growth of service industries eg. tourism, womens' involvement will increase and their chances

of employment are far greater. On the other hand, according to Fogarty (1985:174), British women's own attitudes toward employment opportunity and family responsibilities limit the effectiveness of pressures for change in their position. This is totally beyond our expectations.

Unlike the Malay culture, many festivals and cultural activities which the Chinese celebrate are mainly related to customs and not strictly religious, although some elements in the festivals may have religious significance. The important celebration is the New Year, to mark the beginning of a new cycle of activities related to farming. Others are: the Moon Cake festival - to celebrate the harvest season, as well as the peasants rebellion during the Mongol period; and the Dragon Boat festival - to celebrate the memory of an honest Prime Minister who committed suicide in protest at the corruption and exploitation of the Imperial government (Rao et.al, 1977:38). Most of these festivals are related to historic events.

One important aspect of Chinese culture is ancestor worship. This ritual is carried out in private homes, using an altar table to place items like plaques symbolizing their ancestors, a container for holding incense sticks, and posters with names of the deities. Sometimes when space is not permitted, the worshippers will normally go to public shrines and temples to perform this ritual. Among the popular deities that the Chinese worship are the Goddess of Mercy and the God of War, Trade, and Wealth, Kwan Ti.

In terms of the cultural identity of the Indian minority, we find quite a complex case. Most Indians base their culture on a form of religious practice and the inclination of these is toward their traditional religion. In other words, all the activities they undertake are important aspects of their religion-cum-culture. This is directly the reverse of

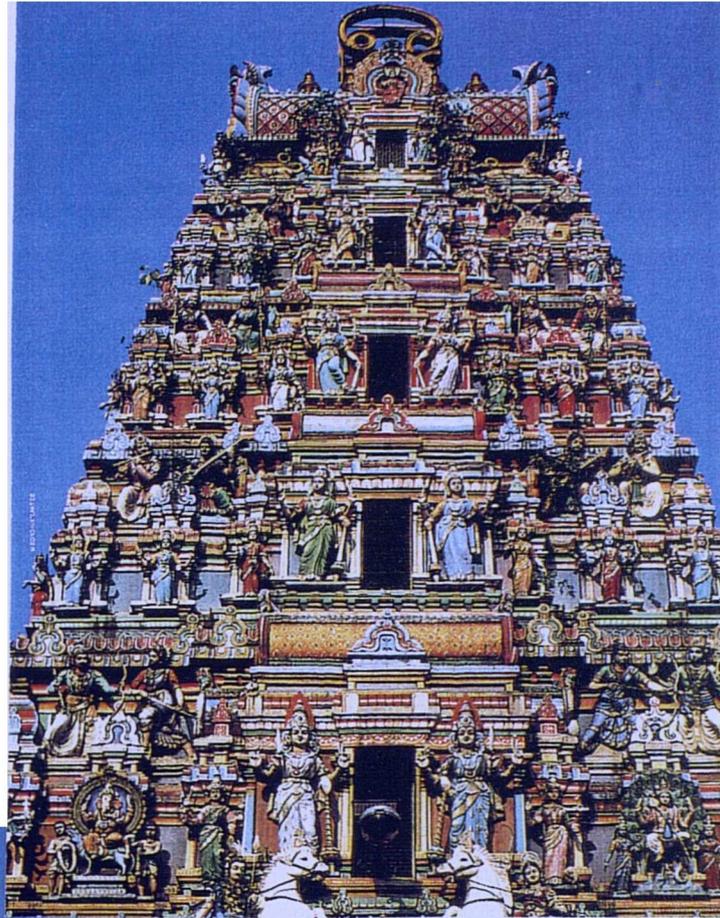
Chinese culture, which mainly based on customs. The more orthodox the Hindus are, the greater is the emphasis on religious behaviour. Most Indians perceive cultural performances like classical dance, drama, music, festivals, etc. as part of their religious tradition. Thus, it is not surprising to find some Indian parents sending their daughters to India to study classical music and dance, during the long school vacation.

The most popular festival among the Hindus is *Thaipusam*. This festival is associated with the procession of the chariot carrying an image of the Hindu deity. In addition, it also displays religious emotion and devotion through carrying of a *kavadi*⁵ to fulfil some kinds of vows made. *Deepavali*, is another popular festival among the Hindus. It is also known as the Festival of Light. Apart from these, innumerable other festivals are celebrated by Malaysian Indians. But they are mostly on a much smaller scale than the two mentioned and are mainly confined to small community groups.

Another aspect of culture is language. As one would expect from a multiracial country, there are many languages being spoken. As mentioned earlier, the Malays share a common Malay language with slight variations in dialect, however they are understandable to the majority. The Chinese on the other hand, speak their language with significantly different dialects: Cantonese, Hokkien and Mandarin. Unfortunately, for instance the Cantonese speaker does not wholly understand the Hokkien dialect. Thus in order to

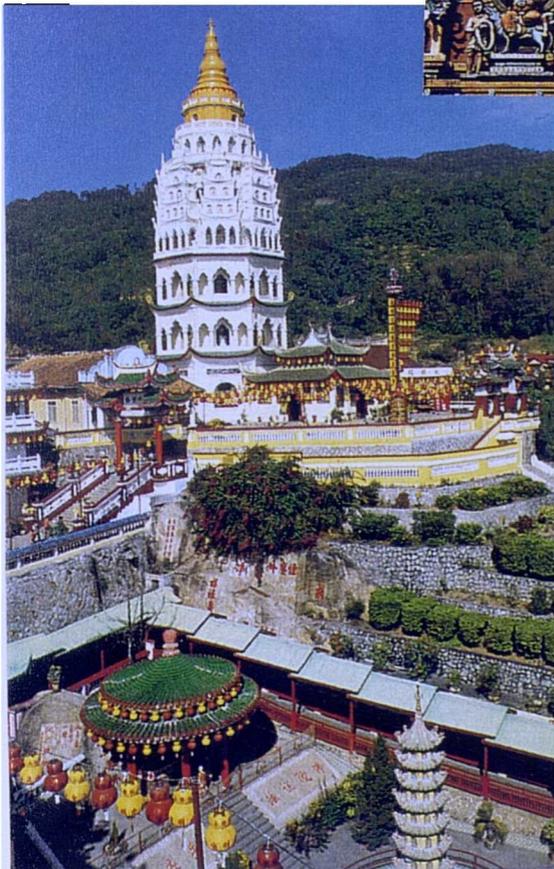
⁵ A kavadi is an equipment with many spikes, spears and hooks to be pierced into the carrier's flesh.

a)



- a) A Hindu Temple
- b) A Buddhist Temple
- c) A Mosque

b)



c)



Fig.2-1 Places of Worship.



Fig.2-2 A Hindu man carrying a kavadi

communicate, they both have to use Mandarin, which is considered a universal language. Whatever dialects they use, fortunately they share common written characters. However, one important point to make here is that if a person attends an English-medium school, which is very common among the Chinese, it is possible that they will not learn the written language. He or she can only converse but not write. Meanwhile the Indians are the most complicated group of all. There are a variety of languages spoken in the community: Tamil, Punjabi, Urdu and Sinhalese. One can imagine the difficulties they face in communication. The chances are they use English or Malay to communicate with one another. Despite all these languages, English is widely

spoken, especially in intellectual spheres and in urban areas. This is important particularly when dealing with the outside world. Nevertheless in an effort towards national integration, a policy has been introduced to use *Bahasa Malaysia* in all correspondence in public agencies. English however, is extensively used in private agencies, as well as when communicating with international agencies and institutions.

We have seen so far that culture, tradition and customs play important roles in projecting the image and significance of each of the ethnic groups. The existence of cultural diversity could become an important asset for any country moving towards a diversified economy through industrialisation. Malaysia is no exception where the tourist industry is envisaged as being the focus of great economic and social significance. Opportunities to utilise these assets are wide open, and are just a matter of developing systematic and cautious policies in moving towards a 'Malaysian culture'.

2.4. Social values

All societies as a matter of fact, hold some basic values as principal goals of behavioral conduct. This enables an individual in the society to be governed and judged by certain sets of rules in performing their function. However, there are bound to be some individual and societal differences placed on the relative importance of these values. In other words, the hierarchy of values may differ from one individual to the next, or from one part of society to another. This is due to changes in environment and exposure that an individual or society may undergo. The differences in the hierarchy of basic values may be in the form of social, political, economic or religious tenets. Generally, these are the key elements that control and shape

behaviour and thus the actions of a society or culture.

For most Malaysians, their lives are governed by an agreed set of values regarding behaviour and conduct, which has been passed down from one generation to another. Each of the ethnic groups has its own traditional values and judgements regarding the member's behaviour, whether it conforms to the so called norm or otherwise. Within this context, it is of course inevitable to have considerable differences among individual members of the group. As the Malay saying goes, "*Rambut sama hitam hati lain-lain*" (i.e everybody may have same colour of hair but a person's opinion and feelings about something may differ). Thus it is clear that there is inter- and intra-ethnic value diversity in Malaysian society. This conception is more complex when there are individuals in the group who are trying to dissociate themselves and/or make departures from these traditional values. This is a common inclination with the present society among those who claim themselves to be modern and progressive. These shifts are occurring quite rapidly especially among the younger generation and in urban communities. In rural areas, the pace is not as drastic (not yet anyway) due to strong social sanctions that exist within the community. This phenomenon might change in the near future due to rural-urban integration through development and economic activities, such as tourism.

In traditional Malaysian society, be it Malay, Chinese or Indian, social, religious and aesthetic values predominate. High emphasis is placed on social relationships, which form the basic ingredient for an orderly and harmonious society. This is very important particularly when there are more than one ethnic group living side by side within a particular community or area. The Malays particularly, do not believe in an individualistic social system in which a person has no social contacts with others like *kera sumbang* (the single

monkey). Instead they treasure such a motto as 'From the cradle to the grave, one must live together and cooperate with one another'. This is very much in line with the teachings of Islam which enjoins Mankind to work together. For example in the case of a funeral. According to a *Hadith*⁶ in Ngah (1985:23), when a man dies in the early morning he ought to be buried as quickly as possible, at the latest by midday. So in this case there is an urgency to carry out the work at the fastest rate possible. In order to accomplish this, it requires the full cooperation of all the family members and others. In addition, Islam also gives emphasis to praying in the congregation. The reason behind this, as mentioned in the Quran, is to unite Muslim society.

Conversely in modern society, social, political and economic values are of paramount importance. People are becoming money oriented and materialistic. To a certain extent, sometimes family obligations and social norms and etiquette are neglected. There is an increasing concern when an individual becomes alienated from society and only preoccupied in their personal interest. A common phenomenon is that he or she does not even know their own neighbours. If this kind of trend and attitude grows in society or in a community, it may eventually lead to a more disorderly and degenerate world. However, since our basic values are changing, one would expect that behaviour will also change, based on the shifts from traditional to modern patterns of living and working. To further emphasise this fact, Rao et.al (1977:115) has summarised some of the characteristics

⁶ Hadith is a collection of teachings and messages by the Prophet from Allah for the Muslims.

and circumstances that can be attributed towards this shift (Table 2-2).

TRADITIONAL	MODERN
Quality of what is produced and consumed	Quantity of what is produced and consumed
Primacy of the extended family	Primacy of the nuclear family
Harmony with nature	Mastery over nature
Uniformity in individual behaviour	Diversity in individual behaviour
Cooperation in economic pursuits	Competition in economic pursuits
Interdependence of individual responsibilities and actions	Independence of individual responsibilities and actions
Primacy of social justice and equity	Primacy of technical efficiency
Justifiable means enable limited ends	Ends justify almost any means

Table 2-2 Elements of shifts in traditional and modern society
 Source: Rao et.al (1977:115)

2.4.1 Social relations

In Malaysian society, whatever the ethnic group, kin relationships play an important role as part of a network of social relations. There are two types : affinal i.e marriage relationships; and consanguinal, blood relationships (Yusof, 1986:175). Both types can form the basis of a nuclear family and are widely practiced. The main function of the nuclear family is to protect and socialise the young so that they become approved members of a community. In the process of growing up, they are consistently being taught good behaviour, respect for their parents and older people, and a sense of responsibility. The large majority of the parents bring up their children the same way, unlike in Britain

where the process seems to vary according to the hierarchy of the social status of the family. Middle class parents generally use verbal communication in transmitting their values, while the working class places more emphasis on authority and action (Noble, 1981:145), similar to what has been the practice in Malaysia. With respect to the pressures of modern Malaysian society, the trend of giving 'too much face' to the children is becoming more prominent, which could be disastrous if not deliberately controlled. This is exacerbated by the parents' attitude of following the whims of their children in compensation for the lack of time spent with them. When both parents are working, the children are likely to be left with a 'helper' or the grandparents or even on their own. Thus, it may very well happen that future generations will have to bear with and pay for the neglect of today's parents toward their children. This may not lead to a healthy society.

Nevertheless, in more traditional societies, usually the oldest child (if it is a son) is obliged to assist the parents either in kind or with finance (if he is earning). However, if it is a daughter, especially if she is not married or working, she sometimes plays the role of mother by looking after the younger siblings. Through this kind of commitment or obligation everyone can indirectly contribute to a closer knit family. Nevertheless, when the son is married he creates such kin relations of his own and thus widens the circle of possible kin ties within the community.

In the context of this relationship, generally there is not much formality involved among the members. Anyone is free to visit and casually 'pop in' to any of the relative's houses anytime without having to make a prearrangement. It is of course appropriate to warn the relative about our visit for fear that they might not be in, but without it we can still take it for granted that we would be welcome. This kind of

practice is common in our society, be it within or between ethnic groups. By contrast, based on the author's observations and knowledge of British society, this may be less acceptable. However this is changing; modern Malaysian society is beginning to place a value on privacy. There is also plenty of evidence that Malays are already status conscious (eg. in use of titles and forms of address), and some evidence of a rising class consciousness (eg. the wealthy attempting to reduce their obligations to their poor relatives). If this trend were to continue, there will definitely be some significant effects on social relationships within our society. As Noble (1981:125) pointed out, in British society the connections between family relatives are becoming less significant; and the inheritance of accumulated wealth seems to matter more.

Closely related to social relations is the subject of marriage. Lately, polygyny is quite commonly practiced particularly among the Malays. Although it is permitted under Islamic law and widely accepted by the society, in many cases it does create problems and unnecessary disputes among the female family members. Polygyny is also found among the Chinese traditionalists and it is believed it occurs at all levels within their society. For example, according to Koentjaraningrat (1975:138), out of 685 marriages among Singapore Chinese, about a quarter were polygynous, in contrast with China and the USSR where polygyny is considered illegal (Levy, 1962:101). In addition, a Chinese man can also take a mistress. This is completely opposite to the Muslims practice since it is against Islamic law to have an unlawful wife. As a matter of fact, in Islam the main reason for allowing polygyny is to prevent the practice of keeping a mistress in anticipation of greater problems attached to it. Here however, we must not forget that nowadays there are many Malaysian Chinese who are Christians, and they are monogamous. With respect to

this issue, quite a lot is known about marriage in the Indian community. As the Malaysian Indians are culturally very varied, marriage practices exhibit wide variety, from polygyny to monogamy. As we have discussed earlier, people's values and behaviour change as they approach modernisation.

Conversely, with factors like the present economic condition and the influence of Western education, some individuals may prefer to stay single rather than to face an unhappy or a broken marriage. This seems more common for people in big cities. Otherwise, the practice of a monogamous relationship, is a common fundamental principle of many societies of the world. It is interesting to note that here there is a great difference between modern Malaysian and modern British society. According to Brown (1985:114), those who seem not believe in marriage so much consist mainly of the lower socio-economic classes, the difficult to employ and those dissatisfied with the responsibilities of their home life. In this author's opinion, this is directly opposite to the situation in Malaysia. The majority of single or unmarried people come from the middle-class group who have professional qualifications and hold managerial or high ranking posts. Unlike in rural areas, the tendency for an unemployed and lower socio-economic person to stay single is very slim. This is because of some sort of stigma placed on unmarried males and worse still on unmarried females by the rural communities. So much so that the thought of being single is remote from their mind.

Despite the mixing and interactions among the three ethnic groups in present day society, the rate of intermarriages, which is frequently regarded as an index of assimilation (Ting, 1986:42), is insignificant. There are many factors that account for this, however, the most prominent is religion. A unique characteristic about Islam is that a non-Muslim has to embrace or convert into Islam before he or she

can marry a Muslim. It is a one-way process. Such a constraint certainly puts up a barrier to intermarriage among members of various ethnic groups. Unlike Indonesia for instance, where the country's constitution allows the union of two people of different ethnic and religious belief. As long as they are compatible and comfortable with each other, they are free to practice their religion of origin without one party having to change religion. This is strictly unacceptable in the Malaysian constitution and Malay society. However due to greater social mobilisation and the system of education, there are some Malays who managed to find non-Malay partners (mainly of Australian, American and European origin) as their spouse. Nevertheless, the one-way process of professed adherence to Islam tends to prevail.

Based on the process of social change and secularisation of present-day society, one wonders how long this kind of reconciliation will be sustained. As we know the constitution of a country may change and undergo an evolutionary process according to the needs of the contemporary society. Therefore one should not be surprised if one day the whole situation changes, possibly when there is a decline of religious faith and practices, and the 'collapse of a community' within the society, perhaps as a result of increased urbanisation and modernisation.

2.4.2 Social manners and etiquette

The concept of social manners and etiquette in society and culture is very subjective. This is because there exists a variety of acceptable standards in the different regions and ethnic groups, as well as at the social level. Despite the variations, there are elements worth mentioning that are commonly applicable. In Malaysian society, public manners are mostly concerned with gestures like touching and pointing, and dress codes.

Malaysians observe a strict rule of not touching one another particularly strangers and people of the opposite sex. Even when they are friends, to lay one's hand on a friend's shoulder is considered rude. If it is impossible not to touch or brush against people, for instance in a crowded area, a person will try to keep their hands as close as possible to themselves. The others also do the same in appreciation of the effort. However, according to Heidi (1992:73) when people are struggling to board a bus or train, these kinds of manners are almost forgotten. Regarding handshaking, among conservative members, men do not normally shake hands with women unless the latter makes the first move of extending her hand. Usually a bow is substituted. This also applies to hand-kissing. Although this act is common in Malay society, it is confined only to family members, whereby the younger members kiss their elders' hands to demonstrate their love and respect. When pointing out something to someone, it is indeed very bad manners to point with an extended forefinger. Pointing to a person's face or using the left forefinger is worst of all. It is normal to indicate something using the whole hand or much more discerningly with the thumb extended over a loosely closed fist.

In terms of dressing, Malaysians usually dress in a modest way, either in *baju kurung* (Malay woman's dress), *cheong sam* (Chinese attire), or *saree* (Indian costume). Although jeans and pants are quite popular among Malaysian women, they are only worn occasionally for leisure. The dresses are usually brightly coloured unless for certain occasions like funerals. Black and white colours are generally used for the latter and also for official functions. Due to their way of dressings (basically covering most parts of the body), it is not surprising that sometimes we get offended at having scantily covered foreigners walking around. Worst of all, is when they are in the rural areas, where the majority of

people are not exposed to this kind of attire. However, all this is gradually changing due to exposure through the media, as well as tourism. With the influx of tourists into the rural areas, the people have become immune and it is now quite a common experience for the villagers. Even then, Malaysians themselves, particularly rural youngsters, are not supposed to adopt this kind of Western dressing. It is only acceptable when practiced by foreigners.

Within the context of our dress code, there is an interesting point that is worth mentioning here. Generally a Muslim man will wear a hat such as a '*songkok*' or '*ketayap*' (a white skullcap) when entering a sacred place like the mosque. This headgear will be worn through out as a sign of respect. Conversely, from observation here, any kind of headgear such as a hat or a cap has to be taken off when a man enters a church. Thus it is obvious that even a small matter like this can create a fuss when the customs and values of the place are ignored. It is very important that the understanding of such values is fostered, in order to ease the cultural divide between the East and the West.

2.4.3 Beliefs and taboos

Malaysians have a profound belief in the supernatural, although increasing numbers of the present day generation are more sceptical and less superstitious. This is particularly true for the Malays, who consider that most of the old superstitions are strongly contradictory to Islamic teaching. Only remnants of older beliefs which do not conflict with Islam are retained. On the other hand, many of the Chinese and Indians are still profoundly superstitious.

Many Malaysians still firmly believe that the graves of certain people usually those who achieved high religious piety known as *wali*, are *keramat* or sacred. It is a common

belief, that anyone or anything thought capable of granting miraculous power should be regarded a *keramat*. Thus some graves and sometimes huge trees are given special attention either by prayers or sacrifices. The reason behind such actions is to please the soul or the guardian spirit of those places, so that the supernatural powers will help them overcome their problems. As a result many believers flock to these places to convey their wishes, hoping that they will be fulfilled. This kind of attitude, of putting their trust in things other than themselves, is indirectly inspired by those believers who do not put much effort into achieving what they want. This is not a healthy situation for it encourages laziness among the people, which the country cannot afford. A hard-working and competitively-spirited society is what we are all striving for, in order to become a fully-fledged, developed and industrialised country in the next century.

With respect to taboos in Malaysian society, most of them, according to Mohd.Dom (1979:47) were introduced for apparently very good reasons i.e to ensure the well-being and security of the family and children. This is especially true concerning children who have been introduced to taboos from an early age, so much so the taboos have become a form of regulation to teach and control them. In addition, certain taboos also help to protect and safeguard property. For example, old folks or parents used to say to children who were caught sitting on a pillow, "Don't sit on that pillow or you'll get a boil". The motive behind this is to prevent the pillow from being torn or damaged. Thus by using such devious methods the parents can effectively discipline the children and protect the object. Similarly, there are many other taboos which are indirectly meant to educate and guide young people to behave better and conform to society's dictats. All these devices have their own purpose, though it is hard to see how they will not be swept away over the next

generation, as we become more connected to the world around us.

There are some taboos and beliefs related to the use of certain plants in the Malaysian landscape. It is interesting to note that each ethnic group has its own preferences and taboos when it comes to planting trees and shrubs. To some Malays it is a great taboo to plant coconut trees in front or next to a house. They believe that by doing so it will bring bad luck to the family. As we know, the nature of a coconut tree is that its fruit will drop to the ground when it matures. So if the tree is planted in front of a house (where children usually play), the fruit might injure somebody or damage the house. Nowadays, with the introduction of dwarf varieties, such a problem may not so easily arise.

Prosperity is the key characteristic of all or most Chinese. In the context of the use of plants in Chinese society, there are certain plants which are thought to bring good luck and prosperity, especially for those in business. Sugar-cane (*Saccharum officinale*) and *Adenium sp.* are commonly found in Chinese compounds. They believe that the more flowers the *Adenium* plant produces, the more prosperous they will become. However, common sense tells us that there is no connection at all between the two. A possible explanation is that as their businesses grow they can afford to supply more fertilisers and other nutrients to the plant and thus hopefully produce more flowers.

It is similarly true with banana plants (*Musa paradisiaca*) for Indians. The plant has been used quite extensively on many occasions: religious, cultural and economic. Another important plant seen in many Indian premises is *Millia indica*, which is believed to bring harmony to the family when planted opposite the entrance of a house. How far this

is true no one knows.

Sometimes due to negative associations attached to some plants, the use of them in Malaysian landscapes has been limited. Examples of such plants are the Frangipani (*Plumeria alba*) and *Adenantha pavonina*. Despite their beautiful flowers and good structural branch formation, their usage is mainly confined to roadsides and parks and not within private compounds of residential areas.

To foreigners, not familiar with these peculiar practices, it can seem strange and something to learn about. Sometimes for us Malaysians, we can tell which ethnic group the occupant or owner belongs to just by looking at the compound planting. This is something unique about the Malaysian society. Although this is part of our cultural tradition, it helps to demonstrate our Malaysian way of life, its uniqueness and complexity. Sadly there is a lack of interest on the part of Malaysian researchers, for the subject has not been studied in great detail. It is perhaps premature to arrive at any useful explanation for these cultural phenomena. But one cannot help wondering how they will survive.

2.5. National integration

Malaysia's growth rate of 6.7 percent per annum over the Fifth Plan period (1985-1990), despite the severe recession at the beginning of the Plan was indicative of our growing national strength, which in turn has resulted in greater mobility and therefore job opportunities among the people. While this increase in social mobilisation is generally beneficial (since the 70's), it can also act as a source of social competition and conflict, particularly between the ethnic groups. The existing situation maybe disturbed, where the Malays, who have the most political power and not the

economic power of the Chinese, reinforcing feelings of enviousness and antagonism between the two communities. Such small imbalances could ultimately lead to social disorder, if there is no proper mechanism and policies to at least reduce the gap that exists. However, we must not forget that efforts to right the imbalance might themselves contribute towards more community conflict and resistance. They must be carefully and discreetly developed and introduced. Wan Teh (1983:99) has stated that the one factor that seemed to encourage communalism in post-Independence Malaysia, was the attempts by government to reduce communal imbalances in wealth, status and power. The effect of such attempts was demonstrated by the racial disputes of 1969.

These unexpected events did not only disturb the stability of the country but awakened the government to re-evaluate its development policies. Greater recognition and accommodation must be paid to the existing communal divisions and interests. Since then there have been more integrated and realistic attempts to cope with communalism and racial problems. The promulgation of the New Economic Policy (see Chapter Three), the National Ideology or Principles (*Rukun Negara*), and the formulation of the national culture are examples of such notable efforts to deal with these problems. In the long run these policies are naturally designed to contribute towards greater inter-racial harmony and national integration.

The term "integration" according to Lockwood (1992:377) relates to social, as well as the system. Social integration implies a more orderly or less conflicting relationship between people, while system integration refers to the more functional or less contradictory relations between institutional subsystems (such as those governing economic, political and religious affairs). In other words, in order to deal with the process of integration, the interrelations

of a society's economic, political and religious subsystems have to be taken into account. Ideally, the people and the institutions have to be coherently represented, so that social order in culturally plural societies can be achieved. Most important of all, as explicitly stated by Cohen (1968:18), social order cannot be taken for granted; its desire has to be asserted. This is very important especially for societies which are experiencing rapid social change like Malaysia. Hence, the concept of integration has been the primary interest of our government since the post 1969 years.

It seems that the issues of social integration and equality are also the source of conflict in British society, particularly before the 70's when there was a rapid rate of immigrants from Asia and Africa flowing into the country. Social inequality and discrimination in terms of employment, housing and all kinds of social relationships were overwhelmingly expressed. Nevertheless, the establishment of the Race Relations Act of 1976, which has been incorporated into the government's programme managed to help to overcome such prejudice. But the question still remains as to whether such efforts can fully preserve social stability and order in the country. This question is also applicable to the Malaysian context, although the severity of the problem and strategies to deal with it may differ. However, Halsey (1978:63) has stressed that a clear Government policy on race relations is needed rather than just a mere principle. As it is, according to him, successive British Governments have given little or no priority to treating black and brown people as equivalent to whites. Thus we may make some assumptions here that the persistence of racial inequality in Britain still persists, just as in Malaysia.

The integrative process in Malaysia requires a high degree of toleration and cooperation among the communal groups. In

addition, it has to be done gradually over certain periods of time. This will help society to fully adapt to the situation and subsequently move towards decreasing social inequalities and animosities. This means that the different groups must come to be seen as one whole unit that mutually coexists, making over their loyalties more to the nation, and less to their own groups. This is of course a noble and ideal vision, and a 'tall order' for all parties concerned. Nevertheless, this has to be a priority in the best interests of all of us. We all know what can happen when a society is divided within itself. On the other hand, united we can play a very influential role in the world, especially in South-East Asia.

One approach to unity and national integration was the introduction of a common language. This was regarded as the most effective way to facilitate communication between the various groups. Besides, it also helps to form the basis of national identity and culture; a prerequisite, among other things, for a successful tourist industry. This "fellow-feeling", borrowing the term from Ambedkar in Wan Teh (1983:8), will indirectly create a sense of belonging among the different groups and hence perhaps help us to achieve a more stable nation. Within this context, the use of the Malay language or *Bahasa Malaysia* as the national language was introduced after 1969. Since then all schools use the language as the medium of instruction, with English as the second language. However, the freedom of using other native languages in everyday life has sensibly not been denied.

Although the allocation of *Bahasa Malaysia* as the national language is exercised, it is thought that its effectiveness especially among the urbanites is not widespread. The English language is preferred in everyday usage. Our nationalistic sentiments are not as yet very strong, as in the case of Indonesia, in their development of a common

culture through the introduction of a national literacy movement. This kind of attitude is probably attributable to the way the country gained its Independence; based on negotiations rather than through a revolution. Hence, the 'nationalist' movement was mainly confined to politically conscious people. This situation becomes more acute with the present society of whom a large proportion have been educated overseas. Some parents feel proud when they can train and discipline their children in the Western way. The act of praising and looking up to Western culture in our modern society is becoming more apparent in all the ethnic groups, particularly among the educated people who live in urban areas. Probably, partly due to this reason the projection of a national identity and culture takes a long time to materialise.

Another approach towards integration is the development of our national culture or what can be termed as 'Malaysian culture'. By this, we do not mean that all the different cultures have to be mixed up to form an unrecognisable product. Instead, an appreciation by members of each group of the cultures of other groups, is the least that can be hoped for. From this inspiration, a National Cultural Congress was held in 1971 to discuss the principles and roles of different art forms in the development of national culture. To this effect, various traditional art forms and folk cultures have been revived by cultural planners and promoters. Festivals are held and competitions among performers of folk art are organised. Meanwhile, traditional dances are choreographed to better suit the tastes of present day audiences, and traditional music and instruments have been improved. All these efforts are to help to inculcate a sense of national loyalty and strive to create a Malaysian identity. To what extent these practices will be fruitful and be fully taken up in the 21st century, it is difficult to predict. But one thing is for sure, it will

form a strong foundation and hopefully a lasting resource to build on, in times of cultural change.

The concept of integration has also been used in the development of our real estate. It is required of developers, no matter what ethnic group they belong to, to set aside a certain percentage of the property to be developed for multi-ethnic use. For example, if a developer is Chinese then certain ratios (usually one third) of the properties have to be sold to Malays, Indians and others, on top of what has been reserved for the Chinese. It is hoped that this will help create a 'natural mixing' among the various groups as they come into contact with each other. Hence problems of socio-cultural differences will hopefully be reduced. There is no doubt that there is some truth in this, but unfortunately sometimes it only happens on paper. In reality a great number of complications may arise from it. Nonetheless, a high degree of success has been achieved.

2.6. Conclusion

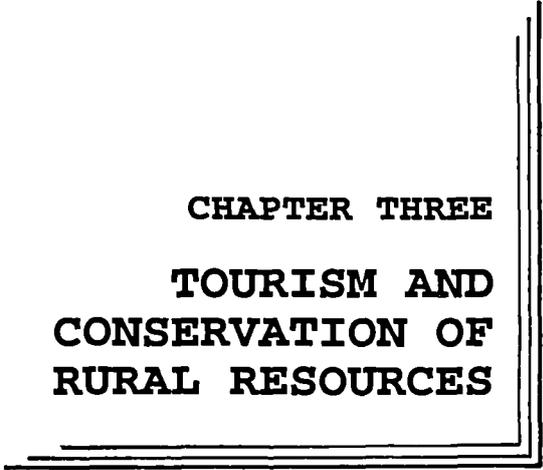
The challenging task that the Malaysian government has to face in achieving the objective of national integration is to overcome problems of ethnic and cultural pluralism. The emergence of a differentiated and divided population was the result of a "Divide and Rule policy" (Osman, 1984:277) of the Colonial administration. This deliberate separation between the locals (Malays) and the immigrants (Chinese and Indians) has directly encouraged racial conflicts and social disorder, that was left to be dealt with cautiously and judiciously by our independent government.

The uniqueness of Malaysian society can be seen in everyday life where aspects of our cultural, social, religious and economic life predominate. This is further enhanced with beliefs and taboos that have been influential on the pattern

of behaviour. These, if properly analysed and utilised could inspire opportunities for learning and subsequently develop an image that could symbolise our dignity. The need to project own identity is of utmost importance for a country like Malaysia, in order to present herself in international circles. This is crucial, especially when the tourist industry is promoting it as one of great importance to our future economic activity.

Meanwhile, in the process of attaining national integration, development towards national identity and national culture are emphasised through the implementation of some policies to act as solutions to communalism and to encourage assimilation among the ethnic groups. Although perfect assimilation maybe impossible to achieve due to the presence of religion as an obstacle to intermarriage, at least a sense of belonging to a single socio-political community through adoption of a national culture could help to serve this purpose. This requires the sharing of common values and norms between the ethnic groups and they should be inculcated at a very early stage of growing up. Therefore it is the responsibility of institutions, such as schools and the media to instil the ideology of national integration, through a socialisation process for the young. In this way it is hoped that a 'true sense' of Malaysian society will be flourishing by the year 2020, in harmony with Malaysia's aspirations to achieve the status of a developed and industrialised country.

CHAPTER THREE
TOURISM AND
CONSERVATION OF
RURAL RESOURCES

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CHAPTER THREE

TOURISM AND CONSERVATION OF RURAL RESOURCES

"...[We should] recognise that tourism is a desirable activity, of economic benefit to the nation and of personal benefit to the individual; that continuing attention to conservation [of resources] is vital to the well-being of man and the land: and that the quality both of environment and of tourism experience could be threatened by excessive and unplanned tourist development and activity."

(Dower, 1974:4)

3.1. Introduction

It cannot be denied that tourism is a very lucrative industry. It makes use of precious environment and resources as a means of attracting tourists. Hence due to intense economic pressures, sometimes people tend to overexploit these resources without thinking of the repercussions. This insensitive approach has tended to create a deplorable state of the environment and provided problems to some areas, where tourism is a 'money-spinner'. To a certain extent some environmentalists and conservationists have already suggested the concept of 'moratoriums' or putting a ban on areas which have suffered from too much tourism.

On the other hand, tourism can also be seen as a catalyst for conservation and protection of resources. Tourists are looking for good quality environment and unique natural, physical and cultural resources from a destination area. If these resources are not properly managed and conserved, it is likely that tourism is not going to last long. Thus, it is important that measures to mitigate any devastation to the environment and depletion of resources are strongly employed. Preferably, tourism should pay for this conservation work.

It is often the case that in the rural areas, where fragile ecosystems exist, the demand for tourism increases. It is the great challenge of our time to achieve a real balance between conservation and development. However, due to increasing awareness of environmental problems, some countries have been able to reduce or control the threat of destruction to their environment and their resources through policies and legislation. Nature Reserves and Conservation Areas have been designated, in order to protect the natural and cultural resources from further destruction from development. This of course requires careful planning and managing on the part of the authorities, as well as the local community as a whole. These capabilities are often lacking in most developing countries. As a matter of fact, the concept of conservation is still very new to some of these countries.

This chapter attempts to explore the meaning of tourism and conservation, as well as to understand their symbiotic relationship in relation to tourist development. It also highlights the importance of rural resources and their conservation, with special attention to cultural landscapes: their meaning, concept and importance. Last but not least, it will attempt to illustrate the concept and values of 'cultural landscapes' with reference to the Malaysian experience.

3.2. Tourism and Conservation

3.2.1 Definitions of Tourism

The opportunities that tourism offers to host communities and its significant contribution to their general well-being cannot be denied. Despite the short-term benefits, it is also evident from developments in many developed and developing countries that tourism has caused serious damage and destroyed the very resources (such as special landscape

features and indigenous culture) which draw tourists to the destination. Due to the dual-pronged nature of the industry, it is therefore important to recognise the challenges facing tourism and to devise a wise management strategy to ensure its sustainability. Most importantly, it is vitally necessary to keep in perpetuity the valuable resources, be they natural or cultural.

There are numerous viewpoints and definitions concerning tourism. For instance, in a study carried out by Frechtling in 1976 (Mathieson and Wall, 1982:11), he outlined criteria to be used in determining appropriate definitions, these included the purpose of travel, the kind of transport used, duration of stay, and origins and distance travelled. Conceptually, Burkart and Medlik (1974:39-40) argued not altogether convincingly, that there are five characteristics of tourism:

- (1) It is an amalgam of many phenomena and relationships,
- (2) there are elements of journey and relaxation derived from the phenomena and associated relationships,
- (3) the activities can be distinguished from those of the resident and working population of the places,
- (4) the movement to destinations is temporary and short term in character, and
- (5) destinations are visited for purposes not connected with work.

Nevertheless, there are other approaches to defining tourism, whereby more of the nature of the phenomena is taken into consideration. Thus Ryan (1991) puts forward the idea that tourism can be defined from four different but nevertheless interconnected aspects that are; the economic, the technical, the holistic and experiential viewpoints. In analysing all these attempts at definition, we can arrive at

a general consensus; that tourism is a complex form of activity which involves people, places, time and purpose. We can at least say that these four elements have to be present, in order for tourism to take place. Hence, it is the author's opinion that a simple but precise definition of tourism is the one given by Davidson (1989:2);

"Tourism is about people being away from their own home, on short term, temporary visits, for particular 'tourism' purposes".

3.2.2 Definition of Conservation

Conservation has been defined as "special steps to prevent depletion of a resource" (Whitby, et.al, 1974:112) or the "wise use of land and resources" (Dower, 1974:3). Another point of view about conservation is given by Davidson (1989:128) in which he defined the term as "the preservation and sensible use of the natural and man-made environment".

From all these definitions we can deduce that resources and environment are two important elements in the formulation of conservation issues, and that these may also be the very source of the attraction for tourism, apart that is from making money. It is therefore important that we know how conservation can effectively aid tourism. More often than not, conservation activity is carried out without fully understanding this concept and its importance to the welfare of the residents. Thus, we can see when conservation has not been implemented adequately, and also when it has. In the case of many countries, including Malaysia, it is likely that a strict enforcement of the policy has not been imposed. This is even more common in countries where their land use control and planning legislation is weak or non-existent. This inadequacy has been sounded out by Hubbard (1993:362), where he points out that conservation is being regarded as an "elitist activity, justified by *ex post facto* reference to public needs and wants; which are rarely, if ever, monitored". Hence it is necessary to educate the

society about conservation, so that we can gain more enlightened attitudes and values towards this very important aspect of development activity.

3.2.3 The Interdependence of Tourism and Conservation

There have been a number of arguments with regards to the relationships of tourism and conservation. We can argue that tourism and conservation should work hand in hand, especially when one clearly benefits from the other. However, at the other extreme, we can also argue that tourism and conservation are two different and disconnected entities which are always and will remain in conflict. Whichever way we perceive this, there is one major notion that we should bear in mind; it is that tourism and conservation activities have to be planned if we are to ensure high quality standards in these matters.

For the tourist industry to be successful and sustained, good quality environment is needed and this requires adequate and enforceable protection and conservation measures. As has been claimed, "Without an attractive environment, there would be no tourism" (Dower, 1974:12). There are many instances where areas of national and local significance, historical monuments and buildings have been saved and preserved for the sake of tourists. To a certain extent, some buildings have been dismantled and rebuilt to make them look similar to that which had originally been built (eg. the Beamish Museum, near Newcastle). In York itself, well known for its historical significance, there are many buildings that have been preserved because of their value as tourist attractions. So here we can see an example where tourism and conservation have successfully complemented each other.

In the case of the natural environment, the establishment of national parks for the conservation of habitats is gaining

popularity, as part of the attraction for tourist. For example, in the largely rural community of Kenya there are about thirteen national parks and twenty-four national game reserves (Davidson, 1989) that have been established for the conservation of wildlife species. These designated areas not only provide a source of attraction for tourists but they also try to prohibit uncontrolled hunting. In this way, the country not only benefits in terms of economic gain from tourists, but it also through the conservation of its natural environment. However, it has to be said that there is increasing anxiety that the making of more and more national parks, in the name of tourism, is threatening the livelihood of the pastoral societies whose homelands are being taken over.

In urban areas, a mutually beneficial relationship between tourism and conservation can often be seen when a building or area is given a new use to cater for the growing needs of tourists. There are many examples that fall into this category, as a result of both the residents and the tourist's needs. In Kuala Lumpur, for example, a market building has been converted into a crafts centre, known as 'Pasar Seni'; an old hotel was refurbished and converted into an arts gallery. In six British cities, a number of derelict sites and redundant industrial lands have been converted into sites for summer Garden Festivals and theme parks. Many of these restoration and rehabilitation works, though mainly designed to upgrade the local environment, have incidentally contributed to the rehabilitation of the city, which in turn has helped to develop the local tourist industry.

3.3. The Challenge of Tourism

Today, tourism has become one of the most important industries in most of the countries of the world. Too often

this activity is taking place at a tremendous and seemingly uncontrolled rate, as Young (1973:7) in his discussion on tourist infrastructure, points out;

"... the green fields of Europe will shortly be covered with airports; the air will be filled with the noise of jets flying in jumbo-loads of tourists; our capitals will be submerged in a sea of new hotels; the roads congested with tourist coaches; historic buildings even more cluttered with culture-seeking visitors; streets populated with souvenir shops, boutiques and strip clubs. Already the phrase 'pollution by tourist' has been coined".

Like most human activities, tourism has a complex mix of positive and negative values attached to it. It has both pros and cons, benefits and evils, and it can also act as 'benefactor and mischief-maker' (O'Grady, 1975), depending on how we would like to perceive it. It is therefore a challenge to the countries, whose economic growth depends on the industry, to meet the needs of their people on the one hand and the increasing demand of the tourists on the other. Many of the tourists' needs, especially in terms of infrastructure, are quite different in character from those of the local inhabitants. Thus it is important that a reasonable balance is achieved, and this is where the task of the government and the local authorities concerned needs to become more sophisticated in their control of what is largely a private sector activity.

With the increasing awareness of the importance of tourism today, there has been an increase in the industry worldwide by nearly 300% just within the last 20 years, between 1970 and 1990 (Eber, 1992). This indicates that more and more countries are taking an active part in tourism development. There are of course strong arguments for this rapid expansion of the private sector. Conversely, the rapid growth has also stimulated a public concern with regards to its contribution to the people, culture, environment and

economies of the host country. It can be seen that here lie the seeds of future conflicts between private gain at the expense of the public good. From its role as a supporter of tourism the government must also become the guardian of the public good.

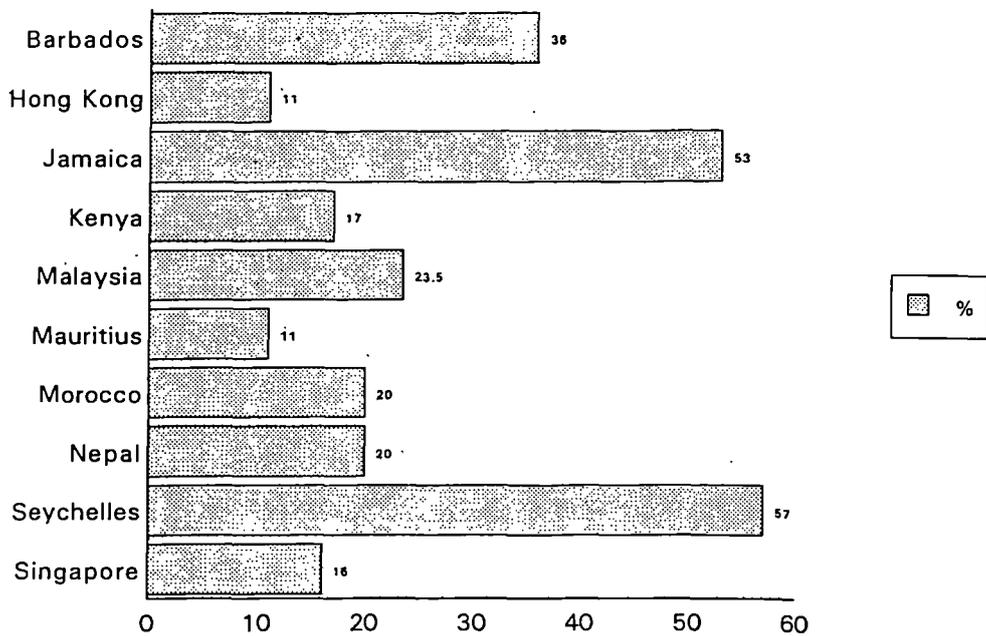
3.3.1 Costs and Benefits of Tourism

The economic factor is the major element taken into consideration in the planning of the tourist industry, due to its ability to earn foreign exchange and promote trade. This is indeed an irresistible incentive for any country, especially those suffering from economic difficulties and capital scarcity. It is also used as a means of economic diversification. Unlike most other industries, foreign exchange earnings are acquired in-country, without the extra overheads of exports. Another reason why it is given full support and encouragement by most governments, especially those of the developing countries, is because it attracts inward investment from a range of national and international property and infrastructure investors in the form of hotels, roads etc. As Mathieson and Wall (1982:38) pointed out, tourism acts as an invisible export industry where;

"... there is no tangible product which is shipped from one place to another. It is one of the few industries in which the consumer actually collects the service personally from the place where it is produced".

The importance of tourism as a foreign exchange contributor in some developing countries can be seen in Fig. 3-1. Superficially, the amount of money generated by the tourist industry seems very lucrative. However we must not forget that, international tourism in most of the developing countries is owned and managed by multinational enterprises. This is particularly true in the case of hotel chains like Hilton, Ramada, Holiday Inn, Hyatt and many others, which have a well established commercial operation throughout the

world. In addition, the importation of goods and services required to supply the tourists, also leads to the outflow of revenue from the host countries. Such 'leakage' is common to most nations engaged in the tourist industry. It is more critical to those countries where the infrastructure is poorly developed and the production system is restrained by various obstacles, like limited technology and inadequate marketing strategies. For instance, leakage in terms of food



Source: Adapted from Wyer and Towner (1988). See also E.I.U. Country Reports 1980.

Fig.3-1 Percentage of foreign exchange earnings from tourism of selected countries.

imports was one of the most outstanding characteristics of the Caribbean tourist industry (Wyer and Towner, 1988). Likewise, about 47% of Indonesia's and more than two-thirds of India's foreign exchange earnings from the tourist industry flow out due to imports of goods (Negi, 1990). In the case of Malaysia, the importation of merchandise

constitutes about 53% of the Gross National Product during the period of 1985-1990 (Government of Malaysia, 1991:21). Although these importations might not only be for tourism, but certainly some portions of it are meant for the industry. In terms of leakage from Malaysia, despite its importance in tourism economic planning, there is not much of it being publicly revealed. However according to Din (1982:465), the leakage factor from the tourist industry for 1980 was about 16%. Although the percentage does not look high, however we must not forget that the tourist industry in Malaysia picked up its momentum only in the mid-80's, particularly after the establishment of the Ministry of Arts, Culture and Tourism. It is likely that higher leakage occurred since then. This is supported by the fact that it has been reported in the Government of Malaysia (1991:234) that the net receipts from tourism were not large. This was due to the offset by the large outflows from overseas travel by Malaysians, which made up of a total of MR4.0 billion in 1990.

'Leakage' has been defined as "savings, taxation and imports" (Ryan, 1991:71) or "the gap between the net financial revenues of the recipient and donor countries" (William and Shaw, 1988:32). In other words, it is the cost required to supply the needs of tourists, out of the host country, either in the form of profits, emoluments, imports or combination of these elements. The 'package tour' is one example of leakage, whereby all the expenses are prepaid in the country of origin. It has been reckoned that if the airlines and hotels are owned by foreign agencies, the host or destination country barely earns around 25% of the retail tour price (Wyer and Towner, 1988:21). From this it is clear that a large portion of the benefits return to or never leave the tourists' countries. What is left for the host is very minimal (De Kadt, 1979). It is sometimes hard to believe that in spite of all the promotion and marketing that goes on, so little revenue accrues to the developing

host nations. There is no doubt that tourism also has strong multipliers, but leakage does exist. With respect to multipliers, Din (1982:462) in his study cited that the multiplier figure for Malaysia was 3.2 to 4.3 (despite much criticisms on the estimate) as an indication of the magnitude of economic contribution of tourism sector to the economy. Thus, what has been said by De Kadt probably does not apply severely to Malaysia, unless we know exactly the amount and where the bulk of leakage accrued. Unless we have sufficient data and information on this aspect and fully understand how the system operates, it is not an easy to make a detailed comment here.

Tourism is also known for contributing towards employment. Due to it being "highly labour-intensive" (Young, 1973:135), a high proportion of the work force can be created either in the form of skilled, semi-skilled, or unskilled employment. This is a very significant factor, especially for countries with high rates of unemployment. However, we have to be concerned about which type of employment the majority of the local people are employed in. This also relates to the problem of leakage, as well as to the benefits of the host country. If the majority of jobs offered to the people are of semi-skilled or unskilled types, this means that the wages earned by these people will not be much and the qualities of the job are also low. Thus it will not be of advantage to the host country because its own people are not being given training to improve their skills. This in turn will lead to the dependency of the industry on foreign expertise. A good example of this is Spain, where 98% of the total employment in the industry is of semi or unskilled types (William and Shaw, 1988). Nevertheless, if a high number of local people are employed in the administrative or managerial sectors, this somehow will provide a different perspective in the eyes of the local communities. There is a possibility that a better response and participation are

apparent and probably less resentment will be shown.

On the contrary, the tourist industry helps to encourage people especially young people, to turn away from the traditional types of employment such as fishing and farming. In view of the less hard nature of the work and a much cleaner working environment, young people will tend to favour some sectors of tourism, for example bars, hotels and restaurants, as the source of their 'bread and butter'. This trend will eventually lead to a decline in the agricultural workforce, if it continues. The trades and skills of traditional jobs will be gone forever. The all important question then arises; what will happen to this generation when the tourist industry is not booming or reaches saturation point, and tourists begin to seek alternative destinations?

The rapid development of the tourist industry also helps to increase land values in the destination areas, and this in turn creates an active environment for land speculation. We may argue, that this will provide good opportunities for local people to obtain better prices and gain more profit from their land. It is no surprise to hear that some landowners have turned into 'instant millionaires', as a result of their land dealings. Nevertheless, at the other extreme, we may feel that this sort of situation will lead overall to an unhealthy environment, whereby the local inhabitants gradually lose possession and ownership of their land, which has long been nurtured and tended by their forefathers. Their feelings of pride in their heritage and the traditional landscape will soon be dissipated. This condition is further exacerbated when the tenants are forced off their land and have to turn to other sources of livelihood, just for the sake of tourist development. They will soon drift to the towns and cities and contribute to the slums that seem to be so much a part of modernisation.

In the aspect of environment and tourism, Michael Dower pointed out in his speech by stressing that the environment is an essential element for tourism because, "Without an attractive environment there would be no tourism" (English Tourist Board, 1974:11). This is agreed by Davidson (1989), who emphasised that whenever there is a lack of an attractive environment, the chances of the industry surviving are slim, because it is what the tourists are looking for in any destination. This clearly indicates that a good environment is vital.

Some people regard tourism as a source of encouragement in protecting the natural and man-made environments. There is of course, some truth in this, especially when the industry is still at an 'infant' stage. However, as tourism grows into a more highly diversified activity and rapidly develops, there is an increased tendency that environmental degradation will occur. Unless stringent controls and powerful legislation to ensure good and proper management of the environment exists. The development of the tourist industry has to be carefully planned and closely monitored, so as not incur serious detrimental effects to the environment in particular, and to the destination areas in general. This can not be stressed to highly for the future good of the industry as a whole and the maintenance of our irreplaceable environment in particular.

3.3.2 Limitations of Tourism

Every actual and potential tourist destination area has a certain level of saturation and tolerance up to which it can be used and developed. Not recognising these limits and enforcing necessary restrictions may cause harmful effects to the micro environment. Sadly, too often this can be a common outcome of tourism. As the number of tourists seeking more exotic destinations increase, the potential for the environment suffering from damage also increases. It has

been said that the natural environment rarely escapes damage where large numbers of tourists are found (Davidson, 1989:131). In actual fact, the excessive numbers of tourists may not only adversely affect the natural environment but also the man-made environment. It is therefore vital that each destination recognizes this tolerance level and the industry planned accordingly, so that these negative impacts can be mitigated.

One important aspect of limitation and tolerance levels is the idea of 'carrying capacity'. It is a fundamental concept, in which the ability of the environment to sustain a certain level of activity, beyond which some form of deterioration can be anticipated (Murphy, 1985:64). Both natural and man-made attractions have upper limits to absorb visitors (Lea, 1988:61), with the maximum growth rates beyond which the developments would be disrupted (De Kadt, 1979:17). The degree of development taking place is in proportion to the detrimental effects on nature and society (O'Grady, 1990:31). In a simple word, Cody and Diamond (1975:47) describe carrying capacity as a 'population ceiling'. From these concepts it can be interpreted that carrying capacity is the limit or levels of thresholds that a certain environment can sustain activities/usage by man within a particular time before it begins to disintegrate. It is part of a development management process.

There are two schools of thought concerning tourism capacity; they are the capacity of the destination area to accommodate tourists, and the capacity of the tourists to be satisfied from their destinations (O'Reilly, 1986:254). Here we can see that both the tourists as well as the host countries are taken into consideration. In order to have the right level of tolerance so that the negative impacts to the environment are minimised, a balanced capacity has to be ascertained and maintained, at all times. This requires

proper planning and firm control by the authorities of the host country. This is to ensure that demand matches the capacity to supply (Josephides, 1992:56).

It has been pointed out, that the capacity of a destination or recreational area to absorb people depends on its size and the nature of the demands (Archer, 1973:11) imposed by the users. Meanwhile, Mathieson et.al (1982:22-23) have emphasized that the capacity of a destination to absorb the demands, depends upon the characteristics of the area and its population and this includes the interrelationship of various complex factors, as follows:

- Natural environmental features and processes,
- economic structure and development,
- social structure and organization,
- political organization, and
- level of tourist development.

Another factor he suggests that also influences the capacity levels is the characteristics of the tourists themselves. This includes their socio-economic profile such as age, sex, levels of income; their motivations, attitudes and expectations, etc., all of which contribute towards their interpersonal style. In addition, the level of use of the facility, which includes the visitor density, their lengths of stay, types of activity and their levels of satisfaction are also taken into consideration because they are important in influencing the "magnitude, frequency and kind of interaction with the physical attributes of the destination and its people" (Ibid:22).

Thus here we see that it is important that all these factors and their interrelationships be considered and taken into account in the formulation of tourism development policies. This is to try to ensure that the environment of the

destination area will not be damaged, and a decent product can be presented to the tourists. As has been stressed by O'Reilly (1986:255),

"... overcapacity can have great consequences not only on the physical and environmental aspects but also on the social, cultural and economic subsystems of the destinations. Carrying capacities exist for all [those] subsystems, as they can all be considered to be interrelated".

It is therefore necessary that tourism carrying capacity be included in the planning of tourist destinations. Unfortunately, the issue of capacity has been given little attention especially in developing countries, in the surge to earn foreign exchange through tourism. Because of this, some areas might have exceeded the capacity or if not, are probably close to their saturation levels. This condition will almost certainly lead towards deterioration of the existing physical and environmental attributes. For example, in the Caribbean islands of the Commonwealth, certain coastal areas have experienced problems of waste disposal due to poor planning and overdevelopment. This clearly indicates that there was no control of tourist capacity in the area. This type of problem is indeed happening to most areas which depend too highly on the tourist industry for their economic survival. It has been stressed again and again that, "the most economically disastrous is the hazard of excess capacity" (Bond and Ladman, 1976:58).

Like any other resource, tourist destinations also experience evolutions and changes over time. This dynamic character is brought about by various factors like changing preferences and needs of tourists, and nature of attractions of the destination areas. Tourists' preferences and needs are subject to changes of fashion as well as cost, while the attractions themselves may gradually change, deteriorate or even disappear as time moves on. The idea of evolution of a

tourist area has been put forward by Butler (1980) in a hypothetical 'cycle concept', as in Fig. 3.2. In his concept he argues, that tourist areas are likely to pass through various stages in their establishment, such as:

- Exploration,
- involvement,
- development,
- consolidation,
- stagnation, and
- decline or rejuvenation.

His main idea however is that;

" Visitors will come to an area in small numbers initially, restricted by lack of access, facilities, and local knowledge. As facilities are provided and awareness grows, visitor numbers will increase. With marketing, information dissemination, and further facility provision, the area's popularity will grow rapidly. Eventually, however the rate of increase in visitor numbers will decline as levels of carrying capacity are reached As the attractiveness of the area declines relative to other areas, because of overuse and the impacts of visitors, the actual number of visitors may also eventually decline" (Ibid:6).

Here we see graphically illustrated the importance of considering carrying capacity in the planning and managing of tourist areas. It also reinforces the notion that the needs of the local residents must also always be kept in mind. A successful tourism development will not only attract tourists to the destination, but must also fulfill their changing expectations, preferably over a long period. This can only be achieved when the development is kept within its capacity and limits and its potential competitiveness is maintained over time through professional management, as in the case with any industry. This is vital if tourism is to be sustainable and contribute to the maintenance of good

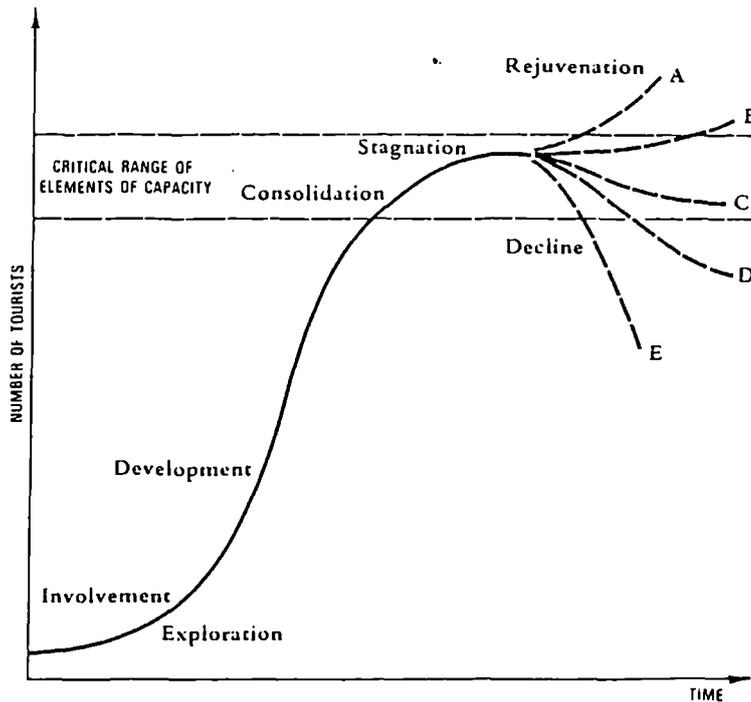


Fig.3-2, Tourism 'Cycle Concept'

quality environment. It is therefore necessary that professional management is trained and an awareness of need for a change in the attitude of planners, developers and managers of tourist destinations can possibly be ensured. This is necessary because, "Tourist attractions are not infinite and timeless [thus they] should be viewed and treated as finite and possibly non-renewable resources" (Ibid:11). This is agreed by Murphy (1985:32) who points out that;

" ... the [tourist] industry carries within it the seeds of its own destruction. Successful development of a resource or amenity can lead to the destruction of those very qualities which attracted visitors in the first place".

Here, the destructive factors do not only derive locally but also from outside of the country's control, such as on aspects of health and security. This can be seen with

regards to the spread of AIDS and other contagious diseases, as well as on drug-trafficking problems.

3.4. Conservation of Rural Resources

Rural resources implies all natural and man-made elements that depict the character of rural areas. The most dominant forms of these are pastoral or agricultural land and nature reserves. In England, the term 'countryside' is commonly used for this purpose. In assessing the issues in relation to tourism development, these are the elements that are most vulnerable and need to be taken care of especially when development takes place that clearly has a devastating impact on the environment. This is because the 'countryside' is normally the source of the natural and cultural attraction, but at the same time, is the source of conflict and competition for the use of the land. Therefore, looking at these dual functions the resources provide, it is very important that they too are managed in a proper manner, so as to preserve the quality of the area concerned. In addition, the use of these rural resources should also be planned so that they can cater to the various demands, while minimizing any conflicts that might be harmful to the environment.

In considering the conservation of rural resources it is again important that the capacity level is looked into. This is to ensure that the resources are not being over-exploited or over-utilized and therefore suffer from the results of over-congestion. This is where good design and management of the resources are crucial and have to be imposed on the investors and planners of tourist attractions. Basically, the issues of capacity are normally categorized into physical, social and managerial (Bouchard, 1974; Murphy, 1985; Ryan, 1991; Wagar, 1974). These three factors are necessary when planning and managing any resource because

they can determine whether the development is a success or failure. When dealing with these issues, a number of solutions have been suggested: a more balanced approach to the demands of development and developers; a dispersal of development; and putting in place an interpretation center (Gunn, 1988:122).

As we can see from these, all solutions can only be valuable when they are used to strictly guide development. However, when it comes to the real world they are not easy to implement, unless there is in existence powerful legislative control that can be applied nationally. Only then, can the planning system contribute to and safeguard our national heritage.

As we have said before, land is an important resource to people. It is a major element for food production, settlement and industry, as well as for recreation. Land ownership is considered to give status to the owner among rural communities. The more acreage the owner possesses, the more respectable he or she becomes. Naturally this is increasingly important when the land provides a family with its predominant form of economic activity. So, when there is competition in the demand for land and its use, it may disturb the system of production and go against the area's development plan. It is here that the balancing function of the planning mechanism has to step in, so that both conservation and development of the resource can run concurrently in a harmonious and complimentary way. It is intended that this more balanced policy will overcome the difficulties of allocation of this resource in a socio-commercial and aesthetically rewarding way. By this we mean, that not only we can secure an aesthetically pleasing environment (visually and physically) but try to enable our ecosystems to renew themselves while sustaining economic processes; thus helping to achieve the basic objectives of

sustainable development.

Another important but too often hidden resource in the rural areas of all countries is the landscape. Many of the changes to the scenery brought about by human activities like modern farming and afforestation can be extremely dramatic. They may not only reduce the quality of the landscape but also lessen the sense of responsibility for and feelings of stewardship towards the existing rural character. It is beginning to be realised how very valuable the countryside is in giving identification to the cultural character of a place. Hence, adequate provision and protection of such valuable but latent assets is urgently required. Furthermore if the tourist industry in an area is to be sustainable, it is this unique quality of the landscape that often inspires and attracts visitors from around the world. This contention is highly regarded by Negi (1990:159), who stresses that an assessment of carrying capacity and balance of levels of tourist development are critical in preventing environmental damage, protecting sources (the natural countryside) and securing the continuance of tourism.

3.5. Cultural Landscapes

The notion of 'cultural landscapes' is not a foreign concept to some American and European communities. It has already been used for decades, but it was not until the 1980's that it was rationally considered in conservation and management programmes of the Ministry of Environment in Malaysia. Except for minor differences as to the descriptive term, the meaning is closely tied up with manifestations of traditional culture and indigenous human activities. For example, Taylor (1993:13) has defined cultural landscapes as, *"The everyday landscapes which surround us and in which we conduct our activities. [These landscapes] are the result of human intervention in the natural landscape and [they]*

present a record of human activity and human values". According to Goodchild (1991), cultural landscapes are, "... *the product of economic and social systems*". However in the Finnish context, cultural landscapes have been regarded as, "... *the very land itself that is inhabited and cultivated*" (Keisteri 1990:50).

As the term implies, the word 'landscape' itself carries a multiple divergence of meanings. Some people consider it as an aesthetic experience, some regard it as an environment which we see and move around in, and countless numbers refer to it as a visible landform. As such, with so many variations of meaning for the word landscape (Table 3-1), the consensus is that landscapes always reflect the surrounding areas where people live and make their living. Hence, understanding this principal meaning of the word itself gives us a better perspective of the concept of *cultural landscapes*.

3.5.1 The concept of cultural landscapes

The concept of cultural landscapes, according to Keisteri (1990), should always contain some element of the *natural* landscape, and it should give emphasis to the visible and experiential elements influenced by human activity. Therefore a cultural landscape as a general term is associated with the controlling cultural values of the society. Since no culture is static, so it is important that the landscape and outstanding local features associated with it are protected from the pressures for change. This is because once these resources are destroyed, they will usually be lost forever. Thus vital information about man's relationship with nature and his environment will be lost. Hence the conservation of these cultural resources so as to protect, maintain and enhance their character is very important. Of course we cannot conserve everything, but we have to be selective. In order to so requires some criteria

that needs to be developed. This is quite a difficult task to be handled by one discipline. A multi-disciplinary approach and efforts will have to be sought after to determine the correct criteria. This effort is more complex in areas where multi-ethnic groups exist such as in Malaysia. However, the ICOMOS Landscapes Working Group represented by members from 22 countries have come up with six general criteria for the inclusion of cultural landscapes in the World Heritage List (ILWG, 1993). These criteria can only be used as a guideline and more detailed evaluation by experts on specific sites is required. Efforts

LANGUAGE	WORD	MEANING OF	THE WORD		
1 Latin	loca (pl.) regio terra	landscape	land land, soil		
2 French	paysage	landscape			landscape painting
3 Italian	paesaggio	landscape			landscape painting
4 Spanish	paisaje	landscape			
5 English	landscape	landscape			landscape painting
6 German	Landschaft	landscape			landscape painting
7 Swedish	landskap	landscape			landscape painting
8 Finnish	maisema	landscape	lands	visible area of land surface, view, scene	landscape painting landscape picture
9 Malaysian	landskap	landscape	lands	visible area of land surface, view, scene & plants	

Table 3-1 Meanings of the word landscape (Adapted from Keisteri, 1990:35).

towards this should be encouraged so that the importance of cultural landscapes is acknowledged. More importantly, these intangible resources can then be passed on and appreciated by future generations as a valuable ingredient of their cultural heritage. This includes features such as gardens, parks, orchards, fields, human settlements, and also plants and animal populations.

Interest in cultural landscape is a relatively recent but growing phenomenon, often due to insufficient knowledge and understanding of the natural ecological cycle and the history of human influence on the landscape. Rather, it has generally been taken for granted that nature will take its course and that there is no limit to the human exploitative use of our resources. As Wobse (1992:13) pointed out,

"The threat to these landscapes results not from any ill will but is rather a consequence of ignorance".

Such an attitude does not only result in the destruction of valuable resources such as forests, but tends to create a deplorable state within the environment, such as soil erosion and climate change, unless well-planned and speedy remedial actions are taken. A better understanding of landscapes, their limitations, and behavioral use of space are critical in conserving them, in order to counter the negative impact of misuse.

The importance to a particular society of understanding the landscape and conserving evidence of past landuse and cultural practices goes without saying. With the global awareness on issues such as environmental problems, over population and the destruction of species and ecosystems, and coupled with the idea of seeing the world as one whole unit - the planet Earth, it is increasingly crucial that strategies to protect all our resources for sustainability are established. However the threat to sustainability is

more acute with the influence of technology, whereby huge earth moving equipment can be imported to quickly and completely change the landscape. This is further enhanced with the many misinterpretations about land use, as in the case of Malaysia. By this we mean for instance, that a largely forested landscape is psychologically in some way misinterpreted as representing a primitive culture and this sends out the wrong signals to investors and those whose main efforts are motivated by profit-making. Therefore, the need to establish mechanism to integrate development and environment have to be stressed through commonly agreed policies, nationally and internationally. This is to ensure that the uses of our renewable resources (such as soil, forests, etc) are sustainable while changes to the cultural landscape should be undertaken only in the full knowledge of what will result over the longer term.

In looking at the general concept, Keisteri (1990:51) has basically divided cultural landscapes into farming, village and city landscapes, based on the visible forms and the nature of material and non-material landscapes (Fig.3-3).

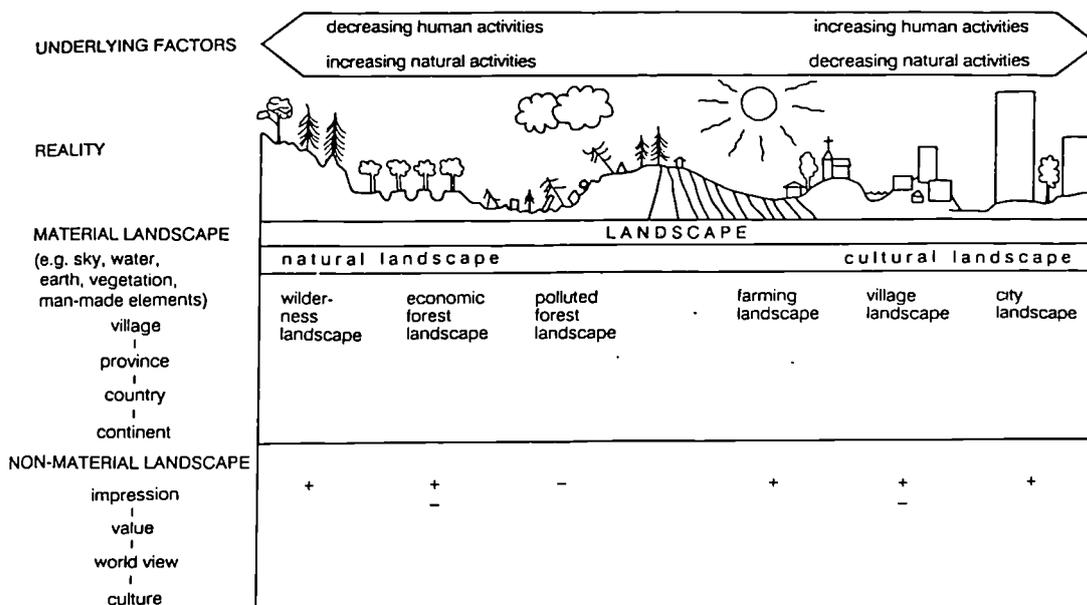


Fig.3-3 Division of the concept of landscape into cultural landscape, natural landscape and landscape impressions in a hypothetical area. (Source: Keisteri 1990:51)

Similarly, Goodchild (1991) has classified cultural landscapes into three types; ethnographical (only applicable to natives of America), associative and adjoining. These two concepts are quite similar in nature, in the sense that both are characterised by man-made elements and linked with human activities. It is interesting to note here that the term 'cultural landscape' was originally associated with the countryside and agricultural settings, but in the course of time it has grown to include urban settlements as well. Some of the examples include rural lands (villages), cemeteries (eg. Pierre La Chaise - Paris), residential communities, streetscapes and highways, and parks and gardens (eg. Castle Howard - UK).

3.5.2 The importance and the need for conservation

The value of cultural landscapes was made possible through the persistent efforts of several prominent members of the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) and the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), in inscribing 'protected landscapes' onto the World Heritage List. In this, cultural landscapes are categorised as "sites" while architectural gardens are considered as "monuments".

The importance of cultural landscapes cannot be denied for they carry a certain unique character and value; because of these factors they possess layers of information regarding human activity, past and present. This can indirectly signify values placed by the society or community, at the time, on features of landscape. For instance if we take the organisation of padi fields, there are many physical elements that contribute to their character such as the presence of a gazebo, bunds, threshing baskets and a plough attached to a buffalo. In the past, a padi planter spent a much longer time in the field; beside planting the farmer stayed there to mend any damaged bunds and did all kinds of

work to ensure that the plants were doing well. When the padi ripened there were all sorts of gadgets (such as 'orang-orangan', a structure that imitates a human figure - a 'scarecrow') scattered around in the fields in an attempt to drive away the birds. Now with the influence of modern technology, those scenes are hardly in existence; no gazebo for resting, no threshing basket required, and no buffaloes to plough the fields. Everything is now carried out by machines. Thus the authenticity of the identity of the landscape is missing. In addition, the festival that used to be celebrated in the field during the harvesting season is no longer practiced. All these, although they may be seen primitive to some people, are useful and important in giving evidence of past activity and the culture of a community. Here then it is obvious that the physical characteristics of the landscape reflect the management techniques, the types of equipment used and the timing of the various activities. These contribute to the diversity of the associated cultural resources.

Since cultural landscapes represent the work of man and nature, it is therefore important that they be conserved so as to give a sense of continuity with the past, as well as to provide a later option for use or reuse in the future. In addition, they also help to contribute towards maintaining the biological diversity of a place. This is important as;

"Biodiversity is closely linked to cultural diversity - human cultures are shaped in part by the living environment that they in turn influence - and this linkage has profoundly helped determine cultural values". (IUCN 1993)

3.5.3 Biodiversity and cultural diversity

There has been an increasing concern worldwide about the impact of development on the environment. This is further enhanced by the issue of habitat and ecosystem destruction

which threatens the Earth's biological diversity and the well-being of people through deforestation and insensitive use of resources. The seriousness and urgency to protect the global rapid acceleration of ecosystem degradation and loss of diversity has been endorsed by 179 governments in the Action Plan for the 21st century, during the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) - the 'Earth Summit' in Brazil. The plan which is generally known as the Agenda 21, among others, sets out the priorities for a socially, economically and environmentally sustainable development, to ensure the continuous satisfaction of human needs for the present and future generations. By endorsing Agenda 21, all governments (which attended the conference - including Malaysia) agreed and are committed to implement various programmes, be it for agriculture, rural development and or tourism, in line with the objectives of sustainable development. To meet this challenge, environmental policies have to be formulated, implemented and eventually integrated with economic policies in the development process. It also requires the full participation and contribution from all sectors of the society.

To facilitate the process of sustainability, there is a need to adopt a strategy of sustainable resource use for the sustaining the biodiversity which comprises of genes, species and ecosystems (Munson, 1993:75) that make up the web of life and pattern on earth (Jones, 1994:54). Because of this unique character and function of biodiversity, it is therefore important that we should attempt to conserve and prevent its loss through our actions. It has been recognised that biodiversity reduction, which is accelerating at a rapid rate today, is through the destruction of our natural habitats. According to Ehrlich et.al (1991:759), the greatest loss is in the tropical forests and coral reefs, whereby the loss is roughly at 1.8% of forest area per year,

which comes to approximately 4000 species or roughly as much as 92,000 sq.km (Myers, 1986:399). This number may increase and in no time the species will be extinct while the whole biodiversity will disappear, if there is no urgent control or stronger forces to battle with the problem. If the present trends continue, McNeely (1992:16) reported that even some scientists predict that the possibility of about 25% of the world's species will be gone in 50 years time. Therefore it is everyone's responsibility to conserve biodiversity and care about the crisis, before it is too late.

There are various reasons for conserving biodiversity. The most critical one is its contribution and services in the ecosystem provided by the flora and fauna. These essential services include the maintenance of the gaseous composition of the atmosphere, climatic alteration and regulation, the generation and maintenance of soils, nutrient transfer to crops, pest control, waste disposal and nutrient cycling, pollination and supplier of food. As Ehrlich and Wilson (1991:758) pointed out, the roles that the ecosystem services provide are complex and intricate, so much so there will be no possible substitution for them. For instance, let us take the durian-bat relationship in the forests of Malaysia. The durian is known as the 'king of fruits', it is a commercial crop in South-East Asia. The durian tree is usually pollinated by a species of bat (*Eonycteris spelaea*) which generally occupies nearby caves. When the caves were exploited for their limestone (although at present this activity is being stopped), the bat population declined and this in turn affected the pollination process. Hence, the production of fruits was greatly reduced. This simple example is adequate to show the essential nature of biodiversity to all our lives.

Biodiversity is also important for economic purposes. While man has already obtained direct economic benefit from the rich biological species in the form of food, medicine and industrial products, the conservation of diversity will help to enrich the genetic resources and gene banks through the work of the plant breeders. This is made possible by incorporating the genes from wild stock to enhance the performance (in terms of yields, pest and disease resistance, etc) of cultivated crops. Thus, not only better quality crops will be produced but higher yields and income will be ensured. This is critical in promoting sustainable agriculture and rural development to support the demand of our growing population, particularly in the developing countries, where it is expected that by the year 2025, 83% of the 8.5 billion world population will be living in this region (Sandbrook, 1992:120). Hence sustainable food production and food security have to be strengthened to meet the challenge.

It goes without saying that the conservation of biodiversity is important for its aesthetic value also. Although this factor may be difficult to justify, with the increasing popularity of tourism (such as ecotourism, green tourism and so forth) and recreation which use biodiversity as an attraction, it certainly deserves our deep concern for protection.

With regards to cultural diversity, Harmon (1993:3) has concluded in his paper that the world's cultural diversity is diminishing and is now under threat based on the situation facing the civilisations of the indigenous people. As we realised today that many of the cultural practices, such as in agricultural and aquacultural systems of the traditional societies are being assimilated into contemporary modern systems. There are of course pros and cons to this argument. However, the important point here is

that through the process of assimilation the chances for the disappearance of traditional cultures are much greater. Unless a proper approach to prevent its loss is taken, the diversity of culture, livelihood and resource-use practices which are unique in their own way, will gradually disappear and we will eventually exist as one global culture; western or eastern culture depending on the most dominant. As it is, as the philosopher Alfred North Whitehead has written (Ibid, 1993:3), "*A diversification among human communities is essential for the provision of the incentive and material for the odyssey of the human spirit*". This is important when combined with the motive for promoting culture as part of tourism product.

In stressing the importance of biodiversity and cultural diversity, there is ample evidence that can be learnt from the traditional societies of different regions. As a matter of fact it has already been recognised and acknowledged that the effectiveness of habitat management by the traditional agriculturists and agroforesters is through knowledge that has been passed down from generations over a long period of time. Unfortunately, as modernisation and acculturation take place this kind of knowledge will gradually disappear from society.

For example the creation of forest islands in the cultivation of crops by the Kayapo Indians of the Amazon Basin has resulted in the patchiness and heterogeneity in the landscape. These kinds of practices do not only enhance the biodiversity of the area but it was found that the productivity for some species of crops (such as yams, taro and banana) could be prolonged more than 5 years. Similar species diversity management can be found in the traditional aquaculture system. Many of the ancient fish-rearing systems of China made use of mixed species of fish (generally carp) and integrate this with their agriculture (eg. vegetable and

sugar cane production) system. Here agricultural waste is used to feed the fish and fish waste in turn fertilises crops. Both mutually benefit without disrupting the ecological characteristics of each. Meanwhile in Malaysia and it is also true for Indonesia, traditional systems usually combined rice and fish together. There are many other examples that indicate the propensity for harmonious relationships between man and his environment, where local biodiversity conservation and enhancement activities through diversity in cultural practices take precedence.

On the other hand, modern agricultural practices (such as the utilisation of machinery, chemical fertilizers, pesticides, etc) do not only promote the loss of biodiversity (i.e through forest clearings and pollution) but at the same time initiate the existence of a homogenous culture through adaptation of modern systems of production (except for crop varieties - due to climatic and geographical factors). In addition, it has also created environmental problems such as soil erosion, runoff, siltation and flooding due to the inefficiency in land and resource management. It cannot be denied that modern-day agriculture does contribute to landscape heterogeneity in terms of crop varieties, but unfortunately at the expense of our natural ecosystem and its rich biodiversity.

Hence, it is vital that the knowledge of traditional practices be integrated into the modern system in order to conserve and enhance our biodiversity. At the same time, the traditional culture of the society has to be conserved to enable the community to continuously carry out the patterns of resource management in balancing traditional rules with technology change. As has been stressed by Gadgil et al. (1993:156), "*Just as important to conserve biodiversity for sustainability, it is as urgent to conserve the diversity of local cultures and the indigenous knowledge that they hold*".

It is only then that conservation responsibility will be ensured and shared by various sectors of the society.

3.5.4 Malaysian experience

In the Malaysian context, the term 'landscape' itself is given a different connotation. To most laymen, it means something to do with plants. So when we talk about 'landscaping' it straight away comes to their minds as a job of planting trees and flowers, and beautification. It never goes beyond this scope. Perhaps only those who have a close association with the profession of landscape architecture probably knows the real meaning of the word. In this respect, it is much more complex for them to grasp the meaning of cultural landscapes or 'landskap budaya'. It would be easier and more comprehensible just to say agricultural landscapes or areas where traditional lifestyles are being practised. From our impressions, it would not be too far off if the cultural landscapes of Malaysia are categorised into rural, urban and major city landscapes, based on their lifestyles and structural forms.

However, the scope of this study is to focus only on the rural scene, which is comprised of agriculture and village landscapes. This is in response to the rapid development which is taking place in some rural areas of the country, especially in areas where there is potential for the tourist industry. Increased economic opportunities that result from tourism have caused a decline in farming communities, as well as a change in the structure of village landscapes. As the tourist industry develops, increasing acreages of land have been turned into tourist resorts and hotels. This activity to some extent is competing with the traditional economic activity of our rural society, ie. agriculture and fishing.

The multi-faceted nature of Malaysian society (discussed in Chapter 2) provides a diversity of economic activity, which indirectly creates a range of rural landscapes. Since the colonial days, the structure of the rural economy has been based on agricultural specialisation. Basically, the Malays concentrate on growing rice and fishing, the Chinese are the vegetable gardeners and poultry or pig farmers, and the Indians work in the rubber plantations. Even long after Independence, these distinctions in economic activity among the three major ethnic groups persists. Although at present there is some overlap and exceptions to the rule, due to an increase in mobility and access to other economic systems. The government's effort to diversify crops and to reduce poverty among the rural people has further diminished these previously significant distinctions.

Generally, rural landscapes on the Malaysian Peninsula are made up of natural forests (59%), settlements (two-thirds of the population live in rural areas), and agriculturally used land mainly rubber, oil palm, rice, coconut and other minor crops (13%)¹. The proportion of these agricultural lands vary from place to place. However, in terms of variety they are substantial and produce a broad spectrum of visible forms and ecosystems in the landscape (Fig.3-4). Here, not only the visible elements are important, the processes, values and experiences gathered from such environments are equally valuable. The technological revolution in agricultural practices: mechanization, higher yields and reduction in manpower, have consequently brought changes in landuse and to our rural landscapes as a whole. Hence, it is necessary to conserve some of those previous ways of life so as to give continuity to our experience. What is important to

¹ Source: Ministry of Primary Industries, Malaysia (1992).

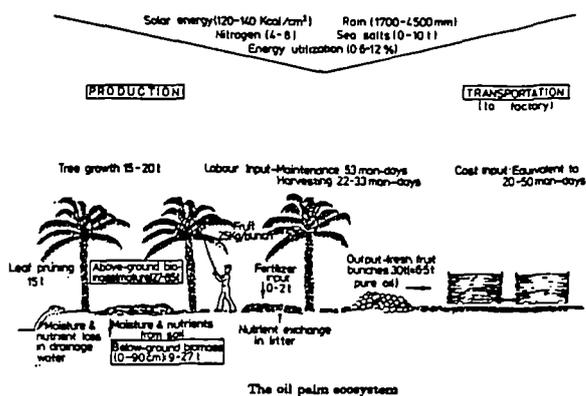
remember, as Lowenthal (Zube, 1977:123) points out, *"What makes one landscape appear harmonious, another incongruous, is the entire experience of the viewer"*.

The main question now is how to create a balance between tourist development and the conservation of our cultural values? As we are all aware, the economy plays a major role in this capitalist world. Therefore in order to justify the existence and protection of those resources and values, economic costs and returns have to be placed on them. This is not an easy task to do and argue for, because in a true sense cultural resources and values are intangible and have no obvious monetary value. However, education and awareness can play a leading role in resolving this matter, but of course it takes time. Meanwhile, it is necessary to control and manage development through sensitive planning and community-led devices based on the concept of 'harmony' with environment. This is important because;

"... the adoption of a flexible concept of cultural heritage including intangible heritage and living cultures [can] reinforce national and spiritual qualities".

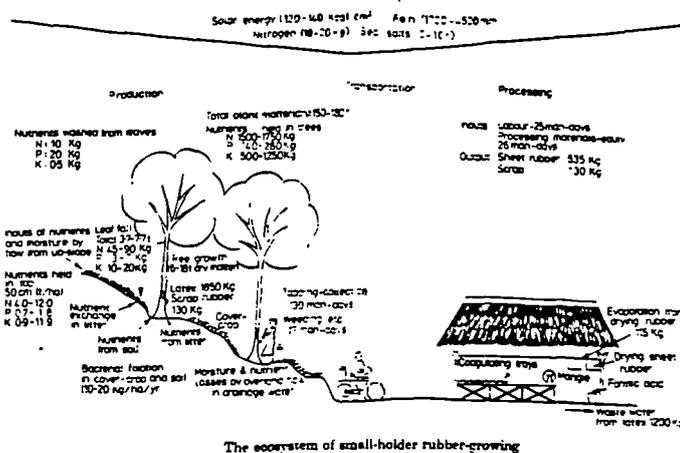
(Lisbeth Saaty in ICOMOS News 1993:17)

For example in relation to planning, the government through a policy framework must now ensure that development and growth are sustainable. To achieve this requires comprehensive integration of conservation and environment in policies for landuse and development. Whenever possible there should be some areas designated for protection so that the resources there will not be over exploited. Once this strategy is established, the next thing is to make sure that implementation is strictly enforced, with no space for trade-offs. Hopefully, this will strike the right balance between conservation and development.

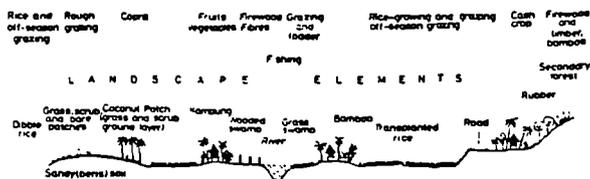


Oil Palm

Rubber



ECONOMIC USES



Rice cultivation

Vegetable and livestock

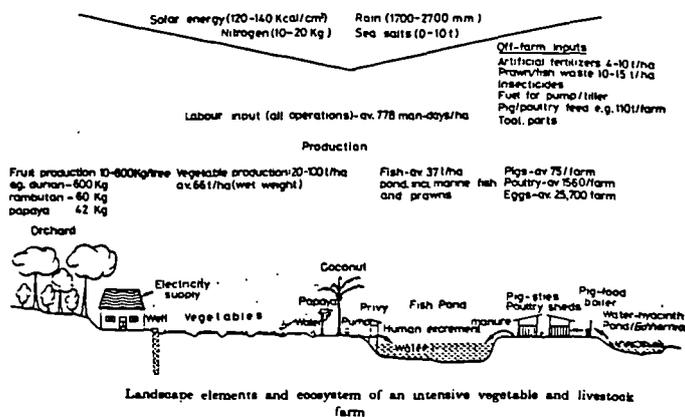


Fig.3-4 Agricultural ecosystems (Source: Hill, 1982)

3.6. Conclusion

Landscapes are dynamic and complex, and so are conservation processes. Hence they demand an absolute understanding of all factors influencing them. Such factors like economic, social, physical (aesthetic) as well as ecological need to be integrated for the purpose of conservation. This requires to be outlined in national, regional and local Management Plans.

The planning and implementation of the management structure at different levels is important for the successful development of tourism destinations. This is to ensure that the quality of life of the host population is not degraded, while providing greater satisfaction for tourists. There is no doubt that planning for tourism requires integration with other major planning systems. Nevertheless, with powerful policies backed up with appropriate legislation, this could be achieved. Besides, if this approach is to be met on a sustainable basis, our resources be they natural or cultural must be conserved, enhanced and wisely managed, so that the richness and diversity of those resources do not decrease and become extinct.

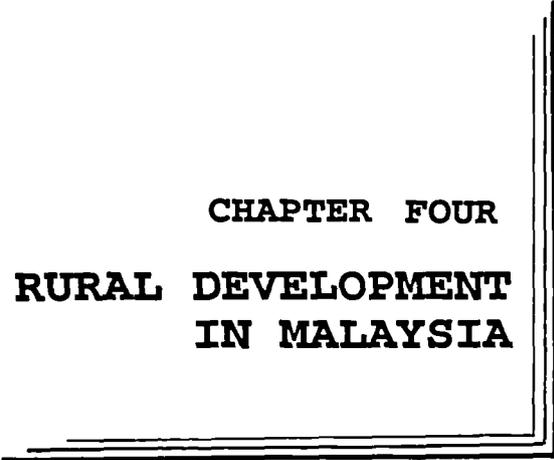
To conclude, tourism and conservation can mutually exist and work hand-in-hand provided they are properly managed. To foster this alliance definitely requires the full support and cooperation between all parties involved : the authorities (administrators), the tourists (industry) and the community (resources). When these are aiming and moving in the same direction, there is every chance that a sustainable environment and tourism development can be achieved in a hollistic manner. In short,

"Conservation must be constantly cultured and nurtured, in the face of changes in technology, living standards, ideas and attitudes". (Jean-Louis Luxen in ICOMOS News 1993:22)

This kind of flexibility to respond to changing conditions and handle them with sensitivity, i.e through planning control and development partnerships, will help to sustain the rural economy and development while protecting the beauty, the landscape diversity, and the wealth from the resources.

In the next chapter we will see how rural development takes its place in Malaysia's development process. It focuses on the impacts of development, and roles and issues of agriculture in the economy.

CHAPTER FOUR
RURAL DEVELOPMENT
IN MALAYSIA



CHAPTER FOUR

RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN MALAYSIA

" Conservation alone cannot provide the social and economic vitality on which a thriving countryside depends. Rural areas must be allowed to develop and grow if they are to survive....the opportunity is there to develop an innovative approach to rural development "
(Newby, 1989:15)

4.1. Introduction

Rural development is a very intricate process for any agency or government to carry out in an effort to improve the welfare of the people and the levels of productivity of rural areas. This recognition was introduced particularly in the mid-1970's when it was realised that there was a gap between the rich and the poor in many communities, despite efforts to increase productivity in the 1960's: the total number of the poor increased and their lack of income, land, resources and access to services were conspicuous. Thus a new approach to development was formulated. This was further enhanced by the change of development policy by international institutions like the World Bank, which had recognised the existence of rural poverty in their member countries. The need for rural development was also highlighted by organisations such as the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) and other United Nations agencies. With hindsight, many developing countries began to raise the importance of rural development in their national plans.

For the purpose of understanding the ways in which rural development in Malaysia takes place, it is important for us to look at how the rural landscape evolves and shapes itself to what it is today. Originally, the landscape derives from a dense tropical forest and as time goes on and the land

became inhabited by man, large areas of forest have been cleared and replaced by agriculture. This process has greatly increased in the last 50 years out of all proportion to what occurred previously. As for padi cultivation, it generally starts in the lowland alluvial plains and river deltas of the country. Padi cultivation is very much a Malay activity and it is grown not only for its economic value but also as a way of life for the rural population. As the latter grows, so padi cultivation has spread inland. Nevertheless, water supply is the most important element affecting this crop. Where water is limited, irrigation canals are being supplied to provide artificial flooding during the growing period. Traditionally, the low mud bunds forming irregular boundaries helped to trap rain water to flood the fields. This is a typical scene of a padi cultivation area particularly in the lowlands. The characteristic setting for growing padi is that the land is flat in order to contain the water. So padi fields tend to reach right into the angle between flat land and steeply rising land. As the land slopes up to the latter the padi fields are stepped. Where the flat land is scarce, hill sides will be stepped or terraced. In Malaysia this is not a common sight.

Meanwhile, rubber and oil palm plantations usually occupy the foothills and the rolling uplands. This is not because these areas provide satisfactory soils for the plants, but because much of the flatter lowland areas are already being used for rice cultivation. However, where rice cultivation is less economic, rubber or oil palm is planted instead. Particularly oil palm, the yields are adversely affected by dryness and or waterlogging of the soil. Therefore, artificial drainage is necessary when they are planted on lower land. Due to this limitation, generally oil palm plantations have been developed from virgin or secondary forest mainly in the inland areas, and especially in the

States of Johor and Pahang, where major land development schemes have been developed (Hill, 1982:45). The boundaries of a plantation, either for rubber or oil palm, usually are well-marked and the crops are planted in neat straight rows with a low undergrowth of cover crops. Thus the plantation is usually divided into characteristic rectangular blocks.

With respect to coconut, due to its versatility, it is grown in and around all settlement areas. It has been one of the traditional crops of the country and it is commonly found along the coastal regions. During the 1980s however, the cultivation of the coconut has been declining, as more land is turned over to other crops that are more profitable. The coconut palm is without question a feature of our cultural landscape and can be found everywhere, commonly outside the urban areas.

There is no doubt that these different crops create their own unique scenery and landscape. In some areas, there exist layers of these landscape features as a result of economic initiatives taken over varying periods of time. For instance in the last decade, large acreage of coconut cultivation and rubber plantations have been turned into cocoa and oil palm due to weak world demand and sluggish prices. Today this makes oil palm the leading commercial crop in Malaysia, where in 1991 the total hectareage was 2,040,000 (Malaysia Yearbook, 1993:118). This was certainly not the case 40 years ago when oil palms were beginning to be introduced.

Nevertheless, the overlay from economic activity that forms much of the cultural landscape tends only to be changing at the margins even to the present day. With the rapid development of tourism, however, many areas which were once under cultivation have now been turned into tourist resorts, be it along the coast, inland or in the more hilly areas. It is generally agreed that in principle there should be

greater controls over this kind of intrusion, if we want to see a better balance between the needs of tourism and the maintenance of our valued cultural landscape (which is highly valuable as a source of food, income, aesthetics and heritage) in the future. Thus rural development has to be properly planned and monitored.

Malaysia has been undergoing various phases of rural development ever since her Independence in 1957. This is due to the high preference given by the government to enhance the rural sector, with due respect to increasing the level of agricultural productivity. In line with this, a number of agencies were established to carry out the task outlined in the National Development Plans. Since 1956 (a year before Independence) to the present, a total of eight development plans comprised of five successive years in each, have been formulated. Each of these plans involved the setting up of various development policies for the growth of the country (see Table 4-1). Based on these policies the rural areas being developed focussed on various strategies, pending the particular needs at the time.

Development in Malaysia relates to the strategies of the New Economic Policy (NEP). The objectives of the NEP are to eradicate poverty and to restructure society so as to eliminate the identification of race with economic activity. Basically, the policy tried to rectify the problems of income inequality and poverty through the application of remedial measures, concentrating on rural people. According to official poverty data, by 1987 the poverty rate was reduced to 17 percent from 49 percent in 1970 (Jomo, 1989:x) and it further declined to 15 percent in 1990 (Crouch, 1994:29). This was a great achievement. Nevertheless, there is still some doubt in terms of the distribution of wealth; whether wealth is being widely and equally distributed, or just being concentrated towards the relatively few who have

the greatest influence in the commercial and political communities. The hesitation to fully accept the conclusion of the reduction of poverty during this period is because of

the unavailability of statistics to indicate the basis for the calculations, especially before 1989 (Ibid) when social indicators, such as the fall in the infant mortality rate, the rise of life expectancy and the rise of primary school enrolment were introduced. Needless to say, these indicators may relate to other factors probably modernisation, better living standards, etc. But the question remains, do they really support the fact that the wealth is well distributed

Period	Phase of development	Major development policy
1956-60	First Malaya Plan	Economic growth and infrastructural development especially towards the achievement of independence
1961-65	Second Malaya Plan	Economic growth and infrastructural development
1966-70	First Malaysia Plan	Infrastructural development, economic growth and eradication of poverty
1971-75	Second Malaysia Plan (NEP begins)	Implementation of NEP goals Policies are:
1976-80	Third Malaysia Plan	1. Intensification of rural development
1981-85	Fourth Malaysia Plan	2. Increase the participation of people in planning, implementation and gaining benefits of development
1986-90	Fifth Malaysia Plan	3. Equal opportunities for provisions such as education, health & housing
1991-95	Sixth Malaysia Plan	4. Increase the job opportunities in public and private sectors 5. Creation of agencies based on commodities, target groups and regions 6. Integrated rural development 7. Economic growth through manufacturing and industry

Table 4-1 Rural development policy in pre-and-post independent Malaysia.
Source : Adapted from Ismail and Abu Samah (1992:34)

and everyone is experiencing economic improvement? This of course is a difficult issue to deal with, especially in a country with an authoritarian trend of rule and great political challenges.

In the early years of the National Development Policy (ie. before the formulation of the NEP), the objective was merely to focus on agricultural productivity through rural development. However, with the outbreak of the racial riot in May 1969, the government had to focus on creating improved ethnic relations and thus national unity. In the NEP this was to be accomplished through redistribution of resources so that the urban and rural gap between wealth and opportunity could be narrowed. For example, opportunities of employment in land schemes and rural growth centres were created through rural-based development agencies set up (Table 4-2), under the Federal Government, as well as at State and Regional levels. In order to organise rural development and to coordinate, as well as to integrate the various development agencies, the government, through the Ministry of Agriculture introduced the concept of the Integrated Agricultural Development Project (IADP). It was

Period	Agencies (year of its establishment)
1951-60	RIRB (1952), FELDA (1956)
1961-70	Veterinary Services Department (1962), KEMAS (1962), MARA (1965), FELCRA (1966), FAMA (1965), BPM (1969), MADA (1970), MARDI (1969), SEDC (1965 to 1974)
1971-80	SEDC (1965 to 1974), REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITIES (1965 to 1978), MAJUIKAN (1971), LPN (1971), MARDEC (1974), RISDA (1971), KADA (1972), LPP (1973), LTN (1973), PORIM (1979)

Table 4-2 Rural-based development agencies (Source: Ismail and Abu Samah, 1992:38)

hoped that this would encourage greater participation from the rural communities, especially farmers. At the same time, it would hopefully reduce duplication by the personnel of the various government agencies.

Having established some general policies concerning Malaysian rural development planning, we shall now look into the process and strategies in more detail. It is the aim of this chapter to trace the changes in agricultural and rural development in Malaysia since Independence. It will also highlight some of the issues, problems and impacts, as well as the future prospects of development.

4.2. Agriculture in the economy

It is well known that plantation agriculture and tin mining have played a dominant role in the Malaysian economy for the past eighty-five years. In the last four decades with greater investment in the rural areas, the sector has contributed significantly towards the development of the country's economy: it is a source of income and foreign exchange earnings; supplier of raw materials and food; and it provides employment. In 1990, large export earnings and almost one-third of the total employment derived from this sector (Government of Malaysia, 1991:89). This fact further emphasizes the importance of agriculture, since more than 65 percent of our population are involved in and depend upon this sector (Mohd.Sail, 1992:207).

Between the period of 1986-1990, with the exception of padi, rubber and coconut, the majority of agricultural commodities achieved a considerable growth in production (Table 4-3), despite perpetual fluctuations in the world commodity prices. The highest growth was in palm oil, making Malaysia the largest producer and exporter in the world. The second highest growth was cocoa. Rubber, on the other hand, which

used to be the number one export commodity, dropped in production. This is due to the decline in prices, thus making it unpopular among the many smallholders that make up our farming community. Production only came from the big plantations, who also found it difficult to increase their

Items	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Rubber	1,539	1,579	1,662	1,422	1,291
Palm	4,544	4,533	5,030	6,055	6,095
Oil	1,336	1,311	1,413	1,794	1,845
Kernel	132	191	225	250	262
Cocoa	1,745	1,997	1,786	1,640	1,590
Padi	887	1,046	1,118	1,118	1,165
Fruits	1,374	1,590	1,568	1,568	1,557
Coconut					

Table 4-3 Production of agricultural commodities, 1986-90 ('000 tonnes). Source: Adapted from Government of Malaysia, 1991:91)

output due to the scarcity of labour. There were times when workers from neighbouring countries had to be employed to work in these plantations. It was estimated that there were about 200,000 illegal Indonesians working in the plantations until 1985 (Hadi, 1994:61). This figure if we carefully analyse it, is not small and it was a real blow to Malaysian rural youth who despise working on the land. Decline in rubber production was also due to the reduction by approximately 1.8 million hectares per annum (Government of Malaysia, 1991:90). Many rubber plantations had been converted to oil palm, based on the more lucrative income from that commodity. Emphasis given to the diversification of crops by the government is probably the third reason why many farmers are not keen on planting rubber.

The same situation is true for padi and coconut. The production of these crops has been declining and now is

unfavourable due to low prices and profit returns. Problems of manpower shortage and poor management further enhanced the low productivity of padi. Since rice is the staple food of the population, large amounts have now to be imported to meet demand. According to Mohd.Arshad (1992:293), in 1988 rice constituted about 8 percent of total food imports. Despite concerted efforts by the government to achieve greater self-sufficiency (through strategies of the National Agricultural Policy or NAP in 1984), it seems that this crop is going from bad to worst. This is particularly true in areas where tourist development is taking place, like in the Langkawi Islands (see Chapter Six). This is because more people are attracted to so called 'modern' activities, such as tourism compared to back-breaking traditional farming.

As a result of crop diversification, higher concentration is now being given to the domestic production of food. Although Malaysia gains foreign exchange from exporting palm oil, cocoa, timber etc., too much money has to be spent on importing food (eg. rice, vegetables and other dry foodstuffs). Every year we have to spend about MR4,000 million (£1,000m.) on food alone (Government of Malaysia, 1991:94). This is not a small amount, especially when we know that agriculture is the backbone of the country. Realising this fact, the government has encouraged the cultivation of fruits and vegetables and other horticultural products, to counter the large amounts spent on importing food. Despite this intensification of cultivation, the country has still to import vegetables to meet the domestic requirements.

Despite these and other problems and constraints, the agriculture sector will continue to contribute its share to the growth of economy of Malaysia. Although its growth rate declined from 31% in 1970 to 21% in 1988, yet it has provided employment to about 1.9 million people during the

year of 1988 (Hadi, 1994:54). What this means is that agriculture is still an important source of income for the majority of the rural population. Its contribution towards economic development therefore cannot be denied and taken for granted in the midst of moving towards industrialisation. With the rapid growth of the manufacturing and service sectors (such as tourism), the demand for agricultural products is inevitably going to rise. Thus the right approach to sustain and improve our domestic food production is very important; the public and private sectors must contribute to this essential need of our future growth.

4.3. Agricultural and land development

In Malaysia, one of the strategies for rural development is through agricultural and land development programmes. These have been carried out since colonial times, when they mostly catered to the best interest of the colonial government. The primary interest was on increasing rubber and tin production. The problems on unemployment and poverty were not much of concern. As Wafa (1972:39), in his study pointed out, development prior to Independence (i.e. early 1950's), led to an increase in landlessness and unemployment in West Malaysia. This was due to the sluggish development of new land, because of the extraordinary effort that was put into fighting against the communist insurgents left over from the Second World War. Therefore, after Independence, the government made greater resources available to speed up development and deal with the stated problems in order to build the nation.

Various policies and strategies in land development have been formulated and adopted by the government. In response to the problems of landlessness, unemployment and poverty, various government machineries were created to carry out the

tasks of improving the socio-economy of rural populations. In addition, emphasis was also given to solving the problems of inter-ethnic economic imbalances and regional inequalities. Efforts to deal with the latter two problems were expedited, particularly after the incidence of civil disturbances in 1969. The NEP was formulated as a direct result of this tragic event. In order to achieve its twin objectives (as mentioned earlier in the chapter), one of the important strategies taken was through regional planning and development.

In order to improve the living standards of the rural populations especially the farmers, the government realised that it requires meticulous planning and coordination in every aspect of development. Most important of all is the coordination among the development agencies. There are more than twenty of them (see Table 4-2) having specific functions and programmes. The programmes were distributed all over the country using various forms of administrative organisation.

Large scale land development in Malaysia was undertaken by a semi-autonomous body, popularly known by its acronym name as FELDA (Federal Land Development Authority). This authority was given the mandate by the government in 1956 to carry out land development and settlement for the rural population. This kind of operation was part of the government's strategy to reduce the problem of landlessness among the rural poor, to increase their income through better agricultural opportunities, and to produce prosperous and progressive farming communities. In order to achieve these goals, FELDA acquired large acreages of undeveloped primary and secondary forests that were certified agriculturally suitable by the Department of Agriculture. These forests were cleared to accommodate the new settlements with oil palm and rubber plantations as the main

crops. According to Brookfield (1994:64) at the end of 1970's FELDA had developed more than 4000 sq.km. of land and settled 250,000 people in the scheme. No matter how big the size of land development scheme, each settler family was given an adequate size of holding, which is about three-and-a half hectares of land (Ng and Ng, 1991:83) in order to sustain their income. With this tract of land the settler and his family were able to work it through and manage it with FELDA's guidance and supervision.

With respect to the pattern of this land development, generally the FELDA's schemes were carried out in stages. This has been well documented by Bahrin and Perera (1977:31-47). They also pointed out that the concept of the development scheme varies between oil palm, rubber and sugarcane projects. It is important to note here that although FELDA plays the leading role in the opening up of new lands for development, there are many other Government Departments and Agencies involved if the success of the schemes is to be ensured. Examples of such agencies are the Land Office, Survey, Agriculture, Town and Country Planning, Forestry, Drainage and Irrigation, and the Treasury. The great success of these development schemes and FELDA has inspired the government to broaden the programme to be carried out by regional land development authorities, aimed at reducing disparities of economic opportunity among the various regions of the country.

The expansion of land development has indeed brought positive changes to the socio-economy of the rural population as well as economic growth to the nation. However we must not be over-enthusiastic on transforming the rural landscape (i.e forest to agriculture) without appropriate monitoring and evaluation of such development from time to time. This is to ensure that the costs (on the environment, social and economy) do not outweigh the benefits.

4.3.1 Regional development

Since colonial times, the western part of Peninsular Malaysia has been much more developed and attracted more investors. This resulted in the relative backwardness of many regions particularly in the eastern part, which predominantly comprises the Malay population. Realising this fact and in line with the goals of NEP, the government placed an emphasis on a more balanced development in the Third Malaysia Plan (1976-1980). One of the significant strategies was regional development. The objective of regional development spelled out in the Plan was that:

"The regional development strategy under the New Economic Policy (NEP) seeks to bring about closer integration among the States of Malaysia. This will be achieved through redressing economic and structural imbalances among regions within the country. It will draw and build upon the strength of each region for agricultural and industrial developments, particularly in less developed states, to ensure that regional development contributes toward the national goals for economic development. The underlying aim is equitable distribution not only of income but also of facilities for health, education, utilities, services, recreation, housing, and most of all, opportunities for social and economic advancement of the people in accordance with the goals of the NEP." (Government of Malaysia, 1976:199)

Hence, it was anticipated that regional development could play an important role in reducing the incidence of poverty among the rural population of the country. To bring this perception into reality, various regional development authorities were established. In line with this, four main strategies have been formulated (Mat, 1983:95) and they were:

- Resources and new land development,
- In-situ rural development,
- Industrial dispersal, and

■ Rural urbanisation and creation of new growth centres.

Based on these strategies, the government is determined to push the growth of agriculture, services and manufacturing toward the less developed states and regions. This serious commitment is reflected in the amount of money spent on poverty redressal programmes implemented through regional development. During the period of the NEP (1970-1990), the government has spent a total of MR35.8 billion on the programmes (Mohd.Sail, 1992:209). Up to 1984, there were about seventeen regional programmes being implemented in Malaysia (Table 4-4) and out of these, sixteen were in the Peninsula. Although they were distributed in various states (Fig.4-1), the main controlling agency was still the Federal Government with the exception of a few state schemes. In this way it was thought that better integration and cooperation could be achieved. This went further with the adoption of a cohesive scheme such as the IADP.

Integrated Agricultural Development Programme or IADP is basically one of the strategies in rural development where greater emphasis was given to agricultural production. It involves the integration of various activities such as marketing of products, extension and advisory services, and crop improvement (in terms of varieties, disease resistance, yield, etc). The approach requires the linking of various sectors and disciplines in order to reinforce the planned programme so as to achieve optimum comprehensive development. Sometimes it is not easy to distinguish IADP from IRD (Integrated Rural Development) because of the close-relatedness of the nature of development and methodology used. Both focus on the framework of ameliorating the socio-economy of the rural population and demand their full support and participation. Nevertheless, one perceives that IADP is a subset of IRD. This is based on

its limited scope which emphasises only agriculture production, unlike the IRD, which has been adopted by many developing countries not only for agriculture but aspects of drainage, industries, health care, family planning and others.

Programme	Location	Year started	Organizational form	Controlling agency
MUDA	Kedah and Perlis	1966	Corporate (<i>in situ</i>)	MOA
KEMUBU	Kelantan	1969	Corporate (<i>in situ</i>)	MOA
BESUT	Terengganu	1970	Corporate (<i>in situ</i>)	MOA
JENGKA	Pahang	1972	Coordinative (resource frontier)	Pahang State
Pulau Pinang Region	Pulau Pinang	1972	Coordinative (urban metropolitan)	Pulau Pinang State
DARA	Pahang	1972	Corporate (resource frontier)	MLRD
Kuala Lumpur Region	Federal Territory	1972	Administrative Devolution	Ministry for Federal Territory
KEJORA	Johor	1972	Corporate (resource frontier)	MLRD
KETENGAH	Terengganu	1973	Corporate (resource frontier)	MLRD
West Johor	Johor	1974	Coordinative (<i>in situ</i>)	MOA
Kelang Valley	Selangor	1974	Coordinative (urban metropolitan)	Ministry for Federal Territory
North Kelantan	Kelantan	1976	Coordinative (<i>in situ</i>)	MOA
West Selangor	Selangor	1978	Coordinative (<i>in situ</i>)	MLRD
KESEDAR	Kelantan	1978	Corporate (resource frontier)	MLRD
BINTULU	Sarawak	1978	Corporate (resource frontier)	Sarawak State
KEDA	Kedah	1983	Corporate (resource frontier)	MLRD
PERDA	Pulau Pinang	1983	Corporate (non-metropolitan area)	MLRD

Table 4-4 Regional development programmes in Malaysia. (Source: Ismail and Muhammad, 1992:52)

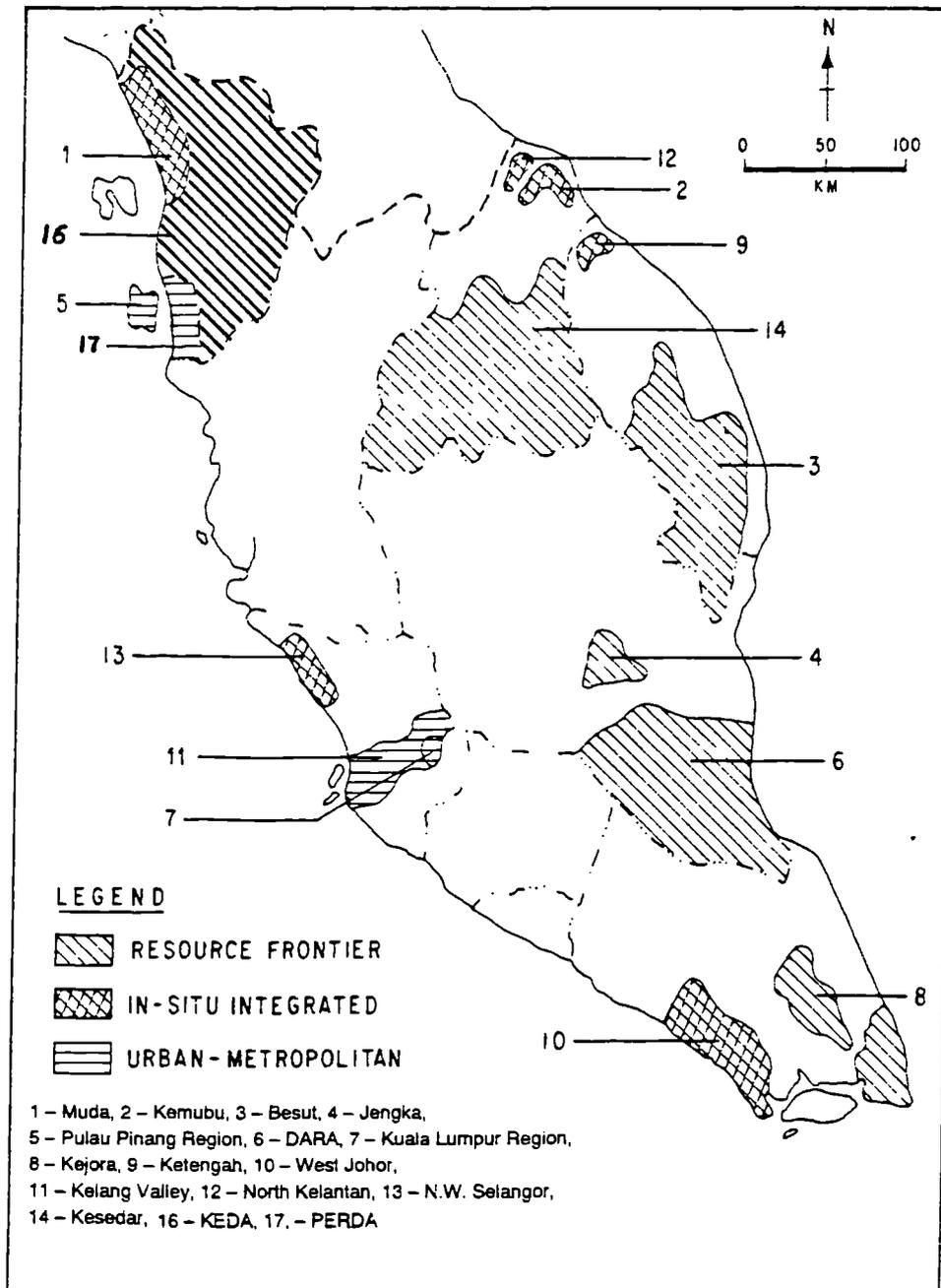


Fig.4-1 Location of regional programmes in Peninsular Malaysia. (Source: Ismail and Muhammad, 1992:54)

Development through the IADP in Malaysia began in early 1970's and until 1982, there were 11 projects covering about 1.4 million hectares of land involving 446,000 farm families (Ismail and Abu Samah, 1992:39). The number has been

increased and by 1993, there were a total of 18 IADP's with at least one in each of the 13 states, covering approximately 9.3 million hectares.¹ Most of the funding for the development of the projects come from the World Bank and Asian Development Bank. The major crops concerned are padi, rubber, oil palm, coconut and orchards. As we can see from this, it is obvious that much money and effort was involved in the implementation of the IADP. Our concern is to what extent has it achieved the objectives of improving the socio-economy and well-being of the rural communities?. This is always subject to debate, and an adequate evaluation system in assessing the impact of the programme is certainly necessary.

We are aware that there is no hard and fast rule to solve the problem of poverty. Nevertheless, with the continuous support and commitment of the government it is hoped that one day it will materialise. Meanwhile, we have to grapple with the problem and will strive hard to improve the situation. In the process, there are bound to be some positive and negative implications arising from those actions. This however, should never be disregarded if regional development, in its 'true sense', is to be sustainable. In order to be sustainable, the well-thought out and comprehensive planning of all aspects of rural development must be the rule. As has been stressed by Dixon et.al (1988:7); 'Sustainable development is a strategy for achieving instant economic gains, while sustaining the productive potential of the resource base indefinitely'.

¹ The figure has been calculated from data provided by Ismail and Abu Samah (1992:40-41)

4.4. Impacts of rural development

Since the establishment of FELDA in 1956, large amounts of capital and effort have been channelled into rural development. This is necessary since it was perceived that land development and settlement are the keys to economic development, social progress and political stability. As such, millions of ringgit have been allocated for the purpose every year since Independence. As a matter of fact, a variety of land development options have been adopted (Fig.4-2) at one time or another, with varying degrees of success. Despite such a wide range of options, one wonders to what extent the rural development programme took into consideration aspects of the ecological system in land

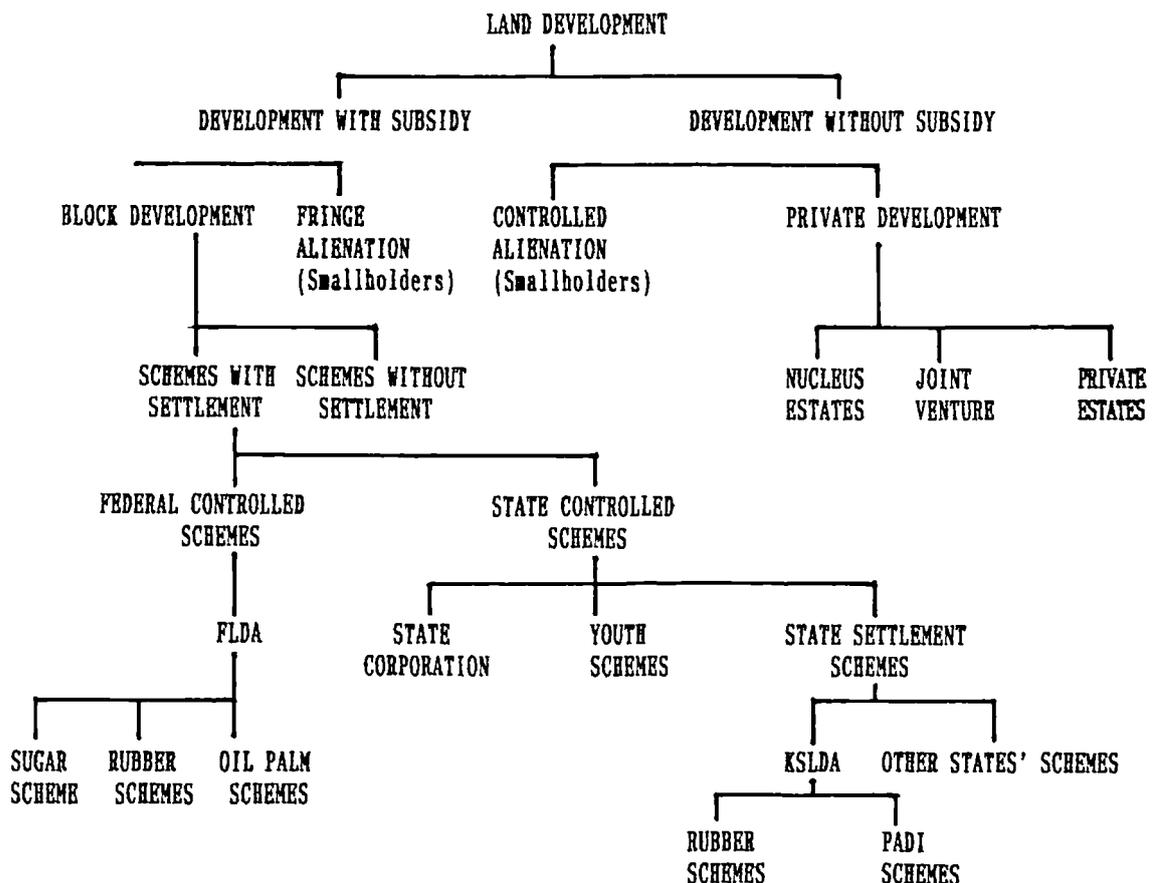


Fig.4-2 Land development options in Malaysia.
(Source: Wafa, 1972:31)

development programmes. It is now thought that this factor is crucial for the benefits of future development. It is therefore important that economic, social and environmental factors are taken simultaneously into account when planning and designing for rural development, to try to avoid any negative impact.

On the whole, it has been acknowledged that the achievements of land development schemes by FELDA and other efforts to improve the socio-economy of the farming population are commendable. It has been reported (Ng and Ng, 1991:88) that the mean monthly income of a settler family has reached the targeted figure of about MR300-MR350 (£75-£88). The income levels however, vary between rubber and oil palm schemes, where rubber schemes usually bring in lower incomes. According to the Government of Malaysia (1991:100) the average monthly income of FELDA settlers ranged from MR380 to MR870 (£95 to £218) for oil palm schemes, and MR410 to MR720 (£103 to £180) for rubber schemes. One important aspect to note here is that despite fluctuations in world prices for these commodities, the settlers' net monthly income is maintained above poverty level.² This is made possible through various subsidiary farm activities, such as animal husbandry and market gardening in order to increase the settlers' income. On the other hand, farmers who are not involved with any of those schemes, are exposed to poverty. Ismail and Abu Samah (1992:45) in their studies showed that from 1987 census, the incidence of poverty among the rural population was 50% for padi farmers, 40% for rubber smallholders, 39% for coconut smallholders, 25% for fishermen and 15% for estate workers. From here it is clear that rural development in the form of agricultural development and settlement does play an important role in

² Poverty level is defined by those earning less than MR350 per month per household.

alleviating poverty, even though it is not a hundred percent successful.

Among the most important programmes are the Muda Agricultural Development Scheme (MADA) and the Kemubu Agricultural Development Project (KADA). These two projects are a joint effort between the Federal Government and Kedah and Perlis State Governments as for MADA, and Kelantan State Government for KADA. Both have the same objective, namely to increase the productivity of rice through double cropping. On the whole, MADA project has benefited 60,000 families, while KADA's clientele was 45,000. The introduction of double cropping in these regions has at one stroke contributed to a higher level of self-sufficiency in rice, especially in 1972, when, according to Mohamed (1984:101), the rice imports for the year declined to only 9%. Unfortunately, after that period the production of rice stagnated due to poor investment in this sector and the self-sufficiency target fell below 85% (Hadi, 1994:53). This indicates that even in the most established project like the two mentioned, problems and uncertainties may befall the farmers. For example, due to rapid mechanisation and new farm practices introduced in the projects, the pattern of labour utilisation has changed. The demand for labour has declined and this consequently lead to urban migration. This eventually links to strings of other social and economic factors.

Generally, attempts at assessing the performance and success of rural and regional programmes have frequently used economic indicators such as income, production or output, and number of families settled. Factors like environmental and natural resource degradation are very seldom given adequate attention. Thus it is not surprising that some of those developments have resulted in environmental problems such as pollution and land degradation. As we are fully

aware that large-scale opening up of lands for development and settlement quite often are achieved only with massive clearance of forest; high usage of heavy machinery; disposal of solid waste and discharge of effluents from processing plants; substitution of natural vegetation by agricultural crops; and enormous application of chemicals and fertilizers. These activities somehow or another have exerted stress and pressure on the ecological system and will eventually result in environmental and resource degradation, if not properly managed and controlled.

The problems of pollution from the rubber and palm oil processing factories also cannot be ignored. This is because the amount of pollution load created in the form of biochemical oxygen demand will threaten aquatic life, when discharged into the river systems. For example according to Brookfield (1994:276), the effluent from 224 palm oil mills discharged into the rivers for the year 1985 was estimated to be equivalent to the pollution created by 33 million people. When we come to think of it, even now the total population of Malaysia has not reached that figure. So we can just imagine how much effluent will be created by this industry if there is no enforcement of measures to curb the problem. The study by the World Bank in 1987 on FELDA's mills in the Jengka Triangle area showed that there was no such problem. However, the number of mills since then has increased. Nevertheless, steps are being taken for all the mills in the country to have treatment facilities installed. In the meantime, the problem persists. This is probably due to the lack of strict enforcement, and provision of clear guidelines and regular monitoring on the part of the Ministry of Environment, as well as the 'can't be bothered' attitude of the industry concerned towards balancing economic development and environmental protection.

Nevertheless, those unwanted consequences of development could and should be prevented through sensible measures at the earliest stage of development as possible. This is to ensure that potential problems can be recognised so that alternative approaches can be applied. It is therefore critical that a more holistic approach towards rural development must be made by the planners and government authorities in all phases of development projects. Perhaps, more importantly is to incorporate policies and regulations that change economic incentives toward increasing demand for natural and cultural resources, as has been practiced in the Western industrialised economies. The UK is one example. Here, the emphasis on environmental implication is incorporated into the process of developing strategic plans, where sometimes a 'trade-off' against social and economic goals may be applied in order to achieve sustainable development. Hence, policies that integrate economic and environmental legislation are worth adopting in our future development plans, so as to safeguard our resources and ecosystems. One important point that is crucial and stressed by Hasan (1992:425) is, "Environmental management for sustainable development must ensure that each potentially sustainable ecosystem condition remains sustainable and is not converted to some other non-sustainable condition." Only then strategies for a sustainable rural development will be ensured.

4.5. Trends and issues of development

As we have seen, land development programmes have significantly contributed toward the betterment of income, as well as an increase in the output of the agriculture sector. However lately, the development of this sector is constrained by several factors. Firstly, there is a scarcity of land that is suitable for cultivation, especially in the Peninsular Malaysia. However it is abundant in East

Malaysia, in the states of Sabah and Sarawak. As a result the pace of new land development in Peninsular Malaysia is being reduced for the sake of preserving the remaining forest land, in order to maintain environmental stability and a better ecological balance. To help overcome the problem, land consolidation and rehabilitation schemes have been introduced in an effort to improve the productivity of existing cultivated areas. This kind of move is very appropriate since there are large acreages of agricultural land that have been left idle. It has been estimated by the Ministry of Agriculture that a total of 890,000 hectares of agricultural land in Peninsular Malaysia have been left unproductive (Tamin, 1992:234).

Secondly, there is a shortage of agricultural labour. As its growth is generally affected by the availability of labour, the decline of the workforce will significantly affect the country's economic development. According to Tamin (1992:231) the total employment in agriculture has dropped from 67 percent in 1960 to 30 percent in 1990. This is due to factors such as rural-urban migration and uneconomic farm units amongst the operators of smallholdings. These factors also help to explain the reason for a large hectareage of land being left uncultivated, as mentioned earlier. In seeking a solution, the government, through rural development programmes have kept emphasizing the need to raise the productivity of the rural sector, in order to attract domestic labour back into agriculture. In addition, efforts to develop and modernise rural areas by improving the infrastructure and public facilities, in order to create new opportunities for rural industrialisation are being further enhanced.

Thirdly, the agriculture sector is also facing the problem of high costs of production. This is particularly true in the production of rubber and oil palm, where wages and

salaries comprise a considerable proportion of the total cost of production. Again, due to the rapid expansion of the Malaysian economy, the cost of labour has increased considerably. Between 1975 and 1985, the expenditure on wages and salaries for rubber and oil palm production per hectare has increased by 35 percent and 65 percent respectively (Tamin, 1992:261). As a result, the industry has now to face far stiffer price competition in the world market. The pressure is of course more acute, especially when there are competitors for the same commodities who are able to produce at cheaper labour costs. Thus, in order to secure the situation, the government is trying to promote and strengthen the science and technology base, and research and development capabilities in agriculture. The main aim is to reduce production costs and maximise returns. In line with this, a special fund has been allocated for agricultural research and development in the present Sixth Malaysia Plan.

In the light of all these constraints, the government strategy will thus focus on efforts to diversify the economic base and to find new approaches to development. Hence, the manufacturing and service sectors will be promoted to play a more important role, in the light of Vision 2020, when the country is targeted to be fully industrialised. Apart from creating new opportunities for our populace, industrialisation is envisaged to increase the mobility of the rural community into modern economic activities. The main issue to question here is whether this type of structural transformation of the country's economy is feasible and appropriate. If it is, then is it possible to predict the effectiveness of the transformation and its duration, before it starts doing more harm than good.

This process of rural industrialisation is expected to accelerate even more rapidly in the coming decades. One

aspect of this is the travel and tourism industry. It is anticipated that this industry will assist in the reduction of the deficit in the balance of payments. One prime example of rural tourism development is taking place on the island of Langkawi, which will be progressively developed as a major tourist and recreational resort for locals and foreigners (see Chapter Six). The seriousness of government intentions in promoting this industry is reflected in the various projects and the amount of expenditure incurred (Chapter Five).

4.6. Conclusion

Originally, rural development in Malaysia was solely concentrated on increasing the agricultural productivity as a source of economic growth. However, with the high incidence of poverty, and ethnic and regional inequalities, the focus had to be changed in order to create a more harmonious environment among the people, as well as to improve their socio-economic level. Various development strategies have been formulated and implemented with varying degrees of success. Despite a consistent effort and support from the government, the crisis of agricultural production which is directly related to the income and poverty levels of the rural communities is becoming more prominent. The problem is particularly obvious in the case of traditional smallholdings, whereby the majority of them are unable to sustain their production due to the uneconomic size of most of their holdings and the limited supply of labour. As a result, an increasing amount of cultivated land is being left idle, giving rise to the decline in the growth of agriculture. Through land development and settlement programmes in rural areas, the government hopes to alleviate and improve the situation. In addition, it is intended that the introduction of land consolidation and rehabilitation schemes will further reduce the problem of uncultivated

land.

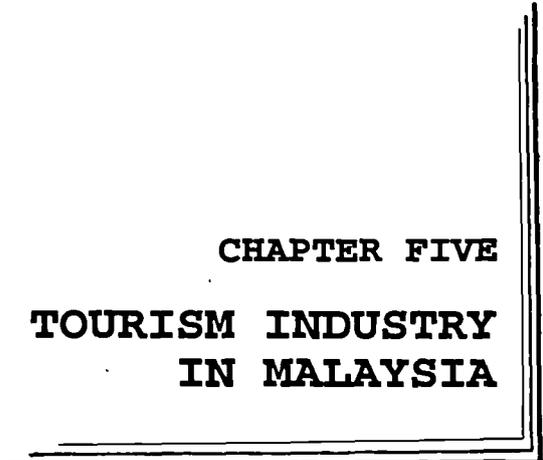
Nevertheless, the complex phenomenon of poverty still remains in the peasant society of rural Malaysia. This is due to the fact that not all farmers can be absorbed into the settlement and agricultural development schemes. Those who are not being selected are struggling to meet their basic needs. Realising this constraint, alternative approaches to rural development have been initiated and encouraged for the purpose of increasing employment opportunities. This is to enable rural community to lessen their dependence on traditional sources of income. In line with the effort to diversify the nation's economic development, manufacturing and service sectors are becoming dominant over the agriculture sector. While the structural shifts in the economy and labour movement from traditional to modern sectors are desirable, the question to ask is whether the rural communities are prepared to participate and able to cope with the transformation. This is crucial because as we are fully aware, the mechanism for development of these new avenues requires more specialisation and new skills. It would therefore be pertinent to analyse the applicability of the transformation within the context of poverty eradication and restructuring of the rural society, as has been outlined by the NEP.

With respect to rural development (agricultural development) and rural industrialisation (tourism development), these two activities share and rely on common resources: land, labour and other physical and natural factors. Like it or not, one feels that the two must come together in order to gain maximum benefits from the development, instead of battering or neglecting one or the other. There is no reason why they cannot mutually coexist, since each sector needs the support of the other in contributing towards their growth. For instance, in the context of tourism, local agricultural

products are required to serve the basic needs of the industry, in order to reduce leakages in the form of importing goods from abroad. On the other hand, agricultural activity is important as a 'coping' mechanism to stabilise the income of the rural community during the off-peak tourist season, as well as during the periods of economic recession. In addition, agricultural areas, for example the padi fields, provide aesthetic and cultural resources which can be 'consumed' by tourists, particularly those from overseas. More importantly, agricultural commodities are consistently being utilised and are therefore very much more stable in terms of demand. Meanwhile, tourism products easily tend to slack off and more quickly reach a point of diminishing returns, especially when a destination has reached its saturation point and has gone beyond its carrying capacity. Thus, conservation of agricultural areas and cultural landscapes (see Chapter Three) is vital.

Based on these aspects that have been discussed, perhaps a suitable combination of both agricultural and tourism development, within the context of rural development, ought to be promoted by allowing more integration and coordination, which can be broadened by local community participation. To a certain extent, the community should be allowed to decide on the types of development and manage it according to their needs and capabilities. This of course has to be properly monitored and within the guidelines spelled out in accordance with national goals. When such justifiable efforts have been attempted, it is thought that better future prospects for rural development would be much more promising.

CHAPTER FIVE
TOURISM INDUSTRY
IN MALAYSIA

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CHAPTER FIVE

TOURISM INDUSTRY IN MALAYSIA

"...Quality high-margin tourism will survive, but countries cannot guarantee to hold on to such tourists for more than a decade. After that, the mass tourists will move in, driving out the pioneers and reducing the average profit margins. In this era, which may well include too many tourist resorts round the world, only the very efficient and well-placed industries will make money; the rest will lose it."

(Turner and Ash, 1975:125)

5.1. Introduction

The competition among various destinations to attract tourists and visitors are taking place around the world at a rapid rate. This phenomena is increasingly significant in the developing countries. Malaysia being one of the late comers into the industry, is trying her very best to get her share of this market. It is particularly important especially when the two neighbouring countries; Thailand in the north and Singapore in the south, are doing well and getting the full benefit from their tourist industries. Looking at their prosperity and the country's potential assets, there is no reason why the tourist industry cannot be developed in Malaysia. Hence, efforts to promote tourism in Malaysia are in full swing with the help of the Malaysian Tourism Promotion Board (MTPB). It is the Federal Government's wish to make the country one of the region's tourist and stop over destinations. It is hoped that through tourism, a new source of economic growth can be created.

With respect to this aspiration, it is very important for the country to develop its own image and identity when developing and promoting the industry, especially for the international market. It is a real challenge to Malaysia to

do this effectively because of the great competition from Thailand and Singapore. To most tourists, Thailand is known for its temples and shrines (apart from its beaches and girls), while Singapore is a shopping paradise. Thus it is crucial for Malaysia to market her tourism products so that they complement these two neighbouring countries' products. But what are our tourist attractions and how can we compliment and compete? Adequate information and survey by the authority is necessary to determine and plan for this. Ideally, it would be better for Malaysia to be the main target destination. This is what the tourism sector both public and private wants to achieve.

This chapter will try to explore some aspects of tourism industry in Malaysia : its trend of development, its role in the economy and strategies and policies that can lead to its sustainable growth.

5.2. Tourism in the economy

Generally, tourist industry conforms to the National Development Plan which relates to the strategies of the New Economic Policy. The main goal in promoting tourism is to decrease the deficit in the balance of payments of the country's foreign exchange, as well as to encourage economic diversification. Due to this effort, and with the increase in international tourist arrivals in the mid 1980's, tourism was ranked as the sixth largest foreign exchange earner for the country in 1988 (Government of Malaysia, 1989:1).

Despite a world economic recession during the early years of the last decade, the performance of the industry was remarkable. Between 1985 and 1990, there was an annual increment of 19 percent in the total number of tourist arrivals, while the increment in the travel receipts was up by 38 percent (Ishak, et.al, 1992:x). This was probably due

to the serious efforts made by the government, public and private agencies in playing their various roles. The table shows that foreign exchange earnings derived ranked quite high among other major industries (Table 5-1). For example in 1990, tourism was third after manufacturing and petroleum. These high earnings were due to the launching of the Visit Malaysia Year, when the number of tourist arrivals, for the first time ever, reached 7 million. However, the rankings for the year 1991 and 1992 dropped. One possible explanation for this might be due to the Gulf War, which indirectly restricted the movement of travellers. This phenomenon did not only affect the Malaysian tourist industry but was a worldwide phenomena. Another reason is probably because of the demand for palm oil from the war affected areas was higher than usual. This industry took third position.

Types of Industry	1989	1990	1991	1992
Manufacturing	1	1	1	1
Crude Petroleum	2	2	2	2
Tourism	6	3	4	4
Palm Oil	3	4	3	3
Sawn Logs	4	5	5	5
Rubber	5	6	6	6

Table 5-1 Major foreign exchange earners in Malaysia (Ranking in 1989-1992)
(Source : Author (compiled from MTPB, Malaysia).

Given the limited information and the shortage of data available, it is difficult to forecast the position of tourism among other industries in terms of foreign exchange earnings for the next couple of years. Nevertheless, looking at the plan, its potential combined with the present rate of development, leaves no doubt that tourism will be one of the most important sources of foreign exchange. It would of course be greatly improved if we were able to ensure that a

larger proportion of tourist expenditure could be retained in the country. To achieve this, there might be a shift in the pattern of tourism ownership from transnationals to locals. It is how to achieve this that needs to be considered.

In relation to ownership there is something that can be learnt from the Cypriots. It seems that all hotels in Cyprus belong to Cypriots and there is no foreign hotel chain existing in the country. Everything is being manned by the locals and controlled by the Cyprus Tourism Organisation (De Kadt 1979:251). This is amazing and something which Cyprus can be proud of. It is quite unlike in the islands of the Seychelles, where all the major international hotels are in the hands of foreigners while many of the smaller hotels are owned by the non-national residents (Ibid:222). Looking at the situation in both countries and being a late-comer to the industry, it is an advantage for Malaysia to evaluate the pros and cons of both conditions. As such, the promulgation of the NEP (as discussed in Chapter Four) in the National Development Plan helps to increase the involvement of the locals in the industrial sector. Foreign ownership by limited companies had declined and until 1985 only stands at 26% as compared to 48% in 1980 (Taylor and Ward, 1994:106); the total fixed assets in hotels and tourist complexes make up about 10% by 31 December 1986 (Ibid:109). This trend however, happened before the government fully focussed its attention on tourism. Since then to the present, the policy of development has changed where exorbitant incentives are provided to attract foreign investment towards the industry (see later in the Chapter). Therefore, despite the application of the NEP it is likely that foreign ownership over the tourist industry is increasing.

Multinational investment in Malaysia derives from a wide range of countries. Japan has been the principle source of investment followed by the United Kingdom, the United States, Hong Kong and Singapore. However the pattern is changing, especially after the 1980's where regional sources of investment became more significant. Nevertheless, Japan still leads other nations in terms of its share in the equity. This is also true for foreign tourism investment in Australia, where in 1990-91 67% of the investment came from Japan (Dwyer and Forsyth, 1994:514).

5.3. Tourism development strategy

In the past, tourism was unplanned and rather limited in nature. Tourists were exposed to city tours and confined mainly to the urban areas. There was not much opportunity for them to discover and experience our wider cultural attractions. This limited type of tourist activity does not truly reveal the image and identity of any destination. More importantly, it seldom provides a 'new experience' for the majority of visitors. As we are aware, people travel for various reasons. It is important that a particular place or destination can provide a 'realistic' setting, showing the character and social life of a place. As Urry (1990:11) pointed out, there must be certain particular aspects of a place which distinguish it from others. Only then can travelling become more intriguing and exciting.

Realising these facts and the potentials of having an orderly and balanced tourism plan, the Government sought the advice of a foreign consultant. In this case the Japanese International Cooperation Agency (JICA), which is responsible for technical cooperation programs of the Government of Japan, was asked to undertake a comprehensive study and develop a National Tourism Development Plan for Malaysia. One of the main objectives was to identify areas

and regions to be developed for international tourists. Our target arrivals for 1995 are about 5.1 million people (Government of Malaysia, 1989:S-1).

As mentioned earlier in the chapter, the main objectives of tourism development are to increase foreign exchange earnings and jobs as well as to encourage regional development. In order to achieve these objectives, it definitely requires increasing promotional efforts, particularly to designated target markets. There are three major target markets for Malaysia: Singapore and Japan (the primary market); Australia, United Kingdom and Thailand (secondary market); and West Germany, Taiwan, U.S.A., and Hong Kong (tertiary markets). It is part of the strategy that only these few countries are being targeted. This is to ensure that full concentration can be given to meet the demand and the needs of the tourists coming from those countries. It is believed that "a good reputation depends on visitor satisfaction" (Government of Malaysia, 1992:S-6). As we have already said, present day tourists are very demanding, it is therefore a great challenge for the host country to accommodate them.

Based on the character, location, accessibility and available resources, the whole of Malaysia is divided into six principal tourist regions (Fig.5-1). Each of these regions is responsible for the promotion and selling of its own tourism product. This is of course done through cooperation between various public and private agencies. At Federal level, the main public organisation responsible for international tourist promotion is the Malaysia Tourism Promotion Board (MTPB), under the Ministry of Culture, Arts and Tourism (MOCAT). While at State level, the responsible agency is the State Economic Planning Unit (SEPU). In the private sector, the Malaysian Airlines System (MAS), the national carrier, is also carrying out promotional-related

activity for the country. As we can see from here, all states and regions get an equal share of being promoted to lure international tourists. The only difference is the rate of growth of tourism development which is taking place. This depends on various factors such as financial, social and most importantly the particular priority. Due to historical background, some areas have higher priorities for development than others.

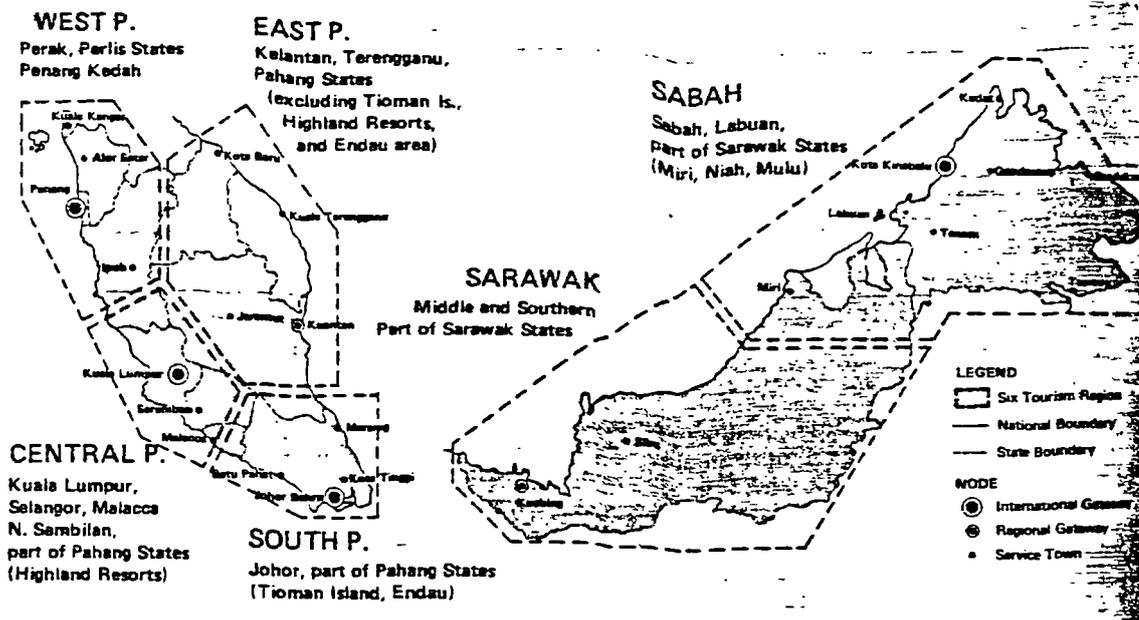


Fig.5-1 Principal tourism planning regions in Malaysia. (Source: Government of Malaysia, 1989:S-10)

Apart from the promotional activities, one important strategy is the improvement of tourist facilities and services. In the past, the number of international hotels were rather limited in their distribution, while facilities attached to the hotels were not well diversified to provide adequate satisfaction. It seems that Kuala Lumpur and Penang were the only two major destinations that attracted large numbers of investors in hotels. In order to accelerate this growth, provision was made for an incentive scheme under the Hotel Incentives of the Investment Incentive Act 1986. It is

intended that the number of international standard hotels would be increased and would be well distributed all over the country. In addition, the incentive scheme also makes provision for medium standard accommodation such as rest houses, to cater for budget-conscious travellers. According to Government of Malaysia (1989:27), the number of hotel rooms in the near future will be increased by 1.5 to 2 times the existing number (Fig.5-2). Since this target was set during the Fifth Malaysia Plan (1986-1990), the rapid growth of the industry during the current Sixth Plan (1991-1995) there now seems to be a good chance that the targeted number of hotel rooms will be reached, if not exceeded. The same is true of the tourist services, such as information, tour operators, entertainment/recreation services, etc., where efforts to upgrade them have been enforced.

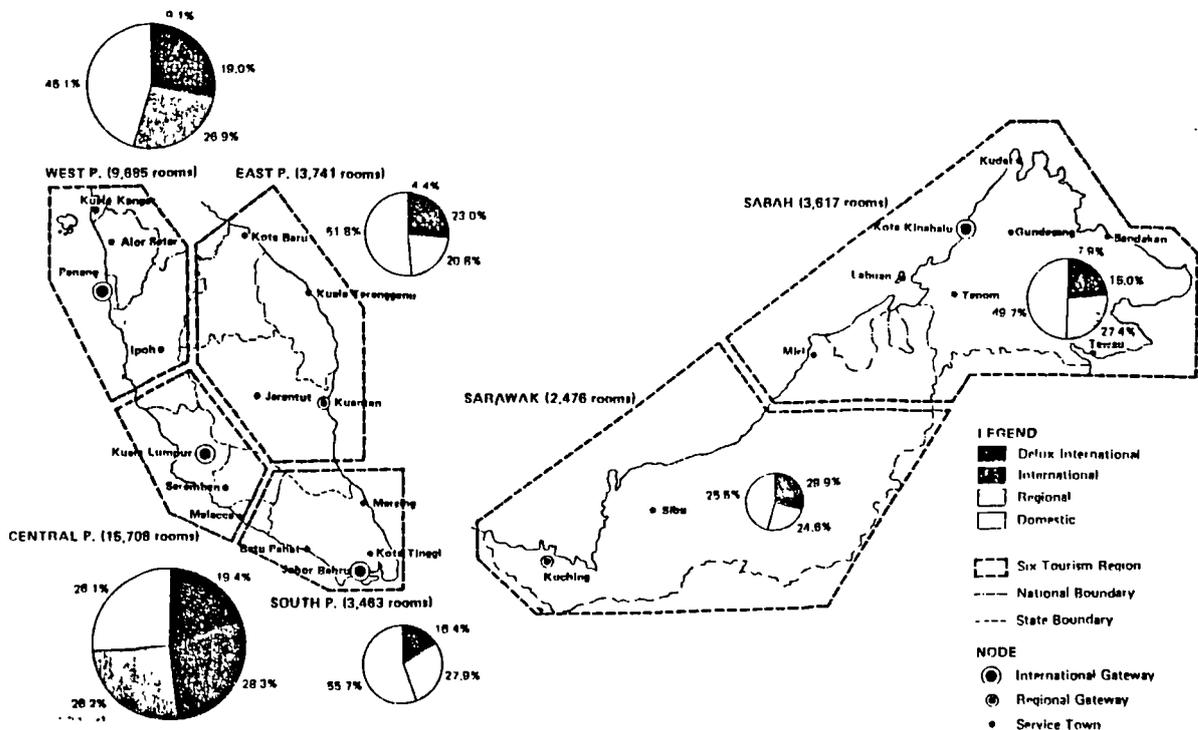


Fig.5-2 Regional stocks of hotel room by class
(Source: Government of Malaysia, 1989:26)

All these identified strategies for tourism development could not be possible without the participation of the private sector. In order to decrease public spending and to encourage competition, the government has introduced the privatisation of tourism projects. Unfortunately, there were not many takers from local companies except from the hotel-chain establishments. Since the tourism industry is still in its infancy, it will probably take some time before competition among the local private companies that get involved becomes effective. Only the stable and well established companies dared take the risk or have the resources. Meanwhile, the public sectors' efforts are mainly in the development of basic infrastructure facilities. This sector is also responsible for providing training programmes for the production of suitable manpower for the industry.

This kind of effort has also been emphasised by many other developing countries in order to improve training standards in holiday accommodation. For example in the Philippines, foreign language courses such as German, Japanese and French have been conducted and mobile training programmes focused on rural communities have been organised. Meanwhile in Thailand and Brazil, a school for Hotel Management and Tourism training was set up. Currently in Malaysia, there is only one higher institute that offers programmes in Hotel and Tourism Management, i.e the MARA Institute of Technology. However looking at the needs and rapid growth of the tourist industry in the country, *Universiti Utara Malaysia* is now establishing a training programme to meet the demand for manpower supply.

5.3.1 Tourism development organisations

We have already seen the government has played a major part in developing the tourist industry. Since the scope of tourism is extremely broad, it is therefore important that these efforts are carried through in a planned and efficient

manner. Coordination among various organisations and agencies dealing with interrelated activities must be improved. There are several foundation organisations that are directly involved. To further accelerate the development process, these must combine with a number of other supporting organisations. Based on the available resources and the management limitations of the various organisations, each must take steps to improve their performance.

The first important organisation which is responsible for overall tourism administration is the Ministry of Culture, Arts and Tourism (MOCAT), which is headed by a minister. Apart from planning, appraisal, and monitoring the implementation and execution of tourism programmes and projects, the main role of MOCAT is to formulate tourism development policies. This is of course being carried out through active involvement of other ministries, agencies, and the private sector. With the objective of developing and encouraging tourism as a primary industry in line with national policy, MOCAT has been divided into three divisions: Planning, Culture, and Administration and Finance; and five agencies: MTPB, National Art Gallery, National Museum, National Archives, and National Library (Fig.5-3). Among these, MTPB plays the most important role in administering tourism development after MOCAT.

Established in 1972, the MTPB (formerly known as the Tourism Development Corporation or TDC) was given a mandate by the government to coordinate all activities of the tourist industry in the public and private sectors. In addition, it is also responsible in carrying out promotional work and marketing tourism products at both, the domestic and international levels. In an effort to intensify overseas promotion, MTPB has opened up a total of eighteen overseas offices in sixteen countries. They are in United Kingdom (London), Australia (Perth and Sydney), Canada (Vancouver),

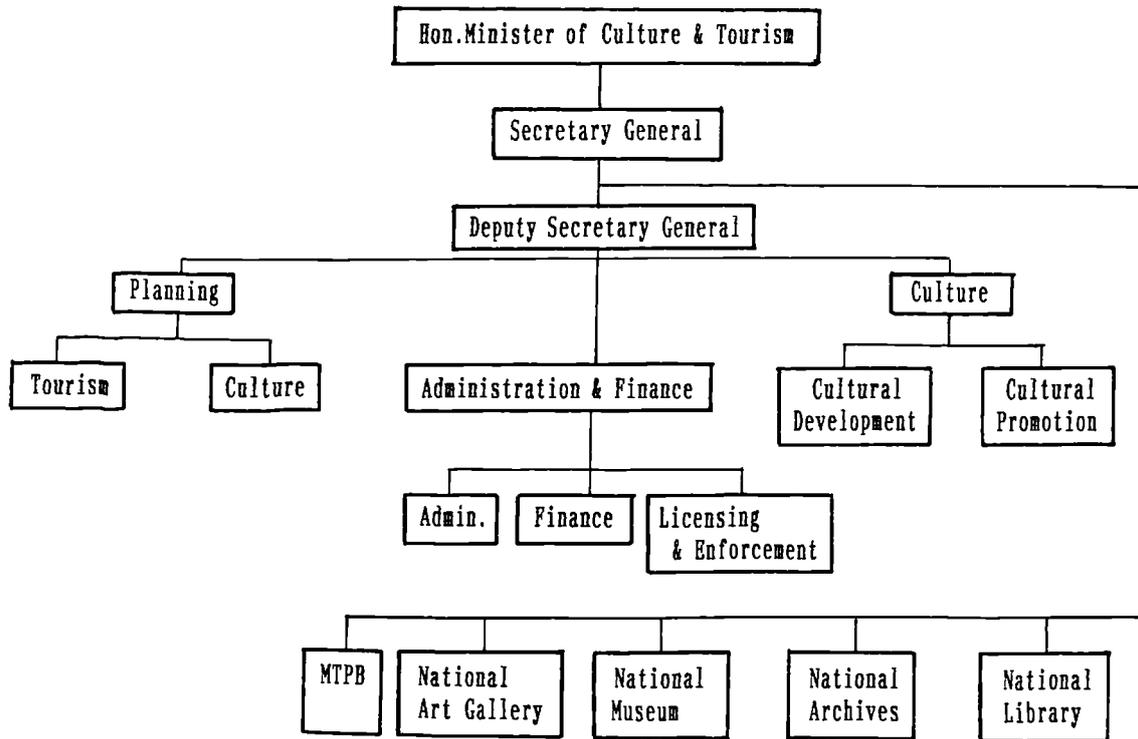


Fig.5-3 Organisation structure of Ministry of Culture, Arts and Tourism.
 (Source: Government of Malaysia, 1989:34)

France (Paris), Germany (Frankfurt), Hong Kong, Italy (Milan), Japan (Tokyo), Singapore, South Africa (Johannesburg), South Korea (Seoul), Sweden (Stockholm), Taiwan (Taipei), Thailand (Bangkok), U.S.A. (Los Angeles and New York) and the Netherlands (Amsterdam) (MTPB, 1993:35). With the challenging tasks and a big role to play, MTPB has been divided into six major divisions (Fig.5-4) and is headed by a Director General.

Another important organisation dealing in the promotional activities is the Malaysia Airlines System (MAS). Being the national carrier, MAS provides international air linkages between the country and major world cities. At present, MAS flies to 94 destinations worldwide (Malaysia Airlines, 1994:33) in addition to its 36 domestic destinations. With

respect to its promotional activities, similar to what Thomson, the UK's largest tour company is specialising, MAS offers a range of Golden Holiday packages for various destinations on its route network. Other than that, with occasional cooperation with MTPB, its involvement in tourist promotion is generally through sending sales missions, participating in international exhibitions (such as MATREX - Middle East Tourism and Resorts Expo, Royal Chelsea Flower Show, etc.), trade fairs (eg. Overseas Travel Fair), Travel

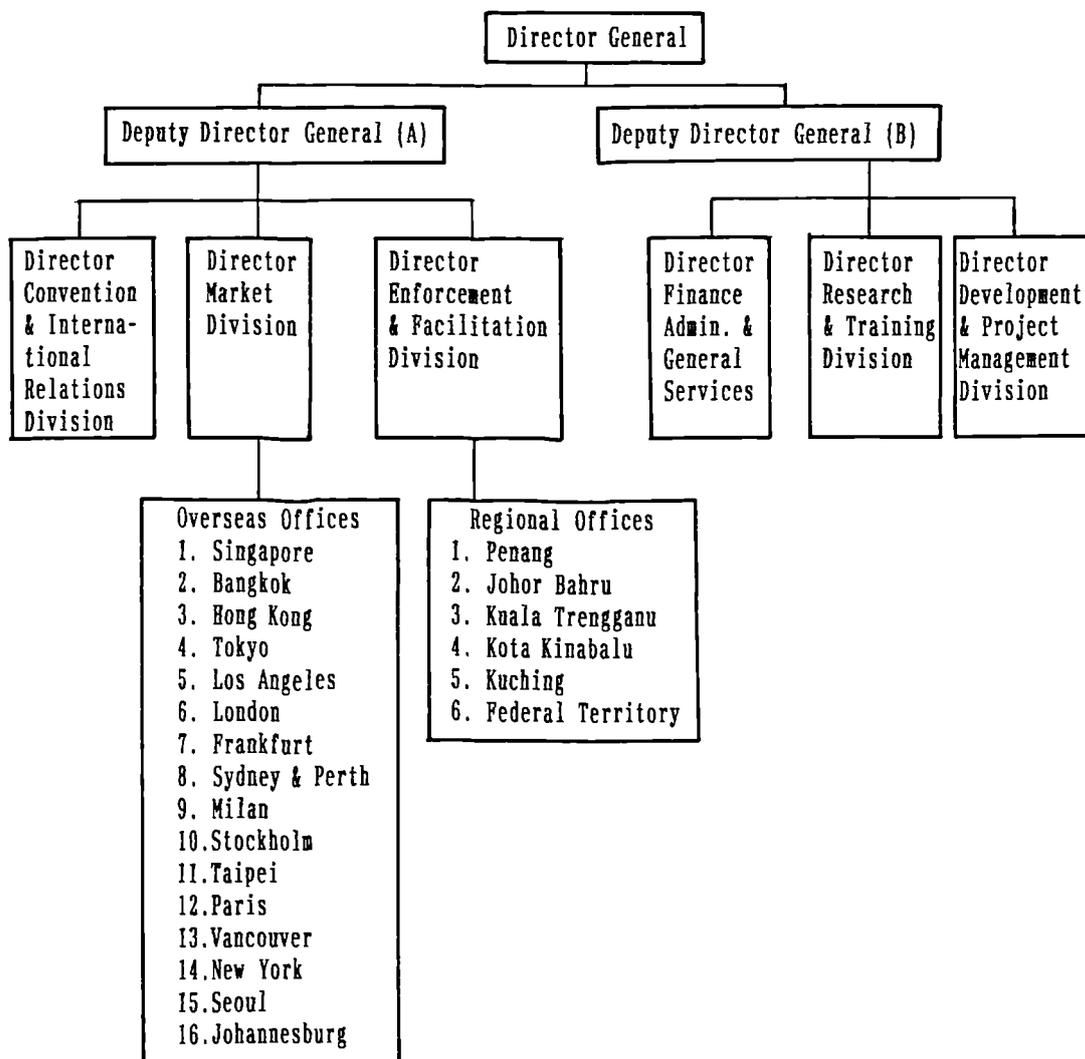


Fig.5-4 Organisation chart of MTPB, Malaysia. (Source: Adapted from Government of Malaysia, 1989:35)

Mart and so on.

Basically, in order to enhance tourism development in Malaysia, various parties are encouraged to support one another in an effort to integrate each of the individual's activities. State tourism authorities and the Malaysian private sector are supposed to get involved whenever the MTPB and MAS are doing their promotion work. In so doing, it is hoped that a unified image can be projected.

With regards to regional tourism development, State Economic Development Corporations (13 of them - one in each state) with cooperation with MTPB, are responsible for carrying out tourism programmes and projects. They are to market their products and resources not only to international tourists but also to Malaysians. This is because domestic tourism is equally important so as to reduce foreign exchange outflow from overseas leisure travel by Malaysians.

5.3.2 Tourism policy

Due to the extensive promotional and marketing activities during the Fifth Malaysia Plan (1986-1990), there was a substantial increase in tourist arrivals and gross travel receipts. Based on this performance, overall tourism development for the Sixth Malaysia Plan (1991-1995) strives to expand and diversify the industry to wider markets. In order to do so it requires adequate support and efficient development of services and infrastructure. It is the priority of this sector to attract as many tourism related investments as possible, in an effort to develop the industry. As such, adequate incentives have to be provided to accelerate the growth. In addition, the provision for long term policies and strategies is necessary in order to ensure that tourism development is well coordinated and integrated.

Since tourism has become an important economic activity in the development of the Malaysian economy, the government feels that some kinds of policies and strategies should be formulated in order to encourage investment and promote local entrepreneurship. Issues of identity and image, environmental protection and management should also be taken into consideration. Among the most important policy issues and strategies are:-

■ **Investment incentives.**

In an effort to continuously encourage foreign investors, the government has introduced various incentive schemes under the Promotion of Investment Act 1986. The system provides for foreign investors, either pioneer status for a period of 5 years, or an investment tax allowance of up to 100% of capital expenditure, for accommodation projects such as hotels, motels, chalets and hostels, and also projects including recreation centres, cultural and handicraft centres. For those companies which have already been granted pioneer status, an Industrial Building Allowance of 10% (initially) and 2% annually would be given. In addition to these, income tax exemptions would be given to tour operators who are able to bring in at least 500 inbound tourists a year through group tours. Other incentives provided by the government in order to encourage the development of tourism related industries are: service tax, where it has been reduced from 10% to 5% on hotels, restaurants and entertainment charges; and exemption of custom duties and sales tax on machinery and equipment purchased locally or abroad for use by hotels, accommodation and non-accommodation projects.

While Malaysia's policy is generous towards giving incentives to investors, a reverse step has taken place in Cyprus. It seems that from June 1989, the government has withdrawn all tax incentives for the tourist industry,

imposed stricter financial control on new buildings and frozen the issuing of all construction permits on new hotels and accommodation, particularly along coastal areas (O'Grady, 1990:58). This was done in realising the fact that too rapid development has taken place on the island and this has posed an enormous strain on the existing infrastructure, as well as having an adverse impact on the environment. In addition, it was also meant to limit massive land speculation.

The act of limiting tourism development for the purpose of protecting resources is something which should be praised, and one wonders how many other nations would do the same, especially from those who are just beginning to receive benefits from the industry. Of course we may argue that it was possible for the Cyprus Government to act as such because the country has been reaping enough benefits from the tourists' dollars for some time. Thus, it will not lose much from restricting this development. On the other hand, we should admire the government's courage in making such a decision in the midst of rising tourism demand around the region. Unlike Malta, where there is no evidence that the problem of tourist saturation will be studied or its impact evaluated by the government (De Kadt, 1979:280).

■ Bumiputera¹ participation

One of the strategies of the New Economic Policy under the objective of restructuring society is to have a minimum of 30% bumiputera share in the country's wealth. Within this context, the tourist industry is expected to provide the

¹ Bumiputra comprises the Malays and other native or indigenous populations.

opportunities for ownership as well as participation. Towards this end, various agencies such as the State Economic Development Corporation (SEDC), the People's Trust Council (MARA) and the National Equity Corporation (PNB) are involved in many activities, including giving assistance to bumiputera entrepreneurs in setting up their commercial enterprises. Although their participation so far is encouraging, many are still lacking in skills. Hence the MARA Institute of Technology (ITM) and National Productivity Centre (NPC) have been given the tasks to carry out education and training programmes.

■ Identity and image

The plural society of Malaysia provides a valuable asset for tourism. The various cultures, values and lifestyles of the different ethnic groups (as has been discussed in Chapter Two) could be emphasised in developing a distinct Malaysian identity and image. Here, the approach is to enhance the preservation of national heritage in the forms of performing arts, traditions, folklore, handicrafts, architecture and cuisines. The promotion of these products should be increasingly emphasised, in order to develop an image in the minds of prospective tourists and to help them understand about the country. One of the innovative efforts for accomplishing this purpose is through the listing of organised events like 'Malaysia Fest', a two week celebration which was last held in Kuala Lumpur. This was an occasion to savour a vast number of national handicrafts, food, cultural and sporting events. It is hoped that through this kind of event a good diversification in tourism products could be provided.

■ **Environmental protection and conservation**

In Malaysia, tourism resources are generally based on scenery/surrounding environment, natural and cultural elements. As we are aware, these resources sometimes are highly sensitive and susceptible to environmental damage and ecological imbalance. It is therefore crucial for tourism programmes and projects to be selective and to include some control measures, in order to avoid possible detrimental effects to the environment. Therefore the protection of beaches and shorelines, and conservation of forests and other ecosystems have to take precedence in any development. Based on this urgency, the government has empowered the Ministry of Science, Technology and Environment to exercise the Environment Quality Order 1987, which falls under Section 34A of the Environment Quality Act 1974. The 1987 Act makes Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) mandatory for getting project approval and implementation. Within this context, tourism related projects have to comply with stringent guidelines in order to ensure that they do not pose any negative impact to the natural resources and the ecosystem. Failure to adhere to the guidelines, the person(s) shall be liable to a fine of not more than MR10,000 (£2,500), or two years imprisonment, or both and a further fine not exceeding MR1,000 (£250) per day for every day the offence continues.

Concerning the issue of protection of coastal areas, England and Wales are much more in advance in developing policies for the management of their Heritage Coasts. The Countryside Commission in partnership with local authorities have embarked upon the Heritage Coast Programme so as to improve the environmental quality and visitor access to and enjoyment of selected coasts of the nation. Following this effort, there are now 42 Heritage Coasts resulting in 28% (1300 km) of the coasts of England and Wales being designated (Edwards, 1987:73). Based on the success of the

programme and interest from the government body (eg. the Nature Conservancy Council - NCC) and non-governmental organisation (the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds - RSPB) concerned with the ecological quality of the coastal zones, there is a great possibility that the number of the designated areas will be increased. It is thought useful for a country like Malaysia to learn from such programmes, so that our coastal ecosystem too will be protected and its ecological integrity sustained.

■ Management

In the light of long term benefits and stronger ties with other sectors of the economy, institutional and managerial aspects of tourism development have to be emphasised. In this respect, greater coordination and closer collaboration at all levels of government (federal, state and local authorities) and the private sector are important, so that the full benefits and cost effective development are obtained. Efforts to promote privatisation schemes have been made, in the hope that management, especially in the private sector would be more competitive. However, it seems that the scheme is not quite effective enough, since not many private developers are willing to take risks in developing large plots of land. Instead they use a system of reselling the developed products (eg. houses/buildings) to consumers so that they can get early returns on their investments (Government of Malaysia, 1989:104). A similar situation happened in the 60's and 70's in Malta, where real estate speculators bought up many old houses with significant character in the villages and the countryside, and sold them to foreigners with a high profit margin. This has created a problem of housing shortage among Maltese. The problem was however tackled by imposing a sizeable tax on property transfers. This kind of measure is necessary in order to curb further related problems. Therefore in the case of Malaysia, it is thought that a more comprehensive tourism

plan and implementation guidelines are required to better ensure the success of schemes, as well as for the future expansion of the industry.

5.3.3. Tourist arrivals and types

With the increased promotional and marketing efforts, the number of tourist arrivals in the country has increased steadily, that is from 3.0 million in 1985 to 7.4 million in 1990 (TDC, 1990:I), as a result of the first launch of the Visit Malaysia Year 1990. However in 1994 it has decreased slightly to 7.2 million with the total receipts of MR8.3 billion (MTPB, 1994). Although the arrivals dropped compared to the 1990 figure, in actual fact, it has increased by 10% over 1993. Similarly with the total receipts which has a growth of 63.8% over the same period. This increase was the result of the vigorous promotion carried out by the Malaysia Tourism Promotion Board offices locally and overseas for the Visit Malaysia Year 1994.

Out of the total number of arrivals, 75% came from the ASEAN countries, 11.5% from East Asia (eg. Japan, Taiwan, Hong Kong and China), 5.6% from Europe (mainly the UK and Germany), 2.1% from Oceania, and 1.7% from America. Although it is obvious that the bulk of arrivals come from the neighbouring countries, such as Singapore (4.5 million), Thailand (500,000), Indonesia (226,000) and Brunei (151,000) (Ibid), the arrivals from other parts of the world especially Southern Europe are increasing.

Among the European countries, the UK (one of Malaysia's established long-haul markets) has contributed a growth of 2.2% from 158,000 tourists, while Germany (the biggest market in Western Europe) with 70,000 arrivals in 1994 has contributed about 20.2% growth. From here it is clear that the English and the Germans are the two major Westerners that travel to Malaysia.

With respect to the types of tourism that exist in Malaysia, King (1993:101) has identified a total of five and they are: ethnic tourism and cultural tourism (concern with lifestyles and culture), historical tourism (architectural heritage), environmental tourism (nature and ecological aspects), and recreational tourism (sports and adventure). Here, not only types of activities differ but the characteristics (ie. age and nationalities) of the tourists varies. For instance, the majority of the Singaporeans are attracted to shopping, recreation and cool air of the Malaysian highlands (Ibid:107) while the Japanese are attracted by the scenic beauty and local life styles (TDC, 1995:30). Based on the two biggest European markets, 52% of the Germans and 51% of the English tourists travel to Malaysia for the purpose of holidays. Although the term 'holidays' is very general and may comprised of several activities, it is still within the types of tourism mentioned earlier by King. Other purpose of visits by the two nationalities is summarised in Table 5-2.

Purpose of Visits	UK (%)	Germany (%)
1.Holidays	51.1	51.7
2.Business	17.0	14.5
3.Visit friends/relatives	7.6	3.7
4.In transit/stopover	17.2	24.0
5.Conference	2.8	1.1
6.Others	5.0	4.3

Table 5-2 : Purpose of visits by tourists from the UK and Germany.
Source: MTPB, 1994.

In terms of the average length of stay, the Germans spent approximately 9.9 nights while the English stayed for about 9 nights. Looking at the duration of stay, although it is not an ample time to explore the whole country, but sufficient enough to explore and experience what they come

for. The MTPB report also revealed that the majority of the tourists from the UK is made up of male (60.9%) who are 55 years and older. Likewise, there are more male German tourists (58.3%) compared to female, but they are much younger between 25-34 years of age. What this indicates in terms of tourism planning is that, there must be variety of activities (passive and active) to fulfill the needs of those groups of tourists, and not to mention the variation among the ASEAN and the East Asian tourists. Nevertheless, with the increased trend in recreation, activities such as golf, scuba-diving, adventure and island hopping are known to be coming popular among the tourists regardless of their age, gender and regions. This does not mean that other types of tourism such as ethnic, cultural, environmental and historical are losing the demand.

5.4. Tourism and the environment

It has been widely accepted that an attractive, unspoiled and unpolluted natural environment is one of the most important factors for a successful tourist industry. International and domestic tourists alike, look for cleaner air, natural and lush greenery, and white sandy beaches to enjoy. It is therefore important that environmental improvement and protection be given high priority in any tourism development. In Malaysia, the enactment, if not the enforcement always, of the Environmental Quality Act 1974 provides, for the moment, sufficient evidence of the government's intention to maintain and control the quality of the environment. Nevertheless, despite this concerted effort, some areas of the country such as the offshore islands of Penang, Tioman and even Langkawi have been experiencing environmental problems derived from sewage disposal and siltation. This is mainly due to rapid tourism development, especially along the coastal zones of those islands. Although problems in Tioman and Langkawi are not as

serious as those in Penang, if left unchecked they will no doubt lead to a deplorable condition. It is crucial that enforcement of control measures is strictly imposed so that further deterioration does not take place.

Although everyone knows that environmental deterioration is not all attributable to tourism, it is certainly one of the most important factors. The damage caused by the tourist industry is more apparent as a consequent of mass tourism, which came into existence in the 1950's. The problem is more acute in the West, particularly along the coast of Southern Spain, the South of France, the Italian Riviera and other Mediterranean countries, which have been host to millions of tourists every year for over twenty years. To a certain extent it has been reported that in the 70's in the UK, nine diseases (such as cholera, typhoid and dysentery) have been recognised and associated with people swimming in waters polluted with human excrement. In addition, according to Goldsmith (1974:48) there are about 6,000 registered beaches in Italy that are dangerously polluted, in which some have a bacterial count five times higher than the accepted limit², resulting in the Mediterranean becoming one of the most polluted seas in the world (O'Grady, 1990:31). This indicates that the environmental problem caused by tourism is a global affair and the responsibility for the protection is urgently required in order to safeguard this resource. It is hoped that Malaysia's policy on the Environmental Quality will deter, in the long run, the hazard experience in the Mediterranean. The enactment of the Act is one thing and the enforcement and implementation is another. Hence it is important that this issue is taken seriously by the authorities if we want to avoid the transmission of such problems to our environment.

² The safety standard for faecal coliforms is 1000 coli/100 ml (Source: O'Grady, 1990:31).

Due to the abundance of exotic natural areas in the country, Malaysia can afford to offer diverse kinds of experience to tourists. This however requires some development constraints to be applied to ensure the quality of environment is not degraded and these natural resources are not unnecessarily depleted. As such, powerful legislative control is inevitable. For example, under the Fisheries Act 1985, several islands like Pulau Redang and Pulau Perhentian (on the East Coast of the Peninsula) were Gazetted as Protected Zones for the establishment of Marine Parks. Before this, in 1974 the Tunku Abdul Rahman National Park in the State of Sabah was also Gazetted. The reason for the protection was mainly to safeguard the coral and marine resources around the islands. In addition, through Gazetment it is hoped that visitor impact on the fragile ecosystems can be reduced. This kind of effort has been and must be continuously carried out to other natural areas of the country, in an attempt to maintain long term sustainability of the resources and the tourist industry. This definitely requires good planning and management.

5.5. Future trends

The present trends and future prospects for world tourism are anticipated to continue into the next millenium. It is expected that there will be an ever increasing demand for travel, leisure and educational tourism, particularly by those benefiting from an increasingly affluent economy. This promising perspective offers favourable opportunities for a country like Malaysia to raise her standards in her efforts to develop our tourist industry. Within this context, looking at the highly competitive environment, Malaysia must undertake a concerted effort to attain higher growth rates of tourist arrivals, through identifying imaginative strategies and better management procedures. We must learn from the experience of others to improve the quality and

uniqueness of our tourist products and services, in order to be competitive and to sustain our industry.

One of the obvious strategies is to improve and develop accessibility *without* spoiling the natural environment. This is especially important with places like beaches, marine and island resorts, and areas of special interest such as national parks, caves and forested hills. Among the important national parks are the Taman Negara in Peninsular Malaysia, Kinabalu National Park in Sabah, and the Niah National Park in Sarawak. New promotion of specific destinations i.e. to Penang, Kuala Lumpur, Langkawi, Sabah and Sarawak will be placed high in the priority list. It is expected that MTPB will play an important role in those promotional activities (i.e. for nature, culture and recreation). To achieve this task, three more overseas offices will be opened up in 1995. They will be stationed in Bombay (India), Jakarta (Indonesia) and Manila (Philippines).

With regards to accessibility, the international transportation network within the country, and the connections between international and domestic transportation will be improved. The construction of the fifth international airport for the country is on going in Sepang, Selangor. With the new availability and improved facilities it is expected that more international flights will bring in more tourists. In line with this, Malaysia Airlines has just launched an additional flight to London. There are now 8 flights per week between Kuala Lumpur and London, with two flights operating on Saturdays. In the near future, MAS is planning to fly to another seventy destinations.

In terms of future product development, the main emphasis is on the preservation of natural attractions, such as wildlife

sanctuaries and the tropical rain forests, as well as development of cultural tourism. Greater attention will be given to the conservation and management of such places for the purpose of promoting eco-tourism. Adequate attention will also be given to agrotourism, based on the variety of agricultural pursuits that can be explored by visitors. This is where cultural landscapes (see Chapter Three) can play a dominant role. Looking at the potential and demand, these two new types of tourism (ecotourism and agrotourism) will be the focus of our future tourist agenda.

With the crisis of agricultural production among the farmers, farm diversification is necessary to enable the continuing existence of farming communities. One significant option is through agrotourism or farm-based tourism. Although this kind of venture has long been practiced in the UK and Europe, it is not commonly carried out in the South East Asian region and it is regarded as a new dimension in Malaysia tourist industry. The importance of diversification has been revealed by Davies and Turner (1992:61), where 42% of farms in England, 34% in Wales and 23% in Scotland have engaged in 'non-traditional' agricultural enterprises. Meanwhile in Europe, there are a high percentage of farms offering tourist accommodation; for example in Sweden (20%), Austria (10%), Germany (4%) and Norway (3%) (Dernoi, 1983:159). All these statistics not only indicate the popularity of farm-based tourism, but also show that it plays a key role in providing additional income to the farmers. Based on this idea, it is thought that Malaysia can also embark on a similar pursuit, using the UK and European experience. This venture will not only promote diversification of the local economy, but most importantly it helps the farmer and his family to stay on the farm and carry out their traditional way of life, while maintaining their productivity and character of their environment. To achieve this, certainly requires careful and sensitive

planning on the part of agricultural and tourism policy makers as well as regional planners, and the full attention and support from the farmers. Consequently, the formulation of a national agrotourism policy has to be prioritised, to ensure the development has no irreversible impacts on the rural people, their culture and environment. If tourism is to be sustainable, then it is important to;

"Make tourism more resource sufficient rather than resource hungry, or to learn to use resources and not to use up resources."

(Jafari and Wall, 1994:668)

5.6. Conclusion

The Malaysian government has spent millions of ringgit to develop the tourist industry in the last 10 years. This concerted effort, together with the involvement of the private sector, has successfully contributed towards strengthening the economic linkages with international markets. One question that remains to be asked, however, is what portion of the economic return is actually retained and circulates within the region? Although little attempt has been made to calculate this, one thing is now established, that tourism will continue to play a major role in the national economy. In pursuit of this, various strategic policies and guidelines have been identified.

At this point, one may question as to how stringent are the policies and guidelines being implemented and managed. This is the challenge that every single Malaysian has to face from now on. At this juncture in our development, the most important need is to take responsibility for safeguarding our non-renewable resources and other natural and cultural assets from being overutilised and overexploited. We must ensure the long term sustainability of the tourist industry by ensuring our total development policy is sustainable.

In the next chapter we will see how the tourism development process has taken place on Langkawi Island. It focuses on the impacts of development, as well as highlighting the findings from the author's field survey of the indigenous settlements.

CHAPTER SIX
CASE STUDY:
LANGKAWI ISLANDS

CHAPTER SIX

CASE STUDY : LANGKAWI ISLANDS

"There is no other international trading activity which involves such critical interplay among economic, political, environmental, and social elements as [in] tourism" (Lea,1988:2)

6.1. Introduction

The 104 islands of Langkawi (under Kedah State) with a total of 520 sq.km in size, are popularly known for a number of tales and historical accounts among the locals as well as travellers. Some of these are believed to be true despite the uncertainties and discrepancies in the stories when they were being passed down from one person to another. The islands are located 30 km from Kuala Perlis (the northern most state of the Peninsular) and about 109 km from Penang. Access to the island is either by air (an international airport at Padang Matsirat) or sea by means of ferries at Kuah Jetty and Teluk Ewa Port (Fig.6-1). Among the historical sites found on Langkawi, the two important ones are the Tomb of Mahsuri (a pretty maiden who was a victim of jealousy) and the area of Burnt Rice or 'Beras Terbakar'. Nevertheless, the islands are quite isolated in location, and this explains why Langkawi has been protected from the changes that come with development and modernisation for a long time, despite being one of the largest west coast islands of Peninsular Malaysia.

In general, a major part of Langkawi is covered with forest and still in an undeveloped state; although this is changing at a rapid rate. The current pattern of landuse consists of 57% forest, 16% agricultural areas, 13% secondary forest/scrubland, 7% villages and settlements, and 2% mangrove swamp (Fig.6-2). The rugged nature of they

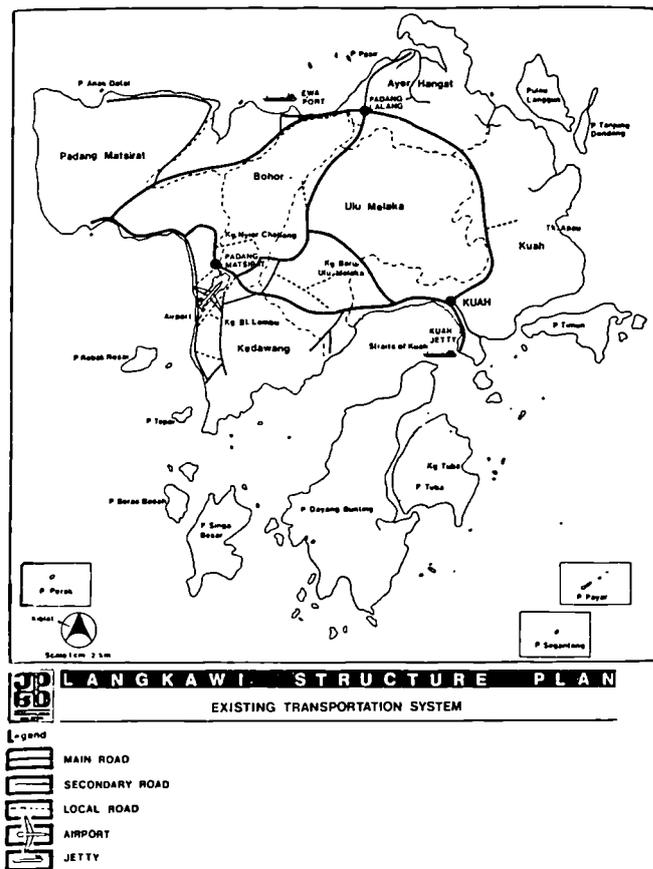


Fig.6-1 Existing transportation system
(Source: Langkawi District Council, 1992:12-2)

topography with lushly vegetated mountains (the two important ones are Gunung Matcincang and Gunung Raya) and numerous white sandy beaches, make Langkawi one of the attractive islands of Malaysia.

Although Langkawi was once an important trading centre during the colonial days, this did not last long due to a belief that the islands had been cursed by Mahsuri for the injustice done to her. During this time apparently, nothing seemed to flourish. Businesses were sluggish, some had totally failed; all the islands were not well off in terms of production. Whether these circumstances were due to bad

luck or just a coincidence of other factors, no one really knows. There are no archival records or historical accounts that have survived. In addition, as Hanapiah (1992:12) pointed out, since the stories have been passed down

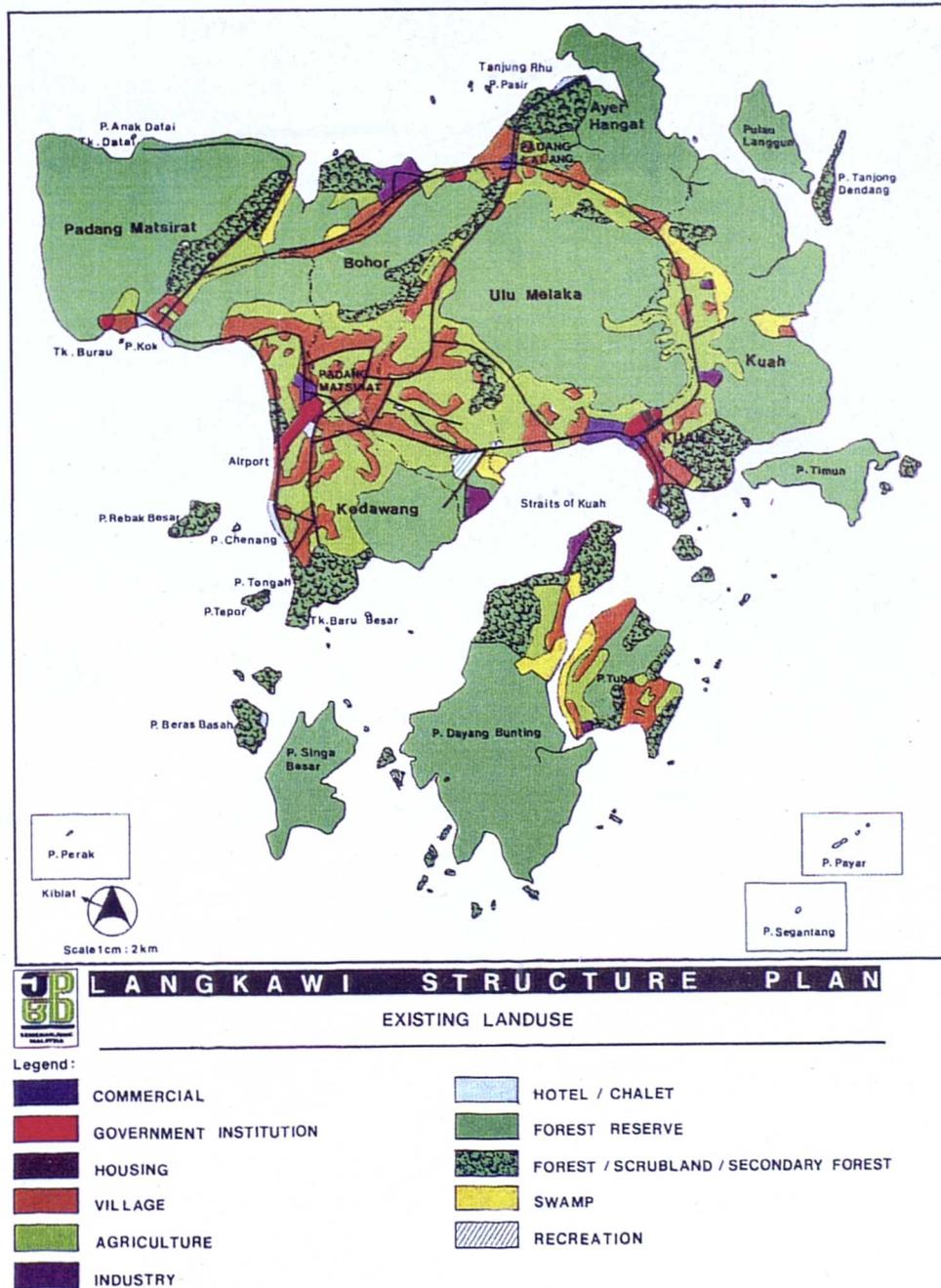


Fig.6-2 Existing landuse (Source: Langkawi District Council, 1992:5-3)

verbally from one generation to another, one would expect slight modifications and alterations.

But in reality, in spite of the curse, believed to have been lifted probably in the 1950's, the recent situation in Langkawi has not changed much. With interest initiated by Tunku Abdul Rahman, Malaysia's first Prime Minister in the 1960's and 70's, some small scale development projects did begin to take place there. These were followed by other projects carried out under subsequent governments. Even then, Langkawi was still backward and considered as one of the poorest regions of the country. The infrastructure was deficient and poor, new job opportunities were lacking, and the level of agricultural productivity was low. It was not until the mid-80's that the situation in Langkawi improved, when the islands were earmarked as a tourist destination, under the leadership of Datuk Seri Dr. Mahathir Mohamad. Looking at the prospects of Langkawi and furthermore being a Kedahan, it is natural and understandable why he gave priority to develop his home state, although there are other places in the country which are poorer and less developed. His aspiration for the islands was to encourage the implementation of a comprehensive economic, social and physical development plan and at the same time to improve the incomes of the local population.

In order for development in Langkawi to be in line with the national and state development strategies, the New Economic Policy (NEP-introduced in 1971) and the National Agricultural Policy (NAP of 1984) were used as foundations. Since 1982 concerted efforts have been made to develop the main island, using the tourist industry as an agent for growth.

This chapter provides a scenario of this development, emphasizing its impact on the people and the environment, as

well as some insights into the perceptions of the indigenous population regarding the type of development activity carried out, and the costs and benefits to them.

6.2. Tourism development.

The principle elements needed for a successful tourist resort are the availability of attractive landscapes, well managed and comfortable facilities, and a range of activities. These characteristics in addition to possible other attractions such as historical remains and local cultural activities will further attract visitors to an area. As such, the Langkawi Islands are well endowed with attractive beaches and natural landscapes. Its climate, long white sandy beaches, clear water lakes, and scenic coastal fringes provide the natural platform for the development of a tourist industry. However, these splendid characteristics are not seen as privileges and opportunities by the locals as such. They are also not inclined towards entrepreneurship and at the same time they lack any initiative to venture into consumer commercialism. So much so, that the Federal and State governments have had to intervene in order to promote the situation, in an attempt to develop the potential of the setting.

Direct government involvement in the development of the tourist industry on Langkawi was first started in 1982 when the Prime Minister, Datuk Seri Dr. Mahathir Mohamad, declared a special interest in the development of Tanjung Rhu, one of the most beautiful areas. The over-grandiose resort project was supposed to be made up of a number of hotel blocks, a condominium, a shopping plaza, an 18-hole golf course, and a circuit of tracks around the resort to serve electric cars for transportation (Bird, 1989:13). Whether it was a misfortune or a blessing, due to financial constraints, the project did not fully materialise. Only the hotel blocks (Fig.6-3) were constructed, while the other

facilities were abandoned. As a result, that part of the site (Fig.6-4) became an 'eye-sore' and was not attractive to local picknickers and visitors. The result is that the area has been 'vandalised' by development (Mohamed, 1994:193).

Since then, Langkawi has undergone vigorous development either through government projects, foreign investors or private developers. The developments are mostly in the form of infrastructure and tourist related facilities. To make the island more accessible, an international airport was built, road construction has been intensified, and regular ferry services were established. Several resort hotels have been constructed to international standards. What is most appealing to visitors and tourists alike, and very important to the islanders is the duty-free status which was decreed in January 1987. The main aim of the free port is to enhance the trading and commercial activities, especially among the Bumiputera¹ population, and at the same time to encourage the tourists to spend money. It is this inward flow of investment that has resulted in the greatest benefit to the local inhabitants. The rapid rise in their incomes has in turn produced further commercial spin offs. Life for many of them has never been the same again.

Ever since Langkawi was selected to become a tourist center, various development policies for the island have been pursued by the government. The most important ones are on tourism; a total of eighteen different policies (such as the development of tourist facilities and attractions) over 6 or 7 years have resulted in today's Structure Plan (Appendix II). All future development that could lead to negative

¹ Bumiputera population includes the Malays and other native people who originate from the island.

impact and deterioration of the environment is, by this means, meant to be avoided. Nonetheless, earlier developments have already caused considerable damage to the surrounding environment.

6.2.1 Small scale developments

Over the last decade, several chalets and motels have been built along the beaches of Pantai Tengah, Pantai Chenang and Pantai Kok. These budget accommodations were built mostly by the locals who owned the land, who did not want to miss the chance of benefiting. There are currently about 26 of these small-scale complexes in existence, with the number of rooms ranging from 9 to 36. In contrast, the number of rooms available in the larger scale developments are between 99 to 350 (MTPB Pamphlet, no date). The number of these developments are increasing and will shortly overtake the smaller chalet type complexes. According to one of the chalet operators at Pantai Chenang, the majority of chalets in Pantai Kok will have to close down soon because their lands have been bought up by a 'giant' public company i.e the Berjaya, for a larger scale project comprising a golf course and hotel complex. This fact was also been mentioned by a planner at Langkawi Development Authority (LDA) who is partly responsible for the development of the area. According to him, it seems that all the chalets (at present there are about 9 of them) have to be pulled down in order to make the beach free for access by the public. The owners will be compensated or given other areas to rebuild and operate their enterprises. This will mean the end of local participation in the area, their income from the tourists' dollars will dry up and they will probably drift off the bigger cities on the mainland.

Despite the compensation, it is still doubtful whether the locals have the means to continue because the alternative location provided will probably not be as strategic as



Fig.6-3 Mutiara Tanjung Rhu Resort.



Fig.6-4 Part of the site that has been abandoned.

before. Furthermore, the amount of compensation given is usually not enough to start another similar business. 'We are afraid' said one of those involved, that nothing will be done to help us and the money will just turn into 'dust'. Sadly that will be the end of local participation and remove their ownership over their land. So much for good intentions.

6.2.2 Large scale developments

It seems to be a common phenomenon that large scale developments have always been given priority over smaller ones. They are either carried out by a government-owned company or are a joint venture with private or foreign investors. Thus it should be no surprise that the projects are easily given approval by the local authority. However, development proposals must still go through the usual project planning mechanism in order to ensure that they are environmentally sympathetic. For this, an Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) is required.

EIA is a process by which information is systematically acquired, analysed and presented to a key authority, such as the Department of Environment, in the development process (Richardson, 1993:25). It is a planning tool designed to mitigate any damaging consequences prior to project approval and implementation. In Malaysia, EIA comprises of a preliminary assessment, initiated at the pre-feasibility study stage, and a detailed assessment of projects for which the initial assessment has predicted significant impacts (see Appendix III). This Order came into force on April 1, 1988 and it is mandatory for nineteen development categories, such as resort and recreational development, airports, agriculture, infrastructure, etc. Tourism-related projects, therefore have to comply with this Order to ensure that the country's resources are not put at risk or at least the risks are acknowledged.

Over the last 8 years large amounts of money have been poured in by the Federal Government to develop Langkawi into a tourist center. MR26 million (approx. £6.5 million) was spent in 1985 in upgrading and expanding the Langkawi Island Resort (formerly known as the Langkawi Country Club) into an international standard resort. Another MR1 million (£250,000) was given to this government-owned resort in 1989 to further improve the hotel in anticipation of competition from the Pelangi Beach Resort, a semi-government owned hotel (Bird, 1989:22).

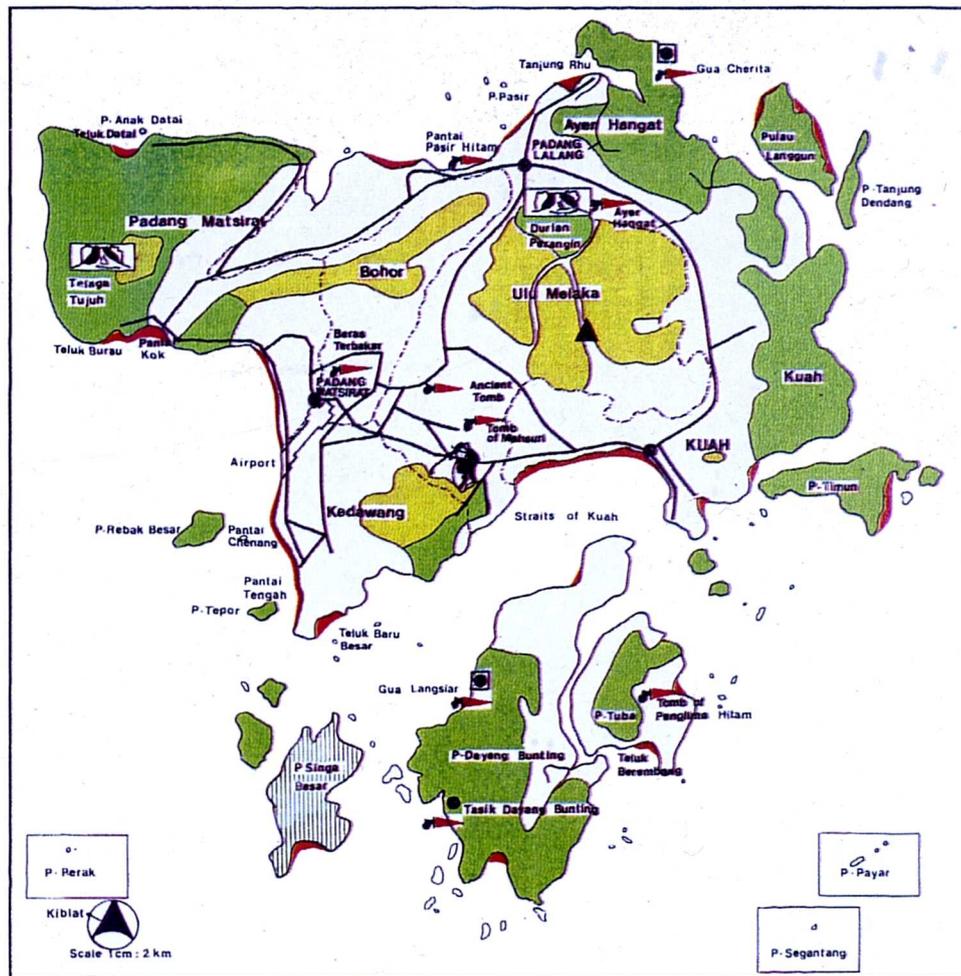
The Langkawi Island Resort is currently managed by the Merlin Corporation, a multi-national based in the United States. The resort is equipped with a golf course and a private beach, a hotel with 213 rooms compared to 350 rooms in Pelangi Beach Resort. It is difficult to say if these two hotels are competing with one another. As we can see, each one has something different to offer. The important issue here is how much of the revenue goes back to the island, to benefit the locals? This is what the government must now concern itself with, since the initial idea was to improve the socio-economy of the islanders. There is little or no point in having beautiful resorts and sophisticated facilities, while the locals are denied access to any of the benefits and live like the Malay proverb says, "Seperti ayam; kais pagi makan pagi, kais petang makan petang".²

The Pelangi Beach Resort is itself another example of a 'big spender' by the government. It cost MR70 million (£17.5 million) and uses up a large acreage of land including that which belongs to the villagers. This massive resort development was built to cater for the 47 Commonwealth Heads

² It means: The poor live from hand to mouth like fowl which eat in the morning what they scratch in the morning, and eat in the evening what they scratch up in the evening. (Source : Kwang, 1981:63)

of Government for their weekend 'retreat', during the meetings held in October 1989 in Kuala Lumpur. There is no doubt that to the Langkawians it was an honour that their islands should have been visited by so many great leaders. However, on the other hand, it has been a nightmare for those whose lands requisitioned with little or no compensation. The villagers had no choice, it was just like 'the anchovy and the shark'; one is too small and powerless to fight the other. For instance, when the land along Pantai Chenang was acquired for the expansion of the Pelangi Beach Resort, the owners were paid only MR 30,000 per acre which was about 4% of the actual market price then. For the villagers to try to settle their dispute in court was too costly and time-consuming. Furthermore they were not courageous enough to fight the government, and ended up with more problems than solutions. They not only lost their land but their livelihood as well. One day perhaps they will find the courage and stand up for their just rights. Perhaps this kind of classical injustice is acceptable in other countries but it should never happen in Malaysia.

There are other prominent resort developments on the island. They are found at Burau Bay (Burau Bay Resort and Sheraton Langkawi Resort), Tanjung Rhu (Mutiara Court) and Teluk Datai (The Datai) (Fig.6-5). All have first-class accommodation with private beaches, providing a total of 758 rooms and associated facilities. The Datai is one of the most recent developments which is supposed to be *"Architecturally distinguished and an enlightened response to the fragile ecology"* (Macdonald, 1994:36). The hotel complex is sited on a ridge within the primary rainforest and 40 metres above sea level (Fig.6-6). In addition to an interesting design, the Teluk Datai has the most beautiful golf course in Langkawi. Like the hotel complex, the golf



LANGKAWI STRUCTURE PLAN
EXISTING TOURISM RESOURCES AND ATTRACTIONS

Legend :

	WATERFALLS		LAKES
	MONUMENT, HISTORICAL & LEGENDARY SITES		GUNUNG RAYA
	GOLF COURSE		WILDLIFE SANCTUARY
	BEACHES		WATER CATCHMENT FORESTS
	CAVES		PROTECTIVE / RECREATION FORESTS
			ROAD

Fig.6-5 Existing tourism resources and attractions.
(Source: Langkawi District Council, 1992:7-7)

course too has been constructed within the forest environment. To date, among the large scale developments in Langkawi, Teluk Datai can be categorised as the most exclusive area of all. Not only that, it is the most

isolated and with the highest privacy and security. As a matter of fact, the site was originally a forest reserve but the status was changed for the sake of the project, in the hope of attracting other 'elite tourists'. One thing that we must not forget is that this area also contains a fragile ecosystem, which, if not handled with extreme care, will be very detrimental to the surrounding environment. We must however, deplore the fact that it has been said, a key factor in the design was the conservation of the fragile environment (Ibid:40).

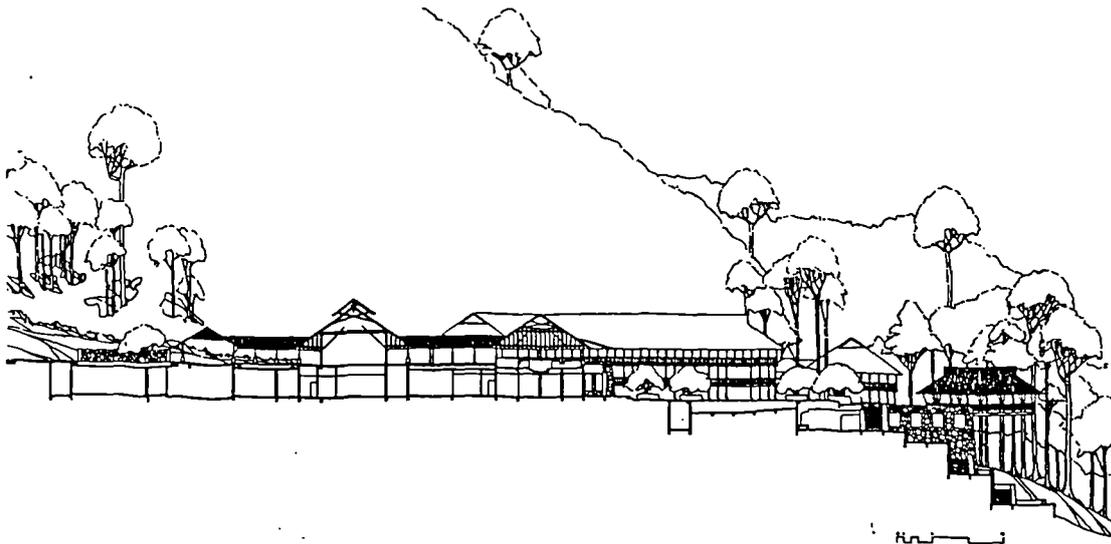


Fig.6-6 The cross-section of the Datai (Source: Macdonald, 1994:36)

As far as utilisation of the facilities at Datai is concerned, from observation (between May to June 1994) the place was hardly used and looked deserted; probably due to the off-peak season. The highest tourist numbers come between November and March. However based on informal discussions and the trend of visitation, one feels that even during peak season this place will not be filled, except

probably by golfers. Tourists who come for the golf are mainly the Japanese and the Taiwanese. At present there is another golf course available which is located quite near to the tourist area. This is more likely to be used. European tourists, mainly the Germans, are fond of beaches and sea-related recreation. They would rather spend time at resorts such as the Delima, Sheraton and Pelangi Beach Resort which have better access to the tropical shoreline. On the other hand, the Datai is very far away from the commercial and other facilities, which makes it quite inconvenient. Thus, we can assume that the Datai is not commercially popular and must be separately promoted as an international conference centre. Perhaps the place is fully utilised only during the LIMA (Langkawi Island Maritime Aerospace) exhibition which is held every December of alternate years, when other resorts are already fully booked. So one wonders whether the return outweighs the amount of investment, and most importantly, is it worth the cost of disruption and disturbance to the ecosystem?.

6.2.3 Other developments

Apart from hotel facilities, other infrastructural developments have been carried out in order to promote the island internationally. These include the construction of a jetty for passenger ferries, widening and upgrading of the 'protocol' roads and giving a facelift to the historic sites. Landscaping and beautification programmes were also carried out throughout the island. CHOGM³ Park was developed in Kuah in recognition of The Langkawi Declaration on the Environment (Appendix I). In line with its duty free status, the commercial sector was given a big boost through the development of more shopping premises, especially in Kuah,

³ Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting

by reclaiming the coastal areas. There are about 160 commercial establishments such as shops, restaurants and other services, these 73% are owned by the Chinese.

6.3. Impact of tourism

In the case of Langkawi Island, tourism was and still is meant to promote economic growth and help to eradicate poverty. How far these two goals have been achieved, is at the moment quite subjective and difficult to determine, especially when the industry is still in its infancy. It needs a complete set of appropriate data recorded over a number of years and other relevant information on all aspects of economic consideration. To do this is not within the scope of this study. However, from observation and informal discussions it appears to the author that all the development and wealth that was poured into Langkawi has not really benefitted the core of the local communities; only a very few and selected individuals seem to have gained. Instead, many of the locals (particularly those residing at the fringe of development area) live in fear and feel threatened in case their properties (land and houses) will one day be taken over for future development. They are scared that they might face the same fate as their fellow islanders; those who have already been displaced from their villages. To a certain extent, some have even murmured their fears whenever they see someone carrying a theodolite and start to make a survey of the area. They said that it may not be long before they too will have to look for another area to make their living. So it is quite clear to this author, that most of the islanders feel that their welfare is not a primary concern of the authority. This fear is summed up by the Malay proverb that says, "*Isi lemak dapat kat orang, tulang bulu yang ketinggalan*," which means that they (the tourists) enjoy the flesh and fat, leaving us (the locals) the bones and feathers. Unless their living standard

is improved, either through agrotourism or other alternatives, their resentment and frustration at the way they have been neglected will continue to increase.

Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that tourism has provided some benefits to Langkawi and its people. The infrastructure and other facilities provided for tourists can also be utilised by the local population. With the increase in population and growth in the number of tourists, many public facilities like medical and security services have been upgraded, although they are still not enough to meet the demand. Public transportation and related facilities, such as the road network and the air terminal, have all been provided. Despite all these, one must bear in mind that '*not all juicy things are sweet*'. Thus one always has to make balanced and objective judgements. Besides the positive changes there have been some negative results in the social, cultural and environment fields (which will be discussed later in the Chapter).

This is agreed by Rosenthal (1991:2) who said that, "*Tourism can and often does have negative effects*". We must have realised that issues on the negative impacts of tourism have become a major concern world-wide. Hence the term '*sustainable tourism*' has emerged as an antidote. From the beginning the industry has got to be planned and managed, in order to combat any unwanted individual and family crises caused by over commercial exploitation. There is a capital city not far from Langkawi that knows well what happens the local social communities breakdown and are mixed with tourism. We must be warned by this example.

6.3.1 Economy

In most official assessments of tourism development, the positive economic returns usually outweigh other possible negative considerations. This is perhaps necessary in areas

where their economic dependency is on dying and less productive sectors such as subsistence farming, as on Langkawi. But the price the government has to pay is that in the end these people become a charge on the State and all their dependents for the foreseeable future. Here, foreign exchange earnings from tourism form a yardstick in judging the worth of the economic activity, although the multiplier effects deriving from the industry also play a significant role. Employment opportunities are a good example of a multiplier effect from tourism. In the case of Langkawi, with the increasing dependence of its economic base on tourism, the growth rate of employment in commerce/hotel was 9.4% between the year 1980-1990. On the other hand, the agriculture and fishery sector has experienced a decrease of 0.1% for the same period (LDC, 1992:4-7). It has been projected that a total of 37,878 jobs would be created by the year 2005 and this would mainly for the tourist industry (Ibid:4-11). Therefore the tourist industry should bring in economic benefits to the island and its people in particular, and some revenues to the government in general. Based on the figures given by Bird (1989:27), the government expenditure for the development of tourism in Langkawi for 1989 was more than MR160 million, and according to the TDC⁴ Statistical Report (1990), the tourists' receipts for the same year for the whole of Malaysia were MR2.8 billion from a total of 4.8 million tourists that visited the country. From these two figures we can deduce that although the revenue from the tourists' dollars looks lucrative, we do not exactly know how much of the income goes for the repayment of and interest on the loans sought for the development of the infrastructure and facilities. And most important of all, how much of the income was retained in

⁴ Tourist Development Corporation (currently known as Malaysian Tourist Promotion Board).

Langkawi and benefitted (economically) the locals? This goes back to the issue of multiplier effects in terms of employment. As Bird (1989:29) reported, only 30%-49% of the locals were employed by the two major hotels that were in existence. Even then the employment was mainly for casual workers who earned wages ranging from MR10.00 to MR15.00 per day. In addition she wrote that most of the better paid jobs were taken up by skilled and experienced migrants from the Peninsula. Thus from here it is very likely that the locals have not gained much from the development. On top of that, some of them (29 shop owners and 70 families) were displaced from their premises in order to give way for the development of tourist-related projects (Ibid:34).

Despite the large amount of investment from the government, very few locals have responded to the opportunity offered to them. These few individuals have gained and benefitted from tourism, either through motels/chalets or retail businesses. Several have ventured into transportation. These are the handful of people who are now successful and well-off. On the contrary, the majority of the locals are poor, with 40% of the households receiving an average of less than MR250 (£63) per month (LDC 1992:4-6). There seems to be several factors which hinder the locals from becoming involved in the opportunities provided by tourism. Among them are lack of skills and flair in business, too poor to enable them to invest, generally passive attitudes, and a low level of education. The correlation analysis (Appendix V) shows that there is a high positive correlation between education and income. This means that those with lower income, generally less than MR350.00 (£87.50) per month are those who have only primary education. The income they receive hardly meets their basic requirements with little more to use for investment. Furthermore their perception and thinking are quite limited due to lack of exposure and low education level. Thus the idea of competing to improve themselves does

not really enter their perspective. Even if it is pointed out, it is very difficult for them to grasp. This phenomena is not uncommon in the developed world where with so many government schemes to sponsor the small business, the majority still fail after a relatively short period. Due to the above factors, the local people have tended to be ignored or have been ruled out by those coming from the mainland. Thus, in spite of the government's effort to improve the economy of the Langkawian, the outsiders (ie. Malaysians from the mainland) are taking all the benefits, while the locals remain as they are if they are lucky enough not to lose what little they have. Sadly, there is little or no evidence of a redistribution of benefits and wealth, which suggests that much more detailed and close to the community efforts will have to be made before there are any desirable benefits to the mass of the locals. Much can be learnt from the European experience over the last 20 years in this respect. Though it has to be said not always with beneficial outcomes.

In terms of employment, there is no doubt that the tourist industry has provided some job opportunities. For some established hotels like Pelangi Beach Resort and Langkawi Island Resort, between 30%-49% of the employees are locals (Bird, 1989:29), while chalets employ around 46% (Osman et.al, 1993:22). This confirms the finding from the study where 40%-45% of the employees in the established hotels were locals compared to 42%-50% in chalet enterprises. Since many of the locals do not have suitable qualifications and experience, they are mainly employed as lower category staff. Meanwhile the managerial and higher ranking posts are being filled by outsiders. Even with the low basic salaries that they receive, they are somehow contented with the income because it is slightly better than what they have got before through agriculture. According to one of the cooks who works in Pelangi Beach Resort, the one month income that

she receives from the hotel is equivalent to one season's work growing rice.⁵ So it is no surprise that many of the locals, especially young people, are turning towards the hotels for their livelihood. Of course there is nothing wrong with that provided they can eventually occupy better positions. Unfortunately many of them have little or no initiative to improve and better themselves, either through proper training or 'rank-and-file' privileges. Discussions with a hotel Supervisor and a Pastry Chef (apparently they are mainland Malaysians) indicated this view. Hence, from this point one tends to ask how can the economy of the locals be improved when they themselves are not keen to do so? Obviously, this has resulted in a large influx of outsiders to take up the opportunities available in every aspect of the economy, employment, or even space.

In the transportation sector, some locals could afford to purchase cars at a cheaper price due to the Duty Free status of the island. These cars are mostly being used for hire or as taxis. Nevertheless, the majority of the operators work illegally due to high cost of motor insurance (approximately MR3,000 or £750 per year). In addition, they are required to take a permit (which is requested from the TDC), in order to operate their businesses. This costs them another MR60,000 (£15,000). With the average income of MR500 - MR600 (£125 - £150) a month, this barely covers the operation and maintenance costs. Surely it would be impossible for these operators to come up with the requested amount of MR60,000. For them to secure a loan from any of the financial

⁵ In Langkawi most rice growing can only be carried out during one season a year (July to October), due unbelievably to a shortage of water in the fields, she said.

institutions would require collateral⁶, which is too difficult to produce. According to one of the operators, the income was much higher in the early 1980's, i.e. before the introduction of vans as taxis. The preference of tourists to use small taxis or private hire cars has reduced compared with the use of vans, which have seating capacities between 6-12. Furthermore, most hotels have got their own means of transport, so the tourists generally do not require other means. At present there are only 10 'legal' operators, whose businesses have already been established for quite some time. One operator mentioned that he felt as though he was being '*pasak*' (strangled) and trapped by the system. This is perhaps because during certain periods for example, the Langkawi Island Maritime Aerospace Exhibition (LIMA), the 'illegal' operators were asked to cooperate with the authorities by being allowed to operate their services. But when the event was over, the hard rule was imposed again. If they are caught by the JPJ (Department of Transportation), they would have their vehicles impounded for a fine of MR300 (£150) and their road tax would be suspended. From here we know that there is so much dissatisfaction from the operators point of view. As it is, the income they get is not enough to cope with the risks and problems they face. So much so one of them said, "*We are just like a temporary barrier which will slowly erode due to pressure*".

This is where one might question what benefit has the tourist industry brought to the islanders? Perhaps there are other development alternatives better suited to the needs of the locals? This is where the authorities have to play their part in understanding the desires and expectations of the

⁶ For example, to get MR5,000 requires 5 relong (150,000 sq.ft) of land for collateral.

people, in order to get their full support and involvement. After all how are they to learn how to become entrepreneurs if they are not encouraged to practice these skills. Perhaps more opportunity for training, assistance and incentive particularly in the commercial and tourism-related sectors will have to be provided.

6.3.2 Society and culture

The lifestyle of the people on the island, particularly in the villages is quite relaxed and life moves at a slower pace than on the mainland, as is customary in most rural areas around the world. In agricultural villages it is quite common to see men and women working side by side in the rice fields, rubber plantations and gardening plots. However, in the fishing villages, only the men usually go out to sea, while women do the general domestic chores. When the weather does not permit them to go out fishing, the men normally carry out village work or '*kerja kampung*', like agricultural activities, building and maintaining houses, or other odd jobs that are necessary in order to support their families.

The social patterns of the community are largely based on the extended nuclear family. Thus one can expect a very close-knit relationship among the people of a village or community of villages. One distinct feature of this closely-knit interaction is the practice of '*gotong royong*', whereby the whole community works together as a team to perform certain jobs like harvesting (especially the rice), ploughing fields or even cooking and preparing food for a major festival. On those occasions they act just like one big family. If any household in the community tries to deviate from this norm, they can expect that he or she and even the whole family will be ostracized. Another peculiar characteristic of the society is that, even with a strong and close relationship, a member of the community is not free to go around with a member of the opposite sex. This is

partly due to religious reasons⁷, as well as accepted social practice.

Although it is not easy to distinguish the social changes that have accrued as a result of tourism and modernisation, some aspects of change are prominent. A distinctive phenomenon is the change in attitude and mentality of parents or older members of the group towards working in tourist hotels. Twenty or thirty years ago none of the Langkawians would ever dream of letting their sons or daughters work in hotels. Instead, the children were strictly prohibited from going near those places; they were afraid that they might be a bad influence. Hotels were usually associated with drinking and prostitution (two great taboos for Muslims). This negative thinking is apparently slowly dying away, partly due to exposure and education, and partly to circumstances. Nowadays with so many hotels on the island, some parents feel proud that their children have managed to get work in one of them. They do not mind so much that they have lost the extra hands in the paddy fields, as long as their children secure better incomes from hotel jobs. The islanders are definitely becoming more materialistic in their attitude towards money. In addition, Desa (1990:21) in her study has also inferred that customary social interactions have been neglected and now more attention is given to improving their standards of living and income.

⁷ Islam restricts 'free' mixing between adults of the opposite sex who are not an immediate family members.

Hotel jobs usually go on 'round the clock'. Hence, employees are divided into shifts on a rotational basis. It is easy to imagine how this affects the lifestyle and structure of the family. This is particularly true when both the husband and wife are working at the same time. Due to this situation, grandparents have sometimes got to assist in looking after the children, with the result that some children are being neglected by their parents. If this trend continues, one worries that an unhealthy situation will develop and give rise to future social problems. Another social consequence is due to the nature of the work itself i.e. on shift work it is difficult to make time for community meetings and discussions. This dilemma has been raised by the Penghulu⁸ of Kedawang.

Other social implications resulting from tourism are an increase in crime (mainly petty theft) and in immoral behaviour. These incidents are however, still under control due to the cooperation of the local community and with the help of various government agencies, such as the Police and the Religious Department.

With respect to local activities, although there are various cultural events practiced by the Langkawians, they are still not generally being publicised and packaged as products for the tourists. These activities are either related to religion or custom, and are usually carried out by older members of the community, mainly in the villages. Hence, it is no surprise that sometimes young people, particularly those who have moved out of their family niches due to work

⁸ Penghulu is a village leader who has been appointed by the State to look after the welfare of villagers under his jurisdiction.

demand, are not familiar with their traditions. It is a pity if this type of cultural heritage is to die out through not being given proper attention by the locals. There is now no doubt that this heritage will one day vanish, unless some kinds of measures to revitalise it are taken. Through tourism and community participation, there is the possibility that it will be continued, even if only in a rather stylised fashion.

One of the most obvious signs of cultural deterioration can be found in the production of traditional handicrafts. From observation, there were not many local products being sold in the majority of shops in Kuah Town. It is the same for most stalls where the tourist attractions are located, such as at Tanjung Rhu, Tomb of Mahsuri, and Field of Burnt Rice etc. The only place that one could find the handicraft products being produced and sold is at Kampung Tanamas, about 14Km from Kuah Town. Here products like potteries from local clay and marbles⁹ can be found, in addition to crafts made from other materials. Most depressing of all, the majority of shops and stalls are selling products from Indonesia and Thailand such as batik materials, clothing, household and souvenir items. The only other typical product of Langkawi that is available is the '*minyak gamat*' (oil of sea slugs),¹⁰ a traditional medicine. This lax type of marketing attitude will not only portray a different impression to tourists but most importantly it does not help

⁹ Langkawi has been famous for its high quality deposits of marble.

¹⁰ Gamat (*Stichopus variegatus*) is similar to the sea urchin and it normally lives in areas where there are corals. It is found in abundance in the sea off the northwestern part of the Peninsular Malaysia.

the locals in resurrecting their traditional handicraft skills. Furthermore, it helps to discourage production through the establishment of cottage industries, which might provide extra income to the locals.

Although Langkawi is not as well known its traditional handicrafts as for some other places in the Peninsula, it will not be a problem to inculcate the interest as long as there is guidance and training from relevant parties such as through KEMAS or Community Development Associations. This has been voiced out by some villagers during our informal discussions. There is a great potential to develop the local handicrafts due to abundance of raw materials available. For eg. products from coconut shells, rubber wood, bamboo, marble and sea-shells can be utilised. According to LDC (1992:15-5), in 1988 there were 5 furniture and 1 marble-craft industries in Langkawi. Thus it would be feasible to develop those other industries, perhaps through small-scale cottage industry in the community within village areas.

It is high time that this issue is drawn to the attention of the local people, in order to ensure their participation to improve the situation while gaining benefits from the industry. In fact it has already been stated (Ibid: 9-16) that those who have the skills in handicraft would be given capital assistance and guidance in marketing by relevant agencies.

6.3.3 Environment

As we have said before, any development which is not properly planned, controlled and monitored can adversely affect the environment. In the case of Langkawi Island, which greatly relies on its beauty and natural environment as the selling point for tourism, the quality of the environment is extremely critical. It is therefore vital that both future tourism development and its adverse impact

on environmental conservation are jointly considered and planned for. This is where the need for professionally carried out Environmental Impact Assessments (EIA) come into play in determining the viability of a project.

The rapid pace of development which is today happening on Langkawi has directly caused some destruction to its precious environment, despite some measures that have been taken to curb this threat. This is particularly true of developments that were carried out in the mid to late 1980's, when the sheer pressure to develop the island fast, in time for the Visit Malaysia Year 1990. Most of the hotel and chalet developments then, were not properly planned when they were implemented at the whim and convenience of individual developers and landowners. This has given rise to deterioration of the natural and physical environment through the installation of improper sewerage disposal systems, insensitive felling of trees and clearing of the land, disturbance of the natural beach formations, and extensive developments which had little or no aesthetic consideration.

Studies in four main areas of Langkawi have shown that the main source of marine pollution is from water-suspended solids; oil and grease, sewage (E.Coli) and heavy metals (cadmium, lead, copper, nickel and mercury) (Fig.6-7). It has been reported that the sources of pollution came from sewerage effluents from the main settlement areas and villages, agricultural activity and industry, and from prime tourist areas. Other types of pollution, such as air and noise, are minimal and still under control. One must not forget that those studies were carried out in the mid 1980's when there were not as many hotels and chalets as there are now. Further such studies are urgently needed by pollution analysts and other specialists in order to ensure that the island is not under any future threat and safe for everyone

to use.

According to one woman, she and many other villagers in Kampung Kuala Muda, (an area between the airport and Kuala Teriang), used to collect cockles along the beaches. This information conforms with what Lee (1992:37) who has written

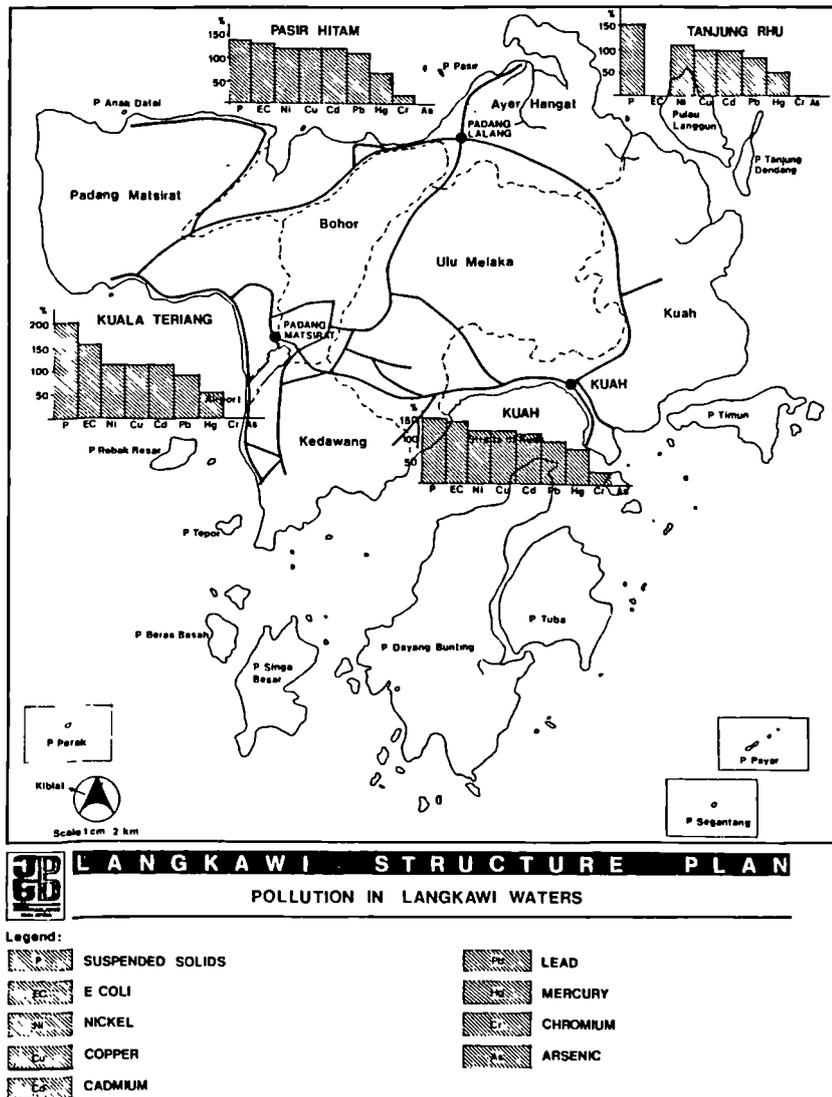


Fig.6-7 Pollution in Langkawi waters. (LDC,1992:13-4)

in his report for Pantai Chenang, where cockles were found in abundance along the beaches before tourism developments took place. Now, due to the growth of siltation and sedimentation, and probably to such pollutions mentioned earlier, those sources of food (rich in protein and iodine) are gone. The problem of siltation is very serious, especially during low tide, whereby one can see thick black mud filling up the coastal fringe instead of water.

Nevertheless, with the growing consciousness of environmental quality and the associated problems that are increasingly in evidence, the local authorities are at last taking serious action to ensure that current and future developments on the island follow the relevant standards enshrined in the legislation. Meanwhile, the existing environmental problems will need to be resolved and kept under constant control. This is vitally important if the tourism industry is to be sustained.

Where this has been neglected we have seen the result in other parts of the world; the tourists move on and the locals move out. Furthermore, being the very place where the much praised Declaration on the Environment was made in conjunction with CHOGM, Langkawi should at least try to solve these problems and to set an example to other regions on ways to conserve and protect the environment. In line with that, according to the planners at the Langkawi Development Authority (LADA) all development activities on the island which involve areas of more than 35 acres have to go through an EIA procedure (Appendix III) in order to ascertain the effects of the development, so that appropriate adjustments can be made to the projects in the pipeline.

6.3.4 Cultural landscapes

The cultural landscape of Langkawi, which comprise of natural forests, agricultural and village settings, have undergone drastic structural and physical changes, not only due to massive modernisation of the infrastructure, but also to the more piecemeal tourist developments. As the industry develops more and more tracts of land have been turned into tourist related facilities, either in the form of accommodation, recreation or services. This has consequently brought changes in landuse and thus to the landscape. At the same time, the increased economic opportunities and interests of the 'hospitality' industry and tourism have caused an abandonment of agriculture and subsequently a decline in the farming communities, of whom it has to be said, are the best guardians to ensure the continuity of the landscape.

The traditional settlements or '*kampungs*', either fishing or agricultural village, have their own unique character which forms part and parcel of what is now known as the cultural landscape. The characteristic of this landscape in an agricultural village, can be seen in the coconut and fruit trees that are usually grown around the houses and form a vitally important component of the household diet. Traditionally, wooden houses of vernacular architecture were common, but sadly this is changing due to the pressures to modernise, as well as the expectation and fulfillment of so called higher standards of living. This has gradually changed the image and identity of the place. Another factor, which causes changes in the use of timber for house construction, is probably due to its high cost today. Concrete block and brick houses are becoming more popular because they are much cheaper to build. These houses are usually arranged in lines along the roads or scattered within the paddy fields. This radically interferes with the traditional view of the landscape. On the other hand,

fishing villages will normally be located along river tributaries and coastal areas. The landscape elements that can usually be found around these dwelling areas are almost similar to the agricultural settlements, except that one can find fishing nets and boats lying around next or near to the houses. Nevertheless, these artifacts are beginning to disappear as a result of new developments associated with tourism. The pressure to accommodate the tourists and the 'short-term thinking' on the part of some villagers, has resulted in the paddy fields being reclaimed, to be turned into new dwelling areas.

Meanwhile, the coastal fringe, where fishing villages are commonly located, has become the target place for private and multinational entrepreneurs to develop their 'star' hotels. Not only has the typical landscape of the area been destroyed, the fishermen were displaced from their livelihood. This serious extinction of the cultural landscape will continue unless more stringent conservation controls are put in place and enforced by the local authority.

Ever since Langkawi became a popular tourist destination, there has been this tremendous pressure to develop the land, with drastic increases in land values. For example, in 1994 agricultural land was selling at MR7.00 (approx. £1.70) sq.m., while in coastal areas the cost was MR16.00 (£4.00) sq.m. There has been an alarming increase in the rate of land transfers/transactions (Table 6-1). Even though we do not exactly know what these transactions were, since the details of them are never made public, the majority are likely to be for the sale of agricultural land for tourist development. This is partly due to the fact that agriculture has never been very lucrative, because of poor irrigation and poor yields. This sad situation is made worse by the decrease in the agricultural labour force by 36% over the

period of 1980-1987 (LDC, 1992:8-1). Even the Penghulu of Kedawang anticipated this when he said recently, *"In 10 years time, agriculture will cease because the locals do not like the work. At present many people from South Thailand are employed to do this work"*. This is in line with what Jackson in his paper 'Back to the land' (Zube, 1977:3) pointed out, *"[Now] farming has ceased to be a way of life and has become a way of making a living"*.

Looking at the pattern of landuse, the two closely-related landuses (commonly associated) ie. agriculture and farming settlements, can be found all over the island, especially in the low-lying areas. Based on agricultural distributions from topographical maps of 1960's, 1970's and 1980's (Directorate of National Mapping, Malaysia), there was an increase in the land utilisation for padi and rubber within the three different periods. This was probably due to the strategies of the NAP for greater self-sufficiency in rice, and rural land development scheme by FELDA (as discussed in Chapter Four), ie. before Langkawi was designated as a major

YEAR	TOTAL TRANSACTIONS	AVERAGE NOS. TRANSACTION/MONTH
1990	958	79.8
1991	1236	103.0
1992	1559	129.9
1993	1460	121.7
1994	636	127.2

Table 6-1 Land transfer/transaction (1990-1994).

Source : Author (compiled from District Land Office).

Note: Transactions in 1994 are only for the first 5 months

tourist destination. However, for coconut there seemed to be a decrease in the cultivation in the 1980's, instead it has been replaced by the cultivation of sundry-tree and non-tree types of crops such as fruits, vegetables, and cash crops like cashew nuts and groundnuts (Fig.6-8 to Fig.6-11). This is probably due to the low price of coconuts (especially for copra)¹¹ because of competition with palm oil. Furthermore, these new crops have better market potential and moreover, they are quite hardy to hot weather and the high salinity soil of Langkawi.

Although we have seen that the traditional pattern has not changed much, we must not forget that many developments have occurred since then, particularly in the late 1980's to the present. There is no doubt that some of these areas, especially along the coast, have been utilised for tourism development purposes. This certainly has reduced the acreage of agricultural land, as has been indicated earlier. Despite the low return, agriculture still plays an important role to the villagers, especially to those who are not involved in tourism. Until 1990 there were about 46% (5,835) of the people still engaged in agriculture and fishing (LDC, 1992:4-7). In addition, with the anticipated increase in population and tourist arrivals by the year 2005, agricultural production has to be improved in order to support the new population and the growing tourist industry. Thus, conservation of agricultural/cultural landscapes is vital because of its triple functions : food (to be consumed by the increasing local population and tourists), aesthetic value (for high visual quality and scenery which are important for the tourist industry), and heritage (to carry

¹¹ Copra is part of coconut which produces oil

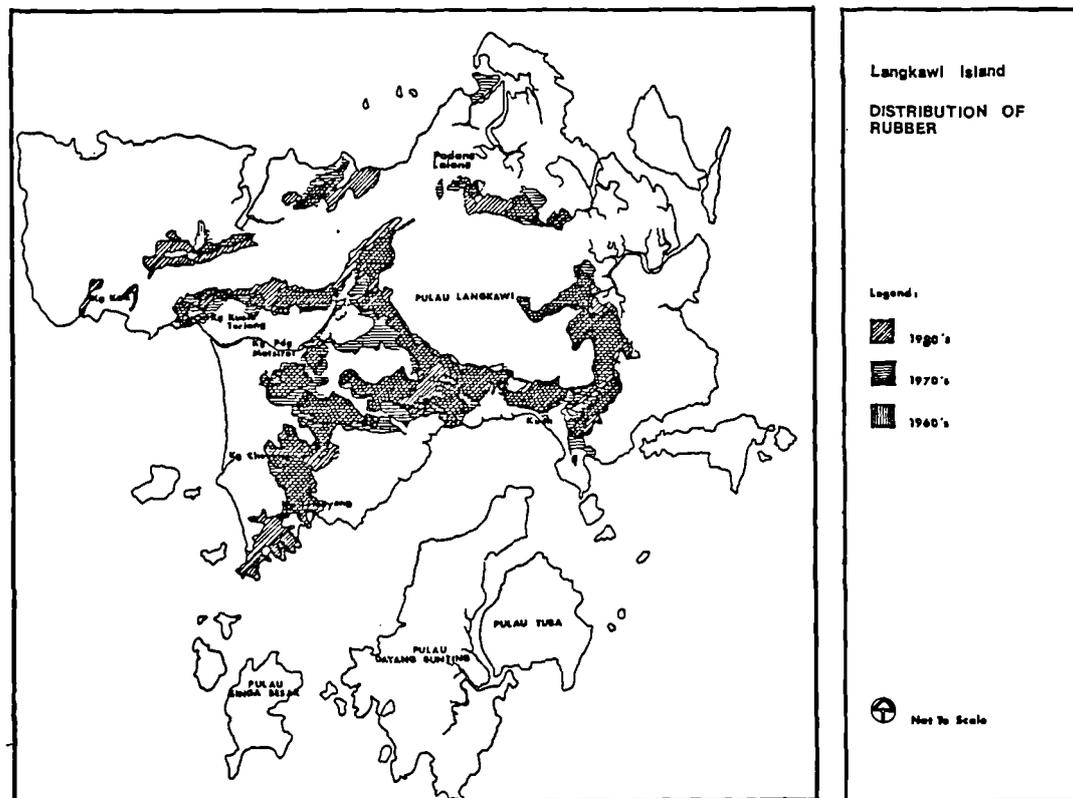
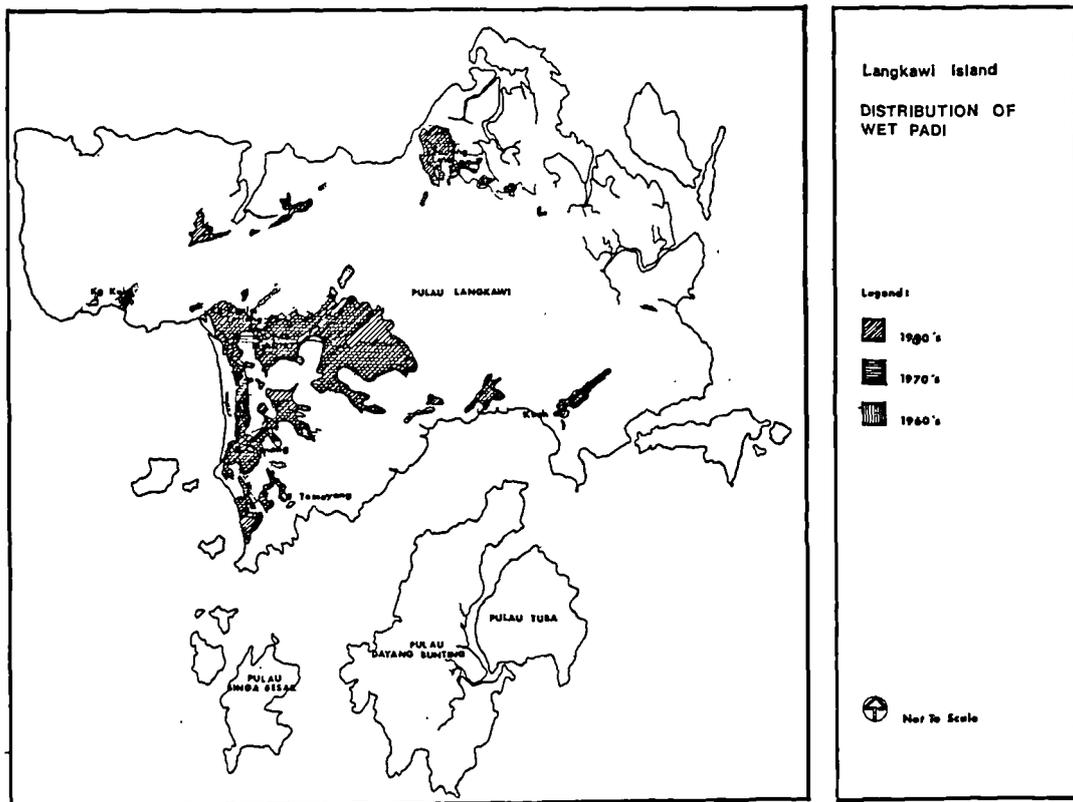


Fig.6-8 and Fig.6-9 Distribution of padi and rubber.

Case Study: Langkawi Islands

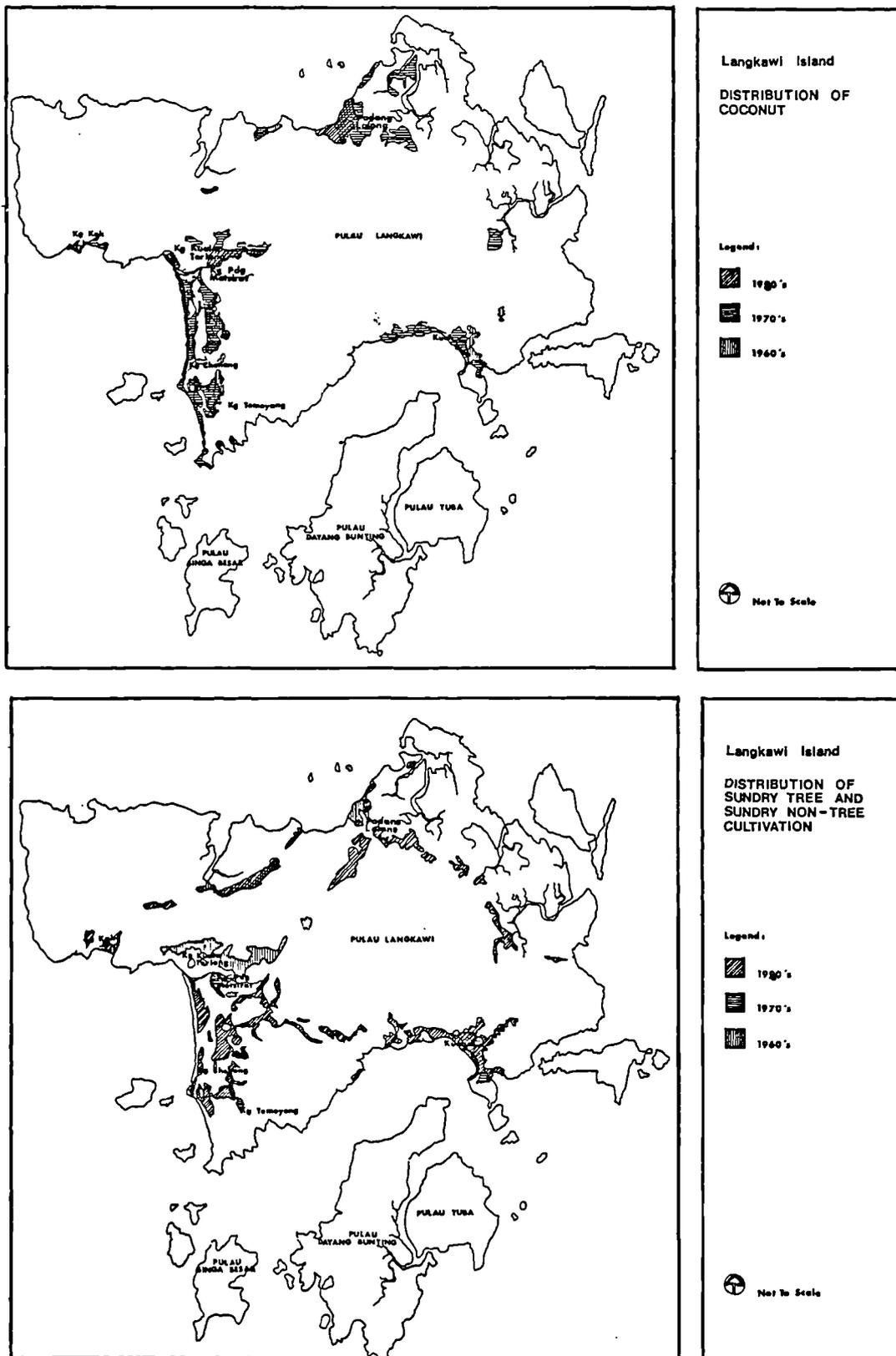


Fig.6-10 and Fig.6-11 Distribution of coconut, and sundry tree and non-tree cultivation.

on the local tradition and lifestyle). Furthermore, tourism comes in cycles¹² (as discussed in Chapter 3). It is alright when it is at the peak, but we always have to anticipate those times when it will move down to the bottom. Based on this cycle, tourism in Langkawi is at present at the middle stage of development, where changes in the physical appearance of the area are very noticeable. Before it reaches other critical stages of the cycle, it would be best to look for the solutions now. As it is, 'prevention is better than cure'. So one of the ways to deal with this is to conserve more of the agricultural/cultural landscapes for the possible 'rainy days' of the future.

6.4. A survey of villagers' perceptions of the notion of cultural landscapes and the reality of tourism.

An opinion survey has been carried out on small but representative numbers of the islanders, mainly those living in areas where the tourist industry has been developed. This survey involved various sections of the community: villagers, retailers and other business operators, as well as officials. The main objective of this survey was to examine people's different attitudes and levels of satisfaction regarding their surrounding environment and the development of tourist industry. To carry out the survey, two methods were employed: informal interviews and structured questionnaires. A total of 150 respondents were selected and their backgrounds are summarised in Appendix V.

The survey results indicated that about 91% of the respondents are aware of the changes that are happening on

¹² Source: Butler, 1980:7.

the island and the majority of them agreed that Langkawi Island has a very 'attractive' natural *and* built environment. Unfortunately, only 9% of them felt that agricultural/cultural landscapes (the concept has been discussed in Chapter 3) are 'attractive' or even indeed, essential. This explains why some of them are always willing to convert their lands to other uses. This type of thinking however, the author feels, is probably due to the people's familiarity with the existing environment. Sometimes when one is so accustomed to the place one just takes it for granted and never appreciates its value until it is taken away. Despite all that, 82% of the villagers preferred that the 'natural and rural character' of the island be retained and preserved rather than become 'urbanised'. Some of them felt that tourism was moving on 'too fast', although a fair number of people thought that the developments were 'suitable' and 'appropriate'. Opinion on the appropriateness of tourism comes from those who get the benefit from the development. Otherwise opposite opinions tend to dominate. This conflict is quite natural in a society where there are differences in the level of education, exposure and income as in Langkawi.

With regards to satisfaction, a large number of the respondents felt that the present environment and living conditions in Langkawi were 'satisfactory'. Due to the tourist industry their conditions have improved with better infrastructure and facilities, 'controlled cleanliness', and more 'job opportunities'. On the other hand, a lesser number of respondents were unhappy with the whole situation. Factors responsible for their dissatisfaction are pollution of the beaches and seas, uncontrolled development along beach fronts, and 'culture shock'.¹³ Here we see that there

¹³ Bad morals and behavioural misconduct brought in by some tourists and urban dwellers influencing young people on the island.

is a contradiction in the opinions between the two groups. The first thought that tourism initiates a 'pollution safe' environment, while the other group thought that tourism aggravates pollution. Which ever way the groups perceive it, though, there is no doubt that the two phenomena exist. It is now the responsibility of the local authorities to guide and control which direction the development is going to take.

With respect to the designed landscape (mainly for beautification), on the whole it is thought satisfactory. However, there is still room for improvement and this is what the Landscape and Recreation Unit of the District Council is working towards.

In analysing the data for correlations among the variables, interesting results were disclosed (summarised in Appendix V). Respondents with higher education usually have a better income and these were the people staying in Langkawi for a period of less than 10 years. What this indicates is that they are the 'immigrants' (outsiders) originally from the mainland, who came to the island to look for 'greener pastures'. They are the ones who are doing well and have better living standards. This conforms with what has been said earlier, namely, that the locals have been overshadowed in all aspects. It is also interesting to note that apart from having higher education and incomes, they also prefer to see more tourists coming to the island.

The survey also revealed that about 64% of the respondents want to see more than the present number of tourists.¹⁴ Based on this, it is probable that they are involved or associated with the tourist industry. On the contrary, the locals who

¹⁴ The figure for 1990 was 420,200 tourists (Source: LDC, 1992:7-9).

have been on the island for more than 20 years or throughout their lives, and whose incomes tend to be much lower, prefer to reduce the number of tourists. This, we feel, is a positive indication that some locals at least are starting to feel the pressure of development.

Based on the correlation analysis, it can be deduced that since the tourist industry is a relatively new activity on Langkawi, perhaps it is being accepted quite positively (particularly by young people), especially after seeing all the development and experiencing the benefits of the better infrastructure provided. However, this attitude might change and resentment towards tourists is likely to develop when they realise their limited benefits from and involvement with the industry. As a matter of fact, some have already voiced their fears and worries that one day Langkawi Island would become worse than Penang.¹⁵ The Langkawians do not want this to happen to their island and that is why, if possible, they want less tourists so that the development of accommodation facilities can be reduced. *"What we are having now is more than enough"*, this is what was said by a number of villagers. This confirmed with the survey result in which about 73% said that the tourist numbers on the island are too many. However this result contradicts with the result on development where 53% thought that Langkawi is less developed, yet 82% wants the natural and rural character of the island be retained. Possible reasons for this discrepancy might be firstly due to the levels of thinking of the people, when it has been said that about 56% only had primary education. The concept of development was probably not fully understood. Secondly, the people might be in a

¹⁵ Penang is another popular tourist destination in South East Asia, located off the West Coast of Peninsular Malaysia. It is overdeveloped and at one time had serious environmental problems related to its sea and beach pollution.

a confused state of mind since the development on the island is moving so fast that they could not catch up and and that they feel left behind. Thirdly, despite the need for development, they still want to be confined to the familiar surroundings and environment that they used to live. Thus, it is thought that it is desirable that these locals be informed and made to fully understand of what is going on around them. In this way we not only make them educated citizens, but the potentials of getting their involvement and cooperation in the future will be promising.

6.5. Conclusion: the future of Langkawi

Looking at the present and planned development trends combined with the volume of promotion, there is no doubt that Langkawi is going to be 'a major new tourist destination'. Based on projections to the year 2005, the island will certainly be undergoing rapid change and development in most if not all aspects of its social, economic, physical and environmental conditions.

With this in mind, it becomes crucial for the government and local authorities to anticipate and acknowledge the potentially negative impacts that could arise as a result of over-development. There are many examples around the world where this has happened. Thus a broad range of policies constituting fourteen different categories of protection (Appendix II) have been outlined in the Langkawi Structure Plan under the provisions of the Town and Country Planning Act, 1976. Its main aim is to provide development guidelines and a framework for conservation measures, to control and maintain the social and economic balance both for the people and the natural landscape.

It would be an ideal situation if the forthcoming development can be implemented in accordance with this

Structure Plan. However in reality, sometimes this is difficult due to many factors, such as financial constraint and political intervention. A senior officer at the District Council acknowledged this by saying that, "*We are not rigidly obliged to follow the Plan*". This fact has somehow been confirmed by a 'silent protest' from some transport operators who have said, "*They [the authority] said one thing and implement another*". Thus it is clear that there are some misunderstandings between the people and the administrators. This disagreement exists perhaps because the needs of the locals are not fully taken into consideration in the planning and implementation of Langkawi's development. The worrying conclusion, according to Bird (1989:55) after her discussions with the the local government officials, is that the locals will never have a real chance to interfere with whatever plans the authorities have for Langkawi. So it is just like 'Pouring water onto sand',¹⁶ because whatever complains or grumbles the locals produce will never be taken seriously; it is as if the plan has been fixed for Langkawi to become a major 'Tropical Island Resort'.

It is slowly being recognised that the locals have already lost control of the situation in Langkawi. They are in a dilemma and some in a confused state of mind. Since tourism development on the island has not yet reach its peak and a stage of saturation, it could be said, that it is not too late for the authorities to review the situation so that a balance can be struck between the needs of the local people and the natural environment and the growth of the tourist industry. Preferably, the locals should be given priority and get them involved in the planning and managing of tourism. First there must be the political will to do this.

¹⁶ This proverb means 'a useless effort'.

Only then can special training and guidance from appropriate agencies be at all effective. Only through this type of opportunity and partnership involvement, can a more harmonious relationship between the people, administrators, and tourist industry be achieved. This will not only bring benefits to the local economy, hopefully, the local social and cultural integrity can be better protected and built on.

In conclusion, there is no doubt that there are massive opportunities as well as some constraints; considerable agreements and some misunderstandings about the future development of the tourist industry in Langkawi. Who and How one perceives whether it is an advantage or otherwise, depends largely on the 'actors' and factors that have been discussed in this and other chapters.

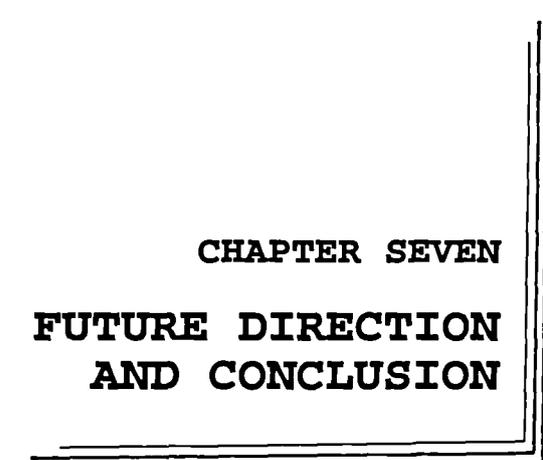
Nevertheless, one aspect that is critical in determining the success of the industry is that it should *not* be based solely on the number and types of facilities provided, and the number of tourist arrivals. Most importantly it should look into the amount of participation and involvement of the locals in managing and implementing it. If the noble aspiration is to improve the socio-economy of the locals then this will help to ensure that the development and conservation goals will be achieved, and mean that the tourist industry will in future be more sustainable. On the other hand, if the locals and their needs are neglected, then most likely the industry will not endure very long. This is because apart from other resources, local people with their traditional lifestyles and culture, provide 'colour' and interest to tourists. They are just like salt and pepper in a dish. If they are taken away from among the ingredients, the food will then be bland and tasteless. If this happens to any tourist destination, particularly to Langkawi Island, there is a high probability that the tourists will one day go elsewhere, despite the most

sophisticated and 'highest-starred' hotels provided on the island. Thus conservation and protection of these resources: traditional lifestyles, including their associated landscapes and culture, are crucial to ensuring a sustainable tourist industry.

At this point, having identified the opportunities and constraints, it is now the question of can the demands of tourist development and cultural landscapes be more sustainably reconciled? The answer is yes, they can and no doubt will do so on condition that the development is sensitive to the limitations and constraints of the cultural and natural resources of the area and are based on the virtue that these resources are the pride of the community. It is fundamentally unethical to rob the community of their rights and traditions for the purposes of development and modernisation. Ideally, it is legitimate to encourage the community to practice modernity, but at the same time not to leave out their traditions. In other words, the concept of 'give and take' must be adopted and practiced in any planned strategy.

The next chapter will highlight and propose some of the strategies in an effort towards conservation of cultural landscapes (traditions), which might be useful in developing a better living environment for the Langkawians and in generating a better source of income through tourism (modernity). It will also try to identify and determine the roles that can be played by various organisations, as being the active motivators in implementing the strategy.

CHAPTER SEVEN
FUTURE DIRECTION
AND CONCLUSION



CHAPTER SEVEN

FUTURE DIRECTION AND CONCLUSIONS

"... Responsibility for a sustainable environment does not [necessarily] rest exclusively with government and other institutions. Local communities have a strong motivation to protect and improve their local area....Enabling people to initiate, organise and undertake activities in their local area is an effective way of delivering public benefit."

(Countryside Commission, 1992:7)

7.1. Introduction

Stemming from this aspiration, it is thought necessary for the Langkawi Islands to have their development gradually switched from being fully imposed and initiated by government and other centralised agencies, to local or community-led types. This is important when examining the wave of development activity that is taking place, which is gradually slipping away from the hands of the locals. Also, as mentioned in the last chapter, tourism development in Langkawi has been too much under the control of outsiders. As such, a deep feeling of frustration, fear, anxiety and possibly indignation has been aroused in some of the local people. Although the situation is not yet threatening, it will be one day, if there are no alternative measures provided to overcome these emotional feelings. One way of doing this is through greater local involvement in tourism development. Local authorities should play an active role in stimulating and encouraging local participation and provide full support through advice and guidance. Whenever possible, grants should be made available to enable the community to carry out this type of participative activity.

The first part of this Chapter will provide possible practical approaches to deal with the conservation of rural cultural landscapes in relation to tourism development. The second part will identify and outline the roles that must be played by the major development agencies. The third part will try to provide an insight into how these approaches can be applied to the circumstances of the Langkawi Islands. Lastly, some suggestions for future research are included.

At present, although participation by locals is encouraged, most if not all of the projects and tourism-related activities are from the 'top down' and are not engaging, never mind being initiated by the local community. Many of these newly initiated projects and development activities are mainly in the form of providing accommodation and recreation facilities (eg. golf courses and water-related sports). Activities related to local culture and tradition are not at all projected and exposed for the tourists. As we know, Malaysia is rich in culture and tradition (as we have seen in Chapter Two) and Langkawi is no exception, this richness should be used to enhance and complement the existing activities. Furthermore we are aware that present-day tourists are very demanding and they look for more authentic elements to experience (as stated in Chapter Five). Hence activities showing the true lifestyle of the people would better serve this demand. They can really only be authentically promoted through active involvement and participation by the local residents.

For instance, the locals through the Village Development Committees or Youth Associations should be encouraged to organise and perform cultural performances such as music, dance, crafts and even the local tradition or games that are typical of the area. These performances however, have to be selective particularly concerning dances that use costumes that exposed parts of women's body. This kind of attire is

against the Islamic culture. Nevertheless other cultural performances do not seem to have restrictions. As long as they are being performed in good conduct and for the good cause, it is likely that the idea will be accepted by the community. In addition, traditional agricultural activities like planting padi, tapping rubber or catching fish should be organised by the community in such a way that these activities can be promoted for tourists to experience. If they are well planned, and with special arrangements between the community and the tourist agencies, they can serve as an important contribution to the tourist experience.

In this study, our main concern is to achieve a better living environment for the community, while sustaining the rural economy, where up to now tourism has been the main focus. The approach for achieving this is through reconciliation between the demands of tourism development and conservation of cultural landscapes; and the desire to improve the local economy and living standards and the need for continuing our cultural traditions. Focusing on these interests will encourage local initiatives and participation in striving to protect and enhance the cultural and natural resources. A healthy environment and thriving local economy can only be achieved where there is a noticeable balance between conservation and development.

In this context, we are bound to recommend a more controlled development pattern with increased community involvement in the decision-making process. All must make a much greater effort to mobilise local resources that directly benefit the local community in the name of sustainable development.

In the previous chapter, we have argued that all development and particularly tourism, should take into consideration the needs and aspirations of the local people; to bring wider participation through the experience of managing the

industry. We have tried to assemble evidence that tourism has caused five main problems:

- i) Uncontrolled development along coastal fringes with accompanying environmental degradation,
- ii) increasing loss of prime agricultural land,
- iii) the erosion of community tourist initiatives,
- iv) alienation from traditional forms of local activity, leading to the abandonment of farming and fishing, and as a result of all these the;
- v) continuing damage to the cultural landscape.

i) The Coastal Fringe.

The building of hotels, motels and chalets on the coast has resulted in unsightly structures and untreated effluent being discharged into the sea (as stated on page 192). This situation has been exacerbated by private beaches attached to the properties limiting access, rights of way and beach cleaning and maintenance by the local authority. Planning control of coastal zones must be strengthened and enforced to limit further encroachment and to ensure 'sustainability'.

From the evidence presented in Chapter Six, it would appear to be desirable that an integrated approach to conservation and development at the coastal fringe be made feasible through more effective coordination between government organisations and the private sector responsible for managing inshore waters and shoreline development. Most importantly, national policy on coastal management should recognise that the coastal zones are a natural ecological system with significant connections between the marine environment and the inland areas. Based on this, the management priority must be on the maintenance and where necessary the restoration of the essential character and functioning of each environment. The protection of the

significant natural values and restoration of degraded water quality must be agreed on and carried out without delay. This means that local planning and decision-making will require constraints on siting tourist facilities on or near the coast line, including higher standards and greater controls on the discharge of effluent. To enforce this, there must be agreement to a certain distance of setback from the water mark beyond which development can take place. Likewise, there should be stringent control or in some cases the prohibition of any disturbance to coastal vegetation such as mangroves and other wetland ecosystems.

ii) Agricultural practices.

Agriculture is important to the economy as the majority of rural households still depend on it for their income; 1.9 million jobs in 1988 compared to 1 million in manufacturing (Hadi, 1994:54). Despite its importance to Langkawi, large acreages of prime agricultural land have been turned over to tourism (as discussed on page 203 of Chapter Six).

In order to sustain the rural economy, the government should strictly control development and at the same time encourage farmers by cash incentives to reduce the number who sell out their land to developers. The National Agricultural Policy (NAP) of 1984 which is constantly under review should also look into the possibility to include sustainable environmental management. A system of monetary incentives for farmers to adopt conservation and better management measures, such as improving productivity of traditional agricultural practices must be endowed and carefully planned.

Educational programmes directed to local people through publications, exhibitions, talks and media (TV's and radios) are of necessity to inculcate the benefits of conservation. We need to protect the best and most versatile agricultural

land and its key resources as a basic principle of all development proposals.

iii) Community tourist initiatives.

Top-down, outsider dominated tourism is crushing local initiative (This issue has been mentioned on page 179). Ideally, a larger share of benefits from the investment should go to the local community. The local community must become the main actor in future developments. To do this they must be encouraged in every way to use their initiative and develop their business skills. The local entrepreneurial activity must be over the large-scale and transnational enterprises. This is to ensure local ownership and active participation in the industry. If possible, the local communities should be empowered to implement programmes initiated and also in decision-making process to determine their needs and get access to, and control of the resources necessary to protect their livelihood.

Meanwhile, the local authorities must continuously provide all the necessary assistance, guidance and services so the community's efforts are not slacking off and facing any obstacles which might affect its performance. Certain sets of service standards must be provided as a guideline. Continuous assessment on the community performance in providing services to tourists must be carried out. However, this must be done discreetly so that the individuals or groups of individual do not get offended and feel as if they are under surveillance.

iv) Traditional forms of activity.

Agriculture and fishing activities have been perceived as having a low status and demeaning value especially among the younger generations. This attitude is exacerbated with the increasing demand of employment in tourism (as indicated on page 189 and 191). Since these activities are important to

support the sustainability of the tourist industry, the people must be encouraged by all means, to continue with their traditional way of life. To do this, they must be given appropriate back-up by the Federal, State and local authorities. This is to ensure that their income and living standards are at least at par or even better than those involved in the modern activity such as tourism. Thus agricultural production and marketing strategies must be improved and strengthened so that the farmers' economic vitality is ensured. This is in line with the NEP (as discussed in Chapter Four).

An integrated approach in land use management policies must be established and enforced immediately so that farm abandonment and land idleness will be brought to a halt. A more healthy equilibrium between the two sectors of the economy (i.e agriculture and tourism) must be established among the rural communities, perhaps through agro-tourism. The feasibility of promoting this kind of tourism is based on the increasing trend of European tourists who travel to Malaysia for adventure and cultural activity, and for some of the Japanese who would like to experience the local life styles (see Chapter Five). Only with the realisation that a considerable amount of money can be made from the traditional forms of activity, will people be drawn back to the land.

v) Damaging cultural landscapes.

The need to encourage conservation of natural and cultural resources (discussed on page 202) is not only for the sake of tourists but for the general benefits of the local residents and their successors. This is to enable the continuation of their valued traditions in a more conducive environment. To achieve this ideal the protection of these resources must be promoted as a key management tool in the development process. The authorities whenever possible must

stress the importance of conserving them to the local communities and try to develop enthusiasm and a commitment to foster broader interest. 'Assertive conservation' effort must be emplaced at the early stage while the community is being exposed to the opportunity of generating wider awareness. This means that the local planning authorities must work hand-in-hand with the community leaders or elders who may see this approach as a means to retain their land, their culture and their heritage. Perhaps at the same time, some kinds of incentives in the forms of grant or award be offered to further encourage the effort.

Similarly, the preservation of the typical traditional architecture of the area must be and reinforced to ensure that its existence blends and in harmony with the surrounding environment as well as to maintain the image and identity of the place. There should be stringent control on aspects of building code. Only then our cultural identity will be ensured.

7.2. APPROACHES TO CONSERVATION OF RURAL CULTURAL LANDSCAPES AND TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

The emphasis on the conservation of the cultural elements of the landscape and its living evidence of the people/nature relationship cannot be ignored. It provides the local communities a means to maintain their way of life and values while gain economic benefits. However, to make attractive the natural and cultural values in a manner which should ensure the maintenance of their character, preserve their diversities and provide tourists with a distinctive sense of a place and satisfaction, comprehensive strategies are needed. This is important in order to achieve a practicable, sensible and logical planning and management of our rural landscapes.

From the evidence presented in previous chapters, and due to the unstable nature of the tourist industry and constantly changing physical character of cultural landscapes, a suitable approach in managing the two (cultural landscapes and tourism) is desirable for sustaining their growth. This is purely to safeguard our cultural values (past and present), while enhancing and integrating economic, social, ecological and aesthetic forces both for and through tourism. Several approaches have been outlined for the purpose. However, for any of these approaches to be possible, the planning authorities have to be interested in development and the potential of conservation. Likewise, they have to lead the role and provide the springboard for this positive action.

1 Fostering Awareness and Understanding on the Values of Cultural Landscapes.

Conservation of cultural landscapes will not be possible without understanding and recognising their intrinsic values and significance. It has been realised from the study that the issue of conservation is not fully understood by many people, it is thus very important that the community and local residents are made aware of these aspects in order to ensure that they fully understand the questions of *what, why* and *for whom* to practice conservation. To do this, politicians, professionals and people, who are directly and indirectly involved with such issues, must explain and publicise the importance of the effect of conservation measures to those communities. This can be done through structured study, talks, demonstration, extension services and using all kinds of media. Though perhaps the most effective way is a national propaganda campaign similar to that which has been carried out for drugs, smoking, aids, etc.

The process of modernisation has indirectly eroded some of the cultural values that have long been rooted in the older generations. Such trends, if they are not revised or instilled into the minds of our younger generations will be lost indefinitely. Understanding the values and the heritage will be useful in learning something for the future by remembering the past. Conservation issues are seen as an important way of bringing together traditional and modern needs to achieve this ideal (as emphasised in Chapter Three). The role of rural development agencies (as mentioned in Chapter Four) to promote and carry out conservation awareness and practices in collaboration with the local community should be explored.

Here, it would be helpful if rural development agencies (semi-government organisation) can organise field education activities such as village beautification projects using traditional or local materials. Social gatherings and meetings to gain cooperation of the people should be held on a regular basis to ensure continuous effort and to formalise conservation agreements with the farmers. Educating school children, as has been done in France, is another option, so that awareness as to the value of the surrounding landscape is instilled at an early age.

2 An understanding of and being 'Sensitive' to the Processes that are Causing Changes to Landscapes

The dynamism of landscapes demand recognition and understanding of their components and how they interact when they undergo change. In order to maintain and enhance the overall character of the landscape and its environment, a commitment to sustainable development becomes a primary concern. This will help to ensure that any distinguishing features or important sites are recognised and adopted, are

properly evaluated and protected. It is desirable that policies are carefully constructed and taken into account when making planning decisions, to emphasise the values and give weight to the cultural landscape character. Sensitivity is essential in maintaining and protecting the distinguished and diverse features of landscape.

Based on the experience of many developed countries, it is pertinent that evaluation be carried out by teams of locals and professionals to identify visual characteristics (such as aesthetics, landform, etc) with ecological and cultural associations. The objective is to understand land use patterns to serve as a guide for conserving and managing rural landscapes. Besides manpower, this effort requires site-specific information (eg. landuse and tree cover) to determine changes taking place.

3 The Conservation Process must not be Addressed in Isolation

For strategic planning and sustainable development to be effective, a comprehensive and integrated approach should be applied simultaneously. Common interests can be recognised and identified; potential conflicts can be resolved earlier on; and common strategies strengthened. The conservation process requires the bringing together of a broad spectrum of information (eg. archaeological, historical, landscape, wildlife habitats, etc) and professions in order to come up with a viable and effective management plan. This requires a multi-disciplinary approach and cooperation among various sectors.

For example, in carrying out a landscape inventory and site evaluation, a considerable range of written and mapped information on physiography, soils, geology, hydrology,

flora and fauna must be considered for map overlays; GIS (Geographical Information System) methods are essential. This approach, "*The layer-cake model*" as Professor Ian Mc Harg (the father of Regional Planning) named it, has been widely used particularly in the United States of America.

A simple and comprehensible language has to be developed so that the whole process is more easily understood, to reduce the communication gap between layman and professionals. The layman is our main target group, it is they who must be involved and really understand the concepts and practices of conservation work. Simple terminologies or local colloquial words should be used and not professional jargon. By this, not only make work easier but will make for better working relations within the teams.

4 Enhancing and Promoting Cultural Heritage through Participatory Tourism

Tourism, as we are aware, relies on quality and authenticity. Enhancing and promoting cultural landscapes with their complex features (habitats; settlements-buildings and landscape elements; and traditions) do offer new experiences for tourists and show us the richness and diversity of our environment. Our concern for the great variety of our landscapes would contribute towards local identity and quality of life for the indigenous population. To be a so called 'developed society' we need hundreds of local participants and groups up and down the country taking responsibility for their local area. This is what any other developed society does, so must we.

Whenever possible Strategic Local Plans (SLPs) have to be outlined to ensure successful implementation. Local Authorities representing their local community must

coordinate promotional activities and ensure that standards set are maintained.

The Malaysia Tourism Promotion Board (MTPB) has guidelines for the 'Homestay Programme' organised by a community or an individual family in liaison with a registered tourist agency. The programme offers tourists an opportunity to stay with a family to experience the local lifestyle. The safety and comfort of the guests must be assured, thus the host has to meet and maintain certain standards of cleanliness, hygiene and basic facilities.

5 Monitoring and Controlling Tourist Numbers and Distribution

In carrying out this task, it is important that the local planning authorities should understand the concept of 'carrying capacity' (discussed in Chapter Three), to avoid overcrowding and to control negative impacts due to saturation. The number of visitors to a destination will decline and the environment will gradually deteriorate if certain capacities are exceeded.

This trend can be seen clearly in many European resorts such as the Costa Brava in Spain, Miami Beach in California, and the Firth of Clyde in Western Scotland, where many tourist facilities have been turned into condominiums and retirement homes for local residents.

Monitoring and controlling tourist numbers to minimise negative environmental impact and degradation of the tourist experience are necessary. Sustainable, quality tourism can be encouraged through marketing for the "elite tourist". The present objective of the MTPB is for as many tourists as possible to stay for at least 5 days, to let the tourists

experience our culture through dance, music, arts and crafts, etc. The Ministry of Culture, Arts and Tourism as well as the States' Cultural Organisations must promote as much for us Malaysians as for the visitors.

6 Tourism Education at the Source

Tourism education is the key factor to develop a sense of commitment for the betterment of a destination. Local representatives of Ministries and government departments should play a leading role to educating the general public to develop a love and concern for our fragile environment. Educational activities and programmes should take place where the impact from insensitive human activities have or are likely to learn the conservation lesson.

Tour operators and travel agencies with the Malaysia Tourism Promotion Board offices overseas, should be educating potential tourists to the country. Tourists should be made aware of the nation's stand and aspirations for conservation and improving the environment. The industry and individual tourists could provide direct contributions (financially and otherwise) towards more effective conservation management. If we get this right, we will in the future only attract those visitors we want.

7 Opportunities to Collaborate and Strengthen Stewardship Commitment

National strategic planning for conservation and sustainable development is a long term investment, apart from financial requirements, political will and strong public support necessary for successful formulation and implementation of those policies. Most important of all, no development

proposal should be allowed to escape compulsory assessment *prior* to development implementation (as mentioned in Chapter Five). Local collaboration among experts, professionals, academics and communities should be encouraged to make realistic suggestions for cooperation between community groups through Local Study Centers. This would help instil and inspire public knowledge and ownership and strengthen the notion of environmental stewardship.

Our universities can play a major part in researching, defining, teaching and promoting the change of national and international know how. Our existing environment is one great laboratory that can provide the world and ourselves with a leading international role.

8 Local diversity

There are many features that contribute to the beauty and diversity of our rural areas, and provide a distinct local character (as stated in Chapter Three). Such features, for example field patterns, traditional houses with typical local architecture and associated landscapes, with other natural and man-made features present (such as water courses, rubber plantations and tin mines), provide distinctiveness and amenity. The study reveals that rapid modernisation in rural areas threatens these features. It is urgent that they be protected, restored and managed. Financial incentives from the relevant ministries, must be devised and promoted. In addition, 'best practise' guidelines for certain landscapes and environmental improvement areas must be designated, such as Conservation Areas (in settlements) and SSSIs (Sites of Special Scientific Interest). However, special budget allocations have to be set aside by the Federal Government to serve as capital payments or grants to those participating in the

programme.

This kind of scheme is widely adopted and practiced by farmers and estate owners in Britain with full cooperation with English Nature and English Heritage. It is being supported by the Department of the Environment and the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food (MAFF). Here the farmers have to sign an agreement with the Countryside Commission to undertake landscape and habitat management and to restore characteristic features of the area. As a result, incentive payments are made annually based on the type of work that has been agreed upon. A similar scheme to maintain and improve the landscape and wildlife conservation value of a farmer's land has been practised in the North York Moors National Park.

Although the incentive programme or scheme is a long term effort and demands great commitment on the part of government as well as the communities, at least it would help to secure environmental and cultural values, and at the same time help to reverse their decline for the benefit of present and future generations.

7.3. KEY CONTRIBUTORS AND THEIR ROLES

Creating a beautiful and well managed environment requires the adoption of suitable approaches and an integrated strategy of our planning and conservation policies. It is most important that the policies are strongly laid down by the ministries and strictly enforced by related agencies in their development decisions. Conservation should take precedence and be of paramount importance in planning, especially for tourism development. Sometimes political interference may dominate, but this does not mean that there should be sacrifices in areas leading to inappropriate or

insensitive development. It is here that the discretion and fair judgement by the ministries and government agencies are crucial. The eight approaches outlined above should form the basis framework moulding partnership between development and conservation. Provision should always be made to balance the two; to protect resources of significant value and to ensure environmentally sustainable development.

Based on the study on Langkawi, it would appear to be desirable for the authorities to make sure that local communities provide full support and have confidence in their success. To achieve this, their needs and interests have to be taken into account and respected. Most importantly, is to understand the community's problems and situation before any drastic action is taken. The main approach is to get them involved in every stage of the development process, right from the beginning. This will enable a more positive response and a longer involvement by the community.

The authorities should also give emphasis to the importance of national identity, particularly in tourism development. Restoration and management of vernacular architecture should be encouraged and maintained to sustain the character of an area. This is achievable through incentive schemes allocated, for example by the Ministry of Housing and Local Government. Meanwhile, the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Land and Regional Development should devise and offer similar schemes to rehabilitate neglected areas once under cultivation (as pointed out in Chapter Four), and restore and manage old field systems, along with other significant landscape features. This is not only to sustain their character and identity but helps to facilitate interpretation of past cultural landscapes and traditions, which is important for the tourist industry. The aim is; knowing the past makes us aware of the present, and allows

us to plan for the future. That is the essence of conservation.

Undoubtly, the ministries and government agencies concerned must effectively work hand-in-hand in performing their tasks rather than trying to overpower or compete with one another. Eliminating conflicts and reducing complications and bureaucracies will help to speed up work even faster. It cannot be denied that there are various levels of difficulties exist here: the policy-makers, the planners, and the administrators. However, a good working relation and cooperation among the various quarters, these could be overcome. Only then, will conservation and development be more realistically in tune with each other.

The role of the private sector in complementing government's efforts in conservation and tourism development is vitally important. Investments from private enterprises in projects related to conservation must be encouraged, as with tourism development (as mentioned in Chapter Five). Although private business will look for projects that give high returns, with attractive investment incentives like tax holidays, they can be enticed to move towards conservation work. They can act as financial brokers, working with the local community in enhancing and managing a designated area.

Apart from being another source of funds, larger companies in this sector, once the questions have been identified and the answer can be met within the resources of a particular company, can help in giving advice and training on conservation and sustainable use of resources to interested parties, in line with the government policies. In addition, the development of tourist-related facilities carried out by this sector should be environmentally sensitive to local conditions rather than solely for profit-making, as well as avoiding creating conflicting demands on the environment.

It is important that local organisations have good interaction and understanding before any development activities are carried out. To achieve this they have to establish and build a sincere partnership through discussions, meetings and working together to foster good relationships. Local organisations involvement in the planning and decision-making process is critical for they are the key informants, who know the potential and constraints of their surrounding environment. Development without a sense of harmony with the natural environment and the local residents and their traditions tend to be disastrous; the locals either move away or may boycott the development. A more aggressive community can create more trouble and inconvenience instead of cooperation.

One classic example happened when Berawan natives of Mulu National Park in Sarawak had threatened to use shotguns against government land surveyors and they even tried to stop tourists from getting to the Park from Mulu Airport. It seemed that the natives were not happy with the compensation paid out to them after the government acquired their land for the tourist industry. In addition, they claimed that logging activities had deprived them of food and medicines from the forest, while their fish sources were depleted due to pollution of rivers and streams (New Straits Times, June 1993). This incident proves that any development by the authorities should be thoroughly planned and carried out with proper consultation with the locals.

The local authority, who may carry out conservation and development policies, should as much as possible, try to promote the interests of local organisations, such as the *Jawatankuasa Kemajuan Kampung* (JKKK) or Village Development Committees, Youth Associations, KEMAS or Community Development Associations, etc. However, a good working and social relationship have to be developed in order to come to

a mutual understanding. With better interaction among the various organisations, it should be easier to generate a conservation-conscious culture and a sense of pride and belonging within a community. This is important for active local participation and thus a solution for wider support in environmental responsibility.

7.4. LANGKAWI ISLANDS: DEVELOPMENT APPROACHES

The field survey showed that a large majority (82%) of the local residents or the villagers preferred their islands to be 'developed' but not to be 'urbanised'. The rural character should be retained, with basic facilities and infrastructures provided for accessibility. Unfortunately, their awareness toward the values of agricultural/cultural landscape are very low despite their dependency on those resources. The low productivity levels and incomes are the main factors for such an attitude. With tourism just at the 'door step', it is much more convenient to 'jump' into it without thinking deeply of the repercussions. Hence, large acreages of prime agricultural land have been sold to developers or have been neglected. Some who are business-minded and who have no self-conscience at all, have turned their land into tourist facilities. This would not have happened if they had had a better awareness and understanding of the importance of their heritage. It is here that the concept of conservation has to be instilled into their minds. This can be achieved through public talks and forums with the community on the importance of conserving the character and qualities of the landscape. Advisory services, such as have been established in France and the UK through the partnership approach and working with the local people in promoting local identity can be adopted. Similar approaches can also be found in Sweden in the preservation of dry grasslands.

The local authorities with the help of professionals and concerned organisation have a role to play in giving awareness and providing guidance to the community. In Langkawi in particular and Malaysia in general, we do not have organisations like the Countryside Commission or the Nature Conservatory Council (English Nature) as in England, to carry out these tasks. However, we have Environmentalists under the Department of Environment and Extension Services under the Department of Agriculture that can serve a similar purpose. It is important they promote the concept of achieving conservation and tourism benefits, for example through farming or Agro-tourism.

Although it is not as easy as it sounds, setting up farm or agrotourism projects involves contributions and support from a variety of sources. Apart from financial assistance, the farming families or communities will require basic training, counselling as well as marketing services from relevant agencies to enable successful implementation of the enterprise. For example in Norway, on average 45%-78% financing is required to run 'farm tourism' (Derno, 1983:164). Thus subsidies from local/regional development funds, as well as loans from financial institutions must be made available. Here, there is an advantage for us to exchange ideas at the international level and learn from the experience of many European countries like Spain, Norway, Austria and Germany.

Needless to say, a strategy to avoid irreversible negative impacts on the environment and degradation of tourists' experience have to be formulated. Tourist numbers, at one particular time of a tourist attraction area, have to be controlled and monitored so that they do not go beyond the capacity limit. This has to be dealt with discreetly, possibly through a quota system or a guided tour. In places where there are trails and footpaths provided, for example

at Tasek Dayang Bunting (Lake of the Pregnant Maiden) and the waterfalls at Telaga Tujuh and Durian Perangin, tourists have to be advised to keep to the trails and footpaths with the help of a sign system, so as not to damage the natural vegetation of the area.

Similar control has to be imposed for farming and agro-tourism activities. Since tourists have to pay to participate, it is all the more important that they get full benefit from the experience without feeling overcrowded. Furthermore, smaller numbers are easier to handle and take care of. In this way, conservation and management of tourism can be more successfully integrated.

7.4.1 Education and Information

Management of our cultural and environmental resources is essential and it generally starts with education. It is critical that the local community and those that service the tourists' needs are made fully aware of the environmental issues, *before* effective conservation efforts are carried out. The Langkawi District Council (MDL) and the Langkawi Development Authority (LDA) can play a leading role in pursuing this task. The Langkawians in general are a simple people but very receptive to new ideas, as long as they fully understand the significance of the effort and it does not conflict with their interests. The Langkawi Declaration was one example of an 'eye-opener' on environmental issues for them. Undoubtedly, not many locals yet fully understand it.

So the feasibility for the authorities i.e the MDL and the LDA, in cooperation with other agencies like the Department of Environment and the Department of Agriculture to create this awareness and understanding of the issues should be

explored. This can be done by working with the community through activities such as training courses to provide environmental skills, publication of a newsletter to increase the flow of information, and promotional events or displays and exhibitions to alert the public. Ideally, guided walks with community leaders should be organised to gather ideas and create environmental awareness.

Wherever possible, there is an urgent need for training and briefing particularly to tour operators, who bring in masses of tourists to the islands. They are the ones who should be very sensitive to the local situation and it is their responsibility to look after the tourists best interests. Tourists should be given advance information through brochures and pamphlets prepared by the Ministry of Culture, Arts and Tourism. Seminars and workshops (accompanied by written materials) should be organised and conducted by the Malaysia Tourism Promotion Board (locally and overseas) for tour operators.

Tourists who come to Langkawi on their own should be directed to the Tourist Information Centre (presently located at Kuah Town) for briefing and information packs. Ideally, centres should be located at all entry points ie. one at the airport and another at the jetty point. Owners of accommodation also have to distribute handbooks.

In order to secure the long term well-being of the rural fabrics (natural and built environment) of Langkawi, the government, through the local planning authorities has to provide incentives to initiate interest. At present only preservation and conservation of historic monuments, such as the Tomb of Mahsuri and her former residence have been established. Other monuments such as the Al-Hana Mosque, Ancient Tomb and Telaga Air Hangat (Hotspring) are left unattended, despite heavy visitor numbers. Conservation

management is urgently required to avoid potential destruction and tourism should pay for it.

Traditional villages of Langkawi with picturesque groups of wooden dwellings and associated landscapes, deserve conservation initiatives and management attention to sustain their qualities and character. The authorities must provide financial incentives through annual payments or enable villages to earn an extra income to help them to carry out conservation and interpretation. The tendency to transform or replace their wooden houses with 'concrete blocks' as a sign of modernity and wealth, does not conform to the harmony of the surrounding areas and will attract no one. Vernacular architecture has to be part and parcel of ecotourism. With incentives and guidance the charm of the villages could be retained and appreciated by its people and tourists alike.

To make this a reality, the initiative must come from the national level with legislation to empower the local authority to execute and implement a management plan. In most developed countries like the UK, USA, and other European countries, the concept of 'listed buildings' and 'conservation designated areas' has been exercised to ensure the protection and preservation of architectural features and landscapes.

Another approach adopted in the UK is through reduction of estate duties and charges on properties identified for protection. Similarly, relief on land tax in New Zealand, applies to the protection of wetlands and indigenous forest remnants.

Based on legal measures and administrative strategies, the feasibility for adopting such approaches for the protection and preservation of cultural landscapes and vernacular

architecture of Langkawi should be explored. Once designated and gazetted as a conservation area, automatically all the natural and man-made elements will have to comply to the management guidelines spelled out in the policy. Only through such authoritative control will the protection of our valuable assets is assured for future generations to enjoy.

CONCLUSIONS

The principles of conservation in Malaysia, and many other countries, have helped preserve some religious buildings, monuments, and create some forest reserves and parks. Little if any attention has been given to protect landscape, particularly our cultural landscape, both natural and agricultural. This attitude has been magnified by the ambiguous claim that agriculture is no longer lucrative. However, agricultural products like rubber, palm oil, pepper and cocoa, still have a market. From the evidence presented, agriculture still plays a very important role in Malaysia's economy. Sad to say, cultural values are of little significance compared to the monetary values gained from development. Protection of our landscape in Malaysia is perceived as an obstacle to modernisation. Another is that there is no limit to the usage of key environmental resources (land, vegetation, water, environment, etc); resulting in little concern or understanding for the management needed to ensure their sustainability.

Tourism on the other hand, is strangely perceived as in keeping with our obsession for modernity and development: the star-rated, sanitised hotels with their clean and comfortable environments, and less back-breaking jobs, totally destroy Malaysian ways of life and the natural values of rural people. The conflict between modern economic activities and maintaining the more traditional environmental patterns of agriculture, farming and fishing has caused a great dilemma for planners and decision-makers in setting out sustainable strategies and development policies.

In summary then the main causes of conflict in Malaysia are associated with:

- Awareness of significance to the people and their relationship to nature.
- Awareness of cultural identity and traditional continuity, as a source of social survival and stability.
- Weakness of legislation in integrating conservation issues into progressive development policies.
- Eagerness of certain groups in grasping for greater profits from the tourist trade, causing our landscape to be irretrievably scarred and forever sacrificed.
- Inadequacy of information systems to secure effective monitoring and management of the environment.
- Necessity to establish environmental priorities that meet the needs of local authorities, host communities and tourist operators.

These conflicts will continue to persist and haunt us if there is no integrated planning system. With the Langkawi Islands in mind, all the above signs are clearly visible, and need urgent attention.

In the early part of this Chapter, general approaches have been outlined to assist the local authorities in fostering better understanding and action about conservation and tourism. It is imperative that steps are taken immediately to call all the parties together, raise the issues and formulate a remedial plan for action.

Rural communities must be encouraged to diversify their income; we have found this an important notion. These steps are being taken in many other countries where similar problems occur. The issue of diversification is crucial where uncertainty and instability are anticipated, as in

tourism. There is always a danger when a community depends too much on one source of income. The best and more difficult strategy is to have a balance between modern (tourism) and traditional (agriculture); so called agro-based tourism. This will introduce a more healthy rural economy, while preserving an attractive rural environment.

The conservation of our cultural landscape is the bottom line in moving towards this vision. Agricultural practices, local traditions and lifestyles, natural vegetation, field patterns and a sense of place should be enhanced by maintaining some measure of local diversity and distinctiveness. All these should be part and parcel of social and economic activity of the rural communities. This is particularly vital in areas where resources have been threatened by potentially environmentally damaging development projects.

The full participation and support of the local residents is strongly necessary to ensure any measure of success. Certainly, their interests and needs have to be taken into consideration, that would ensure these urgent tasks with confidence, effectiveness and a mutual understanding between the people, the authorities, and the tourist industry before it is too late.

Cultural landscapes provide opportunities for education and promotion of better understanding and respect for cultural and natural values for our children. The great diversity and variety of cultural and natural elements present in Malaysia, serve as a valuable laboratory for researchers and academics. The significance of our cultural landscapes accounting for the largely harmonious interaction between economic livelihoods and cultural identities must not be swept away through ignorance and neglect.

Thus conservation of our important resources needs to be taken very seriously, both locally, nationally and internationally. Powerful legislation and an effective planning system should be in the forefront of our development vocabulary. The aim is to achieve a much better balance between the requirements of tourists, the revenue they bring and the benefits to our rural economies.

Future research

Areas and topics for research in the near future should be as follows:

■ *Tourist carrying capacity*

This study has identified that a certain capacity limit has to be established and enforced in managing an area, to reduce the irreversible impact on the environment. Research is needed to explore the best approach in determining these limits for different sets of environment: rural, urban, coastal, etc. Factors influencing the capacity and ways of implementing them should be urgently looked into.

■ *The role of community participation*

This study has touched on the great importance of community involvement in managing the environment, while gaining economic benefits from tourism. A detailed study is needed to analyse the cost-benefits to the impact on the community and the environment, in order to develop an appropriate model for guidance and use during a trial period.

■ *The role of Cultural Centre*

This study has pointed out the need to establish an International Centre for Cultural and Environmental

Studies in order to bring together experts, researchers and the general public for effective cooperation and mutual education towards conservation and sustainable development activities. An initial feasibility study is necessary on ways to implement and manage this proposal, to ensure continuity in our cause and that adequate funding will be forthcoming.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

THE LANGKAWI DECLARATION ON THE ENVIRONMENT

We, the Heads of the Commonwealth, representing a quarter of the world's population and a broad cross section of global interests, are deeply concerned at the serious deterioration in the environment and the threat this poses to the well-being of present and future generations. Any delay in taking action to halt this progressive deterioration will result in a permanent and irreversible damage.

The current threat to the environment, which is a common concern of all mankind, stems essentially from past neglect in managing the natural environment and resources. The environment has been degraded by decades of industrial and other forms of population, including unsafe disposal of toxic waste, the burning of fossil fuels, nuclear testing and non-sustainable practices in agriculture, fishery and forestry.

The main environmental problem facing the world are the "green-house effect" (which may lead to severe climatic changes that could induce floods, droughts and rising sea levels), the depletion of the ozone layer, acid rain, marine pollution, land degradation and the extinction of numerous animals and plant species. Some developing countries also face distinct environmental problems arising from poverty and population pressure. In addition, some islands and low-lying areas of other countries, are threatened by the prospect of rising sea level.

Many environmental problems transcend national boundaries and interests, necessitating a co-ordinated global effort. This is particularly true in areas outside national jurisdiction, and where there is transboundary pollution on land and in the oceans, atmosphere and outer space.

The need to protect the environment should be viewed in a balance perspective and due emphasis be accorded to promoting economic growth and sustainable development, including eradication of poverty, meeting basic needs and enhancing the quality of life. The responsibility for ensuring a better environment should be equitably shared and the ability of developing countries to respond be taken into account.

To achieve sustainable development, economic growth is a compelling necessity. Sustainable development implies the incorporation of environmental concerns into economic planning policies. Environmental concerns should not be used to introduce a new form of conditionality in aid and development financing, nor as a pretext for creating unjustified barriers to trade.

The success of global and national environmental programmes requires mutually reinforcing strategies and participation and commitment of all levels of society --- Government, individuals and organisations, industry and the scientific community.

Recognising that our shared environment binds all countries to a common future, we, the Heads of Government of the Commonwealth, resolve to act collectively and individually, commit ourselves to the following programme of action:

- **ADVANCE** policies and programmes which help achieve sustainable development, including the development of new and better techniques in integrating the environmental dimension in economic decision making;
- **STRENGTHEN** and support the development of international funding mechanisms and appropriate decision-making procedures to respond

to environmental protection needs which will include assisting developing countries to obtain access and transfer of needed environmental technologies and which should take account of proposal for an international environment fund/Planet Protection Fund;

- **SUPPORT** the work of UNEP/WHO inter-governmental panel on climatic change (IPCC);
- **CALL** for the early conclusion of an international convention to protect and conserve the global climate and, in this context, applaud the efforts of member Governments to advance the negotiation of a framework convention under the UN auspices;
- **SUPPORT** the findings and recommendations of the Commonwealth Expert Group's Report on Climatic Change as a basis for achievable action to develop strategies for adapting to climate change and for reducing greenhouse gas emissions, as well as making an important contribution to the work of the IPCC;
- **SUPPORT** measures to improve energy conservation and energy efficiency;
- **PROMOTE** the reduction and eventual phaseout of substances depleting the ozone layer;
- **PROMOTE** afforestation and agricultural practices in developed and developing countries to arrest the increase in atmospheric carbon dioxide and halt the deterioration of land and water resources;
- **STRENGTHEN** efforts by developing countries in sustainable forest management and their manufacture and export of higher value-added forest products and in this regard, support the activities of the International Tropical Timber Organisation and the Food and Agricultural Organisation's Tropical Forestry action Plan, as well as take note of the 13th Commonwealth Forestry Conference;
- **SUPPORT** activities related to the conservation of biological diversity and genetic resources, including the conservation of significant areas of virgin forest and other protected natural habitats;
- **SUPPORT** low-lying and island countries in their efforts to protect themselves and their vulnerable natural marine ecosystems from the effects of sea-level rise;
- **DISCOURAGE** and restrict non-sustainable fishing practices and seek to ban tangle net and pelagic drift net fishing;
- **SUPPORT** efforts to prevent marine pollution including curbing of dumping of toxic wastes;
- **STRENGTHEN** international action to ensure the safe management and disposal of hazardous wastes and to reduce transboundary movements, particularly to prevent dumping in developing countries;
- **PARTICIPATE** in relevant international agreements relating to the environment and promote new and innovative instruments which will attract widespread support for protecting the global environment; and
- **STRENGTHEN** national, regional and international institutions responsible for environmental protection as well as the promotion of active programmes on environmental education to heighten public awareness and support.

We, the Heads of Government of the Commonwealth, resolve to take immediate and positive actions on the basis of the above programmes. In this regard, we pledge our full support for the convening of the 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development.

We call on the international community to join us in the endeavour.

**Heads of Government of the Commonwealth, Langkawi, Malaysia,
21st October 1989.**

APPENDIX II

LIST OF CATEGORIES OF POLICIES

1. SOCIO-ECONOMIC BASE.
2. LANDUSE AND DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES.
3. HOUSING.
4. AGRICULTURE, FISHERY AND FORESTRY.
5. COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY.
6. COMMUNITY FACILITIES.
7. PUBLIC UTILITIES.
8. TRANSPORTATION.
9. ENVIRONMENT.
10. LANDSCAPE AND CONSERVATION.
11. BUMIPUTERA PARTICIPATION.
12. SETTLEMENTS DEVELOPMENT.
13. MANAGEMENT AND IMPLEMENTATION.
14. TOURISM
 - 1 The rate of construction of accommodation facilities shall be regulated so as to achieve a proper balance in terms of the type and class of accommodation.
 - 2 Development of accommodation facilities for tourism such as hotels, chalets and other types are encouraged in areas which have been identified for tourism development, and in the major settlement areas.
 - 3 Tourism development shall be encouraged on the other islands with tourism potential.
 - 4 Development of chalets shall be undertaken in a planned and systematic manner.
 - 5 The beach areas shall be planned for the use of the general public.
 - 6 More tourist attractions shall be identified, developed and provided with related facilities.
 - 7 The Gunung Raya peak shall be developed into a hill resort.

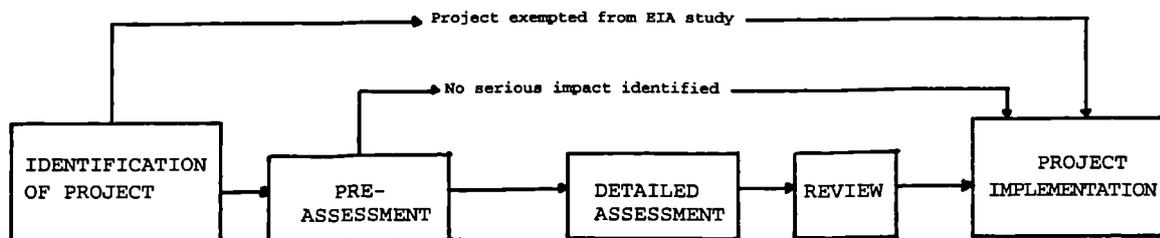
- 8 Protective and recreation forest reserves shall be developed for purposes of tourism and recreation.
- 9 Paddy areas shall be preserved as an attractive landscape and tourist attraction.
- 10 Existing tourism recreational activities resources shall be improved and new recreational facilities shall be identified and developed.
- 11 More golf courses should be developed in Langkawi.
- 12 Marina facilities shall be built to cater for boats and yachts in Langkawi.
- 13 Urban centres and areas for tourism development shall be provided with adequate public facilities and services for the use and convenience of tourists.
- 14 An international shopping bazaar complex shall be built in Kuah.
- 15 Handicraft centre shall need to be set up, in order to facilitate and improve the production of local handicraft works.
- 16 Hectometric means of transportation shall be introduced within several tourism development areas.
- 17 The Langkawi District Council (MDL) shall ensure the adequate provision of car parking facilities at all tourist attraction sites.
- 18 Promotional activities shall be carried out in a concerted manner, based on the theme of Langkawi's uniqueness and outstanding natural beauty.

APPENDIX III

ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT ASSESSMENT PROCEDURE IN MALAYSIA

The environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) procedure is as shown in figure below. It consists of:

1. Pre-assessment of prescribed activities.
2. Detailed assessment of all prescribed activities which pose serious environmental impact as predicted in the Pre-assessment.
3. The Pre-assessment and Detailed assessment reports are submitted to the Department of Environment (DOE) for approval before implementation of projects.

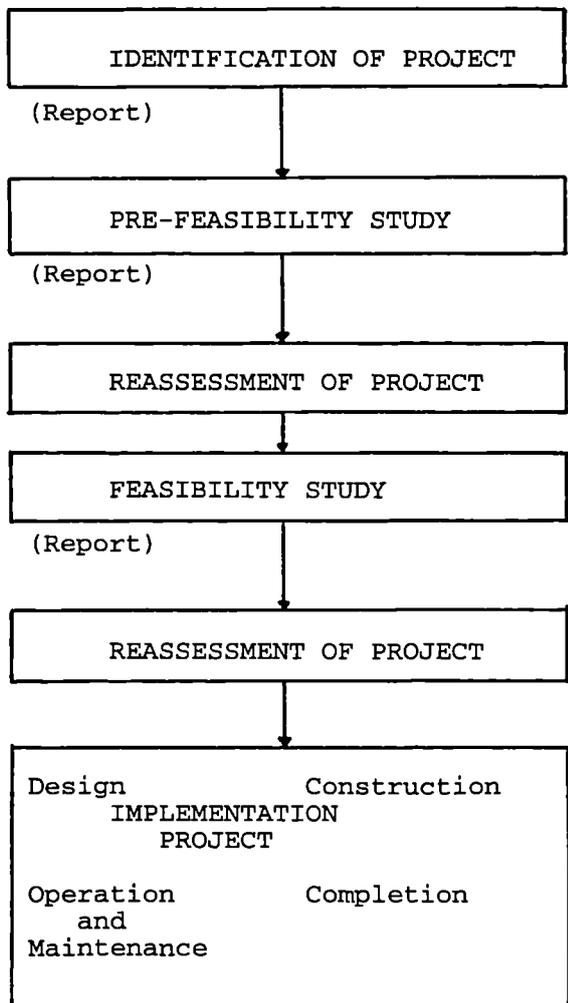


INTEGRATED PROJECT PLANNING CONCEPT

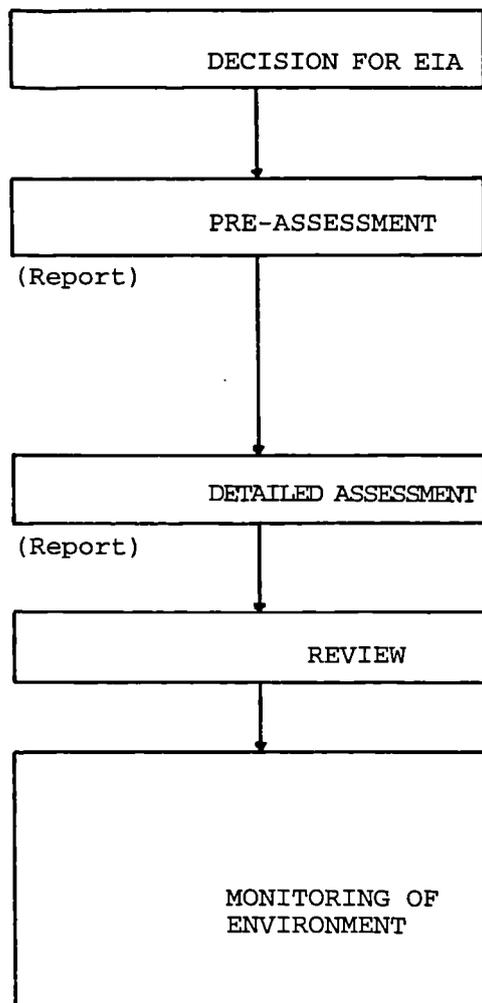
In Malaysia, the EIA procedure is integrated within the existing project planning mechanism through the Integrated Project Planning Concept.

1. At the project identification stage, the requirement for EIA study is also determined.
2. If the project needs a Pre-Assessment, it is carried out simultaneously with the Pre-feasibility study for the project.
3. Similarly, if a Detailed Assessment is required, it is carried out simultaneously with the Pre-feasibility study of the project.
4. The Pre-Assessment and Detailed Assessment Reports are reviewed simultaneously with the Pre-feasibility and Feasibility Study before the final decision is made on the project.
5. Monitoring of the environment is carried out during implementation of project.

TECHNICAL AND ECONOMICAL
PROJECT PLANNING



ENVIRONMENTAL PROJECT PLANNING



Source: Langkawi District Council, 1992.

APPENDIX IV

MAKLUMAN: Survei ini dijalankan sebagai sebahagian daripada penyelidikan Lepas Ijazah oleh Noorizan bt. Mohamed, mengenai tajuk " Conservation of Cultural Landscapes in Malaysia" di University of York, England.

BORANG SOALSELIDIK

Arahan : Sila tandakan [✓] di dalam kotak yang berkenaan serta isikan di ruangan yang disediakan bagi soalan-soalan berikut.

BAHAGIAN I : Latarbelakang

- (1) Jantina
- | | |
|--------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Lelaki | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. Perempuan | <input type="checkbox"/> |
- (2) Umur (tahun)
- | | | | |
|----------------|--------------------------|------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Melebihi 55 | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3. 30 - 39 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. 40 - 55 | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4. 17 - 29 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
- (3) Bangsa
- | | | | |
|-----------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Melayu | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3. India | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. Cina | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4. Lain-lain (Nyatakan): | <input type="checkbox"/> |
- _____
- (4) Pekerjaan (Sila nyatakan): _____
- (5) Dalam sektor manakah pekerjaan ini dikategorikan?
- | | | | |
|--------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Pertanian | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3. Pelancungan | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. Awam | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4. Lain-lain (nyatakan): | <input type="checkbox"/> |
- _____
- (6) Peringkat pengajian tertinggi
- | | | | |
|-----------------|--------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Universiti | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3. Sekolah menengah | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. Kolej/Maktab | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4. Sekolah rendah | <input type="checkbox"/> |
- (7) Pendapatan kasar bulanan
- | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Melebihi \$1,000.00 | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3. \$350.00 - \$700.00 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. \$701.00 - \$1,000.00 | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4. Kurang dpd. \$350.00 | <input type="checkbox"/> |

(8) Sudah berapa tahun anda tinggal di pulau ini?

- | | | | |
|------------------|--------------------------|-----------|--------------------------|
| 1. Lebih dpd. 20 | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3. 6 - 10 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. 11 - 20 | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4. 1 - 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> |

(9) Di manakah anda tinggal sekarang ini? (Nyatakan tempat)

Nama tempat : _____

(10) Adakah anda ahli dalam mana-mana organisasi tempatan?

1. Tidak
2. Ya (Sila nyatakan): (i) _____
(ii) _____

BAHAGIAN II : Sikap dan Persepsi/Pandangan

(11) Apa pendapat anda tentang pembangunan industri pelancungan di pulau ini?

- | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Terlalu membangun | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4. Tidak sesuai | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. Kurang membangun | <input type="checkbox"/> | 5. Tidak pasti | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. Berpadanan dan sesuai | <input type="checkbox"/> | | |

(12) Apa pendapat anda tentang bilangan pelancang/pelawat yang datang ke pulau ini?

- | | | | |
|------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Terlalu ramai | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4. Sedikit | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. Ramai | <input type="checkbox"/> | 5. Terlalu sedikit | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. Sederhana | <input type="checkbox"/> | | |

(13) Mengikut pandangan anda, berapa ramaikah bilangan pelancang/pelawat yang patut datang kemari?

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Melebihi bilangan sekarang | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. Seramai bilangan sekarang | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. Kurang dari bilangan sekarang | <input type="checkbox"/> |

(14) Adakah anda sedar tentang perubahan yang berlaku di persekitaran kawasan tempatan?

1. Ya

3. Tidak

2. Tidak pasti

(15) Apa perasaan anda mengenai perubahan tersebut?

1. Paling suka

4. Tidak suka

2. Suka

5. Paling tidak suka

3. Suka pun tidak, tak suka pun tidak

(16) Adakah anda berpuashati dengan persekitaran pulau ini pada masa sekarang?

1. Sangat berpuashati

4. Tidak puashati

2. Berpuashati

5. Sangat tidak puashati

3. Berpuashati pun tidak, puashati pun tidak

(17) Dari jawapan kepada soalan 16, mengapa anda berkata demikian? (Sila beri alasan)

Alasan: 1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

(18) Adakah anda berpuashati dengan keadaan landskap di pulau ini sekarang?

1. Sangat berpuashati

4. Tidak puashati

2. Berpuashati

5. Sangat tidak puashati

3. Berpuashati pun tidak, tidak puashati pun tidak

(19) Pada pandangan anda, adakah pulau ini menarik?

1. Sangat menarik

4. Tidak menarik

2. Menarik

5. Sangat tidak menarik

3. Menarik pun tidak, tidak menarik pun tidak

(20) Bila anda gambarkan pulau ini dan keadaan sekelilingnya, adakah terdapat suatu unsur yang benar-benar menarik?

1. Bangunan
2. Unsur air
3. Hutan/Tumbuh-tumbuhan
4. Kawasan pertanian
5. Lain-lain: _____

(21) Adakah terdapat suatu unsur yang benar-benar tidak menarik?

1. Bangunan
2. Unsur air
3. Hutan/Tumbuh-tumbuhan
4. Kawasan pertanian
5. Lain-lain: _____

(22) Persekitaran yang macamanakah anda ingin ujudkan atau kekalkan di pulau ini?

1. Asli / Semulajadi
2. Pertanian / Luarbandar
3. Perindustrian
4. Bandar

(23) Dengan mengambilkira segala-gala yang terdapat disini, apakah pandangan anda tentang kehidupan di pulau ini?

1. Sangat memuaskan
2. Memuaskan
3. Memuaskan pun tidak, tidak memuaskan pun tidak
4. Tidak memuaskan
5. Sangat tidak memuaskan

TERIMA KASIH DI ATAS KERJASAMA ANDA

(13) In your opinion, how many is the right number?

1. More than the present
2. The same number as the present
3. Less than the present

(14) Are you aware of the existence of the changes taking place in the surrounding areas?

1. Very aware
2. Not sure
3. Not aware

(15) What do you think about it?

1. Like very much
2. Like
3. Don't care
4. Dislike
5. Dislike very much

(16) How satisfied are you with the present island environment?

1. Very satisfied
2. Satisfied
3. Don't care
4. Dissatisfied
5. Very dissatisfied

(17) Why do you say that?

- Reason: 1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

(18) How satisfied are you with the existing landscape of the island?

1. Very satisfied
2. Satisfied
3. Don't care
4. Dissatisfied
5. Very dissatisfied

(19) How attractive do you feel this island is?

1. Very attractive
2. Attractive
3. Fairly attractive
4. Unattractive
5. Very unattractive

(20) When you think about how this island and its surroundings , are there any particular features that look especially attractive?

1. Buildings
2. Water bodies
3. Forest/Plants
4. Agricultural areas
5. Others: _____

(21) Are there any specific features that you think especially ugly or unattractive?

1. Buildings
2. Water bodies
3. Forest/Plants
4. Agricultural areas
5. Others: _____

(22) What type of environment would you like to have or maintain on the island?

1. Natural
2. Agricultural/*Rural*
3. Industrial
4. Urban

(23) Taking everything into consideration, how do you presently feel about living on this island?

1. Very satisfied
2. Satisfied
3. Don't know
4. Not satisfied
5. Very unsatisfied

THANK YOU

APPENDIX V

Background information of respondents of the survey.

Respondents'	Number	Percentage
Sex: Male	104	69
Female	46	31
Age: more than 55	20	13
40-55	44	29
30-39	37	25
17-29	49	33
Race: Malay	146	97
Chinese	3	2
Indian	1	1
Job: Agriculture	31	21
Public	19	12
Tourism	43	29
Others	57	38
Education: Univ.	9	6
College	5	3
Secondary	52	35
Primary	84	56
Length: more 20yr	105	70
of 11-20	12	8
Stay 6-10	4	3
1-5	29	19
Income: more \$1000	30	20
\$701-\$1000	13	9
\$350-\$700	55	37
less \$350	52	34

Survey results

Attitudes and Perceptions

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Development of tourism: Too developed	49	32.7
Less developed	80	53.3
Appropriate	13	8.7
Not appropriate	5	3.3
Not sure	3	2.0
Tourist number: Too many	30	20.0
Many	79	52.7
Moderate	38	25.7
Few	2	1.3
Too few	1	0.7
Tourist arrivals: > present	96	64.0
= present	38	25.3
< present	16	10.7
Existence of development: Very aware	136	90.7
Not sure	13	8.7
Not aware	1	0.7
Changes taking place: Like very much	34	22.7
Like	85	56.7
Don't care	21	14.0
Dislike	9	6.0
Dislike very much	1	0.7
Environment satisfaction: Very satisfied	28	18.7
Satisfied	82	54.7
Don't care	20	13.3
Dissatisfied	17	11.3
Very dissatisfied	3	2.0
Landscape satisfaction: Very satisfied	13	8.7
Satisfied	107	71.3
Don't care	13	8.7
Dissatisfied	16	10.7
Very dissatisfied	1	0.7

Island attractive : Very attractive	82	54.7
Attractive	59	39.3
Fairly attractive	0	0
Unattractive	5	3.3
Very unattractive	4	2.7
Element attractive : Buildings	36	24.0
Water bodies	15	10.0
Forest/plants	37	24.7
Agricultural areas	13	8.7
Others	49	32.7
Element ugly : Buildings	24	16.0
Water bodies	22	14.7
Forest/plants	12	8.0
Agricultural areas	10	6.7
Others	82	54.7
Environment to maintain: Natural	87	58.0
Agricultural/rural	36	24.0
Industrial	20	13.3
Urban	7	4.7
Living satisfaction: Very satisfied	37	24.7
Satisfied	89	59.3
Don't care	13	8.7
Not satisfied	9	6.0
Very unsatisfied	2	1.3

Key to the Abbreviation of variables.

AGE	= Age
EDU	= Education
INCOME	= Income
STAY	= Length of stay
TRSTDEV	= Development of tourism
TRSTNO	= Tourist number
TRSTARV	= Tourist arrivals
DEVCHGN	= Existence of change
ENVSTFY	= Environment satisfaction
LNDSTFY	= Landscape satisfaction
ISATTR	= Island attractive
ISLIFE	= Living on island

CORRELATION ANALYSIS

12 'VAR' Variables: AGE EDU INCOME STAY TRSTDEV TRSTNO
 TRSTARV DEVCHGN ENVSTFY LNDSTFY ISATTR ISLIFE

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CORRELATION ANALYSIS

Simple Statistics

Variable	N	Mean	Std Dev	Median
AGE	150	2.76667	1.05179	3.00000
EDU	150	3.40667	0.82002	4.00000
INCOME	150	2.86000	1.10539	3.00000
STAY	150	1.71333	1.19471	1.00000
TRSTDEV	150	1.88667	0.84771	2.00000
TRSTNO	150	2.10000	0.74860	2.00000
TRSTARV	150	1.46667	0.68215	1.00000
DEVCHGN	150	2.05333	0.81748	2.00000
ENVSTFY	150	2.23333	0.95127	2.00000
LNDSTFY	150	2.23333	0.78078	2.00000
ISATTR	150	1.54000	0.69156	1.00000
ISLIFE	150	2.00000	0.83546	2.00000

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CORRELATION ANALYSIS

Simple Statistics

Variable	Minimum	Maximum
AGE	1.00000	4.00000
EDU	1.00000	4.00000
INCOME	1.00000	4.00000
STAY	1.00000	4.00000
TRSTDEV	1.00000	5.00000
TRSTNO	1.00000	5.00000
TRSTARV	1.00000	3.00000
DEVCHGN	1.00000	5.00000
ENVSTFY	1.00000	5.00000
LNDSTFY	1.00000	5.00000
ISATTR	1.00000	4.00000
ISLIFE	1.00000	5.00000

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CORRELATION ANALYSIS

Spearman Correlation Coefficients / Prob > |R| under Ho: Rho=0 / N = 150

	AGE	EDU	INCOME	STAY	TRSTDEV	TRSTNO
AGE	1.00000 0.0	-0.43965 0.0001	-0.28299 0.0004	0.21376 0.0086	-0.12463 0.1286	-0.16461 0.0441
EDU	-0.43965 0.0001	1.00000 0.0	0.58600 0.0001	-0.32797 0.0001	0.10163 0.2159	0.08942 0.2765
INCOME	-0.28299 0.0004	0.58600 0.0001	1.00000 0.0	-0.24542 0.0025	0.01903 0.8172	-0.03135 0.7033
STAY	0.21376 0.0086	-0.32797 0.0001	-0.24542 0.0025	1.00000 0.0	-0.01911 0.8164	-0.08191 0.3190

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Note: ** ≤ 0.01 is highly significant.
 * ≤ 0.05 is significant.

CORRELATION ANALYSIS

Spearman Correlation Coefficients / Prob > |R| under Ho: Rho=0 / N = 150

	AGE	EDU	INCOME	STAY	TRSTDEV	TRSTNO
TRSTDEV	-0.12463 0.1286	0.10163 0.2159	0.01903 0.8172	-0.01911 0.8164	1.00000 0.0	0.29390 0.0003
TRSTNO	-0.16461 0.0441	0.08942 0.2765	-0.03135 0.7033	-0.08191 0.3190	0.29390 0.0003	1.00000 0.0
TRSTARV	-0.21341 0.0087	0.20591 0.0115	0.21071 0.0096	-0.10516 0.2003	0.04678 0.5697	0.00803 0.9223
DEVCHGN	0.00012 0.9989	0.01528 0.8528	0.23398 0.0040	-0.01932 0.8145	0.05427 0.5095	-0.01363 0.8685

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CORRELATION ANALYSIS

Spearman Correlation Coefficients / Prob > |R| under Ho: Rho=0 / N = 150

	AGE	EDU	INCOME	STAY	TRSTDEV	TRSTNO
ENVSTFY	-0.06056 0.4616	-0.11476 0.1620	-0.00760 0.9265	-0.05350 0.5155	0.00183 0.9823	0.18296 0.0250
LNDSTFY	0.04708 0.5673	-0.16644 0.0418	-0.05605 0.4957	-0.03773 0.6467	-0.03623 0.6598	0.11949 0.1453
ISATTR	0.13061 0.1111	-0.13150 0.1087	0.04421 0.5912	-0.01539 0.8517	0.02475 0.7637	-0.00832 0.9195
ISLIFE	0.00881 0.9148	-0.24043 0.0030	-0.00348 0.9663	0.14975 0.0674	-0.02299 0.7801	0.08809 0.2838

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CORRELATION ANALYSIS

Spearman Correlation Coefficients / Prob > |R| under Ho: Rho=0 / N = 150

	TRSTARV	DEVCHGN	ENVSTFY	LNDSTFY	ISATTR	ISLIFE
AGE	-0.21341 0.0087	0.00012 0.9989	-0.06056 0.4616	0.04708 0.5673	0.13061 0.1111	0.00881 0.9148
EDU	0.20591 0.0115	0.01528 0.8528	-0.11476 0.1620	-0.16644 0.0418	-0.13150 0.1087	-0.24043 0.0030
INCOME	0.21071 0.0096	0.23398 0.0040	-0.00760 0.9265	-0.05605 0.4957	0.04421 0.5912	-0.00348 0.9663
STAY	-0.10516 0.2003	-0.01932 0.8145	-0.05350 0.5155	-0.03773 0.6467	-0.01539 0.8517	0.14975 0.0674

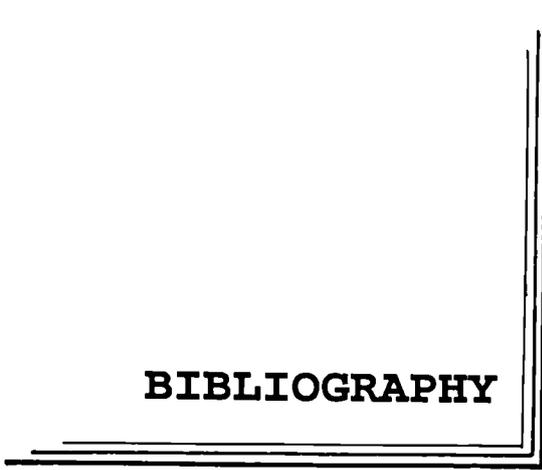
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CORRELATION ANALYSIS

Spearman Correlation Coefficients / Prob > |R| under Ho: Rho=0 / N = 150

	TRSTARV	DEVCHGN	ENVSTFY	LNDSTFY	ISATTR	ISLIFE
TRSTDEV	0.04678 0.5697	0.05427 0.5095	0.00183 0.9823	-0.03623 0.6598	0.02475 0.7637	-0.02299 0.7801
TRSTNO	0.00803 0.9223	-0.01363 0.8685	0.18296 0.0250	0.11949 0.1453	-0.00832 0.9195	0.08809 0.2838
TRSTARV	1.00000 0.0	0.23729 0.0035	0.13954 0.0886	-0.07601 0.3552	0.04240 0.6064	0.01487 0.8566
DEVCHGN	0.23729 0.0035	1.00000 0.0	0.44679 0.0001	0.17617 0.0310	0.14167 0.0837	0.21422 0.0085

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