

The Second Life: 'the life of a tourist'

The experiences and motivations of European residential tourists at Langkawi Island.



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Executive summary

Residential tourism is an upcoming type of tourism because of the retirement of the baby-boom generation. The generation is creating a flow of retirement migration towards (mainly) warmer countries. In this case, the flow of European residential tourists towards the island Langkawi in Malaysia has been researched. It is interesting to dive deeper into the tourism sector of Langkawi while Malaysia has recently been developed from an under-developed country into a developed country. The European residential tourists are searching for a 'better', second life. During the field work the motivations and experiences of the European residents have been central to create a view of their experiences of the residential tourism sector at Langkawi. The retirement migration process model, retrieved from the article of Wong in 2014, has been used to describe the rise of the residential tourism sector of Langkawi. First the motivations of the residential tourists have been described, followed by the experiences of mainly the local culture, local development and local government and institutions. The European residents are mainly attracted by the environment, climate, weather, price level, culture and the food variety of Langkawi and decided to settle down at Langkawi after at least one trip to Langkawi. One part of the respondents is living permanently at Langkawi and the other part is spending a couple of months at Langkawi every year. Residential tourism does not have to be permanent while many residential tourists are renting an apartment for a couple of months every year instead of purchasing a second home. The experiences during their 'second' life are meaningful for the decision to eventually buy a second home at Langkawi and perhaps migrate permanently. At this moment, many respondents are not satisfied about the second home industry of Langkawi. The local government and institutions are creating opportunities for the European residents only the limitations seem to predominate. The application process of Malaysia My Second Home Programme is expensive and many steps have to be taken which seems to be causing trouble for elderly people. The real estate industry is a result of the growth of the residential tourism sector, but the local government is staying behind in their contributions of policies. Development plans have been set up to improve the development of Langkawi just the second home industry is not included in those plans. The second home industry can be seen as a development driver. However, it has negative impacts as well for the local communities. Participant observation, interviews and surveys resulted into primary data collection of the experiences and motivations of the European residents and are supported by secondary data. The experiences created an idea about the role of the local government in the (residential) tourism sector and resulted into the idea that a (new) policy planning is required to maintain the residential tourism sector. When the government does not invest in the residential tourism sector, the European residents will probably move to the competing countries. At the end the tourism area lifecycle model of Butler has been applied at Langkawi and confirms the need of policy planning. Langkawi has been through the different development stages of the model and is reaching the consolidation stage soon. Something needs to be done to prevent the diminution of the (residential) tourism sector.

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1. Introduction

Malaysia is an upper-income level country (World Bank, September 2016), but has been a developing country for a long time. The total tourism sector is one of the main contributors to the GDP of Malaysia which makes it interesting to dive deeper into the tourism sector, namely the residential tourism sector. The reason to choose for this research topic is the retirement of the baby-boom generation which creates a flow of migration of elderly people. The baby-boom generation is moving to another country to create a second life. This second life is supposed to exist of the sun, sea and the beach: 'the life of a tourist'. That is what residential tourists prefer and look for during their search of a better life (Van Noorloos 2013). Many researches have been done about European residents moving to the southern part of Europe, except this research will be about European residential tourists in Malaysia, a country located in East Asia & Pacific (World Bank, September 2016). There is a lack of research on residential tourism in the Global South (Visser 2015) which is understandable, because other researches about development seem to be more relevant. The general tourism sector has been researched already in Malaysia just not yet the residential tourism sector, while the residential tourism is an upcoming type of tourism in Malaysia. This research will focus on the experiences, motivations, ideas and stories of European residential tourists about their life in Malaysia. Langkawi Island is chosen as a case study through it is one of the most popular (residential) tourist destinations of Malaysia. Langkawi is a duty free island since 1987 and located in the Northern part of Malaysia (Marzuki 2011). The main island Langkawi Island is meant when written about Langkawi in this thesis, while Langkawi actually exists of 104 different islands.

First it is interesting to discover the motivations of the elderly European citizens to migrate to Langkawi while linguistic and cultural barriers exist (Wong 2014) and apparently does not withhold the residential tourists. Next, the purpose of the research is to discover the experiences of the residential tourists during their stays at Langkawi. Residential tourists are staying permanently or temporary Langkawi. At least the respondents are staying a couple of months every year at Langkawi, mostly the winter period. Their experiences create a vision on the residential tourism sector of Langkawi with addition of the policies and development projects focused on the total tourism sector. The role of the government in the residential tourism industry is crucial in this case to discover how the residential tourism sector can be maintained.

The main question of the research will be: *'What are the motivations and experiences of European residential tourists at Langkawi?'*

On the basis of the main question an advice will be given about the conservation of the residential tourism sector at Langkawi. The main question will be answered by means of the following sub questions:

- What are the reasons for European residents to settle down at Langkawi?

- How do the European residents experience their 'second' life at Langkawi?
- What institutions are managing the residential tourism sector of Langkawi?
- What role does the local government play in the residential tourism sector of Langkawi according to the European residents?

Thesis structure

First the theoretical framework will be represented to explain the relevant terms, models and concepts of this thesis. Residential tourism is not generally known by everyone, while it is a combination of migration and tourism. The interpretation of the concept will be explained in the theoretical framework just like the retirement migration process model (Wong 2014). The retirement migration process model will be the leading flow chart for the set-up of this thesis. Secondly, a general overview of the development of Langkawi and Malaysia will be given to create a vision about the case study of this thesis. The methodology used for this thesis will be described before the start of the empirical chapters. The experiences and motivations of the European residents will be central through all the empirical chapters. First the motivations of the European residents to travel and stay at Langkawi will be exemplified followed by the experiences of the European residents at Langkawi. The role of the local government and institutions comes forth in every chapter and will be summarized in the final chapter while the local government might influence the future of the residential tourism sector at Langkawi. The primary collected data will be complemented with secondary data in the empirical chapters. After the empirical chapters, a brief discussion and conclusion will follow about the major findings and experiences of the research. At the end the references and the appendices can be found.

2. Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework explains the relevant concepts for this thesis while some of those concepts might have different interpretations. Lifestyle migration is overlapping the concept of residential tourism and will be explained together with residential tourism. First, the push and pull factors will explain the motivations of the migration process. Next, the experiences, consumption patterns and creation of transnational identities will follow while those concepts happen after the migration process. After a brief illustration of those concepts, the tourism area lifecycle model of Butler will be explained while this model might lead to an expectation of the future of the residential tourism sector of Langkawi.

2.1 Residential tourism

The term residential tourism is located in between the terms migration and tourism (Van Noorloos 2013). The main overlap exists with the term lifestyle migration, therefore explained in the first place.

Lifestyle migration

Lifestyle migration is a migration phenomenon resulted from previous researched types of migration, among others elite travel and migration (Benson 2014). Lifestyle migration is a combination of younger migrants, entrepreneurs, workers and more temporary migration (Casado-Diaz 2011). Sociologist Benson has done many research about lifestyle migration and provided the following definition: "Lifestyle migrants are relatively affluent individuals of all ages, moving either part-time or full-time to places that, for various reasons, signify, for the migrant, a better quality of life." (Benson 2014). Altogether, lifestyle migration is about the search for a better life (Casado-Diaz 2011) which does not mean permanent migration.

Migration in general is about the movement of the people itself, while lifestyle migration is more focused on the lifestyle choices (Benson 2009). The lifestyle migrants are searching for a place to call home and idealize their 'self'. The lifestyle migrants are having a privilege which is not only their wealth, but also the fact that the migrant is a citizen of a powerful nation-state. In this case, Europe, that has strong economies and political power compared to the host country. The European migrants are moving because of the better quality of life in the other country and not to forget; the lower cost of living (Benson 2014).

Sun-seeking migrant

A residential tourist is a synonym for a sun-seeking migrant. Most of the sun-seeking migrants live in coastal areas, which is the case at Langkawi too. Langkawi is a popular tourist destination and therefore a (possible) residential destination (Wong 2014).

Residential tourism

Residential tourists want a new beginning (Benson 2009) or in other words 'a second life'. Residential tourists are searching for a second life existing of the sun, the sea and the beach. The elderly people want to escape their life at home and enjoy leisure and relaxation for the rest of their life (Van Noorloos 2013). Therefore, most of the residential tourists are retired people. Besides this, residential tourism is about the search for idyllic places (Van Noorloos 2012). Lifestyle migrants and residential tourists are people who take the decision to move to another country to fulfill their lives more (Benson 2009). Self-fulfillment is a key element within the residential tourism sector. Many motivations are given to migrate, but the most common one is the quality of life (Casado-Diaz 2011). The quality of life goes together with the second life the residential tourists prefer to live. Every respondent has his own idea about what the second life should contain, just to be better than their life in Europe.

To summarize the concept of residential tourism: residential tourism is permanent or temporary migration of (retired) people who are doing well in their life and move from a western country to another country to search for a better way of life (Van Noorloos 2013). In this case European residents have been chosen as the target group who migrate to Langkawi. Langkawi is an island in the north of Malaysia and most of the residential tourists are living close to the main beaches at Langkawi. On top of that, residential tourism is bonded to seasons, for example in Spain (Aledo 2004), which is likewise the case at Langkawi. Most of the residential tourists stay at Langkawi during winter season (LADA, September 2016).

Thus, lifestyle migration, residential tourism and sun-seeking migrants are all overlapping each other. Lifestyle migration is about the search for a better life (style), residential tourism is about the search for a second life as a tourist and a sun-seeking migrant is searching for a life down to the beach and the sun to relax. Altogether the people are looking for self-fulfillment in a new, second life.

2.2 Transnationalism

This new pattern of migration brings up another concept, namely transnationalism (Schiller 1992). The social fields of the European residents are passing geographical, cultural and political borders (Schiller 1992: 9). Transnationalism links the host country to the home country and in the end the lives of the migrants are settling down in one social field. The migrants take decisions and create an identity that connects the two, or more, countries (Schiller 1992). There is recognition of people who are constantly moving back and forward between two countries: the residential tourist. The residential tourist has a 'feet' in both countries (Schiller 1992). The ideologies and of their home and host countries, the structural conditions and historical experiences are all influencing the creation of transnationalism (Schiller 1992). Currently the concept of transnationalism is being researched more often. In 2012 a European research network took place on International Migration, Integration and

Social Cohesion in Europe (King 2013). Transnationalism describes whether the international migrants fail or succeed in their integration into the host country (King 2013). Eventually the residential tourists might return home. Many researches are revealing the physical distance as a struggling point, but recent development in communication technologies is taking this aspect away (King 2013). Next to this, the cheaper and shorter travels are reasons to have a greater linkage between the two countries as well (King 2013). However, transnationalism is an experience for the European residents and differs for every migrant. When comparing Europe and Asia it will become clear that many borders will be passed by the residents. If the residential has to cross more borders, the process of creating a transnational identity becomes more difficult. Migrants may enter into a new social field which means that they need to adapt to the new social structure, transform their habitus and develop new practices (Benson 2014). However, residential tourists are living in transnational social spaces and when the European residential tourists keep joining together in another country, those transnational spaces will remain.

The habitus

The link between residential tourism and the creation of transnationalism is made by the transformation of the habitus of the residential tourist (Benson 2014). Transnationalism is about the fit between the habitus, field and practice (Benson 2014). There is little sense about how the migrants are experiencing their privilege in their new country (Benson 2014). This research focuses on how the residential tourists respond to and experience this new relative privilege. The new culture, social life and political environment influence their privilege (Benson 2014) and require some adaptations. The role of class, race, gender and ethnicity definitely impacts the experiences of the lifestyle migrants or in this case the residential tourists (Benson 2014). However, the habitus does not have to be transformed in every case when the new social field is not challenging enough.

The actions and decisions of the residential tourists are influencing their transnational identity. Whenever a European resident is involved in the place of settlement, than transnationalism is created (Schiller 1992). The respondents have been questioned about contact with family or friends from back home and about contact with local people and other European residents. The contact and integration of the European residents are relevant for the creation of transnational identities. When European residents are closely connected with people back home, they might not integrate into the local society. Transnationalism is "a process by which migrants, through their daily life activities and social, economic, and political relations, create social fields that cross national boundaries" (Gustafson 2008: 452). The daily life patterns are applicable for the creation of transnational identities as well. Both of them are continuously influencing each other in the second life of the European residents.

On top of that, residential tourism is a form of international human mobility among the elderly (Wong 2014). Elderly people are becoming more mobile and the improved

technology makes it possible to stay in contact with people who are living further away. This might be seen as an extra motivation for European residents to migrate because it is possible to keep in contact with their home country more easily than a couple of years ago.

Another way to create transnationalism is by visits of family and friends which have an impact on the (low) level of integration into the local community. It is easier to travel back and forward between Langkawi and Europe than a few decades ago while an airport has been built on the island in 1985 (Omar 2013). The ferry terminal and the international airport are taking care of the tourists arriving from outside the country (Omar 2013). On top of that, the European residents might not have the urge to integrate when they only stay for a couple of months.

Lifestyle mobilities

Lifestyle mobilities are the movements of people, capital, information and objects between the place of living and the place of origin. Mainly the different lifestyles influence those movements (Van Noorloos 2013). This concept is connected to the residential tourism sector and transnationalism while mobilities and globalization are reasons for the emergence of residential tourism. Second home development (residential tourism) and coastal migration (sun-seeking migrant) are types of migration where lifestyle mobilities are created. Residential tourism is seen as a creation of lifestyle mobilities, because of the move to coastal areas for the nice climate, leisure, relaxation and the ability to live their life as a tourist (Van Noorloos 2013). Langkawi is a relevant case study, while all the reasons that have just been mentioned can be applied to Langkawi.

The residential tourists do not only bring capital to the local area, but their whole lifestyle, which will change during the years spending in another country. Second home tourism is becoming a popular phenomenon in the developing world (Visser 2015). Malaysia used to be part of the developing world until a few years ago, which makes it an interesting case study for this topic. When residential tourists are travelling back and forward between Langkawi and their home country the demand for a second home might occur (Van Noorloos 2012) while a second home seems to be easier than renting a place every year. However, it depends on the residential tourists if they want to have this mandatory connection to another country. The decision for a second home is not easily made while many political and economic aspects come by. Therefore the growth in the residential tourism sector is made possible by the growth in mobilities and the globalization in the world. People are becoming more mobile through globalization, which continues the growth in migration and the residential tourism sector.

2.3 Push and pull factors

The motivations of residential tourists are the first step in the retirement migration process and created by "the set of psychological and physiological needs that are triggered by curiosity and the urge to gain new experiences and knowledge in a less familiar destination"

(Wong 2014: 143). This set of needs contain the push and pull factors for the European residents to move to Langkawi, the less familiar destination in this case. Many reasons are given for residential tourists to move to another country, for example: the slow pace of life, low cost of living, a better climate and health benefits. During the fieldwork it became clear that the pull factors play a more important role in this case than the push factors. However, it is necessary to take them both into consideration.

Push factors

Push factors are the factors that include the motivations for people to leave their home country (Van Noorloos 2012). The push factors cause the out-migration flow from Europe to Langkawi. First of all it is required to find out why do residential tourists leave their home country for a longer time every year or permanently? The differences in retirement lifestyles play a role in this choice. In some countries one might retire earlier or receive more state pension. The retirement of the baby-boom generation is a reason for the growth in the residential tourism sector during the last decades. What makes the European residents leave in the first place? It is interesting to find out the different backgrounds of the European residents. In Europe everything seems to be well-organized for elderly people, for example the health care opportunities. Probably, most of the (retired) people just want to see more of the world. The residential tourists are curious and when one is retired, there is no need to stay in Europe. This curiosity came back in the description of Wong as well. The European retired people are free to go anywhere and enjoy new experiences.

Pull factors

Meanwhile, pull factors include the reasons for migrants to choose for a specific country or area (Van Noorloos 2012). The pull factors may give an answer to the question: 'why do European residents choose Langkawi?' The pull factors describe the motivations of European residents to travel to Langkawi in the first place. The pull factors for Malaysia in general are: 'government support, climate and nature, leisure activities and value for money' (Aminudin 2014: 2). Other pull factors of Malaysia are; the beautiful countryside, central travel location, tranquility and simple life, ease of communication, friendly people, political stability and affordable costs (Wong 2014). The health benefits and the coastal areas are important pull factors for residential tourists as well (Benson 2009), because the weather in Malaysia turns out to be good for the health of the elderly people. Many reasons are given by different researches but the main overlap contains the pull factors: the climate, environment and low cost of living.

As mentioned, one of the reasons for the European residents to travel to Malaysia is the climate and nature according to Aminudin. However, this is when the 'destructive tourist cycle' applies for Langkawi. The destructive tourist cycle explains how the attractiveness of a country can be destroyed by the residential tourists (Aledo 2004). Aledo applied the destination lifestyle model in Spain and is useful to compare with the situation of Langkawi

while Spain is a popular residential tourist destination too. First, economic benefits are generated by the residential tourists by creation of jobs, hotels, restaurants, an airport and so on. However, the economic benefits are followed by the negative environmental impacts while the airport has been built in the middle of the nature. The residential tourists might cause landscape degradation, erosion, water pollution and deforestation (Aledo 2004). It seems that at Langkawi those negative environmental impacts are partly applicable. Obviously, residential tourism improves the standard of living for local people by creating more public facilities, but the lack of infrastructure and services remain in most residential tourist destinations (Aledo 2004). In this thesis the positive and negative influence of the residential tourism sector on the island Langkawi will be discussed shortly.

So far, the general motivations of the residential tourists (in Malaysia) have been explained, but now the experiences of the residential tourists need to be discovered. The push and pull factors create the decision to migrate and after migration the consumption patterns will describe the lifestyle of the residential tourists. The lifestyle of the residential tourists contains the experiences of daily life.

2.4 Consumption patterns

The consumption pattern of a residential tourist consists of the daily expenditures during their stay in the host country, in this case Langkawi. Lifestyle migration, thus residential tourism, is driven by consumption (Benson 2014). The consumption patterns play an important role in the lifestyle of residential tourists (Benson 2009) and are central in the creation of a second life. The consumption patterns came forward when researching the daily life patterns of the residential tourists. The cost of living has been central in the experiences of the European residents. The residential tourists are able to consume more with the same amount of money, compared to their European home country. With the help of surveys and interviews the different consumption patterns have been measured. The consumption pattern of a residential tourist contains the expenditure on; travelling, food, drinks, rent, shopping, tourist activities, gas, groceries and the rest of the daily expenditures. Residential tourists have the opportunity to rent a place or stay in a hotel. However, some of the residential tourists are buying a second home at Langkawi. A beginning of a real estate industry has been set up as a result of the demand for second homes. Malaysia My Second Home (MM2H) Programme is playing an important role in the real estate industry of Langkawi. The opportunities in the real estate industry motivate the residential tourists to purchase a second home (or not).

Of course the consumption patterns are not enough to create an idea of the second life and that is why the general daily patterns of the European residents have been researched briefly. The experiences of the European residents are central to find out what their second life means to them. What are people doing during their day at Langkawi? During the second life of the European residents their lifestyles represent the level of interaction with the local

community as well. When the ties are close between the residential tourist and the local community, than the creation of transnational identities will follow.

Figure 1 is derived from the article of Wong and Musa (2014). The figure shows the importance of the push and pulls factors in the migration process. Most of the retirees have been to the (residential) tourist destination before they decide to migrate to the destination (Wong 2014). The push and pull factors are the motivations for European residents to start the migration process. The need of the European residents is essential in their motivations. The motivations will define the need of the European residents in this case. It is possible that people pick a location before deciding to migrate or that the idea of migration leads to a destination.

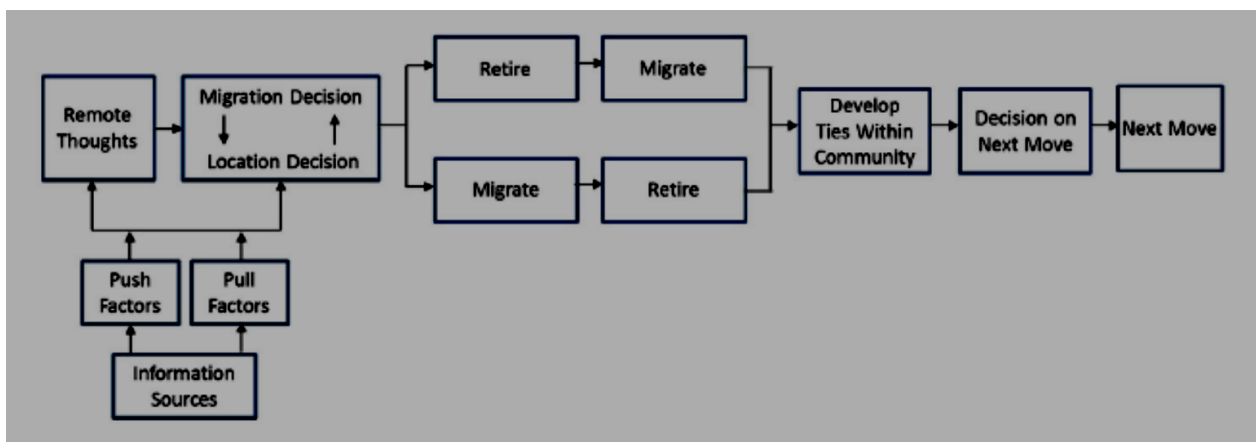


Figure 1: Retirement migration process. Retrieved from Wong (2014), page 143.

After migration, the European residents want to buy a second home (or not). The purchasing of a second home belongs to the lifestyle the European resident wants to live. It also depends on how long the residential tourists would like to stay, temporary or permanent. Temporary migration will apply for the residential tourists who are not retired yet or will retire in the nearby future. Permanent migration might probably follow after retirement. The consumption and daily life patterns are essential in the explanation of the experiences of the European residents at Langkawi. On top of that, ties within the local community might be arising when living at Langkawi. Those ties are an indication of the transnational identities of the residential tourists. The flow chart shows how this thesis will be set up. First the motivations of the European residents will be discovered which will be followed by the experiences after the (temporary) migration process.

2.5 Tourism Area Life Cycle model

One way to analyse the development process of a tourist area is by applying the tourism area life cycle model from Butler (1980) to Langkawi which has been widely accepted by many scholars (Omar 2013). The tourism area life cycle model is a useful research framework to understand the developmental process of Langkawi (Omar 2013). The tourism area life cycle model has been produced by the product cycle concept (Butler 2006). First a

product sells slowly followed by rapid growth while the product is becoming popular. The next phase contains stabilization and eventually the demand for the product declines (Butler 2006). Tourist areas can be analyzed in exactly the same way. Tourists travel to an area while the opportunities are limited like sanitary facilities, hotels and restaurants. The government starts to improve the facilities and growth in tourist arrivals will arise. However, every area has its limits so the level of tourism will stagnate at one moment (Butler 2006). The government or local institutions need to invest in the attractiveness of the area to keep the (residential) tourists.

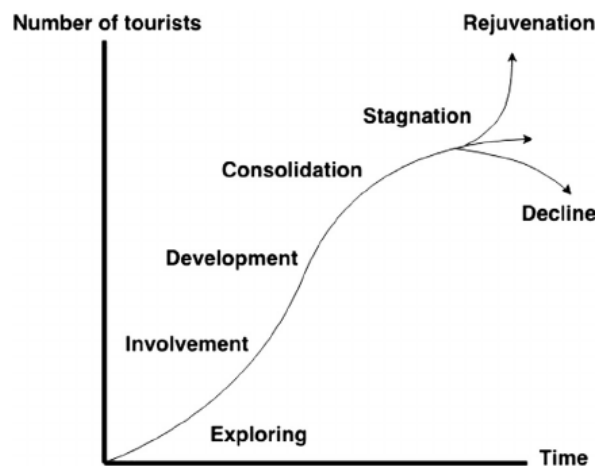


Figure 2: Tourism area life cycle model. Retrieved from Butler (2006), page 5.

The model explains 'the life cycle of a tourist destination into six phases' (Aledo 2004: 29). Aledo applied the model to Spain and explained the different phases briefly which will be used to explain the application of the model by Marzuki on Langkawi.

- First exploration happens: only a small amount of tourists are travelling to the area and lack of tourist facilities.
- Second phase, involvement: primary or luxury facilities for tourists are created. The government and local people get involved by promoting tourism in the area.
- Development of the area: a market has been set up for the tourism sector (Butler 2006) by the creation of tourist (cultural) attractions, improvement of the infrastructure and more accommodation. This is the moment of the rise of other forms of tourism like residential tourism.
- Consolidation of the tourism sector: the increase will decline and the economy is relying on the tourism sector.
- Stagnation follows when the peak of the number of tourists has been reached (Butler 2006). The area relies on the return of tourists and not many new tourists are visiting.
- Finally decline will occur because of the competition with other areas. The lack of tourism planning leads to an ending of the cycle just like when people run out of land for the second homes or when the environment is totally polluted (Aledo 2004)

However, it is possible for the residential tourism sector to go into rejuvenation after the stagnation phase according to Butler (Getz 1992).

It is an impossible job to find data from the start of the tourism at Langkawi (Butler 2006). However, the data that can be found will be used to discover the current and previous stages of Langkawi. The tourism area life cycle model obviously differs for every destination (Getz 1992) and will be used to analyze the case of Langkawi. Marzuki applied the tourism life cycle model at Langkawi. However, the results of the model from Marzuki are only applicable for this specific destination.

The role of the government

The policies of Langkawi and Malaysia are playing a major role in the development of the residential tourism, for example the development plans. As discovered in the literature, Langkawi must be in the development phase or further, because a popular tourist area has been set up and the government and local institutions are already involved in the (residential) tourism sector. The tourism sector is one of the most important economic sectors of Malaysia (Mosbah 2014) which explains the governmental support for the tourism sector. Several tourism projects and programs have been set up already to improve the tourism sector at Langkawi. However, the model is only enough to find out what stage Langkawi is going through right now. Tourism destinations are evolving and changing all the time (Butler 2006). Taking into account the academic study behind this thesis, International Development Studies, an expectation about the future of the residential tourism sector and the development of Langkawi is of interest.

In the next part, the regional framework will be explained before the application of the concept residential tourism in the case of Langkawi. It is useful to give more background information about the country and Langkawi to create an overview of the destination, before going deeper into the residential tourism sector.

3. Regional framework

In this part, an overview of the regional framework will be given to create an idea of how Malaysia and Langkawi have developed during the last decades. Malaysia has been a developing country for a long time only left this reputation behind. First an overview of the development of Malaysia is given followed by the development of Langkawi. The development plans of the government will be exemplified. After this, an overview of the tourism sector, tourist arrivals and a brief description of the retirees in Malaysia and Langkawi will be given.

3.1 National development

Malaysia is a country of 330.000 km² (UNDP 2005: 5) with a population of 29,72 million (World Bank, September 2016) located in South East Asia Malaysia and is divided into two different regions: Peninsular Malaysia and East Malaysia as showed in Map 1 below (Mosbah 2014).



Map 1: Malaysia

Malaysia is in the top ten of the most popular tourist destinations in the world (Mosbah 2014). The tourism sector is the second most contributing sector to the GDP of Malaysia, namely around 8 to 10 percent (Mosbah 2014: 1). Malaysia has gone through a great development process during the last decades. 50 Years ago Malaysia was yet a developing country, but since the end of the 20th century Malaysia belongs to the upper middle-income group according to the World Bank classification scheme (Balassa 1988). Malaysia grew faster than the other South East Asia countries and has always had the highest number of exports in South East Asia (Balassa 1988: 278). The government did not receive the economic growth and progress by itself. The Asian Development Bank supported Malaysia by means of several development projects and programs (Asian Development Bank, December 2015).

The economy of Malaysia used to be dependent on rubber and tin, followed by the industrial development of basic resources and finally Malaysia ended up being a tourism industry (Aminudin 2014). That is what makes the research of the residential tourism sector useful in this case. The rapid economic growth during the 20th century effected a reduction of the

poverty level in Malaysia (Roslan 2001). Malaysia can be seen as a success story for all the other developing countries in the world. After the occupation of the United Kingdom in 1957 mass migration of Chinese and Indians to Malaysia occurred (Roslan 2001). The migrants took over the jobs in the mine industry while the Malaysian people stayed employed in the agricultural sector. The Malaysian people did not benefit from the growth in the modern sectors, since they stayed employed with the low paid jobs in the low paid sectors.

After receiving independency in 1957 the GDP grew from 4.1 % in 1956-1960 to 5.0% in 1961-1965. Finally to 5.4% in 1966-1970 (Roslan 2001: 5). Nevertheless not everyone in Malaysia benefitted from the economic growth. In the end of the 1960's yet half of the population was living under the poverty line (Roslan 2001). The Malaysian people were the biggest part of the population who lived in poverty while this population group stayed employed in the low productivity sector. The economic growth resulted in a better quality of life in Malaysia, increase in income per capita and an increase in contribution of manufacturing sector. However, after 1990 the income inequality started to expand again. The Malaysian people are still behind in their position as a population group within the society (Roslan 2001). The tourism sector is yet growing and might diminish the inequality between the population groups.

So far, the overall development of Malaysia has been discussed. For this thesis it is useful to explain the development of Langkawi while Langkawi is the case study.

3.2 Local development

Langkawi is located 143 km North of Penang and around 27 km of the west coast of Peninsular Malaysia as showed in Map 2 below (Marzuki 2012). Langkawi exists of 104 separate islands under the state of Kedah (Marzuki 2012) and Langkawi Island is the main island located in the Andaman Sea (Omar 2013).



Map 2: Location of Langkawi

In 1975 Langkawi was included in the Malaysian Tourism Master Plan. However, none of those plans worked as the development plans were not implemented in the right way

(Marzuki 2011). In 1981 Dr. Mahathir Mohamed became Prime Minister of Langkawi and changed the implementation of the development plans. He created rapid development of the island Langkawi from that moment. In 1984 an enormous amount of land was given to an organization to build an international hotel that unfortunately was never build. A new idea had to be set up. The idea was created 3 years later in 1987. In 1987 Langkawi was announced as a duty free island and resulted into a rapid growth of the tourism sector. It seems that Langkawi has been already in the development phase of the tourism area life cycle model of Butler. In 1988 only 859 hotel rooms were booked per year and in 2005 this increased to 7072 hotel rooms per year (Marzuki 2011: 26). The increase in demand for hotel rooms goes along with the increase in tourist arrivals. In 1990 the Langkawi Development Authority (LADA) was set up to improve the tourism development of Langkawi by helping the improvement of the local infrastructure. Between 2001 and 2015 this plan was supposed to be implemented to compete with other popular destinations in Asia, for example Phuket and Bali (Marzuki 2011). Other development plans were set up as well, which will be exemplified at once.

3.3 Development plans

When taking the tourism area life cycle model of Butler into account, it is useful to discover the role of the government in the (residential) tourism sector of Malaysia and Langkawi. In Malaysia the National Physical plan was introduced to improve the development. The plan is divided into a second level of plans, the structure plans, to focus on different regions in the country. The Langkawi Structure Plan was implemented from 1990 until 2005. The focus was on physical planning and development of Langkawi (Marzuki 2012). Around 2002 the plan was followed up by the Kedah Structure Plan to improve physical environment, socio-economic conditions, possibilities for economic growth, sustainable development and finally to improve the transport in the area (Marzuki 2012). During this plan several hearing sessions were organized for the public. The decisions and results were shared with the public, although the public did not have the opportunity to ask any questions, to give comments or to discuss any of the decisions which have been made for them (Marzuki 2012). Public participation was limited during the Kedah Structure Plan.

The third level of development plans contains of the local plans. The Langkawi Local Plan was set up in 2001 (Marzuki 2012:587) to “create Langkawi as an international tourism destination based on nature and local identity and also to improve local residents’ quality of life” (Marzuki 2012:591). The main focus of the Langkawi Local Plan was to improve infrastructure, public facilities, projects for development, development guidelines and use framework to conserve nature (Marzuki 2012). Public involvement did improve a little, but remained limited. Only a few more hearing sessions were organized and more information was spread in the surroundings about the development plans of Langkawi.

Hence the global competition in the tourism sector has led to national and local development strategies (Ling 2006). The local government at Langkawi introduced several development plans to accommodate more tourists according to the article of Marzuki in 2011. Malaysia wanted to be a developed country by 2020 (Ling 2006) by improving the industrial sector and the services and trade sector, this last one contains the tourism sector. The local government of Langkawi works under the supervision of the Malaysian government. The local governments in Malaysia do not have any power because the general government will always make the decisions for them (Ling 2006). Langkawi is being transformed into a (popular) tourist destination according to Ling, which will be further explained in the empirical part of this thesis.

However, the following question remains unanswered: ‘to what extent did the development plans result into a growth of the (residential) tourism sector?’

3.4 Tourism sector

First the overall tourism sector will be explained to be specified into the residential tourism sector later on. The tourism sector of Malaysia has grown a lot during the last decades (UNWTO, December 2015). The amount of tourist arrivals has more than doubled in 15 years in Malaysia (UNWTO, December 2015). The tourist arrivals of Malaysia have increased from 5,56 million in 1998 to 25,03 million in 2008 (Mosbah 2014:4). Figure 3 shows the tourist arrivals in Langkawi from 1986 to 2007. Several increases and decreases can be exemplified. The Asian Economic crisis (1997-1998) caused a decrease in the tourist arrivals, while the introduction of the Cable car (2003) created an increase. The high prices and travel expenses in 2005 caused a short term decrease, but the tourist arrivals recovered quickly. According to Marzuki, tourism creates more benefits than costs for the local development of Langkawi; namely an increase in infrastructure, employment and business opportunities (Marzuki 2011). Tourism improves the quality of life of local residents; however tourism might have a negative influence on the cultural and environmental development according to Marzuki.

The tourism sector has grown quickly together with the rapid economic growth. One of the main reasons for the increase in tourist arrivals is the improvement of the infrastructure, which makes it easier for tourists to travel to Malaysia and Langkawi. An airport has been built on the island which makes travelling faster and easier compared to the ferry. The amount of tourism receipts turned out to be more than four times larger in Malaysia in those 15 years (UNWTO, December 2015). The amount of receipts are 7 times higher compared to the 4,5 times higher arrivals (Mosbah 2014).

Table 2: Tourist arrivals in the Langkawi

Year	Tourist arrivals (million)
1986	209,763
1987	310,004
1988	428,778
1989	658,993
1990	783,687
1991	879,292
1992	1,046,919
1993	1,321,301
1994	1,598,126
1995	1,795,406
1996	1,712,639
1997	1,622,044
1998	1,295,341
1999	1,599,528
2000	1,810,460
2001	1,919,113
2002	1,916,451
2003	1,981,946
2004	2,179,269
2005	1,835,245
2006	2,112,026
2007	2,300,000

Figure 3: Tourist arrivals in the Langkawi Islands, 1986-2007. Retrieved from Marzuki (2011), page 29

Summarized, it seems that the tourists are spending more money during their visit in Malaysia than before. The increase of the amount of money spend per tourist is interesting for residential tourism sector, while residential tourists live at Langkawi for a longer time. How much are the residential tourists spending? It depends on their daily life and consumption patterns. Altogether the economy grew in Malaysia and therefore the (residential) tourism sector. When there is demand in the (residential) tourism sector, supply will follow. The need of a real estate industry turns out interesting for Langkawi.

The overall tourism sector of Malaysia and Langkawi has been exemplified so far. At once it is time to focus on the target group of this research, the (European) residential tourists.

3.5 Retirees in Malaysia

Residential tourism is a hidden social phenomenon with limited data (Roca). Discovering the amount of residential tourists at Langkawi will be a challenge, but by the use of some secondary an idea about the residential tourism sector can be created. Residential tourists are mostly people who are doing well in life and have the opportunity to travel anywhere they want. The question for this thesis remains: 'Why do European residents choose Langkawi?' One of the goals of the thesis is to discover the motivations of the European residents to travel to Malaysia in the first place and finally why they decide to settle down at Langkawi. Publications on the internet and newspaper might influence this decision while Malaysia and Langkawi have been a trending topic on the retirement migration topic. In 2013 and 2014 Malaysia was announced to be one of the best places for retirees. Besides this, Malaysia managed to receive the third place on the Global Retirement Index (Jakarta Post, January 2016). The Malaysia My Second Home (MM2H) Programme helped to reach this third place. However, it is not only the desire to buy a second home in Malaysia. Health care is one of the other main reasons for retirees to travel to Malaysia. On top of that, Malaysia was announced to be on the fourth place on The World's Best Retirement Havens in 2015 and on the first place of the best place to retire in Asia (Huffington Post, January 2016). The announcements in the newspapers are reasons to conclude that Malaysia is attractive for (European) retirees. Most of the participants of the MM2H programme are from Asia, while Europe is on the second place. Around 3830 European residents have been participating in the MM2H programme since 2002 (MM2H Programme, November 2016). It is not compulsory for the European residents to participate in the MM2H programme to purchase a second home while buying properties and MM2H programme are not related to each other according to the contact person at MM2H programme.

Malaysia has one of the highest standards of living for locals and the quality of life is cost-efficient in Malaysia (Huffington Post, January 2016). Those are definite pull factors for Malaysia and Langkawi. With a small amount of money, one can live a luxury life compared to the required amount of money in a European country to live the same kind of luxury life (Huffington Post, January 2016). Furthermore, it is easy and cheap to travel to other countries in Asia. People can fly from Langkawi to many other countries. The European

residents are in the middle of everywhere (Wong 2014). The improvement in infrastructure and airlines makes it easier for retirees to travel back to their home country for holidays or to let their family come over for holidays.

Another pull factor of Malaysia for retired people is the spoken languages. Retired people are older and most of the time less used to foreign languages than the (younger) generation growing up right now. Malaysia has been a colony of Great Britain which explains that part of the population speaks English. In Thailand some of the retirees are complaining about the Thai language (Abdul-Aziz 2014). It is easier for foreigners to communicate with the people living in Malaysia compared to local people in other South East Asian countries (Huffington Post, January 2016).

So, Malaysia developed from a developing country to a developed country, but the inequality within the population still exists. Residential tourism might contribute to this gap within the community or makes the inequality less. That is why the development of the (residential) tourism sector is important to take into account. The methodology used for this research will be explained in the next chapter.

4. Methodology

The methodology practiced for this research will be made clear in this chapter. Before the field work, desk research has been done to prepare for the local situation in Malaysia. Background information about Malaysia, Langkawi and the residential tourism sector was found by collecting secondary data. After the desk research, the fieldwork was applied to confirm or contradict the primary findings. Main elements of the fieldwork are participant observation, semi-structured interviews, (online) survey and online networking. At the end the limitation of the methodology will be reviewed.

4.1 Literature review and secondary data collection

Before the fieldwork literature and secondary data was collected to get an idea about the situation in Malaysia and about the term residential tourism. The main reasons for residential tourists to migrate to another country and the reasons to leave their own country have been found in articles and other researches. Several terms have been researched before the field work, namely: residential tourists, tourism, lifestyle migration, lifestyle mobilities, push and pull factors and transnationalism. The concepts and terms have been explained in the research proposal and the theoretical framework of this thesis. Background information about Malaysia My Second Home Programme was discovered as well and contact with the organization existed before the start of the field work. Contact by e-mail resulted into several other contact people and meetings during the field work. During the desk research the case study was chosen as well.

4.2 Case study

The time limit was set before the choice of the case. The research about residential tourism had to be done in only three months. Of course it would be impossible to do research about the total country of Malaysia in this time period. Popular (residential) tourist destinations were found when collecting secondary data. Many second home owners are settled down in Kuala Lumpur and Selangor, but the coastal areas turned out to be a popular area for residential tourists as well (Abdul-Aziz 2014). Residential tourism is focused on the life of a tourist which makes Penang and Langkawi more interesting for this research. Langkawi was chosen as the case study yet during the desk research the doubt between Langkawi and Penang still existed. Penang is another popular tourist island close to Langkawi. The primary idea was to combine both islands in the research, but turned out to be impossible when arriving in the field. The first field trip was to Langkawi and a small network was set up already during those days. However, it became immediately clear that the time period was too short to research both tourist islands. Langkawi is one of the most touristic islands and especially for residential tourism. Langkawi was visited five times in the 13 weeks of field work. During those weeks participant observation has been central and as a researcher I tried to live the same life as the residential tourists to the extent that it was possible as a researcher. The tourist area is small and made it possible to do everything by walking.

Sometimes a motorbike was rent to travel to the other side of the island to discover more of Langkawi.

4.3 Respondents

Residential tourists are people who are (mostly) retired and travelling to another country to fulfil their life even more. In this case the target group was narrowed down to European residents at Langkawi. The first reason to choose for European residents is because it is easier to communicate with them while most of the European people speak English. The other reason for the choice of the target group is that the European residents are a small group at Langkawi and once one gets into contact with one of them, the process of meeting other respondents gets into work. The European residents do not have to be retired while in Figure 1, the migration process model can be verified that residents may migrate before retirement. An important criterion of the respondents is that the people are staying at Langkawi every year for at least 3 months. The people who stayed for 3 months were hibernating at Langkawi and experienced the life at Langkawi different than permanent residents. Most of the respondents turned out to be staying around 6 months, yet a limit needed to be set to participate in this research. Second home owners were preferable, though many European residents are renting a place during their stay instead of buying a home. An explanation for the lack of second home owners will follow in the empirical part. Another criteria is the age limit, in this case the respondents should be at least 45 years old. Residential tourists are people who are doing well in life and it is possible that those people retire earlier than others or have the ability to stay abroad for a longer time every day. The average age of the respondents at Langkawi turned out to be 64 years old.

Summarized, the respondent:

- has to stay at Langkawi every year
- has to stay at Langkawi for a minimum time period of 3 months
- is originally from Europe
- should be at least 45 years old

Most of the respondents turned out to come from The Netherlands, while the snowball sampling resulted into many Dutch respondents. 60% of the respondents were Dutch; the other 40% of the respondents were originally from Norway, England, Ireland, Italy, Denmark and Germany.

4.4 Participant observation

The first weeks of the research started with participant observation and interviews at Langkawi to create a vision of what was going on at Langkawi and in Malaysia. Participant observation took place mainly at Langkawi. Time was spent in Kuala Lumpur as well to review the participant observations at Langkawi and to integrate into the different cultures. During the time spend at Langkawi participant observation consisted of hanging out with

residential tourists at the beach, having dinner with the residential tourists, having a drink in several bars, going for a swim and drinking a cup of tea or coffee with them. During participant observation residential tourists told several stories about the development of Malaysia and Langkawi. A journal was updated after every day that was spent at Langkawi and meaningful days in Kuala Lumpur. Interesting observation, stories and chats were written down and those field notes are useful for the empirical part of this thesis.

During participant observation one Dutch man was met who stays at Langkawi every year for 5 months or less. He owns enough money in his home country, in the other months of the year, to spend several months at Langkawi. He visits Langkawi yearly so he knows a lot of locals and (European) residential tourists. This man created a network for the research at Langkawi and that is mainly how the respondents were found. The respondents created other connections to residential tourists and so on; this is called the snowball effect. The bias of the snowball sampling is that the first participants have a major impact on the following part of the sampling. Many Dutch people were met while the first participants were from The Netherlands. It is hard to get an idea about the whole population of European residents when using snowball sampling. Part of the target group will not be met because the researcher gets stuck into the snowball sampling. On top of that, it is necessary to not rely on those stories and experiences told by the participants. It is only a small population of the target group and many more information can be collected when using other sampling methods. However, the time limit resulted into the use of the snowball sampling.

Residential tourists who have been met during the first weeks were friendly and involved me, as a researcher, to be part of their daily life during the stay. Every day appointments were made with the residential tourists at the same spot at the beach and at the same bar at the same time. One example from the field work is that the European residents are having a drink at the 'Brasserie' every night at exactly 7 p.m. During participant observation an idea was created of how residential tourists live their life and what one does during a day at Langkawi. The time spend in restaurants and bars created part of the network too while several respondents were found in those place just by approaching and having a chat with people. It was necessary to live the same kind of life and patterns as the residential tourists to get into contact with them. Participant observation was required to create semi-structured interviews. A few topics and questions were prepared after participant observation, which seemed useful for answering the research questions. Of course participant observation continued during the fieldwork.

4.5 Semi-structured interviews

Many chats and conversations have taken place during the fieldwork, however only 10 interviews took place at Langkawi. The interviewees were residential tourists who stay at Langkawi every year for several months or who permanently live at Langkawi. Most of the people stay at Langkawi during winter season and return home during summer time, which confirms the data of the tourist arrivals on the LADA website (LADA, September 2016).

During the time spend in Kuala Lumpur several appointments took place, which resulted into interesting information about residential tourism, the development of Malaysia and in other (relevant) contact people. The contact people in Kuala Lumpur were from different organizations involved within the residential tourism sector: Malaysia My Second Home Programme and the New Age home. During those appointments information about the (residential) tourism sector of Malaysia was given which has been used for the empirical part of this thesis. The list of topics and questions for the semi-structured interviews can be found at the appendices, but the main questions during the interviews were: *'Why did you go to Langkawi?', 'What do you do during a day?', 'How is your relation which local people?' and 'What do you think about the development of Langkawi and how do you influence the development?'* The purpose of the interviews was to find out how the European residents experience their stay at Langkawi and what their motivations were to settle down at Langkawi. The push and pull factors were discovered during the interviews and an idea about the consumption patterns and transnational identities came forward.

Operation: After the participant observation a list of questions and topics was set up this can be found in Appendix 1. A few questions were prepared to fall back on, but most of the time the (elderly) people were telling their own stories and ideas about the development of Malaysia and Langkawi. At Langkawi 10 residential tourists were interviewed and 5 respondents who are involved in the residential tourism sector were interviewed in Kuala Lumpur. The length of the interviews varied between 30 minutes to 1,5 hour. All the respondents were speaking English or Dutch so a translator was not needed during the interviews. Before the interviews the respondents were asked if it was allowed to record the interview and if the collected information was allowed to be used for this thesis. All the respondents agreed on this. Every respondent had his or her own idea about the development; what is good and what is bad for Malaysia and Langkawi. Contrasting ideas and stories were told. In Kuala Lumpur the owner of the New Age Home was interviewed. Mainly foreign elderly people go to this New Age Home to relax for a while or when they need health care. He created a network in Kuala Lumpur by telling his friends and relevant people about the research. Several people texted or emailed me with (relevant) information. The online networking method was applied and will return later on in this chapter.

Limitations: Unfortunately, it was hard to reach respondents at Langkawi. Many people did not want to participate with an interview. The elderly people are living a structured life and an interview was an interruption of their daily pattern for some of them. When reading articles about other researches at Langkawi, the difficulties in finding respondents were mentioned too. Next to this, the snowball sampling resulted into many Dutch respondents. The lack of respondents is the reason why a survey was set up to find more respondents and data. The survey came forth out of the interviews by using the highlighted topics from the interviews.

4.6 (Online) survey and networking

The survey started with questions about travelling to find out how people ended up at Langkawi (or Malaysia) and how long they have been travelling to Langkawi (or Malaysia). Usually, the residential tourists start travelling to the tourist destination before deciding to settle down for a longer period (Aminudin 2014). The pull factors and motivations of the European residents might come forth out of those questions. After the travelling questions, the questions about the residential tourism sector were presented to find out what people are doing during a day, if there is contact with people back home and what the residential tourists think about the idea of 'a better life'. The contact between the residential tourists and their home country influences the transnational identities. The level of integration into the local communities can be measured by the use of those questions. The third part of the survey consisted of statements about the development of Langkawi. The statements could be answered with totally disagree, disagree, neutral, agree and totally agree. Respondents could give their opinion about the development of Langkawi in those statements. Those statements can be used to discover the development phase of Langkawi, when applying the tourism area life cycle model of Butler. The next section in the survey consisted of questions about consumption patterns. The consumption patterns are central in the daily life of the European residents. That is what creates their second and 'better' (quality of) life. In the last part, background information was asked to find out where the residential tourist came from, if the respondent is retired and the age of the respondent. The survey can be found in the appendix 2 and shows that the survey consisted of open questions, multiple choice questions and statements. During the field work, 20 surveys were filled in at Langkawi.

Unfortunately, it was hard to find respondents for the surveys at Langkawi which brought up the idea of an online survey to reach more respondents. The survey was uploaded at the Facebook page of the Dutch Organization of Malaysia and posted at Internations, which is an online forum for foreign (European) people living in Malaysia. The online survey can be found at the Appendix 3 and 11 people managed to fill in the online survey. The online survey was posted online by the use of online networking, namely by sending the survey to different organizations and contact people. People who live in other parts of Malaysia filled in the online survey as well which is interesting to compare with the situation at Langkawi.

During the fieldwork contact with different organizations and people was going on by e-mail. Information was shared by e-mail and people were helping to find respondents and other organizations. There was contact with Malaysia My Second Home Programme, New Age Home, and Homestay program, Airbnb, Dutch Organization of Malaysia and Internations Forum. Statistics were shared and some contact went by WhatsApp as well. Most contact people wanted to communicate by WhatsApp when meetings or interviews were planned and gave my number to friends, colleagues and so on. Social media is popular at this moment and was used effectively during the fieldwork. Malaysia My Second Home Programme did not have time to meet with me in person though they answered all the

questions by e-mail and provided several contact people and organizations again. Online networking will be an interesting method in the future while social media is becoming popular all over the world.

4.7 Secondary data

Interviews and surveys mainly present what people think and believe while the experiences and motivations of the European residents were central. However, it is necessary to find scientific data as well, namely statistics about Malaysia My Second Home, the residential tourism sector and about tourism in general. Secondary data was used to confirm or disprove the information obtained from the respondents. Collecting secondary data happened before, during and after the field work to improve the knowledge of the residential tourism sector and of the island Langkawi.

To summarize the methodology of this research, Figure 4 has been designed. The desk research and field work are followed up by the final writing process of the thesis.

What?	How?	When?	Where?
Desk research	Literature review	November	Utrecht, The Netherlands
	Secondary data collection	- January	
Fieldwork	Participant observation	February	Langkawi, Malaysia
	Semi-structured interviews	-	
	Survey/Online survey	May	
	Online networking		
	Secondary data collection		

Figure 4: Methodology of the research.

4.8 Limitations of the research

The main shortcoming of this research is the time limit. During the first weeks much time had to spend on getting used to the new environment, new cultures and new languages while the Asian culture differs from the Dutch culture. It takes a while to get comfortable. During participant observation a first idea about Langkawi and Malaysia was created and needed to create a network. The snowball effect was used to find respondents, which resulted into many Dutch respondents and everybody knew each other. Langkawi is like a little town and people were gossiping about the presence of a student. When approaching to new respondents, most of the time the people were already expecting this. Sometimes this resulted into a rejection immediately, because some people were afraid of interviews. It was allowed to have a chat with everyone, but once the conversation got serious or an interview was requested, the respondent did not want to co-operate. For the next time, it would be interesting to broader the local network. However, this is hard to do within a time limit. The small sample size raises question about the validity of the research due to difficulties in reaching respondents. In previous literature about researches at Langkawi can be concluded that other researchers at Langkawi were having a hard time as well in finding respondents.

5. The motivations of the European residents

The first empirical chapter will describe how the residential tourists ended up at Langkawi. First it will be explained how the European residents got interested in Langkawi and what their motivations were to settle down. The motivations are exemplified by the use of the push and pull factors mentioned by the European residents. The searches for a better life will complement the motivations of the European residents to (temporary) migrate to Langkawi. At the end the final choice of Langkawi will be discussed.

5.1 Information sources

The first element of the retirement migration process is the information sources that create the interest of the European residents Langkawi. First the European residents have to get interested into a country or destination before the push and pull factors get into work. However, it is possible that the push and pull factors are already influencing the information sources. Most of the European residents got into contact with Malaysia and Langkawi by traveling around in (South East) Asia which is confirmed by the article of Aminudin. Aminudin mentions that residential tourists in the first place travel to a country before the tourists decide to settle down at the destination (Aminudin 2014). Most of the European residents have been travelling for more than 20 years and from those 20 years, the European residents have spent an average of 11 to 15 years at Langkawi. The average age of the respondents is 64 years which clarifies the large number of years of travelling. The respondents were able to share many experiences about those years and how the country and island have changed during their period at Langkawi. Part of the respondents ended up in Malaysia because of a job. The European residents do not have to be retired to migrate in the first place. Residential tourism is about living the life of a tourist which does not (always) contain working. However, some respondents retire after migration to Langkawi or will retire in the nearby future. That is why it was not obligated for a respondent to be retired to fit into the target group. Agencies are influencing the decision of (elderly) people to travel to Langkawi as well by organizing trips to Malaysia just like the information provided on the internet. All the information sources result into a vacation or trip to Langkawi before the 'normal' tourist turns into a residential tourist. When the European tourist is getting comfortable with the destination, the decision of migration will be made. Friends and family are influencing the decision of the destination as well. In the end, all the information sources are resulting into a first trip to Langkawi which is essential for the decision of migration. Visits and holidays result into the start of the retirement migration process (Abdul-Aziz 2014) at Langkawi. Figure 5 on the next page gives an overview of the most common information sources for the European residents mentioned in interviews and surveys.

Information sources
1. Traveling
2. Work
3. Agency
4. Internet
5. Friends and family

Figure 5: Information sources

5.2 Push and pull factors of Langkawi

As explained in the theoretical framework the motivations of European residents can be exemplified by the use of push and pull factors. Push and pull factors differ per destination and person. During interviews and surveys, European residents have been questioned about their decision to move to Langkawi. The European residents are mainly elderly people who are retired or almost retired. Their children are most of the time old enough to take care of themselves, which makes it easier for them to leave the home country for a longer time. That is one important push factor while the lack of responsibilities causes the out-migration flow. *'Our children are doing fine and we don't have to worry about them'* said the old marine man. The old marine man has been travelling to Asia for 16 years now and experienced the development of the island (and Asia) intensively. During several conversations and an interview he explained the enormous changes of the island. The reasons for him to travel to Langkawi in the first place are disappearing, which brings back the destructive tourist cycle (Aleda 2004). He enjoyed the beautiful beaches and quiet area only the beaches are getting crowded and dirty nowadays. The island is transforming into a busy tourist destination which he regrets. According to Mosbah, "Malaysia's greatest strength is its fascinating nature with year round sunshine, cultural diversity and friendly people" (Mosbah 2014: 1). Those reasons are confirmed by the respondents. Malaysia is *'a beautiful country with beautiful beaches and friendly people'* was mentioned by several respondents. The main pull factors of Langkawi will be discussed in this section.

The environment

The beautiful environment is one of the pull factors of Langkawi while there is only a small tourist area around Pantai Cenang and Pantai Tengah. On the other side of the island there is a *"beautiful and pure nature"* according to second home owners. Map 3 shows the map of Langkawi and makes it visible that there is a lot of jungle at Langkawi. The white lines are the roads, which have been built straight through the jungle. The map confirms that Langkawi has a small tourist area and much nature. The environment stays attractive, because Malaysia is seen as a clean country compared to other South East Asian countries. On the mainland of Malaysia one can find a lot of beautiful spots as well; Genting Highlands, Cameron Highlands and Malacca.



Map 3: Map of Langkawi. Retrieved from the Jungle Walla Tours website.

The respondents mention that Malaysia is clean and beautiful while the beaches are cleaned every day at Langkawi. A group of workers are walking down the beach every morning to clean up the mess from the tourists. The beach house owners and participant observation confirm the story about the cleaners at the beach. *“You don’t need injections”* said the Dutch golf couple. However that is questionable, because it depends on how long the stay in Malaysia will be. When staying in Malaysia for more than three months, people will need more injections. The couple has been travelling to Langkawi since 1998, while the last golf tournament of the year used to be at Langkawi. The golf man has been working hard and basically sold everything he owns. He is enjoying the rest of his life now together with his wife. Together they are spending the winter season at Langkawi since 2000 and experienced the development of Langkawi for a long time. More about the experiences of the development of Langkawi will follow in the next chapter.

The climate and weather

Another pull factor of Langkawi is the comfortable climate for elderly people, because the climate in Malaysia is better for the health of the elderly people mentioned several respondents. The climate of Malaysia is more moisty compared to Singapore and Indonesia. *“More rain, but we visit during dry season”* told the couple of the shop. The couple is not officially retired yet, but their daughter is running the shop when they are away. Since less than five years the couple is travelling to Langkawi, but has experienced the recent rapid development of Langkawi. The couple stays at Langkawi during winter season for a couple of months. A lot of respondents are spending the winter period in Malaysia. It is better for elderly people to leave the cold weather in their home country and spend the winter at Langkawi. The data on the Langkawi Development Authority (LADA) website confirms that most (residential) tourists are spending the winter period at Langkawi. However, some of the respondents stay permanently at Langkawi. During dry season the temperature is

around 32 degrees and few degrees less during rainy season. *“During rainy season it is much more comfortable”* according to the 69-year old second home owner. The 69-year old second home owner used to be a fisherman in The Netherlands and is a man who says what he thinks. Some of his quotes might be a bit bluntly, but that is his attitude. He is retired and travelled the world with his wife, but unfortunately his wife passed away a short time ago and now he is living alone at Langkawi. The beach disappears during rainy season because *“the water is up to the side”*. The experiences about the weather depend on the time period of the European residents’ stay.

The low cost of living

Langkawi is duty free, in other words: ‘Langkawi is cheap’. The low prices at Langkawi are one of the main reasons for people to travel to Langkawi in the first place. The alcohol is cheap, smoking is cheap, and eating is cheap and so on. *“Cheap, cheap, cheap”* is what is mentioned by every respondent.

- *“In The Netherlands I have to pay once a week 100 euros for gas. Here you pay 6 euros a day to rent a car and gas is only 10 euros per tank”* (Dutch golf couple)
- *“At home I earn enough in 7 months to stay here for 5 months”* (46-year old son)

The son of the 69-year old second home owner visits Langkawi every year to visit his father. At home he is working at a restaurant and earns enough during those months to stay at Langkawi for a few months every year. Right now he is staying with his father, because his father is alone so he does not have to pay any rent. The son is not retired and only 46 years old, but was really useful for this research. He is the one that created the network of residential tourists for the field work. He knows most of the residential tourists, because he has been travelling to Langkawi every year for about 6 to 10 years now. He has been influenced by his father obviously, but is less offensive about the local people. A reason for this might be that he is not permanently living with the local people, but only a few months a year. Obviously he earns enough back home to stay at Langkawi a couple of months. He is experiencing the cost of living at Langkawi as really cheap and enjoys the life of a tourist. *“The cost of living is nothing compared to Europe”* was mentioned by the 46-year old son. People can do a lot with their money at Langkawi. Shopping is a major activity for people travelling to Malaysia (Mosbah 2014). Even at Langkawi a shopping mall has been built on the main street between the beaches. Also the health care is cheap around Langkawi. When elderly people get sick, one can go to a clinic at Langkawi or Penang. The clinics and hospitals are cheaper than in Europe and the quality is almost the same according to some residential tourists who had to visit the hospital. According to the World Health Organization, the expenditure on health care per capita has increased a lot, which means that people are spending more money on health care in Malaysia (WHO, October 2016). The health care in Malaysia is improving and more local people are taking advantage of this improvement as well while more money per capita is spend on health care.

The pull factors of Langkawi are overlapping with the description of the meaning of a better life for the European residents. Other researches are confirming those elements of a better life, namely the weather, recreation and entertainment opportunities, possibility of being active and the low cost of living (Wong 2014). The European residents can get “*good food for a good price*” told one of the second home owners. Data from the Numbeo website has been used to verify the (low) cost of living in the different countries. The Numbeo website is founded by Mladan Adamovic, a software engineer, and the data on the website is not influenced by governmental organizations (Numbeo, November 2016). The cost of living in Malaysia has an average index of 42,24 (Numbeo, November 2016). The index is a relative indicator for the costs of goods. Those goods are food, groceries, transport, restaurants and utilities (Numbeo, November 2016). The average index of Malaysia is compared with the cost of living in New York City, which means that cost of living in is almost 58% lower than in New York City. It was possible to compare Malaysia with The Netherlands, while many of the respondents happened to be Dutch from origin.

- The consumer prices are 43,51% lower in Malaysia
- The rent prices are 65,40% lower in Malaysia
- The restaurant prices are 74,23% lower in Malaysia compared to The Netherlands (Numbeo, November 2016).

The cost of living turns out to be much lower in Malaysia compared to The Netherlands, which is important for the European residents for their creation of a ‘better’ life. The low inflation rate and low cost of living are definite pull factors of Malaysia for residential tourists (Abdul-Aziz 2014). More about the search for a better life will follow in the next section.

The culture

The culture of Malaysia is another reason for European residents to get attracted to the country. For example, as an old man alone, it is easier to get a young girl or woman in Malaysia told the old marine man. The relationship between men and women are different in Malaysia. “*Women are more traditional*” according to the old marine man. People think more about their families and will take care of an old man. Those young girls might also have other reasons to be interested in an older man, but this is a positive side for the older man according to the old marine man. He is travelling with his wife so this statement is not referring to him. He is just convinced that women are willing to take more care of their family and husband in Malaysia compared to Europe. The culture in Malaysia differs from cultures in other South East Asian countries. A second home owner from Bali has been living in Asia since 1970 and experienced the development of the different countries around Malaysia.

- *“People say Thailand has more culture than Malaysia, but that is not true”*. (Bali second home owner)

He thinks Malaysia has more different cultures, but the religion is a struggling point for him in South East Asia. Indonesia and Malaysia is like water and fire he explained. *“Indonesia is more extreme than Malaysia”* on the level of religion while the Islam is more extreme in Indonesia according to him. However, most tourists visit Bali, which is not comparable with the rest of Indonesia. On top of that, the research has been on Langkawi and the thoughts about the other countries are not possible to be verified with the collected data.

Another element of the culture is the mentality of people who live in Malaysia. The mentality is better than in Thailand according to the couple of the son who lives in Singapore.

- *“People do not see Western people as a target”* (Old marine man)

However this is the case right now, but Langkawi is becoming more touristic. At this moment the European residents are not feeling disturbed in their life at Langkawi. One major advantage mentioned by all the respondents is that the local people are more relaxed than in Europe. The elderly people like the different tempo: there is no rush at Langkawi. The residential tourists prefer the slow pace of life, but are annoyed when the local people are working slowly. It is contradictory: the tourists want to get along with the slow pace of life, but also expect the local people to adapt to the (European) habits and work hard. The experiences about the slow pace of life and working will be exemplified in the next chapter. The (different) cultures are a pull factor of Langkawi, but turn out to be different in the experiences of the European residents. The European residents only like a specific part of the culture of Malaysia such as the food variety.

The food variety

The European residents enjoy the food diversity of Langkawi.

- *“Every day you can eat somewhere else”* (the couple of the shop)
- *“You can eat everything you want”* (woman at the Cactus)

The food variety is a definite pull factor of Malaysia (Wong 2014). The food at Langkawi is really diversified and the retired woman at the Cactus has been travelling to Langkawi every year. She is rather negative about Langkawi and does not want to come back next year because she is bored at Langkawi. However, she is positive about the food variety of Langkawi. One can eat *“Turkish, Asian, French, Greek and Italian”*, but most of the residential tourists prefer a few (international) restaurants. The European residents visit specific bars and restaurants, where all the other European residential tourists go to as well. The food is better in Malaysia compared to other South East Asian countries according to the couple of the son who lives in Singapore. *“We have never been sick from the food”* is what

they told. When the couple was visiting Thailand for a couple of years in a row, they got sick from the food every time. The quality of the food is better in Malaysia according to them.

Pull factors of Malaysia and Langkawi
Environment
Climate and weather
Prices
Culture
Food variety

Figure 6: Pull factors of Malaysia and Langkawi

Figure 6 summarizes the main pull factors of Langkawi (and Malaysia). One other important pull and push factor mentioned in the secondary data is the search of better quality of life. European residents move to Langkawi to create a second life with more self-fulfillment, which means a better life. On the one hand this can be seen as a push factor, because the search for a better life drives out migration from Europe. On the other hand it is a pull factor, because Langkawi offers this better quality of life. During interviews and surveys the residential tourists were questioned about their 'better' life at Langkawi.

5.3 The search of a 'better' life

- *"You can do whatever you want"* mentioned most of the respondents

The theoretical framework explained that residential tourists are moving to another country to have a 'better' life than in their home country (Casado-Diaz 2011). However, what is a 'better' life according to the European residents at Langkawi? Every day is a new day for the residential tourists. What their day looks like will be explained in the next chapter about the experiences. First an explanation for the 'better' life needs to be clarified while 95% of the respondents are convinced that they experience a 'better' life at Langkawi than back home in Europe. According to the respondents

- *"A better life is created by better weather, better food, more adventure and trips, more freedom, descent cost of living and different lifestyle"* (summarize respondents)

All those aspects can be found at Langkawi. The descent cost of living has been explained in the previous part already and some of the other element will be explained from now.

The different lifestyle

The life in Malaysia exists of being more outside, because of the better weather. The elderly people like to remain active while many of the respondents are walking, swimming or cycling every day. The environment is beautiful at Langkawi, which encourages people to be more outside: to enjoy the sun, visit the sea and the beach. *"What else do you want?"* was mentioned in informal conversations. Well, elderly people prefer other aspects of a better life as well. Of course elderly people want to live the life of a tourist, but moving to another

country means also a new, second life for them. Residential tourists want to go on trips and walk around in the nature, which is all possible at Langkawi. Mainly, because the prices are low and people can do more with their money. The quality of life is mentioned to be higher, because everything is much cheaper than back home according to the European respondents. However, it is not only about money in this case. Most of the residential tourists are people who are doing well in life, thus money will not be the main indicator of a better life (Van Noorloos 2013). The freedom to *“live a full life as created to”* seems to be another aspect of the lifestyle. Some residential tourists bring their children to Malaysia, since possibilities for international education are set up, mentioned a second home owner in Kuala Lumpur. The opportunities for children belong to a better life as well (Wong 2014) and it is even possible to bring the children when residential tourists participate in the MM2H programme. However, this element of a better life is hardly mentioned by the respondents at Langkawi while those residential tourists are older just like their children. Most of their children are grown-up and employed yet. The European residents are mostly moving alone or together with husband or wife.

The lower stress level

Residential tourists prefer the lower stress level in Malaysia. Everything in daily life goes slowly and in a different tempo than back home. People in Malaysia are never in a rush and are walking slowly on the streets. Probably, because it is warm and moisty in Malaysia and it is not a problem to arrive late. The slow pace of life is positively experienced by most of the residential tourists (Abdul-Aziz 2014).

- *“The lack of efficiency, but at the same means you learn to be more patient”*
- *‘In due time you start living in a more relaxed manner, because of this, life relaxes and eases down’* (online respondent)
- *‘Life is more relaxed in Malaysia’* (second home owner at Langkawi)

If everybody else is taking life slowly, than eventually the residential tourist will do the same. When living for a few months in Malaysia, people experience this taking slow culture. The casual and leisurely lifestyle of Langkawi is contributing to the better life of the European residents (Wong 2014). However, the slow pace of life is frustrating some of the respondents as well, which will return in the next chapter about the experiences of the European residents.

Safety

The final element of a better life is the feeling of being safe. *“The crime rate is relatively low”* was mentioned by a second home owner in Kuala Lumpur. The residential tourists have been told that Langkawi is safe and many police men are on the streets (Wong 2015). However, those police men are busy with stopping traffic instead of preventing crimes according to the second home owners (Wong 2015) and confirmed by participant observation. Why is it

bothering the residential tourists that the police men are stopping traffic? Do they have something to hide? More about this follows later in the part about corruption. Back to safety, safety is an emotion and feeling as mentioned before, but most of the respondents agreed on the fact that Malaysia is safer than other countries in South-East Asia. Malaysia scores 1,66 on the Global Peace Index, which measures the safety of a country (Guardian, November 2016). Malaysia is ranked on the 33th place of all the countries in the world, but many European countries are ranked above Malaysia (Guardian, November 2016). When taking a look at other popular tourist destinations nearby Malaysia it becomes clear that Malaysia is the safest country in South East Asia. Philippines, Thailand and Indonesia are scoring lower on the Global Peace Index compared to Malaysia (Guardian, November 2016). The European residents are not choosing Malaysia while it is safer than their home country, but the decision is made on the basis of the safety in other South East Asia countries. Next to this, the local people are friendly at Langkawi and accept the foreigners in their countries, have been experienced during participant observation. Local people are making foreigners feeling safe, accepted and leave them alone, only this might change when Langkawi gets more touristic. The feeling of being safe differs per person, but in general foreign people are positive about safety in Malaysia and at Langkawi.

- *“Langkawi is much more safe compared to other areas of Malaysia”* is how the couple of the son who lives in Singapore feels.
- However, *“it happens in secret”* mentioned the old marine man.

The son of the couple moved to Singapore for his work and has a family in Singapore nowadays. First the couple travelled to Thailand every year and since 5 years they choose for Langkawi. Thailand became too touristic for them. Langkawi is more peaceful and the couple is spending at least three months during the winter period every year. The couple is feeling safe, because beggars are illegal in Malaysia just like prostitution and drugs. Foreign people might feel safer, because of the illegality. The experiences and feelings of the residential tourism do not mean that it is really safe.

To summarize the ‘better’ life at Langkawi Figure 7 was created. Those are the most common aspects for people that create a better life at Langkawi than back home. All those elements will come back in the daily life and consumption patterns of the European residents in the next chapter.

Better life in Malaysia	
Less stress	More freedom
Better weather	Descent cost of living
Better food	Different lifestyle
More adventure	Safety

Figure 7: ‘Better life’ in Malaysia

5.4 The final choice of Langkawi

The motivations of the European residents have been discussed so far, but what makes Langkawi more attractive than other South East Asian countries? The first major difference between Malaysia and her surrounding countries has to do with religion. Not specifically the religion itself, but the level of strictness of religion. About 50% of the population in Malaysia is Muslim (Henderson 2003). Malaysia is more strictly Muslim than other South East Asian countries according to several respondents. Though Indonesia is strictly Muslim as well, but most of the residential tourists travel to Bali, which is incomparable with the rest of Indonesia. The second home owner from Bali explained that *"Bali does not belong to Indonesia according to the Indonesian people"*, because it differs so much from the rest of the country. Bali is a real tourist island just like Langkawi and the experiences of the European residents are unable to be spread to the rest of the country Malaysia. In Malaysia most bars and restaurants do not serve alcohol. However, it is possible to get a glass of beer at a local place, but the beer will not be on the bill. The waiter buys the alcohol for the customer at the local supermarket. Sometimes the restaurant serves the alcohol in a different can, so it is not visible from the outside that the can contains alcohol. This story is confirmed by own experience at Langkawi and in other parts of Malaysia. The religion is not an issue for tourists, until the local cultural traditions and the demand of the tourists clash (Henderson 2003). When looking from the other side, it is impolite to ask for a glass of alcohol when it is not on the menu. The culture and traditions should be respected by the foreign visitors. The main reason for not selling alcohol is that the owners cannot call their place 'Halal' when alcohol is served. A place is only 'Halal' when the place does not serve alcohol and pork, explained the 69-year old second home owner at Langkawi. The religion should be respected by the foreigners but instead most of the local people are adapting to the demand of the tourists.

Another difference with surrounding South East Asian countries is that Malaysia seems to be experienced as less touristic.

- *"The local people in Malaysia are leaving you alone"* (Bali second home owner)
- *"Malay people are welcoming you"* (69-year old second home owner)

Thailand seems to be more focused on the tourism sector. Local people keep trying to make contact with tourists and want to sell souvenirs and other products all the time. *"Bali is another extremity when talking about tourism"* according to the second home owner at Bali. Several residential tourists, who are nowadays travelling to Langkawi, have been to Bali before. Bali is really busy and crowded with many tourists compared to Langkawi. In Malaysia, the islands are definitely more touristic compared to the mainland, but it is still incomparable with the level of tourism at Bali and Phuket. At Langkawi Everyone says hi to each other and wants to share their culture by letting foreign people taste their food for example. Participant observation confirmed this experience of the local culture. Local people never eat alone and let everyone join them. This friendliness of the local people has been

mentioned by residential tourists as a motivation to settle down at Langkawi (Abdul-Aziz 2014). When deciding to settle down at Langkawi, the urge for a second home might occur.

Malaysia My Second Home Programme

A programme has been set up to make it easier for people to buy a second home at Langkawi, namely Malaysia My Second Home (MM2H). MM2H provides a visa for up to ten years, a bank account and insurance for the residential tourists. Figure 8 below shows the participants of the MM2H programme listed by the country of nationality. Most of the participants of the MM2H programme are coming from Asia itself, but Europe is on the second place (MM2H, January 2016).

NO.	COUNTRY OF NATIONALITY	JANUARY		CHANGE (%) 2015 / 2016
		2015	2016	
1	People's Republic of China	23	10	-56.5
2	Japan	12	7	-41.7
3	People's Republic of Bangladesh	9	5	-44.4
4	Republic of Korea	3	5	66.7
5	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	3	2	-33.3
6	Commonwealth of Australia	4	1	-75.0
7	Taiwan	1	0	-100.0
8	Singapore	0	0	0.0
9	United States of America	0	1	100.0
10	Republic of India	1	0	-100.0
11	Others	8	6	-25.0
TOTAL		64	37	-42.2

Figure 8: Nationalities of the participants of MM2H. Retrieved from the MM2H website.

The United Kingdom is even at the fifth place of participants in the programme, which can be referred to the fact that the Malaysia has been a colony of the United Kingdom. Apparently not many Asian people were staying at Langkawi, or not reached in this case, which explains the choice for the European residents. However, there are also disadvantages of a second home industry, namely the lack of accessibility (Müller 2013). Participating in the MM2H Programme is an expensive choice.

People under the age of 50 years who want to join the programme:

- Need to have a financial proof of 500,000 RM¹ in liquid assets
- An income of 10,000 RM² per month (MM2H, January 2016).
- A minimum balance of 150,000 RM³ is required for every year of stay mentioned the MM2H contact person

The residential tourists who are younger than 50 years old need to have more liquid assets and a higher income per month than residential tourists who are older than 50 years (Abdul-Aziz 2014).

¹ 500.000 Malaysian Ringgit (RM) is around 105.500 Euros. (6-12-2016)
² 10.000 Malaysian Ringgit (RM) is almost 2.100 Euros (6-12-2016)
³ 150.000 Malaysian Ringgit (RM) almost 31.500 Euros.(6-12-2016)

Residential tourists above the age of 50 years old:

- Need to have a financial proof of 350,000 RM⁴ in liquid assets
- An income of 10,000 RM per month (MM2H, January 2016). Retired people should prove that their state pension is 10,000 RM per month.
- Need a minimum balance of 100,000 RM⁵ for every year

Apparently, the second home owners need to have a certain amount of capital and income; otherwise they are unable to afford participating in the programme. The prices of the homes at Langkawi might be cheap, but joining MM2H programme is expensive. Next to the financial requirements, the programme also wants to receive a medical report from every participant and the participants need to have a medical insurance (MM2H, January 2016). It is not easy to join the programme and during the field work was discovered that several residential tourists do not want to join the programme, because of the complicated application process that contains many steps (MM2H, January 2016). The application process influences the motivation of the European residents to purchase a second home or not. It is possible to buy a second home without the programme, but this contains a lot of paper work as well according to the respondents. Without participating in the programme, the residential tourist has to arrange the insurance and visa by itself

So far, this chapter has been explaining the first part of the retirement migration process model. First the information sources are influencing the interest in a specific destination, in this case Langkawi. Once the European residents get interested, the pros and cons of migrating to Langkawi will be weighed against each other. The push and pull factors are creating the motivations of the European residents to make a decision about migration. At the end the final choice of Langkawi instead of other South East Asian destinations has been exemplified. The next chapter will follow up the flow chart by discussing the experiences of the European residential tourists at Langkawi.

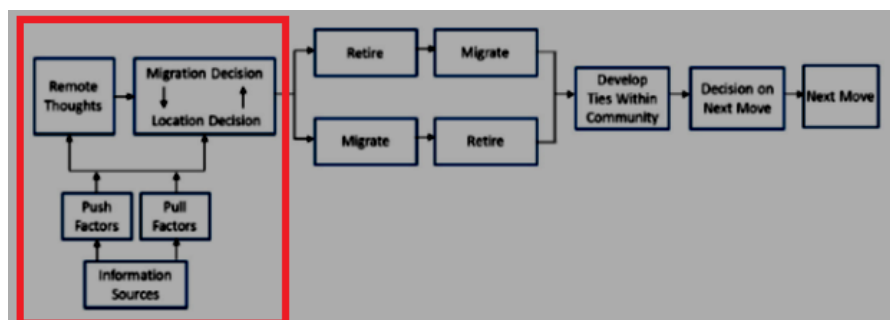


Figure 1: Retirement migration process. Retrieved from Wong (2014), page 143.

⁴ 350.000 Malaysian Ringgit (RM) is around 73.250 Euros. (6-12-2016)

⁵ 100.000 Malaysian Ringgit (RM) is around 21.000 Euros (6-12-2016)

6. The experiences of European residents

The retirement migration process will continue in this chapter while the motivations of the European residents have been discussed in the previous chapter. The experiences about the local culture and development of Langkawi will be exemplified followed by the daily life and consumption patterns of the European residents. The creation of transnational identities will conclude the chapter and the retirement migration process for Langkawi.

6.1 The experiences of the local culture of Langkawi

First a short explanation of the different population groups that are living in Malaysia will be presented before applying the experiences of the European residents on the local culture of Langkawi. The three main population groups in Malaysia are: Malaysian people, Indian people and Chinese people (Marzuki 2010). The Chinese-Malaysian people are mainly living in the bigger cities and on the islands Langkawi, Pangkor and Penang. The Indian-Malaysian people prefer Kuala Lumpur and Georgetown. Obviously the Malaysian people are living through the whole country. Around 90% of the population at Langkawi is Malaysian people, 7% Chinese-Malaysian people and 3% Indian and others (Omar 2013).

The motivations of the residential tourists have been presented in the previous, for example the culture and slow pace of life. However, in reality this slow pace of life seems to be bothering the European residents.

The slow pace of life and working at Langkawi

The Malaysian people have a different idea about working according to several respondents.

- “Malaysian people are lazy” (69-year old second home owner)
- “Local people earn 1.000 Malaysian Ringgit a month” (Old marine man)

It is rude to say that the Malaysian people are lazy, their habits and mentality just differ from the European culture. It seems hard for residential tourists to get used to all the elements of the local culture. The Malaysian people are not ‘lazy’, but just have another idea about how to work, live and spend their day. Next to this, the local people are earning much less money per hour compared to Europe. The data from the Trading Economics website confirm the average monthly wage. The Trading Economics website is founded by two A.J. Fernando Sousa and A. Fedec in New York City. Both of them have a Master degree in economics, experiences in economic research and advanced computer skills. A team of analysts and developers in Lisbon is providing accurate information for 196 countries based on official sources (Trading Economics, November 2016).

- The minimum wage in Malaysia has just turned to 1000 RM⁶ per month in July 2016 (Trading Economics, November 2016)

⁶ 1000 RM is around 209 Euros (6-12-2016)

- The average monthly wage in Malaysia is 2312 RM⁷. This means that people earn at least 6,25 RM⁸ per hour when working 40 hours per week and the average of 14,45 RM⁹.
- In Europe the average monthly wage is €1681 which is an average of €10,50 per hour (Trading Economics, November 2016).

In Europe people are earning more than 3 times the amount of money per hour (10,50 Euros instead of 3,02 Euros) and this might explain why people in Malaysia are working more slowly than in Europe. However, the cost of living in Malaysia is lower as explained in the previous chapter so a lower wage is understandable. The European residents are experiencing the pace of working as slow, but the local people might see this with a different point of view. The idea about working hard might clash when the European and Malaysian culture meet each other. The multinationals in Malaysia have to hire a certain amount of Malaysian people to set up a business according to the Dutch golf couple just like the little business places in Malaysia. The (foreign) employers are not happy with employees who do not work hard, because the working culture of multinationals differs from what the local people are used to. The local people might be working hard according to their own idea, but in the environment of a multinational the cultures might go against each other. However, a multinational should experience this more often in other countries and cultures too. It might be applicable to the case of Langkawi, but multinationals are all over the world involved with different cultures.

The European residents have the idea that Malaysian people are not familiar with the idea of maintenance. Several hotels, restaurants, beach bars and apartments have been built at Langkawi, but nothing keeps maintained by the local people. As a result, buildings are falling apart and need to be destroyed to build new ones. The question that rises from this argument is: is this a bad thing for Langkawi? Maybe the owners do not have the money to maintain their building and wait for a new investor and a new building. It happens that some of the buildings are not destroyed at all and stay empty for years. A new hotel will be built next to the old building. ‘

- *“That is the mentality in Malaysia, or mainly at Langkawi”* (46-year old son)
- *“Malay people do not build themselves”* (Dutch golf couple)
- *“Most entrepreneurs are Chinese, not Malay people”* (Couple down the beach)
- *“If you have money, you can change everything”* (Dutch golf couple)

The Malaysian people finance the programs at Langkawi, but the Chinese people are responsible for the execution of those plans mentioned the Dutch golf couple during an interview. According to them, the Chinese people are the ones who are building everything at Langkawi. Foreign direct investment seems to be happening at Langkawi too, while the

⁷ 2313 RM is around 483 Euros (6-12-2016)

⁸ 6,25 RM is around 1,31 Euros (6-12-2016)

⁹ 14,45 RM is around 3,02 Euros (6-12-2016)

main tourist attraction, the cable car, has been built by foreign people. Chinese people are also taking care of the economy and finance. The quote about the money is a European vision about the quality of life while the local people seem to be care less about the amount of money. The Chinese people would like to have the power in Malaysia according to Dutch golf couple. However, this quote is hard to be verified. On top of that, only 7% of the population at Langkawi is Chinese (-Malaysian) so their influence should be limited (Omar 2013). The couple down the beach has been visiting Malaysia every year since 2000. The couple is not retired yet, but is traveling to Langkawi every year. The couple spends the winter season at Langkawi. According to them the Chinese people maintain the place, but do not own the places while the Malaysian people are the ones who own the land, called the landlords.

The landlord story

The story of the landlords has been told many times by respondents. 'The native Malay people are the Malays and Orang Asli ethnics' (Hamzah 2013: 20). The 'Malay' people have been able to save their initial rights; because the initial land has been allocated to the initial population mentioned the 69-year old second home owner. The 'Malay' people are higher in charge and power according to the Orang Asli ethnics (Hamzah 2013). After 1990 the land started to be used for commercial purpose which turns out to be the moment when the land issues started (Hamzah 2013). It was possible to get land by the government or through the Malaysian land owner. Even at Langkawi the land owners wanted to commercialize their land. The land owners are asking high prices for their land which might be the reason for foreigners to rent a piece of land instead of buying it (Hamzah 2013).

To summarize the stories of the respondents; the landlord is the one who owns the land. In this case, the landlord can be seen as a gatekeeper (Hall 2004) while they decide what will happen to the land.

- If a foreigner wants to buy a house, than they will need a piece of land too. However, it is impossible to buy a piece of land as a foreigner." *A foreigner has to rent a piece of land from the land owner*" explained the woman at the Cactus. If the landlord dies, his son or another family member will inherit the land and decides what will happen to the land. This might result into the movement of the houses: *"Sometimes the (second) home owner has to move his house"*.

Though selling the land does not seem to be an option while the land owners have a lack of knowledge about the economic opportunities and benefits of their land (Hamzah 2013). The land owners seem to be afraid of selling the land instead of not wanting to. The European residents are seeing this as a problem, because in Europe it is obvious that buying a house goes along with buying the land. At Langkawi it does not seem to be that logical and renting a piece of land seems normal to them.

The local differences in population groups

Another clear observation at Langkawi is the contradictions between poor and rich within the different population groups.

- *“The Kampong at Langkawi is a poor area closely located to the popular beach area.”*
- *“However in the Kampong there are also very nice houses with toilets and gardens”*
(Dutch golf couple)

People who live in the Kampong do not have chairs or couches in their houses mentioned the Dutch golf couple. The dilapidated houses are most of the time owned by Malaysian people. The better houses are owned by Chinese people according to the golf couple. Again this is hard to be verified. The Chinese people are doing better in life according to the respondents, which explains the fact that Chinese people are living in better houses. Why is it bothering the European residents so much that the Chinese people are doing better than the Malaysian people? First the respondents mention that the Chinese people work harder, maintain the building and take care of the economy and welfare. Next, the respondents mention that it is unfair that the Chinese people live in ‘better’ houses.

The inequality does not only exist in possession and capital, also in the possibilities of education.

- *“The Chinese school are the best schools”*
- *“Chinese schools have a price ticket”* (Dutch golf couple)

Of course that quote is questionable. It is their idea about ‘better’ education, because Chinese people are stricter in education. Chinese schools are open to everyone only the education has a price ticket. It seems to be impossible for the poorer part of the population to attend Chinese education. However, the Malaysian people might not even want to attend Chinese schools. The Malaysian people might be satisfied by the current education. It is the experiences and thoughts of the European residents that create this unsatisfied idea. Next to this, mostly boys are attending school and girls have to stay home was explained in an informal conversation. The women who had the ability to study are living in Kuah Town, the capital of Langkawi, to find a job. Educated jobs for women are not available in other parts of the island according to the experiences of European residents. In general, the position of the women relative to men differs from the Western culture according to the respondents. Women are responsible for the household tasks, but those tasks are incomparable with the tasks in Europe. Some examples from the interviews are: women need to collect water, do the laundry by hand, hang the laundry, iron the laundry and take care of dinner for the family. The household tasks are more though compared to the European household tasks according to the Dutch golf couple. Malaysian men are doing less work namely driving taxi or fishing. The distribution of tasks between men and women are unfair according to the Dutch golf couple. However, it is the local culture and the local people are used to live this way of

life. It might seem unfair for foreigners, because foreigners are used to another culture with different traditions.

In Malaysia, in particular at Langkawi, people are not based on their talents and qualities. *"You are based on your race"* said the 46-year old son of the second home owner. Race is probably not a right word to use, because races do not exist. However, this is the way he mentioned the term to explain the differences between the population groups. Previously in the part of the landlords the inequality between the ethnic groups was mentioned already. The statement about the 'races' highlights that the original population group has a preference position in Malaysia as explained in the article of Hamzah as well. The Malaysian people are higher in charge and status. Currently the situation at Langkawi is called 'unhealthy' and 'unfair' by several respondents. The Malaysian people can get any job they want, because of the class system in Malaysia according to the 46-year old son. The 'class system' can be compared with the caste system in India. The population groups are divided into different levels and preference relations. The current system is the reason why many educated people leave Malaysia and Langkawi. Educated people cannot get the job in the sector or level of their study, because one is not in a favorable position of the system. Highly educated people are moving to Singapore or Australia to find a suitable job told the 46-year old son. Residential tourism causes the out-migration of local people as well, because the educated people do not want to work in the tourism sector (Brida 2006). When one is educated for another sector, they might have to leave Langkawi to get a job in that sector.

The experiences of religion

As explained, the greatest religion in Malaysia is the Islam (Henderson 2003). The Islam is an expressive religion while Muslim women are wearing a headscarf or burka according to the respondents. In Malaysia a lot of women are wearing at least a headscarf. In Kuala Lumpur it probably does not outstand, but when walking on the beach it might outstand for the residential tourists. Muslim women are wearing a burqini when they visit the beach, go for a swim, and go on a jet ski or other water activities. However, let's take a look from the other side. As a tourist, one is a visitor in another country. The foreigners are used to other religions, cultures and traditions. It seems normal for tourists to wear shorts, bikinis and to not cover your body when it is warm. In Europe this might be 'normal' behavior, but in Malaysia the residential tourists are the ones who outstand when they act this way. It is rude towards the Muslim people to dress like that. The old marine man never approaches a Malaysian woman without wearing a shirt or long pants. When acting in this way, the local culture is not respected. Residential tourism might be negative for the culture development, because the local people are adapting their culture to the demand of the residential tourists (Marzuki 2011).

The adaptation of the local people (and culture) to the residential tourists is also visible in the demand for alcohol. The unavailability of alcohol is bothering a large part of the tourists.

- *“If people do not sell alcohol here, there will not be tourists”* (Couple down the beach)

However it depends on the group of tourists, because there is a group of Muslim tourists as well. The 69-year old second home owner explained that on the other side of the island, not the side of Pantai Tengah and Pantai Cenang, people do not drink alcohol at all. Of course local people do not drink any alcohol; however the greatest part of the tourists seems to be non-Muslim and prefers to have a drink so now and then according to the respondents.

- *“The Islam dominates”*
- *“It is their island”* (Woman at the Cactus)

Those expressions are really offensive towards the population of Langkawi. The quotes highlight her fear toward the Islam. Religion seems an important issue for her while it came back many times during informal conversations and the interview. She is convinced that what the Muslim people want, that is what will happen. She agrees with the 69-year old second home owner that the sound of the mosques is annoying in the morning. On top that, *“Men wearing dresses is just weird for me. I don’t want it to become extreme people”*. She sounded afraid of the Islam, just like some other European respondents. An explanation for this might be the current situation with the IS in Europe and other parts of the world. During the research at Langkawi, several terrorist attacks happened in Europe. This explains why some European people are afraid of the Islam at the moment of the research.

- *“A lot of Muslim tourists are here now, but this will change once other places and countries are safe again for example Turkey and Egypt”* (46-year old second home owner)

The respondents have been visiting Langkawi for years now and all of them mentioned that currently there are many Muslim tourists compared to other years. Due to the world situation today, Muslim tourists are travelling more often to Malaysia and other countries in South East Asia. The research is a snapshot of that moment and might have different results a few years ago or in the future.

However, not every other respondent is as negative about the Islam as the previous mentioned respondents. Some respondents think that the Islam is rather flexible at Langkawi.

- *“In the mountains there are Buddhist temples”*
- *“You used to hear the mosques more often a few years ago”* (Old marine man)

At Langkawi, and in the rest of Malaysia, several Buddhist and Hinduist temples are built and told the old marine man. The old marine man mentioned that the tourists need to

accept the different religions and cultures. The residential tourists are guests and should not take over the place. The Islam is getting more extreme in the rest of the world, but not at Langkawi according to the old marine man. Hindu people are even allowed to build schools, just like the Muslim people. Most respondents are convinced that Chinese people will make sure that the Islam will not get too extreme and stay in line. Though the development is hold back by the religion according to several respondents. This might cause a decline in the development phase of Langkawi. Contrasting stories have been told by the respondents. Some of them are telling that the Islam is flexible at Langkawi and other people think that the Islam is too present.

- *“Muslim women working at the hotel do not wear headscarves when they are working. When they finish work they put them back on”* (Couple with son in Singapore)

This story was interesting, because I only heard this story once. It might be true, but maybe those girls are not strictly Muslim while Muslim women do not work in a hotel or another comparable place when following their religion strictly. If this story is true, than Muslim women are adapting to the foreigners again. Unfortunately, it should be the other way around. Malaysia is a Muslim country, but sometimes tourists seem to forget about this. Finally, some residential tourists prefer to visit a Christian church which is possible in other parts of Malaysia, but limited at Langkawi (Wong 2015). The backgrounds and daily life patterns of the respondents influence their vision towards the religion at Langkawi. Most of the European residents are not Muslim, but believe in another religion. This makes it harder to understand each other and the different cultures, religions and traditions.

The experiences of communication

The final experience about the local culture is the fact that most of the Malaysian people speak the English language, which can be explained by the fact that Malaysia has been a colony of Great Britain until 1957. The lack of a language barrier is a trigger for residential tourists to travel to Malaysia in the first place (Abdul-Aziz 2014). However, just like the alcohol issue, the foreign people will have to adapt to the country.

- *“A foreigner will always be an outsider”* (Dutch golf couple)

Being an outsider is a feeling. A foreigner should open up to the local society and culture to become an ‘insider’. A reason to be an ‘outsider’, or feel like one, might be the case when one is not able to speak the local language. From all the respondents, only 36% speaks the local language. If foreigners speak the local language, more interaction will take place, which results into a better social connection. It is expected that elderly people have all the time to socialize with local people (Gustafson 2008). However, that is harder when people do not speak the same language. Both parties will benefit from the interaction between foreigner and local people while the socio-cultural development of Malaysia will improve (Stapa 2013). Not everyone in Malaysia speaks English, which makes it harder for some of the foreigners

to communicate. Of course learning the local language is also a way of showing respect for the local culture according to the 69-year old second home owner. The Malaysia My Second Home programme provides culture and language sessions for the second home owners (MM2H, January 2016) to improve the interaction between the second home owners and the local people and communities.

Finally, in most parts of Europe people are allowed to say whatever they think or want. In the Malaysian culture people are less direct in their communication. The lack of social ethics seems to be disturbing the 69-year old second home owner (Abud-Aziz 2014), but it depends on the own ethics of the European resident. *"It is getting better, but people are still holding back"* mentioned the Dutch golf couple. It seems that the European residents are willing to communicate with the local people, but they are having some struggles because of the different languages and the different use of communication. During informal conversations with working people in Malaysia this came back as a struggling point as well. During the time spend in Kuala Lumpur; several European students were met who told about their experiences in the working environment of Malaysia. It is challenging to work in an Asian culture.

The local culture and the rise of the residential tourism sector both have an influence on the development (and transformation) of the island Langkawi. The European residents have been telling stories about the development of Langkawi which are interesting to analyze while the background study of the thesis is in the area of development studies.

6.2 The experiences of the development of Langkawi

Langkawi used to be a quiet and peaceful island a long time ago according to the respondents who have been visiting Langkawi for a longer time. The old marine man was telling stories about how Langkawi looked like in the past.

- *"The cows used to walk on the streets and beaches"* (Old marine man)

Langkawi transformed from an island with farmers and fisher men into a busy tourist destination (Omar 2013). Currently it is hard to imagine that cows could walk on the streets when visiting and observing the island. First, only wooden houses existed at the island. Obviously wooden houses are not solid enough to survive an earthquake or tsunami and many buildings on the island were ruined by the tsunami in 2004 told the old marine man. *"Fortunately, the reef hold back most of the water"*, which is located between two islands in front of the bigger island, Langkawi.

The beach area

The couple who is renting a beach house and visiting Malaysia for 10 years now, told that every year when they arrive at Langkawi something new has been built.

- *"Like a bomb had exploded"* (Couple down the beach)

- *“5 Years ago the development exploded”* (Couple down the beach)

A lot of buildings, restaurants, bars, shops and many more buildings are being constructed in the beach area. The couple is convinced that the beach will be too small in the future for the amount of tourists. The explosion of the development fits into the consolidation stage of the tourism area lifecycle model. Rapid development has happened at Langkawi and this over-developing has been mentioned by other residential tourists too (Abdul-Aziz 2014). The welfare of Langkawi has obviously improved during the last 15 years and according to them (residential) tourism is the only explanation for this.

- *“In a few years there will be nothing if this goes on and on”* (Old marine man)

Most of the respondents had a negative attitude towards the future development of Malaysia, because the development goes too fast according to them. According to the respondents the speed of the development will destroy itself later on. The acme of tourism is reached now at Langkawi. The beach areas are too busy at this moment according to several respondents.

- *“A boulevard has been constructed last month”*
- *‘Imagine a boulevard in Spain or France’* (Beach house owners)

First, there was not a boulevard or a path to walk on, only sand existed. The beach area is becoming too ‘busy’ and too ‘touristic’. Over-crowding seems to be an issue at Langkawi (Abdul-Aziz 2014) and in other popular tourist areas. The beach house owners are convinced that motorbikes will drive on the boulevard and that local people will start selling products next to the boulevard. However, is this bad for the island? The residential tourists seem to dislike the growth of the tourism sector, but the other tourists might see these changes more positively. On the edge of the beach used to be a quiet restaurant, but since this year local people opened a restaurant at the same spot.

- *“The restaurants closes at 2 or 3 a.m.”*
- *“It is not quiet anymore”*
- *“the quiet, peaceful area is changing”* (Beach house owners)

The elderly people are hearing (local) people on the beach at 6 a.m. The quiet area used to be the reason for the residential tourists to settle down at Langkawi. When the Malaysian people started running the place, obviously they stopped selling alcohol. As a result, foreigners do not visit the place anymore, which seems a bit rude relative to the local people. From own experience, foreigners are leaving or not visiting the restaurant when they are not able to drink a glass of wine or beer.

Another disturbance of the quiet beach area is the cars and motorbikes that are driving on the beach during the day, which is dangerous for playing children according to the Dutch golf couple. *“Actually, it is dangerous for everyone who is walking, laying, running or playing on*

the beach” was mentioned during the interview. Local people used to have respect for everyone told the old marine man, but the respect towards the tourists is disappearing. However, what about the respect of the residential tourists towards the local people? Obviously the local people are providing the boulevard and the beach activities for the tourists. The (residential) tourists want to go on a jet ski, a banana boat, paragliding and so on. Why are the tourists complaining? Or is it only the residential tourists who are complaining? The residential tourists might not want to do all those tourist activities anymore and want Langkawi to stay a quiet and peaceful island.

Growth of contradictions

- *“The development is going too fast!”* (Old marine man)

The over-developing of Langkawi came back in every interview (Abdul-Aziz 2014). The old marine man is a bit disappointed by the situation of Langkawi right now. He has experienced the development of Langkawi from the last 16 years and does not like the way it is going nowadays. The inequality is high at Langkawi, just like in the rest of Malaysia. The main change in the development of Malaysia and at the Island Langkawi is the growth of contradictions according to him. The contradictions are increasing every year was mentioned by several respondents. The main streets next to the beaches are developing faster than the Kampong. In the Kampong people are living in old wooden houses with limited access to water and lack of electricity. However, in the Kampong itself the contradictions are high as well between the more developed and less developed houses. When looking at the economic development, it is not going well at this moment, *“the middle class is becoming less”* said the second home owner. It is hard to measure and verify this statement. The unemployment rate is falling, because of the tourism sector (Omar 2013), but the agricultural sector is not benefitting from the tourism sector. What the 69-years old second home owner means is that there are very rich people and very poor people at Langkawi. The tourism sector was expected to reduce the gap between rich and poor. Unfortunately, it enlarged the contradictions within the local society of Langkawi according to him. The beach area of Langkawi is really good developed while the Kampong is still a ‘mess’. People have built locks for the rice fields.

- *“Now the big puddles exists for the rice production”* (Dutch golf couple)
- *“There are some enormous moneylenders who want to invest. Like the sultan of Kuah”* (Dutch golf couple)

The extensive rice fields did not exist 15 years ago. Only a few animals were grazing on the fields in the Kampong. The development is going slowly in the Kampong and moneylenders and investors are needed for the development of Langkawi. The question remains: to what extent? Not everyone agrees about (residential) tourism being positive for the development of Malaysia.

- *“It will never work”* (69-year old second home owner)
- *“Tourism will never be something at Langkawi”* (69-year old second home owner)

The reason he gave for his statements is that religion is holding back the development. The impact of religion has already been discussed and might withhold some of the tourists traveling to Langkawi in the future. However, will the European residents really stay home because of the religion?

Improvement of public facilities

The infrastructure improved at Langkawi, partly because of the (residential) tourism sector. One major improvement of the infrastructure is the construction of the airport in 1985 (Omar 2013). *“That is better than travelling by bus from Kuala Lumpur and then the boat to the island”* was mentioned by several respondents. The flight from Kuala Lumpur to Langkawi is only one hour. Currently around 1,1 million tourists arrive by airport and 2,2 million people by jetty (LADA, September 2016). From the table of the tourist arrivals of 2014 and 2015 can be concluded that most of the domestic tourists, from Malaysia, are still travelling by boat, because the boat trip is much cheaper than a flight. The ferry terminal has been created in 1988 to make the island more accessible for the tourists from other countries too (Omar 2013). Most of the foreign people prefer to arrive at Langkawi by airplane. The sanitary facilities have improved, because of programs from the National Hydraulic Research Institute of Malaysia (NAHRIM, October 2016) to prevent the waste water from going into the sea. Development of the tourism sector requires governmental support to keep the island clean and healthy.

Improvement of (international) tourist facilities

The local government wants to keep developing the tourism sector and started providing international restaurants, bars and other touristic attractions.

- *“A long time ago there were only farmers, agriculture and a little bit of rice-growing”* (Old marine man)
- *“First there were only Malay restaurants and bars”* (Couple with son in Singapore)
- *“Everything at Langkawi used to be authentic”*. (Couple with son in Singapore)
- *“The charms of the island are disappearing”* (Woman at the Cactus)
- *“The ambiance will disappear when all the local restaurants disappear”* (Couple down the beach)

Nowadays there is a beach area full of beach houses, hotels, restaurants, bars, Mc Donald’s, KFC, a shopping mall and so on. *“It is a commercial island, but people leave you alone”* according to the 46-year old son of the second home owner. However, how long with this last? Currently companies like Mc Donald’s, KFC and Subway founded restaurants in the beach area. A few years ago it was hard to find normal bread at Langkawi or elsewhere in Malaysia was mentioned by several respondents. Only 3 or 4 years ago a bakery was

founded at Langkawi and in Kuah Town an international supermarket can be found to buy everything a foreigner wants. The residential tourists are complaining about those international businesses, but why? Everything has been constructed and set up for them while the residential tourists want to have the ability to go to these places. From interviews it came forth that the residential tourists are dining out at the same places where they can eat 'normal' food and local food. The statements are contradictory while the residential tourists want to maintain the charms of the island, but their demands and needs go beyond this.

On top of that, enormous hotels are being built for the international tourist flow, which are unpayable for the local people. With an average month salary of 214 Euros it is impossible to stay at those expensive hotels (Trading Economics, November 2016). The hotels are specifically built for the (residential) tourists. A long time ago, only a few hotels and apartments existed on the island. Nowadays it is getting overfull at the beach area according to the beach house owners and several other respondents. The hotels are built by mostly foreign investors. However, sometimes the construction of a hotel stops for a while when the contractor runs out of money. The construction workers will wait for a new investor for a few months or years before finishing their job. At this moment, the hotel owners in the beach area from Pantai Tengah to Pantai Cenang have to leave their hotel, because the government wants to build a main road from the beach area to Kuah Town. *"The hotel owner gets a purchase scheme, which is paid for every room"* explained the couple of the shop. Enormous hotels are being built with as many rooms as possible. Just in case the hotel needs to move again. The hotel owner wants to receive as much money as possible. It does not matter if the rooms stay empty for a while. The enormous hotels in the beach area are in contrast with the poorer Kampong area. The development is causing a rise of the contradictions on the island.

So far, the experiences about the local cultures and development have been discussed. However the level of interaction between the European residents and the local culture are dependent on the daily patterns of the European residents. It seems that the issue about alcohol keeps coming back in every experience, which might be explained by the daily patterns of the European residents.

6.3 The daily pattern of a European resident

A characteristic of a residential tourist is that he or she wants to live the rest of their life as a tourist. The daily (consumption) pattern of the resident describes the lifestyle of the European residents (Benson 2014). First the general daily pattern will be discussed, followed by reducing to the consumption part.

When asking the question: 'What do you do during a day?' most respondents answered quite the same. The day starts by waking up whenever the residential tourist wants to wake up. Most of the elderly people are waking up early and have a cup of coffee or tea to start

the day. The residential tourist has some breakfast and goes for a walk through the Kampong or on the beach. Once returned to their apartment or house, the residential tourist will have a cup of coffee or tea again. During the day the European resident goes swimming, puzzling, searching on the laptop, walking around, reading, sleeping, and driving around with a car sometimes, goes for lunch, goes for a drink and many other touristic activities. People like to enjoy the nature in the surroundings and that is what residential tourism is about.

- *“When you breathe three times, day is over!”* (69-year old second home owner)

Time is flying at Langkawi according to most of the respondents. The couple from the shop does not have a car, but prefers to go walking everywhere. Once in a while the couple of the shop takes a taxi to another part of the island to go for a drink or dinner. All the respondents are dining out every night. Nobody is cooking dinner at home. The reasons for dining out are; people do not have a kitchen, people do not want to cook dinner, it is too warm to cook and on top of that it is cheap to go out for dinner. Figure 9 summarizes the general daily pattern of a European resident at Langkawi.

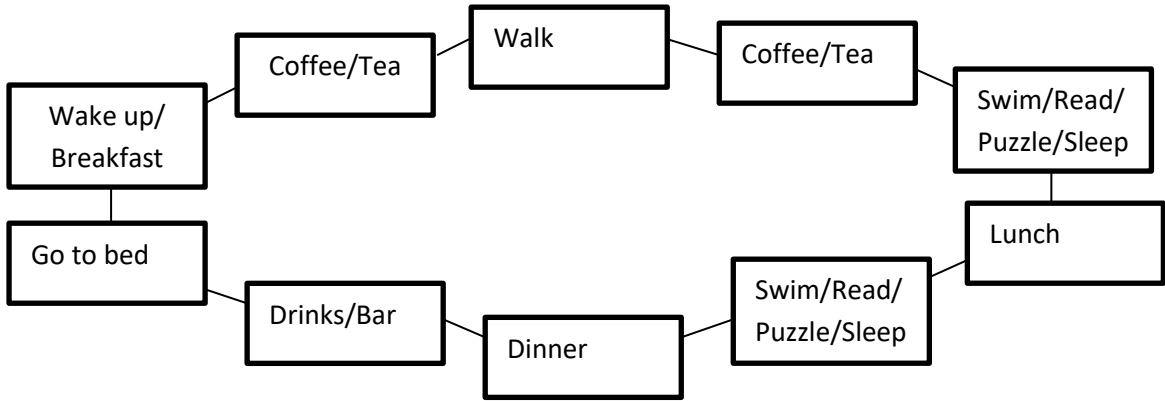


Figure 9: Daily pattern at Langkawi

A small part of the European residents is a bit younger, below the age of 60, and has a different daily pattern. For example; drinking beer during the day, walking or running on the beach and do volunteer work. After dinner, the European residents go to the same bars to have a drink to finish the day.

- *“Dining out will cost around 90-120¹⁰ ringgit a night, with a bottle wine”* (Couple from the shop)
- *‘You can live like a god here with your state pension’* (Several respondents)

The price mentioned is the price is for dinner for both of them. According to the couple it is impossible to do groceries for that price. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the cost of living is much lower in Malaysia compared to The Netherlands (Numbeo 2016) while the prices in restaurants and prices for groceries are lower (Numbeo 2016). All the European residents, especially the Dutch residents, join together every night at the same bar. During

¹⁰ 90-120 Malaysian Ringgit is 19-25 Euros (6-12-2016)

the day the residential tourists leave each other alone to do their own thing and daily pattern as mentioned by several respondents. Around 6 p.m. two of the couples spoken with meet for a glass of wine or beer and go for dinner after this. Possibly other European residents are doing the same. The level of integration in the local communities stays low while the European residents are joining together in one group. The transnational spaces remain to exist when the European people meet up with each other.

Another common activity of the residential tourists is getting a massage. The Dutch golf couple gets a massage at home twice a week. One is able to get a massage everywhere in Malaysia. Massage places can be found on every corner of the street was mentioned by the respondents. On top of that, massages are relatively cheap compared to a massage in Europe. Life is cheap at Langkawi mentioned the respondents, only the flight to Malaysia and Langkawi is expensive. One day a week the man of the Dutch golf couple goes to the golf course to play golf. There is a golf course located in the Northern part of the island. Other residential tourists like to go to Sky Bridge or visit the cable car. Those are all popular tourist places at Langkawi. However, second home owners have seen those places many times and prefer to go when people are visiting them. The woman at the Cactus, who is bored at Langkawi, is doing the same thing every day. Every day looks the same: *“breakfast, biking, groceries, lunch at home, go to the beach, go for dinner and drinks.”* All the residential tourists seem to have the same daily pattern and that is something one should like to do when living or spending a longer time at Langkawi. It is a small island and feels like a little village for most of the respondents, which is not a positive experience for everyone.

6.4 The consumption pattern of a European resident

The consumption pattern explains mainly what the European residents are doing with their money at Langkawi. Where do they spend their money on and how much money do they spend? The outcomes of the surveys and interviews are analyzed to discover the general role and impact of the residential tourism sector at Langkawi.

First of all, every resident needs accommodation during the stay at Langkawi. European residents have to pay rent for the accommodation, unless the residents bought a second home. However, most of the second home owners will still pay a rental price for the land to the landlord. All the respondents have been traveling to Langkawi for more than five year and agreed that from their experiences the rental prices have risen at the island. Not only the rental prices, but the price level in general. The rent per night at Langkawi has an average of below 50 Euros according to the residential tourists. The rent per night at Langkawi was measured in steps of 50 Euros and most of them filled in the choice 0-50 Euros. It is hard to measure an average within this option. It is useful to discover the rest of the consumption pattern of the residential tourist to create a better vision of the expenditures of the European residents.

The number one expenditure is dining out, because the residential tourists go out for dinner 2 or even 3 times a day. People prefer to dine out, because most of them do not have a kitchen and the ability to prepare food at home. Residential tourists are able to go out for dinner every night, because most of the respondents are earning or receiving more than 1250 Euros a month, which is a lot of money when one lives at Langkawi or Malaysia. The monthly average wage in Malaysia is almost three times less (Trading Economics, November 2016) and the foreigners are not even working. European residents go out for dinner for less than 10 Euros per day. It is not only the money that encourages the European residents to go out for dinner. Dining out is part of the ideal second life of a tourist. Why should one cook at home when one has done this his or her whole life already?

The average amount of money residential tourists are spending per day is below 30 Euros. However, residential tourists who are living in Kuala Lumpur are spending not that much more per day, an average of 125 Malaysia Ringgit, which equals 26 Euros (the exchange rate of 6-12-2016). It seems that the cost of living at Langkawi is almost the same as the cost of living in the city, Kuala Lumpur. However, most of the respondents in Kuala Lumpur are partly working and at Langkawi the residential tourists are living the life of a tourist. Obviously when living like a tourist, the total expenditures will be higher compared to employed people while the European residents go shopping and on trips for example. Figure 10 below summarizes the expenditures of the European residents at Langkawi.

1.	Dining out
2.	Groceries
3.	Gas
4.	Shopping
5.	Trips

Figure 10: Top 5 expenditures of European residents.

70% of the respondents think that as a residential tourist they are investing in the local economy, because they spend their money at Langkawi by dining out, drinking, buying groceries, shopping and trips, which are all good for the development of the local economy of Langkawi. The experiences of the European residents do not say anything about the rest of Malaysia or about the local community. The respondents think that by spending money every day that they invest in the local economy. Part of the consumption pattern is of course the purchase of a second home. Buying a second home can be seen as an investment in the local economy.

6.5 A second home at Langkawi

Only 25% of the respondents own a second home at Langkawi. The other part is in general not interested in a second home. The experiences of the European residents have been used to discover the idea of a second home at Langkawi. An organization intensively involved in the second home industry is the Malaysia My Second Home Programme (MM2H). The

MM2H programme was set up to make it easier for people to migrate to Malaysia. The explication of this programme confirms that Langkawi has passed the involvement phase of the tourism area lifecycle model. The participants of the programme contribute directly and indirectly to the economic development of Malaysia, because residential tourists are not immigrants and they are not tourists (Aminudin 2014). Residential tourists are in between those two terms. During the research several respondents have been reached who are involved in this programme. One of the main advantages of joining the MM2H programme is the visa which gets provided by the organization. The respondents confirmed that the visa is seen as the main reason to join the programme while the residential tourists are getting older and the short run for a visa becomes a bigger challenge every year.

Meanwhile, MM2H provides her three reasons for residential tourists to join the programme, which are displayed in Figure 11: ‘government support, culture & language and recreation & entertainment’ (MM2H, January 2016). For example, the MM2H programme provides Malay language courses are mentioned on the MM2H website. Learning the local language improves the interaction with local people and increases the creation of transnationalism.

Why MM2H?
Government support
Culture and language
Recreation and entertainment

Figure 11: MM2H’s reasons to choose for participation in the programme

During surveys and interviews other reasons for the choice of MM2H programme are given as well. The data collected from the MM2H programme explains that residential tourists who join the MM2H programme are free to bring their unmarried children when the children are less than 21 years old. For the residential tourists themselves, it does not matter what race, gender, religion or age they are having (MM2H, January 2016). When participating in the programme, one is not allowed to work or be employed was explained by the MM2H contact person. That is why the respondents of the research should not be working at Langkawi, but are allowed to work at home. The outcomes of the surveys are ambivalent to this characteristic of the programme. Some of the respondents have a second home and are working in Malaysia. However, it is unknown if they earn money or if it is volunteer work. On top of that most of the non-retired people return home after a few months, because they still have a job or business back home.

75% of the respondents stay at Langkawi for a longer time every year while 25% of the respondents actually owns a second home at Langkawi. Besides this, only 10% of the respondents would like to buy a second home at Langkawi, if they do not possess one yet. The main reason for purchasing second home is that “life is cheap” at Langkawi. Buying a house at Langkawi is a lot cheaper compared to buying a house in The Netherlands according to several Dutch respondents. The average price to purchase property in the State

of Kedah, where Langkawi is located, is 1,000,000 RM ¹¹ (Malaysia My Second Home, April 2016). However, the state of Kedah is too broad to be specific about Langkawi. The state of Kedah is used to create an idea about the price level at Langkawi, but the lack of secondary data makes it impossible to verify. Again the data on the website of Numbeo has been sought to compare the level of property price with Europe.

- The average price of a property per Square Meter in Malaysia is €1,794
- The average price of a property per Square Meter in The Netherlands €3,417 (Numbeo, November 2016).

It is much cheaper to purchase property in Malaysia compared to The Netherlands (or other countries in Europe). Again this can be explained by the lower wages in Malaysia which makes it obvious that rental prices, property prices and the cost of living remain lower compared to Europe. The Malaysia My Second Home Programme is the main actor in the purchasing process of a second home. MM2H programme offers visa for up to ten years which means that residential tourists do not have to go in and out of the country for a couple of days every three months. The residential tourists are allowed to stay in Malaysia for ten years and are able to extend their visa after those ten years. The MM2H programme will arrange the visa stamp in Kuala Lumpur, which saves time and money for the residential tourist at Langkawi. However, after ten years the second home owner needs to go through the application process again and especially showing money again (Müller 2013). The application process of a visa and extension of the programme is a hazard for some of the residential tourists (Wong 2015). The application process has been explained by one of the second home owners living at Langkawi. The 69-year old second home owner told all the ins and outs of MM2H programme during several informal conversations.

Another advantage is that MM2H programme provides insurance and a bank account. Many other respondents have explained this progress as well, but not everyone wants to purchase a second home in Malaysia. The man with his son living in Singapore wants to apply for a second home, but his wife is against this idea. Her main reason is that she wants to be able to do something every day. Life will be different on this island Langkawi compared to the life back home has been an often reason given by several respondents to question the idea of returning to Langkawi next year. It seems that not everyone is enthusiastic about buying a second home at Langkawi. So, what are those reasons for 90% of the respondents to not buy a second home at Langkawi?

Reasons to not buy a second home

Impossible to buy land: The main reason to be against the idea of a second home is that foreign people can buy a house at Langkawi, but are not able to buy a piece of land. Every respondent mentioned this specific argument during interviews and surveys. The land will always belong to the landowner and when the landowner dies; his son will decide what will

¹¹ 1,000,000 RM is around 210.000 Euros. (6-12-2016)

happen with the land. The landowners can be seen as the gatekeepers of the real estate industry (Hall 2004). *"It is smart, otherwise the Chinese people would have bought all the land"* mentioned the 69-year old second home owner. Buying a house without owning the land, *"that is the reason why I don't want to spend my money into a second home"* explained the Dutch golf couple. More about the landlord's story will follow in the next chapter.

Easy extension of a visa: The providing of a visa is not for everyone a good reason to buy a second home with MM2H programme, while *"it is easy to get an extension for two or three months at customs"* according to the old marine man. The old marine man only pays 50 ringgit ¹² for one month extension. Several respondents mentioned that when people get older, it is getting harder to fly to Singapore for a visa run. *"They know I spend my money here now in those days"*. However, people have to go to customs to get this extension.

Easy to rent: It is easy to rent a house or an apartment for a few weeks or months with Airbnb or Home Away for example. *"It is hard to sell your house when you want to get rid of it"* is another reason given by one of the respondents in an informal conversation. However this is the case with every house. He mentioned that people create their own style in the house which makes it hard to sell. It is not a strong argument to forgo a second home.

Quality of houses: The quality of buying a house is also poor according to some foreign people. That is why renting is preferred by most of the residential tourists. Besides this, the elderly people think that they are too old to earn property and simply do not have the desire to own property.

Local partner: A foreigner needs a local partner when building a home at Langkawi, because foreign people do not know what is going on with their house when they are away. *"You need a good, loyal, local partner"* mentioned the 69-year old home owner. It is important that the second home owner trusts his or her partner. Second home owners can also use an agency to look after the house, but *"some of the money will definitely end up in their pockets instead of yours"* explained the former second home owner. That is the reason why he does not have a second home anymore. He used to have a second home at Bali and knows the problems of having a second home in South East Asia.

Uncertainty: When the house is built with all the correct contracts and permissions, it is still possible for the local people to take away the land. *"When another sultan start to rule for example"* told the Dutch golf couple. When the sultan needs the land, all the people need to move their house. It is the uncertainty that holds back the foreigner. *"We have been looking for a piece of land, but you never know if your house will still be there when you come back next year"* told the Dutch golf couple. The unstable political environment was mentioned as well, which might refer to the fact that the sultan of Kedah changes every six years. People will never know what will happen with a new sultan. However, the political situation is more

¹² 50 Malaysian Ringgit is 10,45 Euros (6-12-2016)

stable compared to other South-East Asian countries. Especially more stable than Japan for example (Wong 2015).

Obligation: On top of that, people oblige themselves to go back every year to the same island. Many respondents do not like the fact of being forced to go back every year. The older generation of the European residents does not want to arrange a second home, because of this uncertainty. It is a far flight every year and *“now we can go here and we do not have to”* mentioned the old marine man. The European residents want to stay free in their choices, which is understandable with the average age of 64 years old.

Extra care: The elderly people are not always capable of taking care of the house and the land. *“When I have a second home, my wife needs to start cooking and I need to take care of the garden”* told the old marine man. The old marine man does not want to do this anymore. It is easier for them to rent a house, go out for dinner every night and let the cleaners take care of the house. The couple who stays at the beach house explained that the cleaners clean the room once in two days. *“You get fresh bed sheets and fresh towels, what do you want more?”*. When people own a second home they need to do all the household work themselves. The second life of a tourist does not fit into this picture. However, other people are willing to do something more during their stay at Langkawi. *“We have a house with everything on it for rent, a kitchen, a bathroom, they clean it for your and wash your clothes. I am bored now.”* said the woman at the Cactus, just this reason can be called a luxury problem.

In Figure 12 below an overview of the main reasons for purchasing a second home or not are displayed.

Yes	No
Cheap	Need a local partner
Visa	Easy to rent
Insurance and bank account	Not able to buy land
	Uncertainty
	Give up freedom of choice
	Household work
	No desire to own property

Figure 12: Pros and cons of a second home.

Obviously the European residential tourists have more reasons to not buy a second home, because 90% of the respondents do not want to purchase a second home. None of the respondents mentioned the amount of money, which is needed to purchase a second home. Money remains a sensitive topic to talk about.

6.6 The creation of transnational identities

During the migration retirement process a few steps have been taken so far and the level of integration into the local communities has been reached yet. The level of integration

depends on the social ambitions of the European residents (Brida 2006). When the European residents keep meeting up with only foreigners, the lack of integration will continue. Language and cultural diversity are making the integration harder for residential tourists (Brida 2006), but the language barrier seems to be not a point of discussion at Langkawi. Besides this, the culture is indeed playing an important role in the level of integration into the local community. The foreigners seem to prefer to hang out with other foreigners and people that they know or met already. The transnational spaces remain when hanging out with only foreigner as mentioned earlier. Most of the residential tourists are moving back and forward between Langkawi and Europe and have feet in both countries. Their habitus does not have to be transformed that much while eventually they will return home.

The integration into the local community results into the creation of transnational identities. The European residents are having a life back home and a life at Langkawi. Residential tourism is creating other forms of tourism (Brida 2006). Namely 18 out of the 21 European residents get visitors from their home country during their stay at Langkawi. Those visitors are influencing the (lack of) local interaction. The physical distance is being declined while the European residents are getting visitors from back home and improvement of communication technologies are making the contact with family back home easier as well (King 2013). The elderly couple just uses Skype and Facebook to keep in contact with family back home. The good internet connections are making it possible to keep in contact with family members (Abdul-Aziz 2014). Skype is the most used social media to keep in contact with family members or friends. Elderly people are still using e-mail and phone often as well. However, it is expensive to call by phone and that is why most of the respondents are using the internet nowadays. Skype goes by internet, which means that people will need Wi-Fi connection. That is not a matter of course in Malaysia. Wi-Fi is still growing and developing in Malaysia. Most of the respondents are having weekly contact with people back home. All the respondents are using WhatsApp for contact as well. WhatsApp and Skype are the main social media that are used for creating the transnational identities. Below in Figure 13, the top 5 of contact channels is showed and Skype is definitely the number one social media used by residential tourists to have contact with people back home.

1.	Skype
2.	WhatsApp
3.	E-mail
4.	Phone
5.	Facetime

Figure 13: Top 5 contact channels used by European residents.

Most of the European residents mention that they do not need or want visitors from back home, because when people go back to the same place they will make friends. *“We have friends in Kuah and surroundings”* mentioned the Dutch golf couple. Every year the Dutch

golf couple meets up with the same friends again at Langkawi. It is like a little Europe at Langkawi. When the residential tourists are integrating more within the society, the local people can learn from them as well. The Dutch golf couple mentioned that sometimes local people are asking them for advice, for example: 'how do you do that in Europe?' It would be nice if the different cultures integrate more intensively. In this way more transnational identities will be created and the socio-cultural development of Langkawi might improve. Some respondents are having friends over from their home country every year like the couple from the shop back home. The couple with their son who lives in Singapore, visits them for two weeks every year and last year the whole family came over with Christmas. The couple does not prefer to spend all the months in Singapore. First of all, "Singapore is too expensive to stay for a longer time" and they do not want to bother their son for such a long time. Again those visitors and foreign friends explain the lack of interaction into the local communities. It just seems easier to communicate with European people or maybe the residential tourists do not have the urge to integrate. The European residents seem to 'fail' in the creation of transnationalism because in the end most of them return home again.

Most of the permanent migrated second home owners go home once a year or never. The second home owners are feeling at home in both countries, because residential tourists have friends (and family) in both countries. It is not necessary to create the transnational identities when living a transnational lifestyle. The new social field, in this case Langkawi, seems to be not challenging enough to transform the habitus of the European residents. The European residents are living a second life, but not within the local communities.

In the previous chapter the first part of the retirement migration process of Langkawi has been exemplified and this chapter (almost) finishes the flow chart. The daily life and consumption patterns of the European residents are central in creation of ties within the local community. Most of the European residents are joining together at Langkawi which results into lack of integration into the local community. Unfortunately, the ties within the community are not strong yet. This might result into movements of the European residents to other areas or countries. The local government needs to invest into the residential tourism sector to maintain the growth and interest of the European residents.

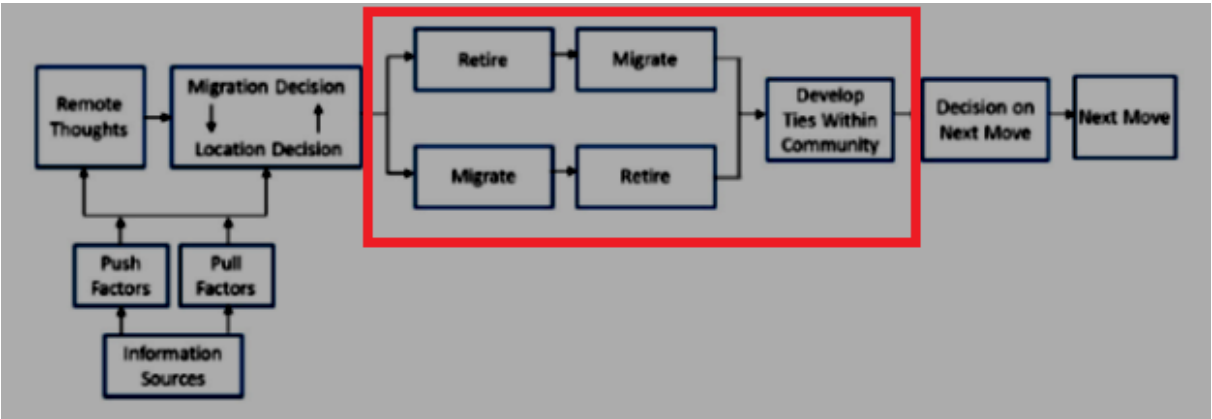


Figure 1: Retirement migration process. Retrieved from Wong (2014), page 143.

7. The future of the residential tourism sector at Langkawi

So far the motivations and experiences of the European residential tourists at Langkawi have been discussed. Now it is time to think about how the residential tourism sector might develop and look like in the (nearby) future. The ideas and experiences of the European residents have been used for this chapter. First the MM2H programme will be further explained followed by the experiences of the role of the local government of Langkawi and the opportunities for foreign people. In the end the tourism area lifecycle model will be applied to Langkawi.

7.1 A real estate industry

A real estate industry comes up when the demand in the second home industry increases. This chapter will continue the previous chapter by explaining the experiences of the local organization, namely Malaysia My Second Home Programme. The European residents who want to settle down at Langkawi need accommodation and probably would like to have their own second home at the island. The Malaysia My Second Home Programme has been introduced in the previous chapter to explain the pros and cons of the programme, but how does the programme affect the residential tourism sector of Langkawi?

Malaysia My Second Home Programme

The statistics of the MM2H programme show that the residential tourism sector has been increasing during the last decades and keeps growing every year. Figure 14 on the next page shows the participant approvals of the programme with some peaks and valleys to create an idea about the development of the MM2H programme in Malaysia. The Asian financial crisis resulted into lower price levels, which increased the amount of MM2H approvals after 2000. The increase in participants, in this case residential tourists, means that Malaysia should have passed the development stage of the tourism area lifecycle model and reaches the consolidation stage soon. However, the end of the graph shows a decline in the participant's approvals of the MM2H programme. At this moment the retirement migration process model clarifies the decrease of the MM2H approvals, because the European residents might be looking for other places instead of Langkawi. Meanwhile the contact person of MM2H is not so negative about the future of the programme, according to her the programme will grow again this year. The actual numbers are not released yet, so it would be interesting to discover this in the coming months. The contact person at MM2H mentioned that most of the participants are settled down in Kuala Lumpur, Penang, Malacca and Johor Baharu. Many respondents at Langkawi did not want to purchase a second home, which verifies the information from MM2H. The landlord story came back many times at Langkawi, but owning a second home and land are not related to each other according to MM2H. Unfortunately, MM2H is not able to help the residential tourists with buying land.

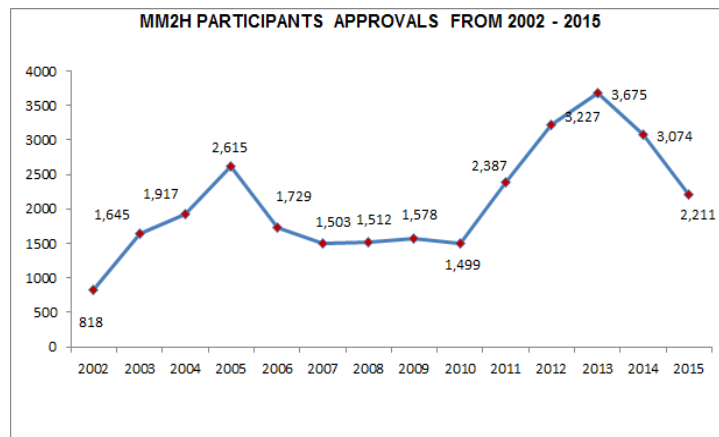


Figure 14: MM2H participant approvals from 2002-2015. Retrieved from the MM2H website.

It would be a good idea for the MM2H programme to invest in second homes at Langkawi while this might trigger the residential tourists to buy a second home. A property boom is happening at Langkawi (Visser 2015) and a few second home areas are created already. One second home was visited and the second home owner explained that all the neighbors were from Europe. The creation of those second home villages will result into urban change (Visser 2015) and drive the development of Langkawi. However, the local government needs to get involved while service delivery is required during the high seasons (Visser 2015). At Langkawi the high seasons are winter period while the temporary residential tourists are visiting the island then. Difficulties in water supply and sewage system might occur during the peak seasons (Brida 2006) and during participant observation at Langkawi it happened many times that there was a lack of water or electricity.

Finally, MM2H programme was questioned about the influence of their programme on the local development of Langkawi.

- *“The influence of the second home participant is enormous on the development of Malaysia. Their spending power is a catalyst for local economy”* (Contact person MM2H)

There is a lack of participants at Langkawi so it was impossible for the contact person to explain more about Langkawi. MM2H programme is convinced that second home owners definitely contribute to the local development of Malaysia. However, not everyone is positive about the real estate industry at Langkawi. A second home industry might destroy the cultural and social life (Müller 2013) of Langkawi by putting all the foreigners together in one village. The local people are already adapting to the demands of the foreigner and with an increase of second home owners, they will need to adapt and change their culture even more. On top of that, the benefits of the industry are highly localized (Müller 2013) so ‘is it actually a good idea for the local government to encourage the real estate industry at Langkawi?’

Local policy planning

In other popular residential tourist destinations a large development project has been set up to improve the second home industry. However, at Langkawi this is still not happening. Several reasons for the creation of a real estate industry are given and one of those reasons is that a second home can be seen as a financial investment (Brida 2006) while the owners can rent the place to others when returning to their home country. The European residents are being withheld by the impossibility of buying land. It would be a good idea for the government to help the local landlords. The landlords are not against selling the land, but are not comfortable with it (Hamzah 2013). The land owners do not understand how selling their land leads to economic possibilities and benefits (Hamzah 2013). That is why the second home industry needs proper policy planning (Brida 2006). Without the help of the government, the creation of a real estate industry will not happen. At this moment it seems impossible for the developers and investors to buy a piece land for the second home owner.

The (retired) residential tourists are only spending money and providing a flow of money into Langkawi (Brida 2006) as explained by the respondents as well. The residential tourists have the idea that they are investing in the local development of Langkawi. The local government should support the residential tourism sector if this is true while the residential tourism sector will stop growing without policy planning. The local government should invest to keep those European residents right now and to attract new residents. Otherwise, the European residents will move to competing countries like Philippines, Thailand and Indonesia (Abdul-Aziz 2014). The second home industry can be seen as a development driver (Müller 2013) but also has negative impacts on the local level. The negative impact of the real estate industry at Langkawi is the rise of the local price level. The local people are the brunt of the rising price levels while their wages stay the same. The prices of food, groceries and even of properties will rise due to residential tourism sector (Müller 2013). At this moment the (residential) tourists are mainly destroying the social and cultural life of Langkawi (Müller 2013) because the local people have to adapt to the demand of the European residents. The cons of the real estate industry are stronger while the local people are not benefitting enough from the real estate industry. The incoming flow of money is incomparable with the destruction of the social and culture life and the rising price levels for local people.

Advantage of real estate industry	Disadvantage of real estate industry
Financial investment	Rising price levels
Incoming flow of money	Destroying social and culture life

Figure 15: Advantages and disadvantages of a real estate industry

Development plans

The development plans have been introduced in the beginning of this thesis only the second home development is missing in those plans (Brida 2006). If Langkawi wants the residential tourism sector to keep rising, the local government should invest in the residential tourism sector as well. This means land use policies and service provision for the real estate industry (Brida 2006). At this moment, there is a lack of service delivery for hotels, restaurants and bars while the local government is responsible for the provision (Penang Monthly, November 2016). The supply of electricity and water is not enough during peak seasons which has been experienced during participant observation too. In other second home destinations, complete villages have been built for the foreigners (Brida 2006). The same seems to be happening at Langkawi, while a busy tourist area is created by the beaches Pantai Cenang and Pantai Tengah. However, Langkawi has a long way to go to create a real estate industry.

7.2 The experiences of the local government of Langkawi

The local government of Langkawi is different than the government in other parts of Malaysia while Malaysia is the nation-state and below the nation-state, the local regulatory systems are settled (Ling 2006). In this case the local regulatory system is the state of Kedah. The local government of Langkawi has responsibilities, but does not have any power. Langkawi needs to follow the rules of the government of Malaysia, especially during the period when Malaysia wanted to reach the level of a developed country by 2020 (Ling 2006). However, at the local level the government of Langkawi has quite an influence on the island and is responsible for providing goods and services for local people (Penang Monthly, November 2016). The local government of Langkawi is ruled by the regime of a sultan, who gets elected every 6 years. The current sultan, Abdul Halim, has been re-elected and sultan for more than 6 years was already explained by the 69-year old second home owner. Abdul Halim was the first re-elected sultan of Kedah. The sultan of Kuah invests in many buildings and in the infrastructure of Langkawi. For example, the sultan created a main road from Kuah Town to the other side of the island where the popular beaches, Pantai Tengah and Pantai Cenang, are located. In Map 4, down on the right side, the biggest green part is Kuah Town. The white road goes all the way through the Kampong, the jungle, hills and the Geopark to get to the other side of the island. On the top left, the green spot is the golf course located next to the palace of the sultan according to the Dutch golf couple. When going down from the golf course, one crosses the airport and reaches Pantai Tengah and Pantai Cenang on the bottom left. That is where most of the residential tourists are located. Pantai Tengah and Pantai Cenang are popular beaches with many hotels, restaurants, a shopping mall and a lot of bars.



Map 4: Langkawi Island

- *“The main road is going straight through the Kampong”* (Dutch golf couple)

A main road has been constructed straight from Kuah Town to this area and goes straight through the nature and Kampong. The poorer people needed to move their house or cattle and gave away their land. When driving around at the island, this was experienced in person. One moment one is driving through busy streets with shops and restaurants, followed by quiet streets with old little wooden houses, sandy fields and agriculture.

The provision of roads is one of the responsibilities of the local governments in Malaysia. The local government of Langkawi is responsible for several other service deliveries at the island as well. The service provisions related to the residential tourism sector are: housing, town planning, regional planning, roads, transport, ports, waste collection, environmental protection, religious facilities and gas services (Penang Monthly, November 2016). That makes the local policies and rules interesting at Langkawi while those policies are influencing the experiences of the European residents.

Corruption

- *“Corruption exists in the whole world, but at Langkawi it is exaggerated”* (Couple from the shop)
- *“There is a lot of censorship at Langkawi”* (Couple from the shop)

Corruption at local level is a common problem in the world and exists at Langkawi too, but corruption is something which is difficult to talk about. The couple from the shop is not officially retired yet, but their daughter is running the shop when they are at Langkawi. Since less than five years the couple is travelling to Langkawi, but has experienced the recent rapid development of Langkawi. The couple is staying at Langkawi during winter season for a couple of months.

- *“When the police sees a white person on a motor bike they will always stop you. They want your international driver’s license or you have to pay a ticket. They are too lazy*

to fill in the ticket so you just pay a specific amount to get rid of the police''. (Bali second home owner)

This story has been told in Kuala Lumpur as well. As a foreigner it is smart to cooperate with the police and offer them a small amount of money. When one wants to do this later on, it will cost more, because more police men get involved. It is a game, which is being played in Malaysia. The numbers of corruption are unknown while it happens in secret. Most of the respondents did acknowledge the existence. Corruption is also happening between the government and the multinationals. The multinationals are paying for specific laws and favors according to the Dutch golf couple. Even multinationals are having a hard time to set up their business. However, the stories about corruption are hard to be verified.

Policies for foreigners

The local government of Langkawi is settled in Kuah Town and set up specific rules for foreign people about owning property, for instance a house, a piece of land or a business. The government is involved in the local development of Langkawi, which means that at least the tourism sector has achieved the involvement stage of the tourism area lifecycle model. If foreign people want to start a business, than they will always need a local partner was told by the 69-year old second home owner. On top of that, if foreign people want to own property, a contract is set up for them. Foreigners are not capable to buy land, but are able to rent a piece of land from a landlord. After 5 or 10 years the contract needs to be revised, was explained the 69-year old second home owner at Langkawi. The landlord has the occasion to end the contract if he wants to. The house that has been built on the land by the foreigner, needs to be moved to another piece of land or the landlord will own the house if it stays on his land. This explains why many buildings are built from wood at Langkawi. *“You cannot take the drainage with you”* is what the second home owner from Bali told me. He experienced a few times that foreigners had to move their house, because of the ending contract, not only at Langkawi, but also in other South East Asian countries. Foreign people invest money in a house and then loose it after a few years and have to start all over again. The second home ownership is a game, which has been played for years now according to the Bali second home owner. The landlords are smart, because they raise the price of the land when the contract has passed. However, the landlords are raising the price because all the other prices are rising as well. Unfortunately, this may result in the forced leave of foreigners, just because the rental land price becomes too high for them.

Some of the residential tourists have been working at Langkawi before retiring, but those respondents are very limited. Only 2 or 3 respondents have been working in Malaysia or Langkawi. A foreigner can be forced to stop working when a land owner decides to run a restaurant or bar, located at his land, by himself. The restaurant or bar has been set up and ran by the foreign people for years and has been a success when it was ran by foreigners. When the local people start to run the place, it will deteriorate most of the time according to several respondents. For example, most of the local people do not want to sell alcohol,

because of their religion. Running a bar for tourists without alcohol will not be a success according to the respondents. It is ambiguous, because when the place was ran by foreign people, alcohol was sold and the land owner took a part of the profit. So the local people are earning money with alcohol, but do not want to acknowledge that. The cultural clash between foreign and local people will always be there when talking about the supply of alcohol. Meanwhile the restaurant or bar might be a success for local people without serving alcohol. Alcohol is only provided for foreigners and not for the local people.

Another experience of many respondents is that when foreign people build a hotel without permission of the government, the government does not provide water and electricity. The government needs to take care of the service delivery (Müller 2013) which is confirmed by the Penang Monthly. It does not matter if the hotel is finished or not. First a high amount of money needs to be paid before the government provides what is needed. *“If not, the hotel just stays empty”* according to the Dutch golf couple. It is visible at Langkawi that a lot of buildings are empty, not in use or dilapidated. That is not good for the development of Langkawi. It is better to invest and improve the older buildings, which creates a better view of the island too. Therefore, the local government makes it hard for foreign people to start a business or to own a place at Langkawi. The following question comes up after the explanation of the difficulties for the foreigners: ‘to what extent does the local government create any opportunities and possibilities for foreign people?’

7.3 The creation of opportunities for European residents

- *“The Malay government wants you to spend money, but not taking away any employment”* (69-year old second home owner)

According to most of the respondents, the foreigners are not (allowed) working at Langkawi so this argument does not make sense. The residential tourists are only spending money at Langkawi. The foreign people need to be smart and play along with the game.

- *“Even if you speak the local language, you will always be an outsider”* (Several respondents)

However, speaking the local language does improve the social interaction (Stapa 2013) and probably improves the relationship between local and foreign people. Clashes and misunderstanding will remain without the social interaction. Only, the government encounters foreign people as foreigners, strangers or outsiders mentioned the 69-year old second home owner. Whenever a foreign person owns a place without participating in a programme, for example the Malaysia My Second Home Programme, the government will not provide a long-term visa. Every one, two or three months a foreigner has to leave Malaysia for about three days to re-enter the country and hope to receive a new visa stamp. The amount of months foreigners are allowed to stay differs per country. *“A person from Switzerland only gets one month, like the Russian and Dutch people get three months”* explained the second home owner from Bali. The length of the visa depends on the (trade)

relationship between Malaysia and the home country of the tourist or second home owner according to the 69-year old second home owner. As a result of the visa runs, some restaurants or bars will be closed for a few days so now and then, which were experienced during the field work. One Thai popular restaurant for foreigners was closed for a few days, because the owners had to go back to Thailand for a few days to return to Malaysia again.

Distinction between locals and foreigners

Foreign people in Malaysia (nearly) always pay more for the same service or good in contrast to Malay people. Even on the price lists there can be separate prices for locals and foreigners. Mainly at tourist attractions, which is confirmed by own experiences. The average monthly wages have been compared in the previous chapter, which explains the different price levels. It is understandable that local people pay less for touristic attraction to make them affordable. The local people are earning much less per month compared to the foreigner, who do not even work but get a state pension.

- *“A Malay person pays 50 ringgit and foreign people pay 800 ringgit to play golf¹³.”*
(Dutch golf couple)

The difference in price can be this high in Malaysia. For Dutch people it is even more expensive to play golf in Malaysia compared to playing golf at home told the Dutch golf couple. The distinction between foreigners and local people is also made in renting a house. Local owners rather save the apartments and houses for Malaysian people, has been mentioned in one of the interviews with a couple that is currently renting a beach house. It was hard for them to get the beach house. A reason for this might be that the local people do not trust the foreigners. The trust can be built when the residential tourists integrate more into the local community. The real reasons for the rejection of foreigners are hard to find. Another reason might be that the owners would like to rent the place as many times as possible through the year. The domestic temporary tourists are much higher than the international tourists (LADA, September 2016) while the Malaysian people only stay for the weekend or during holidays. It took the couple a few years while every year when the foreign couple went to the owner to ask for the place, the owner kept refusing to rent the place to them. They got into contact with some local people and were finally able to rent the place. Social interaction with local people obviously creates more opportunities for foreigners. Only a few beach houses are rented by residential tourists who stay for a few months every year. The other beach houses are rented for short term by local people. Many Malaysian people are travelling to Langkawi just for the weekend or short holidays. Advantages for the owner of the beach houses is that foreigners stay longer and keep their place more cleanly than local people mentioned the shop owner couple. However, that is what the European residents are thinking. It is impossible to say that all the local people are making a mess of the beach house. However, when one is only staying for the weekend or a

¹³ 50 Malaysian Ringgit is around 10,50 Euros and 800 Malaysian Ringgit is around 168 Euros. (6-12-2016) The price is 16 times higher for foreigners.

few days, no doubt they do not clean the house. There is no need to clean the house when it is just for a few days. Local people only spend a few nights and the housekeeping needs to clean the house every few days for new visitors. So it seems an advantage for the owner of the beach houses to rent the places to residential tourists.

The local government has invested in the tourism sector of Langkawi, but is also creating a hard time for foreign people. The residential tourism sector needs policy planning to succeed in the future. A real estate industry is created at Langkawi, but the lack of research makes it hard to discover the fact.

7.4 Tourism Area Life Cycle model of Langkawi

The tourism area life cycle model from Butler has been introduced in the theoretical framework and several times used during the previous empirical chapters. Marzuki applied the model on this case study of Langkawi as can be seen in Figure 16 (Marzuki 2011). By the use of this model, a thought about the future development of Langkawi might be given. The tourism sector of Langkawi has been developing since a long time. Until 1947 Langkawi was in the exploration stage (Omar 2013) and after 1947 hotels and beach attractions were built on the island for local tourists. In 1975 the Malaysia Tourism Plan identified Langkawi as a potential tourism destination which resulted into the involvement stage (Omar 2013). In 1987 Langkawi was announced as a duty free island, which can be seen in the increase of the graph. The local government got involved into the tourism sector, but the private sector stayed behind (Omar 2013). The development stage lasted for a couple of years and improved the living standard of the local people by creating business opportunities (Omar 2013). The rapid development of Langkawi went along with the rapid increase of tourist arrivals (Omar 2013). The tourist arrivals grew faster than the development of tourism, which resulted into the consolidation stage around 1996. The cyclical thread collapsed because of the economic recession in the ASEAN region from 1996 to 1998 as displayed in Figure 16. It took a while before Langkawi was back on the same level, but after the economic recession the tourism sector recovered and developed again. Only the thread stagnated for a couple of years after 2000. The Langkawi Local Plan was implemented from 2001 to 2015 because the government wanted a sustainable tourism approach to attract more tourism. The results of the local plan are already visible at Langkawi.

- The improvement of the infrastructure; namely an airport, a ferry terminal and a new highway has been built.
- The improvement of public facilities: hotels, malls, (international) supermarkets, bakeries, shops, international firms and restaurants.
- In 2007 Langkawi got listed on the World Geopark site of UNESCO which means that the government is interested in the sustainable development of Langkawi (Omar 2013). According to the government, this was the only solution to compete with other tourist destinations in the surrounding countries (Marzuki 2011). Rapid

increase happened while the government wanted to promote the new tourist attraction in this way.

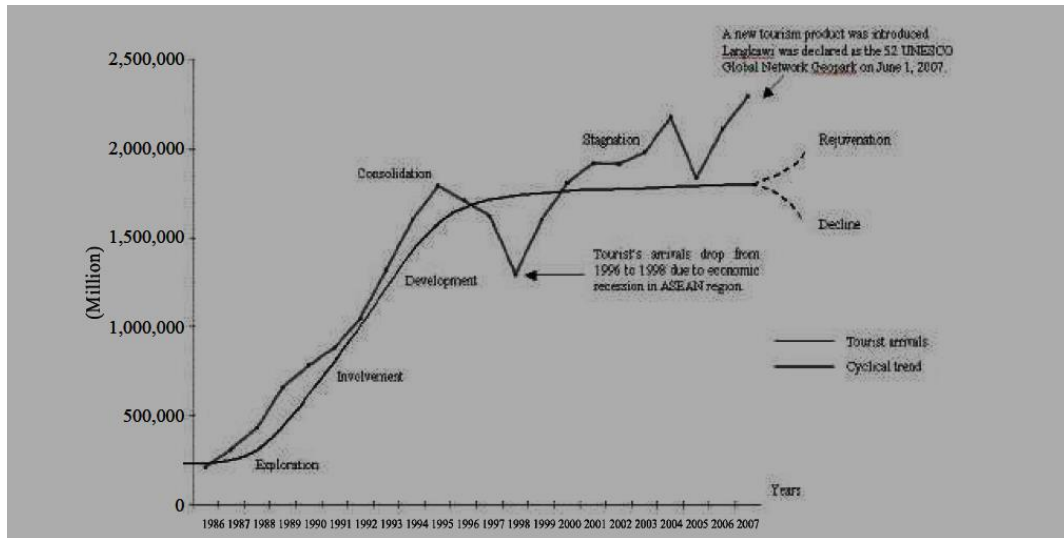


Figure 16: Tourism Life Cycle of Langkawi. Retrieved from Marzuki 2011, page 30.

Figure 3 on page 18, the tourist arrivals of Langkawi, confirms that the new tourist attraction increased the tourist arrivals during that period. The tourist arrivals are a good way to measure the development of the tourism sector. When tourist arrivals increase, the development will continue to increase too.

Finally, another improvement of Langkawi is that the waste water is not going into the sea anymore according to the old marine man. Programs have been set up to recycle the waste water by the National Hydraulic Research Institute of Malaysia (NAHRIM, October 2016). At Langkawi local people were used to throw their waste into the rivers, which flow into the sea. The river project at Langkawi was set up in 2012 to improve this collecting of waste (water) (NAHRIM, October 2016). When more tourists arrived at Langkawi, the local people did not know how to handle the extra waste and dropped it into the rivers and sea mentioned the old marine man. Nowadays this has changed which is obviously better for the environment and health of the people. The more recent increases in tourist arrivals are showed in Figure 17 to complement Figure 3 showed in the beginning of the thesis.

Year	Tourist admission
2005	1.84 million
2006	1.81 million
2007	2.11 million
2008	2.30 million
2009	2.38 million
2010	2.45 million
2011	2.82 million
2012	3.06 million
2013	3.41 million
2014	3.60 million
2015	3.62 million

According to the tourism area lifecycle model, the tourism sector will decline at Langkawi soon. However, the contrary is true according the tourist arrival statistics (LADA, September 2016). Next to this, the Langkawi Tourism Blueprint has been implemented by the local government to prevent the stagnation stage of

Figure 17: Tourist admission at Langkawi 2005-2015, created from the LADA website.

the model (Omar 2013). The tourism sector is still growing at Langkawi and it looks like it will go in an upward trend in the coming years.

It is necessary to take into account that the tourism area lifecycle model explains the whole tourism sector and not only the residential tourism sector. The lack of research and secondary data of residential tourism makes it hard to give a separate view. However, the residential tourism sector is part of the tourism sector and both of them are influencing each other.

Community involvement

The development of Langkawi can be encouraged by community involvement, because community involvement improves economic development and diversity (Marzuki 2012). The government should offer the local communities and stakeholders more opportunities. One way to offer this is to increase the public participation. Which is "the process of empowerment that helps to involve local people in the identification of problems, decision-making and implementation, which can contribute to sustainable development" (Marzuki 2012: 589). The local communities do not have enough knowledge about the development process, but public participation might improve this knowledge. The lack of knowledge is also visible in the landlord story. The landlords should be taught about the economic benefits of selling their land. Incoming money improves the development of a country, but knowledge and skills will improve this even stronger. However, at Langkawi there are cultural limitations and the behavior of the local people, the human development, should be changed. It is not easy and almost impossible for a country to improve and change the human development. Community involvement might exist already, but it is not well implemented by the local government (Marzuki 2012). The lack of information is the biggest issue, while people do not know enough or do not have the ability to receive the information. The experiences of the residential tourism are not enough to say more about the experiences of the local people. Further research will be needed.

Community involvement might improve the level of development at Langkawi even more. At this moment the question still remains if the development of Langkawi will continue to grow or does Langkawi need to be prepared for a decline in the (residential) tourism area lifecycle model? The next part of the discussion and conclusion will answer this question by the use of the experiences, thoughts and ideas of the European residential tourists.

8. Discussion and conclusion

The residential tourism sector is coming up at Langkawi nowadays. The retirement migration process model has been used during this thesis to discover how the residential tourism sector is being experienced at Langkawi by the European residents. The European residents get attracted by the country by several pull factors and decided to migrate permanently or temporary. Temporary migration results into two separate social lives and the creation of transnational identities. However, it is not obligated to create a transnational identity when living in two separate countries. Most of the European residents are joining together at Langkawi which might results into a lack of social interaction within the local community. If the European residents are more integrated into the local society, the urge for a second home might occur. However, with a lack of integration, the residential tourist might move to other (South East Asian) countries to create their 'second life' in that destination.

The main question of the thesis is: *'What are the motivations and experiences of European residential tourists at Langkawi?'* Clearly, the residential tourists are migrating towards Langkawi because of the beautiful environment, low price level, better climate, slow pace of life and food variety. However, in reality those pull factors turn out to be different than expected. Especially the culture turns out to have a larger influence on their life than expected. The experiences of the European residents are explaining the statement that Langkawi is over-developing and over-crowding at this moment. Langkawi would be totally different without the tourism sector and more governmental support is needed to maintain the sustainable development of the island. The contradictions between the motivations and experiences are dissatisfying the residential tourists at Langkawi.

The island is changing because of the rise of the (residential) tourism sector and many respondents experience this as negative. A reason for the rise of the development is that the local government announced Langkawi as a duty free island. Next to this, a couple of development plans have been set up to improve the tourism sector, but those development plans did not work out properly for the local people. The contradictions within the local society of Langkawi have not been reduced, but either enlarged. The local people are not benefitting from the tourism sector as much as expected and their knowledge remains limited in many ways. The limited knowledge impacts the residential tourism sector while it is possible to utilize the residential tourism sector even more. However, with the collected data it is impossible to create an idea about how the local people experience the residential tourism sector of Langkawi. It is clear that the average price level at Langkawi has risen, which is the greatest disadvantage for the local people. The reader of this thesis should take in mind that the findings of this research are only based on the experiences of the European residents and are impossible to be spread over the whole population, country or other residents.

Another model applied during this research is the tourism area lifecycle model. The model has a different outcome at Langkawi than expected. According to the model, the tourism

sector at Langkawi has passed the stages of consolidation and stagnation, which means that the tourism sector will decline now at Langkawi. However, when searching for secondary data of the amount of tourist arrivals on the Langkawi Development Authority website, the contrary is proved. The tourist arrivals at Langkawi are increasing every year and it does not seem to be declining next year. An agreement with the expectations is that the residential tourism sector is bonded to seasons at Langkawi, while most of the tourists arrive during winter period. Possibly the tourism sector will reach the consolidation stage again, instead of the decline stage. According to Butler, it is possible to go into the development stage again. However, the local government needs to invest into Langkawi to maintain the growth of the tourism sector and go into the development stage for the second time. The tourism area life cycle model only gives an idea of Langkawi and is not possible to be generalized to other parts of Malaysia.

The validity of the results might be questioned because the collected data is based on the experiences, thoughts, ideas and stories of the European residents. Before the field work it was expected that the elderly people would have all the time to participate in the research. However, once the conversation got serious, the people were holding back. Many participant observation and informal conversations contributed to the collected primary data. Making appointments with the respondents was another difficulty while the residential tourists were living the same 'structured' daily life pattern. This thesis does not engage with the ideas and experiences of the local people or other parts of Malaysia. Due to the time limit this study is unable to encompass the entire country of Malaysia or other tourist islands. The primary plan was to combine two islands, but the time limit results into the decision to stay only at Langkawi. The motivations and experiences were expected to complement each other and result into the demand for a second home at Langkawi. However not all the expectations of the European residents are met and every year negative experiences seem to accumulate. On top of that, the set-up of a real estate industry is not as easy as it seems while many cultural and social borders have to be crossed.

When a follow-up study will be done, it is interesting to take a look at other tourist islands and popular tourist destinations in Malaysia. A more generalized result might be created, with the help of a broader and longer research. The research should probably take a year or longer to be successful. It is interesting for further research to dive deeper into this topic in Malaysia while the Malaysia My Second Home Programme is convinced that the second home industry (so the residential tourism sector) will keep growing in the nearby future.

The local government is aiming for sustainable development at Langkawi, but sustainable development can only be reached by the collaboration of everyone who is involved in the residential tourism sector: the residential tourists, landlords, local people and the local government and institutions. In the end the main goal is to maintain the growth of the residential tourism sector, while the residential tourism sector seems to be an important development driver for Langkawi.

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10. Appendices

Appendix 1

Themes:

Consumption patterns

Daily life patterns

Development of Langkawi

Tourism sector of Langkawi and Malaysia

Second home ownership

Better life idea

Migration

Possible questions:

Why did you decide to migrate (partly) to Langkawi?

How did the process of the migration look like?

How does your day look like?

How are you feeling within this community?

How do local people respond on you? → Religion

How are rules and laws organized in Langkawi?

What is your idea about the development of Langkawi? → social/cultural/economic

How do you think you play a role in the local development?

What is a better life?

What are you doing here? → work/leisure/both

Where do you spend your money on?

Appendix 2

In this appendix the survey is presented which has been used during the field work. The survey has been translated into Dutch as well for the elderly Dutch people at Langkawi.

Dear Sir/Madam,

I am Kirsten Ursinus, a Dutch student from Utrecht University. I am studying International Development Studies and at this moment I am doing research for my master thesis. I am collecting data about residential tourism in Malaysia, mainly at Langkawi. Residential tourists are people who migrate to another country to live as a tourist or who stay abroad for a long time every year. Your opinion about this topic is valuable for me, so I would like you to fill in this questionnaire. It will take 5-10 minutes to fill it in. All the collected information will be anonymous and only used for my master thesis. Thank you in advance for your cooperation.

A. Travelling

1. Do you travel abroad for a long time every year?

Yes No N/A

2. If you emigrated, how often do you travel to your previous home country?

- Once a month
- Once per 6 months
- Once a year
- Less than once a year
- Never

3. Since when have you been travelling every year?

First year 1-5 years 6-10 years 11-15 years 16-20 years >20 years

4. In what company do you travel at this moment?

- Alone
- With relation
- With family
- With friends
- Other,.....

5. Since when do you travel to Malaysia frequently?

First year 1-5 years 6-10 years 11-15 years 16-20 years >20 years

6. Since when do you travel to Langkawi frequently?

First year 1-5 years 6-10 years 11-15 years 16-20 years >20 years

7. How long are you staying at Langkawi right now?

0-3 months 4-6 months 6-9 months 9-12 months > 1 year

8. How did you end up in Malaysia/Langkawi? More answers possible.

- Internet/media
- Travelling
- Friends
- Family
- Travel agent
- Other,.....

9. Why did you decide to return to Malaysia/Langkawi every year or to migrate to Malaysia/Langkawi?

10. Do you have a second home or more houses?

- Yes
- No

If no, go to question 13.

11. If yes, where?

- Langkawi
- Another place in Malaysia
- In your home country
- Elsewhere,.....

12. If yes, how does the purchase process of a second home go?

13. If no, would you like to have a second home at Langkawi or somewhere else?

- Yes
- No

14. Why or why not?

B. Residential tourists

15. Residential tourists are staying abroad to have a 'better life', what does a 'better life' mean according to you?

16. Do you have a 'better life' here according to your own definition?

Yes No

C. Contact

17. How often do you have contact with people back home?

- Daily
- Weekly
- Monthly
- (Almost) never

If (almost) never go to question 20

18. How do you have contact with people back home?

- Skype/facetime
- Email
- Post cards/letters
- Phone
- Other,.....

19. Do people from back home visit you during your stay abroad?

Yes No

20. What do you do during a day at Langkawi (or Malaysia)?

D. Statements

By means of statements you can give your meaning relative to the local development. Your opinion is valuable to gain a view on how you experience the local development of Langkawi.

	Totally disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Totally agree
The development of Langkawi is going in an upward trend at this moment.					
The development of Langkawi has improved since my (first) arrival.					
The rent prices have risen through the development.					
All the prices have risen through the development.					
Tourism is <u>bad</u> for the development of Langkawi.					
Langkawi will not develop without tourism.					
Tourism has a <u>negative</u> influence on the natural environment of Langkawi.					
Religion plays an important role in the development of Langkawi.					
I positively contribute to the local development of Langkawi.					
I do <u>not</u> have an influence on the local development of Langkawi.					
I accept the local culture of Langkawi as the way it is.					
I can get along with the local people.					
I think I spend more money compared to the average tourist.					
I have a better life at Langkawi (or in Malaysia) relative to back home.					

E. Consumption patterns

Based on consumption patterns it is possible to measure the impact of residential tourists on the local development. Your consumption pattern is valuable for this research.

21. How much money do you spend per person per day at Langkawi? (Including accommodation)

- 0-10 euros 11-20 euros 21-30 euros 31-40 euros 41-50 euros >50 euros

22. How much rent do you pay per day/night for your whole apartment?

- 0-50 euros 51-100 euros 101-150 euros 151-200 euros 201-250 euros >250 euros

23. If you have a second home at Langkawi, how much is your land rent price per month?

- 0-200 euros 200-400 euros 400-600 euros 600-800 euros 800-1000 euros >1000 euros

24. Where do you spend most of your money on during your stay at Langkawi (besides your rent)?

- Gas
 Dining out
 Trips
 Groceries
 Shopping
 Other.....

25. Do you invest in the local economy?

- Yes No

If no go to question 27.

26. If yes, how?

27. What do/did you do as a profession back home?

28. Are you retired?

- Yes No

29. How much money do you earn/receive every month?

- 0-250 euros 251-500 euros 501-750 euros 751-1000 euros 1001-1250 euros >1250 euros

F. Background information

30. What is your gender?

Male Female Other

31. What is your age?

..... years.

32. What is your marital status?

- Single
- Relationship
- Registered partnership
- Married
- Divorced
- Widow/widower
- Other,.....

33. What is your nationality?

Do you have any last comments or suggestions?

If you have any further questions, you can contact me by email: k.a.g.ursinus@students.uu.nl.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Appendix 3

In this appendix the online survey is given which differs from the survey on paper because the online survey was supposed to take less time from the respondents. An online programme was used for the online survey so this is the design of the survey.

Dear Sir/Madam,

I am Kirsten Ursinus, a Dutch student from Utrecht University. I am studying International Development Studies and at this moment I am doing research for my master thesis. I am collecting data about residential tourism in Malaysia. Residential tourists are people who migrate to another country to live as a tourist or who stay abroad for a long time every year. Your opinion about this topic is valuable for me, so I would like you to fill in this questionnaire. It will take 5-10 minutes to fill it in. All the collected information will be anonymous and only used for my master thesis. Thank you in advance for your cooperation.

1. Do you travel to Malaysia for a longer time every year?

Yes No N/A

2. Have you emigrated to Malaysia?

Yes No

3. If you emigrated, how often do you travel to your previous home country?

Once a month
 Once per 6 months
 Once a year
 Less than once a year
 N/A

4. In what company do you travel?

Alone
 With husband or wife
 With family
 With friends
 Other,.....

5. Since when have you been traveling to Malaysia every year?

0-4 years 5-10 years 11-15 years 16-20 years > 20 years N/A

6. How many months are you staying in Malaysia every year?

1-3 months 4-6 months 7-9 months 10-12 months

7. How did you end up in Malaysia? More answers possible

Internet
 Media

- Travelling
- Friends
- Family
- Travel agent
- Other,.....

8. Why did you decide to return to Malaysia every year or to migrate to Malaysia?

9. Do you have a second home in Malaysia?

- Yes No

10. If you have a second home, where is it located?

11. If you have a second home, how does the purchase process of a second home go?

12. If you don't have a second home, would you like to purchase one?

- Yes No

13. Why do/don't you want a second home?

14. Residential tourists are staying abroad to have a 'better life', what does a 'better life' mean according to you?

15. Do you have a 'better life' in Malaysia according to your own definition?

Yes No

16. How often do you have contact with people back home?

- Daily
- Weekly
- Monthly
- (Almost) never

17. How do you have contact with people back home?

- Skype
- Facetime
- WhatsApp
- Post cards
- E-mail
- Phone
- Other,.....

18. Do people from back home visit you during your stay abroad?

Yes No

19. What do you do during a day in Malaysia?

20. Why are you in Malaysia?

- Business/work
- Leisure
- Family
- Holiday

Other,.....

21. Do you think that you contribute to the local development of Malaysia?

Yes No I don't know

22. Do you think that the local development of Malaysia has improved during the last couple of years?

Yes No I don't know

23. Do you think that prices in Malaysia have risen because of the development?

Yes No I don't know

24. Do you think that tourism positively contributes to the development of Malaysia?

Yes No I don't know

25. Do you think that religion plays an important role in the development of Malaysia?

Yes No I don't know

26. Do you get along with local people?

Yes No I don't know

27. Do you speak the local language?

Yes No

28. How much money (RM) do you spend per day?

..... RM

29. How much rent do you pay for your house/apartment per month?

.....RM

30. Where do you spend most of your money on during your stay in Malaysia (besides your rent)?

- Gas
- Dining out
- Trips/Excursions
- Groceries
- Shopping

31. Do you invest in the local economy?

Yes No

32. If you invest in the local economy, how?

33. What do/did you do as a profession back home?

34. Are you retired?

Yes No

35. How much money (RM) do you earn/receive every month?

..... RM

36. What is your gender?

Male Female Other

37. What is your age?

..... years.

38. What is your marital status?

- Single
- Relationship
- Registered partnership
- Married
- Divorced
- Widow/widower
- Other,.....

39. What is your nationality?

40. Do you have any last comments or suggestions?

If you have any further questions, you can contact me by email: k.a.g.ursinus@students.uu.nl.

Thank you for your cooperation.