



Social Identity and Community Resilience towards Tourism Development in Mabul Island, Semporna Sabah, Malaysia

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ABSTRACT

Mabul Island is a small isolated island located in the east of Semporna, Sabah. The island is inhabited by refugees from southern Philippines, which consist of few ethnics such as Suluk, Bajau, Bisayah, and so on. The communities in small islands are usually late in the development process. They often face problems of adapting to the development and they are commonly left behind in many things. With low population density, many of these communities receive little attention from the government. This resulted in insufficient support and poor basic infrastructure and services. However, Mabul Island is a very popular tourist destination for diving activities after Sipadan Island in Sabah. Tourism development and the impacts on local community have been widely discussed in the literature. However, the role of local communities in the tourism from the perspective of identity is rarely emphasized. Tajfel (1972) defined social identity as "that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership". Based on the conceptual framework introduced by Palme, Koenig-Lewis, and Jones, this study applied the theory of social identity in examining the differences between two major communities in Mabul Island; Suluk and Bajau communities. The objectives of this study were to study the relationships that existed within the groups and to investigate the impacts of tourism development on social identity of local communities. This study also examined to what extent the social identities can adapt to the tourism booming in Mabul Island.

1. Introduction

'Identity' is a term that is widely used and it can be summed up as the properties found in something that act as introducers which distinguish it from the other. This means the identity acts as a 'sign' of identification to distinguish one another. For example, the name given to every human as a sign of an identity is to distinguish them from other people. The context of identity that is observed in this study is social identity where Tajfel (1972) defined social identity as "that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership". Social identity depends on the quality of a group or an entity owned or have positive references such as race, culture, religion, family, and neighborhood.

Perceptions and attitudes of local residents towards the tourism development have been widely discussed in the tourist brochures (Vargas-Sánchez, Porrás-Bueono, and Plaza-Mejía, 2011; Chen & Hsu, 2002; Cu & Ryan, 2011; Diedrich & Garcia-Buades 2009; Dieke, 2009).

Nunkoo and Gursoy (2012) found that the attitude of the population does not only affect the tourism, but they also affect the identity of their support for tourism. In addition, the lack of identity in a tourism destination can produce opposite effects including the behavior which are disruptive and obstructive to the tourists (Key & Pillai, 2006; Mirbabayev & Shagzatova, 1999). Furthermore, previous studies have also showed that a person identity indeed influenced the attitudes and behavior (Hagger, Anderson, Kyriakaki, and Darkings, 2007). This means that from the scope of tourism, social identity is important because the attitude and behavior of the local population towards tourism is the foundation of sustainable tourism and it is also an important factor for a successful tourism development. Since there is not enough research on the local community and tourism from the perspective of identity (Gu & Ryan, 2008; Nunkoo & Gursoy, 2012; Palme, Koenig-Lewis, & Jones, 2013), this study will focus on the social identity of the local population, especially in Mabul Island. There are four main objectives of this study which are (1) to identify the social identity and the differences of social identity between Suluk and Bajau society in Mabul Island (2) to review the relationships that exist

in a group of social identity in Mabul Island (3) to investigate the changes of social identity to Mabul community due to the tourism development (4) to review to what extent people in Mabul Island can adapt and survive with the tourism that is being developed.

1.1 Development of Mabul Island as a Tourist Destination

Mabul Island is a small island located approximately 15 to 30 km from Sipadan Island, near Semporna, Sabah (Jabil & Abdul, 2010; Lee & Sweet, 2010). The location is as shown in Figure 1. Since few tourist resorts on Sipadan Island was closed for reasons to preserve the ecosystem and wildlife seabed, Mabul Island becomes focal point and stopover by local and foreign tourists (Lee & Sweet, 2010). Mabul Island has an area of 20 hectares, and is located in southeastern Sabah, in part of Tawau, similar to Sipadan Island.

The island has been the bone of contention between Malaysia, Philippines, and Indonesia before the Court of Justice ruled in 2003 that it belongs to Malaysia (Jabil & Abdul, 2010). For the purpose of safety, Mabul Island is now under the control of General Operations Police Force.

Mabul Island is among the islands that have been identified in Malaysia as a destination for scuba divers on par with other famous destinations such as the Red Sea, Mediterranean Sea, Maldives, Papua New Guinea and the Caribbean Sea (Shanti, 2002). This statement corresponds to a report released by Sport Diving Magazine in 1996, in which it said that Mabul Island's flora and fauna habitat is unique and exotic. Furthermore, there are rare species that are previously ubiquitous can be found in the sea of Mabul Island in large quantities. (Jabil & Abdul, 2010). This situation makes the main attraction at this island resort is the bottom of the sea and the main tourist activities here are diving, snorkeling, and fishing (Jabil & Abdul, 2010; Lee & Sweet, 2010). Other than the beauty of the seabed mentioned earlier, the factors that have helped the tourism booming in this island resort are its healthy marine environment and pollution-free, complete and accurate information on all the tourist trip, the existence of a variety of dive sites such as the location of the remains of a shipwreck, deep ravines, and coral reefs (Ruzanna Syamimi Ramli, Mohamad Pirdaus Yusoh, Jabil Mapjabil, New Gaik Ling, 2011).

Starting from 3 luxurious resorts, the island currently has five luxury resorts and 13 small chalets. Mabul Island tourism can be divided into 2

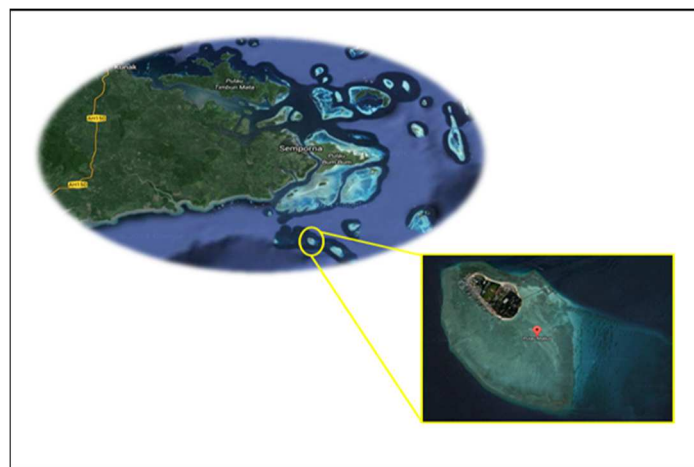


Figure 1: Location of Mabul Island

which are the concept of enclave tourism (tourist resorts in the area) and rural tourism (chalets is in the residential area of the local population). The majority of the resorts and chalets are owned by the outsiders and only two chalets are owned by local residents. The resort is owned by the village head and the other one is owned by the local population and it is still under construction.

The rapid development of tourism on the island can be seen to what extent the tourism development is planned and whether they meet the social demands of the community on the island. This is because if a plan is not paying enough attention to the current issues and problems that have been faced by a community for so long, it is likely that the construction that will be carried on will only become a symbol of exaggerating changes but does not give any meaning to them. In fact, it is possible that future development will trigger negative social changes, and the local population will only fall prey to the noise and pollution from the development process, eventually they become marginalized communities as before.

2 Local Residents and Tourism

Mabul Island community is a community with a strong traditional and cultural way of life that have become a tradition. They are a closed groups that have been left behind in many things, and chained by poverty. Although this island community is viewed as a legacy of the past but it still exists in modern times and has a role of its own in terms of socio-economic and socio-cultural.

Tourists come and go but the locals still live in the environment that need to be adjusted in order for them to survive. Tourists are just visiting and traveling to a place for the time being only. Unlike the locals, 'a tourist destination' is a place called home where they live, work, play, relax, and have a family. Thus, the locals get involved and become a part of the tourist experience. They need to feel capable in providing services to the tourists, work together towards the development of tourism, and show them the true way of life. The involvement of local communities in the tourism industry is a complement to the authenticity sought by leisure travelers. As the local population is the object of attention by the tourists, their role is very important. Therefore, the feelings, emotions, and whatever elements in the social should be seen and cared for them to motivate the development of tourism industry.

According to previous studies, which were conducted in Mabul Island, only 10 to 20 percent of the local population, especially the youth work in the tourism sector (Mohamad, 2011). They work as the backbone in the office, while the management is dominated by the outsiders. This happened due to the lack of education and the salary offered by the resort is low. Since the invasion and the kidnapping incident that occurred in Lahad Datu and currently in Semporna, the number of local residents who work in the tourism industry is decreasing. Employment in the tourism sector is progressively tightened by the government. Since the majority of the population in the island were refugees, they are not allowed to work and only local residents who have identification cards and those with permanent resident status are allowed to work in the tourism sector.

Although in most cases the local community has been a part of the tourism products and the experiences sought by travelers (Kibicho, 2003; Havel, 1996; Wolfensohn, 1996; Blank, 1989; Scheyvens, 2002; Beeton, 2006; Li, 2005; Tosun, 2000), the local people are the ones who often bear the burden of the damage and impact of tourism.

Therefore, the involvement and community participation in the tourism industry also need to be protected through effective management of industrial cooperation and geared towards planning an approach that emphasizes community to ensure strong community support for a successful tourism development (Tosun, 2000).

3 Conceptual Background

The framework concept is shown in Figure 2. It is a conceptual framework that will be carried out in this study. It contains several important components that will be explained below.

3.1 Mabul Island Resort

Enclave Tourism has first set foot on Mabul Island since 1993. It is located far away and isolated from the locals. At that time, there were only three luxurious resort located in the region. Ceballos-Lascurain (1996) defined enclave tourism as tourism that are concentrated in remote areas in which other types of convenience and their physical location fail to take into consideration the needs and desires of the people around. In other words, the provided goods and services are beyond the affordability of the local community. The local community could not afford to buy available goods and services. Therefore, the foreign currency generated (in the enclave resorts) has a minimum impression to the local economy. Although enclave tourism contributes a minimum impact on the population, the construction of this tourism is always developing.

In addition to the construction of a luxury resort, now there is another type of tourism emerging in Mabul Island. It is called rural tourism. As of today, almost 13 small chalets with a budget concept have been developed since 2004. This tourism is located in local's residential area. Rural tourism on the very basic level can be seen occurred in rural areas. Rural tourism is a tourism that focuses on those aspects that are found in

rural areas. Lane (1994) defined rural tourism as a tourism that extends beyond farm-based tourism to include special-interest nature holidays and ecotourism, walking, climbing and riding holidays, adventure, sport and health tourism, hunting and angling, educational travel, arts and heritage tourism, and in some areas, ethnic tourism. However, referring to the definition by Sharpley and Sharpley (1997), rural is described as all areas, both land and water, that lie beyond towns and cities which in national and regional contexts may be described as major urban centers. Rural tourism involves a variety of activities, services, and facilities provided by the rural population. In Malaysia, the development of rural tourism is growing for the past 20 years through the development of homestay programs.

3.2 Social Identity

Social identity was first introduced by Henri Tajfel and John Turner in the 1970s and 1980s. Tajfel (1978) defined social identity as a part of an individual's self-concept derived from the knowledge and experience of its membership in a social group involving the value and importance of emotions. According to Tajfel and Turner in 1985 and 1986 respectively and Hogg & Terry in 2000, the concept of social identity is a way in which describes the behavior between the groups and it is the main group classification. Social identity refers to how a group is known. Individuals in a group usually share the same characteristics. Equality between members of the group will differentiate them with other groups. The difference is between this group and its significant role in the formation of the social identity of a group. There are three main components of social identity which are (1) cognitive, (2) evaluation, and (3) emotional (Ellemer., Kortekaas. & Owerkerk., 1999; Palme et al., 2013; Suosheng Wang, Zhou Linqiang, Soonhwan Lee , Carina King, 2014)

a. Cognitive Aspect

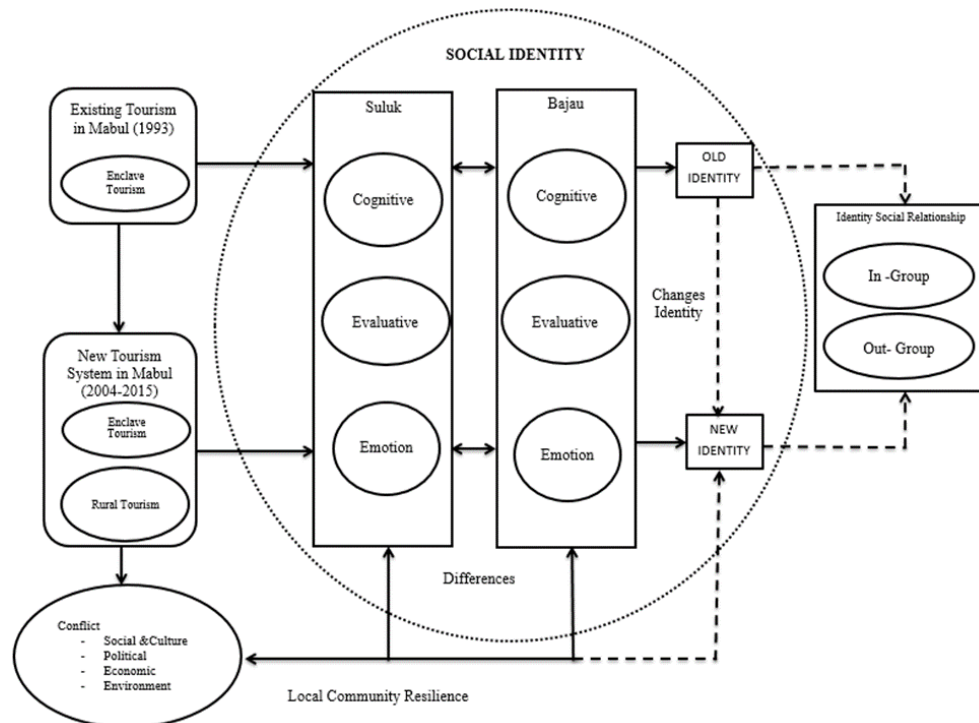


Figure 2: Conceptual Framework

Cognitive determines how individuals put themselves and others in a society. In cognitive, individuals would define themselves as a member of a group that has the same features and properties. This is because the identification is the important part in the formation of the cognitive structure of an individual's social identity and group (Michael, Frederick and David 2013).

Dutton and colleagues (1994) suggested that cognitive individual is the thinking and understanding of how they define themselves on the basis of a social reference. When an individual's self-concept is similar to the properties that are in a group, then it is known as a cognitive connection in a group. A review by Cialdini and Richardson in 1980, they showed that cognitive ability has a negative correlation with cognitive recognition. An individual or a group will try to improve the relations with other groups and people who are successful but cut ties with other groups or unions and those who are unsuccessful. The study also proved that people will recognize more groups that are much better than their existing group as long as the person does not compare himself with other members of the group. Instead, individuals will choose targets 'down' when they are compared with others in the group. In other words, people like to be compared to individuals who are weaker. However, it does not apply when the comparison is made within the group. This is because the individuals in the group will look at the similarities and the nature of its individual members.

b. Evaluative Aspect

A group is composed of individuals with identities and the same social category. The identity equation has been discussed in the previous definition. The identity and social category of a group include the values that are common to all members of the group. A member of a group does not requires interaction with each other, or even need to be liked by all members in the group. All it takes is the perception of the individual in which all members of the group have the same values (Blake & Fred, 1989).

According to Skevington 1980, apart from exceptional values in a group, prestige also play a role in improving the identification of a group. Prestige is a form of recognition given to a person or a group of persons or groups. Through the difference between groups, social identity will affect an individual's self-confidence. An individual always considers themselves as a winner, and it is usually driven by the ratification by the members of the group. These are the values that are in a group.

Moreover, the values that will play a role in the identification of a group of interpersonal interaction (i.e. interaction between an individual with other individuals or groups), equation (i.e. attributes and characteristics of individuals in the group), partnership goals and past history (Turner, 1984). While some of these elements are not required in the identification of a group, its existence is an element that is able to embody the values of harmony in the group. These values will equally explain the social identity of a group.

Blake & Fred (1989) stated that the goal of the partnership is able to determine the value of a group. Individuals who have the same goals in life tend to like each other and the relationship will become closer and closer. The next goal of the partnership will create value for both as a spirit of cooperation and team in the group. Values such as the ability will create a harmonious and prestigious society (Skevington, 1980).

Past history for instance can create the value of mutual respect of each other in the group (Turner, 1984). This is because individuals who have a past history with other people in the group will tend to have empathy which in turn gives a positive value to the values in the group.

c. Emotional Aspect

According to Stephen and colleagues (2003), one of the most important aspects of a group life is the passion for group members. Passion here means a deep feeling by an individual towards the group. In a group, if an individual has a strong emotion, classically it will contribute to the collective formation and influences the reasons for a replacement. Replacement means a substitution of something missing. In addition, a promise is a very important element in the group. Fulfilling a promise is one of the main starting points that will help in understanding the emotions collectively.

Tajfel proposed in 1978 that social identity rejects group differences based on emotional rationale (and no emotion) or emotional (and irrational) alone. Instead, the emotion in the context of social identity involves two parts, namely the intellect and emotions that are built based on self-knowledge and also as a member of the group. A member of a group will only accept one another based on the same values and emotions. The stronger the emotion of an individual to the group, the more passionate the individual meets the group's identity.

It is frequently argued that emotion is created through events. The same events experienced by the members of a group might be felt the same or different. Likewise, the same emotion may also be generated by different events. In the formation of social identities, we can see that social identity affect emotions, and emotions affect social identity (Stephen et al, 2003).

According to Tajfel (1978) again, a stable emotion is able to produce a collection that has a stable social identity. Emotion-based rationalization will create a social identity that is both rational without being influenced by extreme emotions. Strong emotions without rational are expected to be able to trigger social identity based on the feelings alone. This is what often meant by emotional.

It is clear that emotional and social identity are two essential elements that cannot be separated. One is to determine the nature or characteristics to one another. Indeed, emotions play an important role in the formation of the social identity of an individual in particular, and a society in general.

Apart from the social identity of the local population and the difference, the old identity which is the identity long before the development of tourism and a new identity after the tourism development will also be studied to identify the effects or impacts of tourism development on the social identity of the population in Mabul Island. This is because, in previous studies, there were some scholars argued that the development of tourism in creating social change can impacts positively and negatively on the host communities. Sometimes, tourism can also highlight the differences in cultural backgrounds and social values among the residents and guests (Huang & Stewart, 1996). Apart from that, there were scholars who argued that tourism can contribute to the changes in the value system of a society, individual behavior, family relationships, collective lifestyles, social structures, and traditions disorders (Smith & Krannich, 1998). Lewis (1998) showed that the development of social disruptions that occurred in

rural areas where the atmosphere of a small rural community quickly ended and the culture can change rapidly.

3.3 *Local Social Identity Relations*

According to Sedgo (2000), a sustainable society is one that can sustain and strengthen peace and harmony among its members in all circumstances. Although there are cultural diversity, religious diversity, and political and economic differences, the relationships between the group and other groups should be treated with care. For this study, researchers will look at the relationships that exist in the social identity of the local population groups in Mabul Island. Relationships that will be observed in this study are the internal relations (in the group) and external relations (out-group). Internal relationship in covers the relationship between the groups, whereas the external relations are the relations between the groups, travel and tourism relations, and public relations with the local Filipino community in which involves kinship, culture, customs and social relationships.

3.4 *Tourism Conflict*

The concept of community resilience refers to the ability of individuals or communities to cope with stress, overcome the difficulties and adapt to changes positively (Ammar and colleagues, 2014). The ability or the capability to return to normal after a bitter or negative experience will reflect the natural properties of the individual or can be seen as the result of learning and experience. Ammar and colleagues in 2014 also stated that this concept of community resilience can be developed and enhanced regardless of the origin of endurance to promote the well-being of life.

Previous studies (Alan, 2013) have stated that public security is often associated with disasters. In Malaysia, the resilience of communities are not associated with the disaster because severe natural disasters do not occur in Malaysia (Ammar et Al., 2014). In this study, surveyed community resilience is the ability or the capability of Suluk and Bajau ethnic in Mabul Island to adapt and survive the new tourism development that is being built on Mabul Island.

4. **Methodology**

This section will describe the research methodology that will be used during the study. To test the question of the objectives of this study, ethnographic techniques were used. This study was made of traditional methods and the study of human nature socially. Among the methods used include the observation of participants in the study area, and it involves long period of time where the researchers and local communities live together, observing their practices and if possible, researchers will join or participate in the activity. The objective is to unravel the way they think, their perspective on the world and their experience from the point of emic perspective. Occasional interview was directly used to obtain certain information; for example local history or family relationship. Direct observation of activities such as tourism or the total number of active fishermen were also used as the material for information related to the main study. The observation of this study was conducted in April 2015. The understanding of local communities and tourism are very important before studying the changes of the community. While this study takes a fairly long period of time, the researchers did not live in the study area all the time. Researchers who conducted this study

have stayed in the study area probably within a week, up to three weeks every few months in three years.

Due to the fact that the researchers cannot live in the study area over a long period of time, researchers still can get information daily through a proxy relationship. 'Proxy method' is a method in which the researchers gained information using the association relationship / friendship that existed in Mabul Island. The information is supplied spontaneously by proxy based on their experience in the area of research and also on what happen (event) in the study area such as a 'newly opened chalet', 'the aggression in Lahad Datu', and so on. This information is presented by proxy through a conversation on the phone and pictures sent via email. Conversations and images provided will be transcribed by the researchers which are called the 'proxy transcript'. The information from these continuous observations will be supported by the proxy method to reinforce the findings.

The process of identity formation and the change are constant and depend on various influences, and it needs to be emphasized as an organic phenomenon, with the effect that the long-term observation is the most appropriate approach to be taken to gain a deep understanding of the various impacts including tourism.

5. **Findings**

5.1 *Background Community of Mabul Island*

Starting from 130 inhabitants, this island now has about 3318 inhabitants. The total is changing because there are still locals who commute to the Philippines and moved to another place. 60 percent of the total population in this island resort is Suluk community and Suluk becomes the major community in Mabul Island. Most Suluk community in Mabul Island come from Southern Sulu, Philippines. The majority of the community is Muslim and still strongly practiced the customs and culture of their ancestors. The main source of their income is by catching fish. Apart from fishing, some of Suluk communities particularly the young people increase their income by working at resorts and do small businesses.

Suluk settlements in the island resort community are in coastal areas, where most people built their house on the water and part of them built their house on the land. Suluk community placement is surrounded by 13 small chalets to accommodate fleas of budget travelers who visit Mabul Island. In terms of education, Suluk society only has formal education at the primary level. Among the problems that caused this to happen are: no identity card, no secondary school on the island of Mabul and the lack of awareness about the importance of education by parents. The issue regarding the identity cards is a major problem in the population of Mabul Island. This problem not only cause them to not be able to go to school, but they are unable to present themselves in the tourism sector, which is being built on the island.

If they accept to work in the tourism sector, the salary paid is within RM300-400 per month without realizing that they can only be the spectators and the benefits of tourism are gained by others. From 1995 Suluk society, only 255 people have identity cards and the rest are considered as refugees. Those who are considered refugees only have a passport M13, 123, cranes and house census numbers as their identification.

Aside from Suluk community, there is also Bajau community, the second-largest community living in the island. Although the history and

origins of Bajau community in Mabul island are still missing and difficult to be understood, but based on the storytelling and interviews, and observation it clearly states that Bajau has been stayed in Mabul Island and it comprises of Sea Bajau ethnic group identified as Palaut. Majority of them emigrated from Philippines. These ethnic groups are less recognizable and known to the public because 'Bajau musuk' is just a name given by the Suluk community for Bajau Laut community who live in Mabul Island. Bajau communities live in the area in Mabul Island enclave resort where the region is only inhabited by Bajau community solely. There are approximately 80 houses and 200 people in the village area and half thereof is children. Bajau main source of income is by capturing marine products.

There are some women of Bajau make income by washing clothes and there are also some open small stores for the family income. They are poor where they just stay at home made of old planks and thatched palm leaves. Most of these people do not have a religion and still practice animism. However, there have been several families converted to Islam due to mixed marriage. Comparing Bajau people with Palaut who still live in the area of Mabul Island, their lives are not significantly different, the only differences are their colloquial and also the place they are living. However, Bajau people's lives are better compared to Palaut community.

5.2 Social Identity of Suluk and Bajau Community and the Differences

Since the arrival of the Suluk in Mabul Island, they categorize themselves according to ethnic relations. This can be seen when they came to Mabul Island only with their families and ethnic so they can form a community in Mabul Island. For example, if someone move from the Philippines to Mabul Island, they will invite their brothers to move together and settle in Mabul Island. The resulted a community of Mabul Island that is constructed among their family members and they highly recognized each other. Categorizing Suluk community in terms of the ethnic aspect is very strong so they say the arrival of other people on the island of Mabul caused Suluk community begins to change. The results of an interview with Pn Rugaya, she firmly stressing on the issue.

'Suluk people live here used to be fine, but now they have mingled with other races. The tourism area are crowded with workers from other races so they are mixed. The social situations are getting worse'. (Rugaya, personal communication, 30 January 2015).

In addition, the concept of marriage among relatives or fellow ethnic also makes them stronger in terms of family relationships. Ethnicity is one of the biggest categories of the identity. In general, there is a continual and the deep conversation on ethnic identity is as stated by most scholars (Banks, 1996; Barth, 1969; Fenton, 2003; Jenkins, 1996, 1997; Kaufmann, 2004; Smith, 1981, 1986, 2000). In 1981, AD Smith stated that the ethnic community is a social gathering in which the members share the taste of same origins, feel that they have their own history and different to the others, have clear characteristics, feel they have their own uniqueness, and live united with each other. The ethnic collection is usually used to refer socio-cultural heritage of someone. Among ethnic concepts are characteristic, culture, customs, language, religion, country of origin, and others. An ethnic group is a group whose members have a set of socio-cultural characteristics of their own. Because they live in the same ethnicity, the unity spirit and cooperation among Suluk communities are very strong. They live interdependent among each other. These circumstances means that they live with mutual help and trust among each other. They also feel well and good if

they stay in Mabul with fellow race/ethnicity and have peaceful lives. It also shows the evaluative components of each individual and the Suluk that this group is at a good stage.

The presence of Suluk community in Mabul Island is as a refugee. So most of them do not have identification cards, causing them to have a lack of sense of pride in themselves. The lives which are poor and needy caused them to prefer to remain silent even though many people took advantages on them. This showed a very low emotional element in their social identity as expressed by Mrs. Nurkisa:

'There are Suluk people who are moving forward and I am proud, but we are mostly poor here, though we were born here, it is difficult to get an identification card. No identification card means trouble in sending children to school, or to get a job. Even if we get a job, the salary is low, about 400 only' (Nurkisa, personal communication, 28 January 2015).

Mrs. Pasrah also agreed with what is stated above:

'It is hard to be proud. The tourism here is developed but the villagers are not. No clean water and no power supply. We are all poor. They have power and water in other island. This island is popular but lack of facilities' (Pasrah, personal communication, 28 January 2015).

Bajau people immigrated to Mabul Island after a few years Suluk community has settled down in the island. However, this little group does not directly interfere the Suluk community since they live far away and separately from the Suluk society. Just like the Suluk community, they came to the Mabul Island with their family and children. Following the interview with the Bajau head of settlement, they are of Bajau community that come from the Philippines and some are sea Bajau people who live in the sea and had first lived on land. Bajau community also categorized themselves by ethnicity, and came to the Mabul Island in small groups. Most of their closest relatives still remained in the Philippines and some are still staying at the sea. However, they came from the same ethnic clump that is, the 'Bajau'. This caused them to hang out with each other so well and it becomes a group in which they practice the same language, customs, and culture. For Bajau community, they do not like to be categorized as sea Bajau community. They prefer to be called Samal, or Sama. This is because they have formed a new society in Mabul Island and apart from that, they felt the Bajau Laut are no longer relevant to their lifestyle. They think their life are better now compared to before.

'We are not the Bajau Laut, I came here from the Philippines with my husband. My husband used to work at the peninsular, but was arrested by the police and was sent back to the Philippines. Then we came here, nobody will arrest us here' (Na, personal communication, 29 January 2015).

The united spirit and cooperation of Bajau community are high. Although they live in a poor state, they show strong cooperation. If Suluk's source of income is by building boats, Bajau society also collaborated to build small boats for their own use for fishing. They did not charge their services because the boat will be used together for fishing. However, the boats built were only small boats. Aside from that, they also depend on each other and always help each other.

In the context of emotion, although they seem comfortable living in poverty, it actually sad seeing their daily life, their level of education, as well as the fate of their children. This case was illustrated by a

resident of the Bajau society where he declared the perks during his stay in the Philippines:

'Our lives are difficult in the Philippines, but at least all people got the chance to go to school there, free of charge. Here, if there is no identification card, it means no school and the children here just play around' (Ija, personal communication, 29 January 2015)

Apart from that, the distinction between the economic levels of Suluk community versus Bajau caused the Bajau community to prefer to be in groups of their own. Their state of deprive, eating just what they have, and the bad condition of their home caused their emotional level to be low compared to Suluk's emotion level that not only think about the problem of poverty, but they also beginning to think about the necessity of clean water and electric power utilities.

5.3 Social Identity Before and After Travelers Arrival

Tourism that exists in Mabul Island is growing. This can be seen by the addition of chalets and also the addition of booth units in resorts available. This development should give low or minimal effects on nature around it, other than being able to contribute to the welfare of local residents. The impacts of the construction of tourist resorts can usually be seen through two important aspects, namely the population and environment. The impact on the population may be viewed in terms of economic and sociocultural; when the surrounding nature may be seen roughly or seen through the other ecological impact (Lee & Siti, 2010; Jabil & Abdul, 2010; Nurhazani & Shaharuddin, 2003). The impacts of tourism on the economy are generally seen to be positive, while non-economic impacts (sociocultural and environments) should happen equally positive or negative (Siti Hajar et Al., 2013).

Recently, after the construction of the first resort, the changes in the local community can be seen. From the aspect of social identity, tourism are deemed to be able to increase their self-pride on Mabul Island that is becoming more famous around the world. They are also happy because of the construction of luxury and beautiful resorts and at the same time may be a place for them to work and walk around. For Suluk community, especially the young groups, they would have the opportunity to work in the sector, and at the same time they do not need to be too dependent on fishing industry that has been cultivated since long time ago. On the other hand, it is different from Bajau community. Even though they are not likely to involve themselves directly in the tourism sectors, they took the opportunity to make income by washing clothes and clean the residence / house of Suluk who are busy working in the resorts. Although they are paid lower, it is still enough for them. Aside from the tourist resorts, there are also changes to women who usually just take care of their children at home. Now, women in Mabul Island get the chance to work and help the family economy.

However, behind all of the excitement, tourism has also brought some negative changes to their social identity. The most obvious change can be seen in public when the Suluk starts to work and their family relationships start to fade. The employment in tourist resorts which take a long period caused them to have no time for their family. Unity spirit as well as trust between each other is also fading with time.

The results from local interviews indicated that the locals do not have a problem when enclave tourism is growing because the tourism location is far from the area. But the development that has no limit in the residential areas where they live is unwelcome. Their areas get narrower

with the construction of small chalets. This caused the fishermen boats to have difficulties in moving around the water region in Mabul Island. Apart from that, the locals were also unhappy with the increasing in social problems among the young people in Mabul Island such as promiscuity among men and women, and also the rise of wine production caused greater number in wine sales openly. The saddest thing is there were also travelers who irresponsibly by gave liquor to a child who roam around the tourist resorts in the region. Although these issues have been raised, no action was taken. It is very different to a study carried out by the DVL Macleod (2006) in Bayahide, Dominican Republic where tourist resorts have been protested by the locals to leave and they got their land rights and in addition, they also got clean water supply as well as access to electricity. This makes the spirit of unity and trust among people in Bayahide increase and becomes one unit with the same interests and as a group to face threats against something.

The results of the study found that the locals were not aggressive in dealing with prevailing. This factor caused the locals to be afraid to speak out and raise the issue because they are aware that they are migrant. If any protest or fight involving a tourist is reported, they will certainly be sent back to the Philippines. For them, it is enough if they can stay safe in Mabul Island than living in fear due to the conflict in the southern Philippines.

From the aspect of self-categorization, Suluk and Bajau are similar in categorizing themselves by ethnicity even though tourism is growing rapidly. There was just a slight change which it can be seen from the first Suluk community. They categorized themselves by familial factors. Suluk community placement region is now divided into two groups; Tahih village area and residential area by the water. They first divided the community into two sets into which water village comprises of first generation people and the people who stays at Tahih village comes from second generation. From the interview conducted with the former head of the Mabul Island village, he stated:

'This island has only one village, which is kampong Mabul, but people likes to call it by different names. As for the people, they are divided into two, those with identity cards and those with passports' (Jamaluddin, personal communication, 30 January 2015)

The fact above corresponds to what a villager has said:

'The village in which the Bajau Laut lives we call it kampong Musuk, because Musuk is a current name of their village in the Philippines. In that area people call it Kampong Tahih, I don't know why they call it that. The area is really clean' (Karna, personal communication, 30 January 2015).

From the results of the interviews and observation conducted for several months, it is clear that tourism has brought changes to the identity of social community in Mabul Island especially the Suluk community. Bajau society does not undergo obvious changes because they lack interaction with the existing tourist resorts. It showed that the distance of the region and the communications between locals and travelers have brought to the partnership a serious, public interaction, and recognition of many ideas and a new way of life.

5.4 In-group and Out-group

In many circumstances, ordinary people distinguishes between 'us' and 'our'; i.e. the assumption that people who are involve in the same situation or interest are considered as one set, while 'they' is the

assumption to the others who are not involved in one state or have the same interests and are considered as another collection. Based on the sociological concept of WG Sumner (1940), the first set in which an individual knows for sure of himself is referred to as the 'in-group', while the second group in which the individuals are known for sure according to the circumstances and different interests are referred to as 'out-group'.

The results of this study found that the internal relationship among the communities on the island is good. However, their relationship between other societies are somewhat quite bad. This can be observed in the position of the houses of the society in which the Bajau people are in one area, whereas Suluk society is in another area. Apart from that, when interviews were conducted, it can be concluded that most of them do not recognize each other. However, no fights or tension prevail between the two sets of both communities.

The relationship between the community and tourist are also said to be in a good shape. For Bajau community, the lack of interaction with travelers led to lack of positive impressions and negative effects on them. However, for Suluk, their perceptions on the tourism is varied based on their age as well as their involvement in the tourism sector. Most old people on this island are not interested in the tourist resorts because they fear that the tourism industry will bring disaster to the island someday. However, young peoples of Suluk community who are involved in this sector have a different perception. They are very excited with the construction of the tourist resorts and hope they will be managing the tourism someday.

External relations among communities on this island with the Philippines are also varied according to the family. Most Suluk people on this island are no longer in connection with the people there. This is because they mostly have their families moved to Sabah (Semporna, Sandakkan, Kunak and Kota Kinabalu), only a few of them return to the Philippines to visit their family, for the medicinal purpose (traditional medicine to follow their customary), and some return to the Philippines for the purpose to go to Mecca (going to Mecca using a Philippine passport). This is not similar to the people of Bajau. Their relationship with the Filipino community is much more better rather than Suluk pcommunity. They often go to Philippines to visit their family. Sometimes, some of them stay there for a long period of time.

The relationship between the 'in-group' and the 'out-group' can be found in every society most of the time although its interests are not the same. In the context of the island's society, the relationships and differences are not so clearly visible. However, this form of relationship is necessary to be kept as well as possible to ensure the harmony of the island as a tourist destination.

5.5 Community Resilience in Mabul Island

Tourism in Mabul Island is said to be built in a way that is not structured and beyond the capacity of the natural surroundings. Aside from that, the tourism on the island has pretty much violated most well-established principle of development, including the environment, social, and economic. Although many of the problems faced by the population have been dealt as mentioned before, there is still no action taken by them. They are only able to see and stay silent. The true nature is, they live in fear, they are afraid that if they act recklessly, the government will send them back to the Philippines.

Fears grew when the abduction cases occurred in Mabul in 2014. It was said the case involves terrorist/violators of the Sultanate of Sulu and also

the death of a policeman. Results from interviews showed that their fear are not towards the violators or terrorists, but they are in fear of the government. They believe the terrorists will not harm them because they come from the same family. In addition, their poor lives and their status as refugees are the factors that cause them to believe they will not be harmed in the case.

Rather than facing all the problems prevailing on the island, only one safe action is taken by the island community that is to immigrate to the main land. Most of the community in the island especially young groups have moved to nearby towns and continued to settle down there. Now, Mabul is swamped with outsiders that come to invest or work in the tourism sector. It can be concluded that communities on the island are already beginning to be unable to survive with the problems brought by the tourism developer.

6. Discussion and Conclusion

Mabul Island tourism gives locals the true opportunity of freedom and allows the younger generation to appreciate the working life and not just rely on traditional primary economy; fisheries. It affects their professional identity and views on their self-reliance and confidence. Moreover, the addition of the opportunities of freedom for women, gender roles in the family has slightly changed, especially in terms of wives in which they can help in supporting their economy. Aside from that, Mabul Island tourism is increasingly popular and able to make the people of Mabul feel the pride.

Regarding the case of the relationship in Mabul Island between both communities, Suluk and Bajau is somewhat tenuous, they prefer to be grouped among themselves and make things separately. This case has caused them not to act as a collection against some threats. As a result, although there are complaints made, no action is taken by the authority because locals are afraid to voice out and the lack of knowledge about the political engagement is critical to help them resolve the problems arose from tourism development. Without the involvement of outsiders (stakeholders) indirectly, it is allowed to weaken the local's social identity.

Losing the old way and community relations were expressed by locals. The movement of their economic basis from fisheries to tourism has weakened their culture and identity through the reduction of fishermen and their activity, and slowly the finesse required to catch fish traditionally is forgotten. In addition, foreign travelers dominate the common space and privacy, hence the tranquility is disturbed by tourism activity. Pressures and necessities of life also contributed in reducing family interaction and weaken the dependence among family members. This means activity such as food sharing and family visits are decreasing due to rise in pressure and the development of tourism activity.

In conclusion, we can say that tourism has a broad impact on social identity, and in a different context, it has different degrees of impact, weaken or strengthen, create or destroy. This study showed that tourism has an influence on the social identity of both communities in Mabul Island. The issues involving political power, economic resources, and socio-cultural are stimulated by tourism and it influenced the changes in social identity.

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