

# Stakeholder Views of Legalized Casino Gambling in Taiwan: Taiwanese Student Perceptions

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Abstract: Based on the premise that stakeholders' views are important in planning and developing tourism, this case study describes the perceptions and views of Taiwanese university students in the United States about the potential development of casinos in Penghu County, Taiwan. Their views of the positive and negatives implications of casino gambling in Penghu are evaluated, followed by an assessment of the relationship between demographic characteristics and prior casino experiences, and the students' current views. The study showed that prior casino experiences do not affect current perceptions; the only demographic characteristic that does is gender. The study also shows that the population was split quite evenly between those who thought casinos would be negative and those who thought the development would be positive.

Keywords: Taiwan, Gambling, Casinos, Legal issues, Stakeholder perceptions Stakeholder Views of Legalized Casino Gambling in Taiwan: Taiwanese Student Perceptions

## Introduction

Casinos and other forms of gambling have become a significant socioeconomic phenomenon in recent years throughout much of the world. Gambling is often targeted as a legitimate method for economic development, and many places have grown as important tourist destinations owing to their affiliations with gambling. While gambling is sometimes lauded for its economic potential, in many places the legalization of gaming, particularly high-stakes casinos gaming, is denigrated as a sinful force that damages societies and families. In these cases, religious and family organizations typically become involved in the debate in an effort to thwart legalized gaming.

Legalized gambling has been at the forefront of tourism growth and academic research in recent years in South Africa, Macau, Australia, the United States,

Canada, and many other countries. All states in the United States, for example, with the exception of Utah, have some form of legal gaming, ranging from bingo and lotteries to high-stakes casinos and sports betting. Other places that traditionally have not embraced gambling as a legitimate form of economic growth have begun to consider it in recent years (e.g. Hong Kong, Thailand, Japan, and India) (Hsu, 2006; Kim et al. 2004). Singapore's two new casinos, for example, are planned to become operational in 2009.

Tourism in Taiwan (Republic of China (ROC)) is thriving and continues to grow at a relatively steady rate. However, Penghu County, a small archipelago off the country's west coast in the Strait of Taiwan, lags behind the rest of ROC in economic terms. As a result, politicians and some local leaders have identified casinos as a legitimate and potentially lucrative tool for stimulating economic growth through international and domestic tourism. Nonetheless, in a traditional society where gambling is largely seen as sinful or immoral, the prospect of legalized casinos has raised many doubts and stimulated some significant debates.

The growing body of knowledge about sustainable tourism development emphasizes the importance of involving stakeholders in development and acclaims the need for community empowerment in decision making (Scheyvens, 2002; Sofield, 2003; Timothy, 2007). Given the controversial nature of casino gaming operations and the important role of stakeholders in guiding policy and planning, this paper examines the views and perceptions of one group of Taiwanese stakeholders that has an interest in the potential growth of casino-based tourism in ROC—Taiwanese students at a major university in the United States. Specifically the study probes into their views of the possible positive and negative impacts of casino tourism in Penghu County, Taiwan, and examines the potential relationship between the demographic characteristics, their previous experiences with casinos, and their perceptions. This paper assesses only one group's views and therefore should be seen as a case study and not as a generalizable sample of a larger population.

## Perceptions of Gambling

People gamble for a variety of reasons, including curiosity, fun, entertainment/recreation, a chance to get rich quickly, passing time, or simply a hope of getting something for nothing (Christiansen and Brinkerhof, 1997; Surowiecki, 1997). Regardless of the reasons, once people become addicted to gaming, it is extremely difficult to break free, and they often lose large amounts of money, some losing their jobs and families in the process (Goodman, 1995; Griffiths, 1994). As a result, gambling has been one of the most controversial issues in the public debate in the realm of tourism and recreation studies.

Researchers have identified a number of negative outcomes associated with the development of gambling on people's lives (Lester, 1979; Reno, 2005; Yeh, 2002; Zendzian, 1993), including family problems, economic instability, adolescent and adult addiction, and suicide. Gambling is often blamed for increased divorce rates, child abuse and neglect, domestic violence, prostitution, drug use, bankruptcies, small business failures, increased crime, and the less-affluent becoming poorer as they lose their meager earnings. Recent research demonstrates that adolescents are particularly vulnerable to the addictive consequences of gambling (Hardoon and Derevensky, 2002).

Surveys of host community members have highlighted many of their perceived harmful repercussions of gaming-based tourism (Caneday and Zeiger, 1991; Carmichael et al., 1996; Dickerson et al., 1996; Kwan and McCartney, 2005; Perdue et al., 1995; Pizam and Pokela, 1985). These include congested environments and crowded public facilities, as well as lower-quality air and visual aesthetics. It also has been shown to increase property values to the point where few people can afford to purchase homes or land. Organized crime is often a result of gambling development. This often comes from investment needs in the community to build casinos and other infrastructural elements, and the needs of individuals for additional spending money while in the gaming destination. Street crime also tends to result from gambling development; larceny, fraud, vehicle theft, and pick-pocketing are some of the crimes typically associated with gambling.

This range of effects has caused different societies to have different views of gambling. In most societies, gambling is undesirable because of its (perceived and real) negative social and moral consequences. Often religious organizations and family groups drive anti-gaming projects based on these moral foundations. Many tourist destinations see gambling as an inevitable vice; it might be morally questionable, but it brings money into the local economy. From this perspective, destinations often give in to gaming because it is hard to prohibit people from gambling, so it would be better to legalize it than to continue letting it function as a criminal element. If legalized, at least it can be controlled and monitored. Another perspective is to see gaming as an economic savior that is welcomed with open arms. In this view, gambling has more positive advantages than negative outcomes. It provides jobs, tax dollars, and spin-off economic growth. Finally, gambling may be seen as completely acceptable and an activity that provides a needed recreational or entertainment element (Cabot, 1996; Chu, 2002).

Studies also have identified various positive outcomes of gambling development from industry and community perspectives (Collins and Lapsley, 2003; Gu and Heung, 1998; Hsu, 2006; Perdue *et al.*, 1995). These include increased

employment, broader tax base, provision of better public services, leisure opportunities for residents, and business investments.

Based on these negative and positive perspectives, countries have adopted different approaches to deal with gambling. Rose (1986) identified five basic government roles in gaming tourism development. First is government prohibition. This eradication model is bent on stamping out gambling, and if people are caught gambling they will be jailed or heavily fined. Secondly, some governments tolerate gaming and act simply as passive observers, although they might use a gambler protection approach to forbid outright advertising or require gaming establishments to fund and sponsor treatment and recovery programs. Third, governments sometimes legalize private gambling with minimal standards and regulatory process. Often operators must have permits and agree to certain rules and policies, but overall it is a free market approach. In some cases, countries crack down against large-scale betting and casinos but are lenient with soft gaming, such as charitable betting and lotteries. The fourth approach is where governments administer detailed regulatory processes through special boards and commissions. These commissions must conduct background checks, license operators and their employees and monitor gaming activities for fairness. Rose's final category is governments as entrepreneurs. Publicly-owned gaming operations are managed as private enterprises. State or national lotteries are a good example, or Indian reservation casinos operated by Native American governments.

Several studies have evaluated the importance of various demographic characteristics, particularly gender, in understanding gambling behavior. In most cases, studies highlight the differences between males and females, with notable differences between them; typically, males in many cultures and societies have a higher propensity to gamble and accept gambling as a legitimate leisure activity (Kwan and McCartney, 2005; Lindgren *et al.*, 1987; Moore and Ohtsuka, 1997), although it appears that the gap is closing between men and women, as gaming becomes more mainstream in its appeal (Gupta and Derevensky, 1998; Hope and Havir, 2002; Zaranek and Chapleski, 2005).

# Gambling in Taiwan

Gaming is booming in several parts of Asia, particularly Macau, and much academic attention has been directed to its growth and economic implications there (Fong and Ozorio, 2005; Gu and Heung, 1998; Hobson, 1995; Kong et al. 2005; Kwan, 2004; McCartney, 2006). Singapore is following the example of Macau, with plans to open two new casinos in 2009. Several Las Vegas-based casino companies have begun eyeballing additional Asian locations, including Cambo-

dia, Hong Kong, Japan, Laos, the Philippines, South Korea, Sri Lanka, Thailand and Taiwan—places that are growing economically and where tourism is well established. Likewise, there is a general feeling throughout much of Asia (including Taiwan) that moral opposition to gambling has lost considerable ground, that gaming is a disease which will not disappear whether or not it is legalized, and that regional income can be generated through casino gaming to offset regional economic disparities and assist in alleviating poverty (Chang, 2004; Chien and Hsu, 2006; Tsai and Gu, 2005).

While the Chinese have an engrained proclivity for playing games of chance and betting, much of traditional Chinese culture (e.g. Confucianism and Han Dynasty philosophies) condemns outright gambling (Chien and Hsu, 2006). Thus, in the eyes of many Chinese, gambling is seen as an immoral activity and social ill that has remained illegal in many Chinese-majority countries. Taiwan is no exception; gambling there has been banned for many years. Nonetheless, Taiwan-ese public officials began considering casinos as a revenue-generating tool two decades ago, although the idea was put on hold because of widespread public disapproval (Chu, 2002; Yeh, 2002). In 2002, however, the government of Taiwan legalized public lotteries, which have become a popular pastime for many Taiwan-ese (Lee and Chang, 2005; Tsai and Gu, 2005) and have led to renewed discussions about Penghu County as a possible venue for legalized casinos.

Tourism is Penghu's main industry, with nature, birth-watching, and cultural landscapes being its most important assets. However, tourism has begun to decline in Penghu in recent years for a variety of reasons; the county's traditional fishing economy has also waned, resulting in a salient economic downturn and out-migration of young people to mainland Taiwan (Perng and Chang, 2003).

Proponents of gambling in Penghu suggest that it is necessary to counteract the socio-economic changes occurring in the archipelago and argue that the county is an ideal location for casinos for several reasons. First, Penghu County is not located on the island of Taiwan itself, so any negative repercussions would remain isolated and separate from the majority of the population. Second, Penghu County, given its lower socio-economic status in ROC, would benefit significantly from an increased tax base. With increased income, county administrators could offer better health care and public transportation. Similarly, Penghu's nascent tourism industry, which has seen some difficulties in recent years, could be augmented significantly by domestic and foreign players. The fourth factor is the county's insularity and small size, which would make monitoring and controlling gambling much easier. Finally, legalized gambling would help curb or eliminate rampant illegal gaming problems in Taiwan.

Like gambling opponents everywhere, foes of legalized casinos in Penghu County argue that gaming is an addictive influence with immoral consequences for individuals and societies (Kuo, 2003; Yeh, 2002). Reporters have identified Penghu community concerns similar to those in other places: crime, addiction, prostitution, corruption, increased cost of living, and suppression of other development options (Gu and Pan, 2002; Tsai, 2002). The community also argues that the negative impacts of gaming would not be relegated only to Penghu but rather would be felt throughout ROC.

Most proponents are national politicians, local community leaders, academics, and tourism industry representatives. Most adversaries are Penghu residents, community religious organizations, women's rights groups, police officers, and teacher associations. Several studies have been conducted in recent years to understand these various stakeholders' opinions and perspectives regarding legalized casino gaming in Penghu County (e.g. Chang, 2000; Chen, 1994; Kuo, 2003; Wey and Chien, 2003). An opinion poll was taken in Penghu in 2001 regarding legalized casinos, and a non-binding referendum was held in 2002 to gauge the community's willingness to develop casino-based tourism. While gambling has long been frowned upon in Penghu, the economic downturn appears to be taking its toll against opposition. In addition, several international casino developers have been eyeing Penghu County, and have attempted to persuade officials to alter restrictions on gaming and influence community members to appreciate the potential socio-economic benefits. In the 2001 poll, 50% of the surveyed population was in favor of casino resorts. In the 2002 referendum, 80% of the population supported legalized casino-style gambling in Penghu (Lee, 2001; Lin, 2002), although this referendum was highly criticized for falsification of results (Tsai, 2002).

It appears that more residents of the small islands are beginning to support casinos as an alternative tool for economic revitalization. However, little has been done by way of trying to understand the views of the general Taiwanese population. As already noted, this paper aims to assist in remedying this deficiency by investigating the views and opinions of Taiwanese students studying abroad.

#### Methods

This study is based on questionnaires completed by 123 Taiwanese students at the Arizona State University in the United States. Participants were undergraduate students (44) and postgraduate students (58), and all were members of the university's Taiwanese Student Association. A draft of the questionnaire was written in Chinese and pilot-tested at three universities in Taiwan. The pretest resulted in some minor wording revisions. The survey instrument consisted of sets of questions that gauged prior casino experiences, elicited participants' percep-

tions and opinions about potential casino development in Taiwan and its positive and negative impacts, and information on participants' personal characteristics. The instrument was comprised of closed (5-point Likert scale) and open-ended questions; only the quantitative data from closed questions will be presented here.

Students were contacted via the Arizona State University Taiwanese Student Association (TSA) telephone directory. Questionnaires were distributed during the semester in person, and a few by mail to everyone in the directory who agreed to participate. To be able to address previous experience, it was important that some of the participants at least had visited a casino at some time in the past. University students are often used as a sample population to understand aspects of travel choice and experience in student populations (e.g. Carr, 2003; Kim et al., 2006; Sönmez et al., 2006). Arizona State University's Taiwanese population was a convenience sample, but it is felt that they are an adequate population for understanding some of the stakeholder perceptions of casino gaming in their homeland. All of the 123 questionnaires were returned, but only 102 of them were considered usable, owing to lack of responses to some key items.

Statistical analysis was descriptive in nature and was performed using SPSS to find frequencies, averages, and measures of central tendency. To understand the relationships between opinions about casinos in Taiwan and age, gender, education, and residency in the United States, a one-way ANOVA analysis was conducted. ANOVA was also used to analyze previous experiences with casino gaming (those who had visited casinos and those who had not). The P-value of the F-value was used as an indicator of significance (set at 0.05).

# Taiwanese Student Experiences and Perceptions

Just over three quarters (77.5%) of participants had visited a casino in the past, while 22.5% had not. Of the 79 people who had been to a casino, one quarter claimed to have visited a casino more than six times, although nearly a quarter had visited only once (Table 1). Their activities undertaken during their last casino trip were comprised of gambling (52%), entertainment or shows (56%). visiting the casino simply out of curiosity as an attraction (57%), and dining (56%). Participants were allowed to choose all activities that applied to their last visit. All 79 who had previously visited a casino at a previous time said they had gambled at some point.

Table 1. Previous Experience with Casinos (N=79)

	frequency	(%)
How many times have you visited a casino?		
1	18	22.8
2	13	16.4
3	19	24.1
4	4	5.1
5	5	6.3
6+	20	25.3
What activities did you undertake during your most recent casino visit?		
Gambling	41	52
Entertainment/shows	44	56
Visit casino as a tourist attraction	45	57
Outdoor activities	9	11
Dining	44	56
Other	10	13
Which of the following games have you played during previous casino visits?		
Slot machines	64	81
Poker	11	14
Black Jack	22	28
Keno	4	5
Other	0	0

To gauge interest among participants who had not visited a casino previously, a question was asked about their interest in doing so, based on a Likert scale (see Table 2) (1=strongly agree, 5=strongly disagree). Some 74% of the 23 respondents (17) said that they would like to or plan to visit a casino (strongly agree or agree). The rest were either neutral on the matter or had no plans or interest in casinos (13%).

Table 2. Interest in visiting casinos among participants without previous experience

N.	Frequency (N=23)	Percentage (%)
Strongly agree	14	60.9
Agree	3	13.0
No opinion	3	13.0
Disagree	2	8.7
Strongly disagree	1	4.4

Table 3 shows the opinions of Taiwanese students about the possible establishment of a casino in Penghu. Some 43 percent suggested that they are comfortable with the development of legal casinos on the islands, with one quarter strongly agreeing with the statement 'It is good to have legalized casinos in Penghu County.' More than one quarter (28.4%) were neutral, and 29% were either against it or strongly against it. The mean was 2.72, demonstrating a fairly neutral stance on the subject, with a slight inclination toward supporting the casino development. Interestingly, when asked if they would patronize a casino if one were built in Penghu, more than half (52%) said they would, with a mean of 2.67, suggesting that most probably would visit. The difference between these two figures probably reflects the idea that while some would not like to see the casinos go in, if it were there anyway, they would be willing to visit.

Table 3. Participants' opinions about establishing a casino in Penghu County

	Distr	ibutior	of pei	cent (	%) (1	V=102)	
Items	1	2	3	4	5	Mean	SD
It is good to have legalized casinos in Penghu County	25.5	17.6	28.4	16.7	11.8	2.72	1.33
If a casino were to be built in Penghu County, I would visit it	27.5	24.5	18.6	12.7	16.7	2.67	1.43

Table 4 illustrates participants' opinions about the negative impacts of casino-based tourism if it were to be approved and developed in Penghu County. The items on the questionnaire were based on previous gambling perception studies and the polls undertaken specifically in Penghu. Divorce and suicide rates were rated rather neutrally, while crime and personal bankruptcies were seen to be real potential problems. The majority of participants agreed or strongly agreed that prostitution, domestic violence, poor people losing their savings, personal bankruptcies, and increased crime will result from legalized gambling. This pattern is fairly typical in other studies about people's views of casino development, confirming from this stakeholder group's perspective, that they share similar concerns with other interested parties in Taiwan and elsewhere.

Table 4. Perceived negative impacts of legalized casinos in Penghu County

Items	Distr	ibution	of Per	rcentag	ge (N	=102)	
	1	2	3	4	5	Mean	SD
The divorce rate will increase.	14.7	25.5	30.4	15.7	13.7	2.88	1.25
The sex trade will become popular.	27.5	26.5	26.5	9.8	9.8	2.48	1.26
Domestic violence will increase.	22.5	33.3	25.5	13.7	4.9	2.45	1.13
There will be more personal bankruptcies.	34.3	20.6	28.4	11.8	4.9	2.32	1.20
Retail businesses will lose business.	12.7	15.7	32.4	22.5	16.7	3.15	1.25
Poor people will be tempted to gamble to get rich.	23.5	23.5	28.4	14.7	9.8	2.64	1.27
Crime rates will rise.	35.3	28.4	18.6	12.7	4.9	2.24	1.20
Adolescents will be enticed to gamble and become hooked.	16.7	35.3	29.4	12.7	5.9	2.56	1.10
Suicide rates will increase.	10.8	24.5	35.3	23.5	5.9	2.89	1.07

1=strongly agree, 5=strongly disagree

Several advantages were also identified in the literature and tested on the 102 participants in this study (see Table 5). Jobs and tax revenue were seen as the two most positive outcomes, followed by increased foreign investment and leisure opportunities. The notion of leisure opportunities for local people has significant implications here, as it might touch on the issue of addiction—it being a significant negative outcome in many previous studies, but the idea demonstrates that benefits are more than purely economic in the eyes of some stakeholders.

Table 5. Advantages of establishing casinos in Penghu County

Items	Distr	ibution	of Per	rcent	()	/=102)	
	1	2	3	4	5	Mean	SD
There will be more leisure activities for people.	17.6	39.2	21.6	18.6	2.9	2.5	1.08
More jobs will be created for local people.	42.2	28.4	16.7	7.8	4.9	2.05	1.16
The local government will receive more tax revenue.	42.2	30.4	16.7	4.9	6.9	2.06	1.18
Taiwanese people will not need to go abroad to gamble.	18.6	28.4	26.5	15.7	10.8	2.72	1.25
More foreign investments will come in.	18.6	38.2	19.6	15.7	7.8	2.56	1.19
Having a casino will curtail illegal gambling activities.	12.7	27.5	22.5	22.5	14.7	2.99	1.27

1=strong agree, 5=strongly disagree

The survey also included statements about suggestions to the government regarding casinos in Penghu (Table 6). Not surprisingly, given the earlier statements, more than one third (36.3%) of participants recommended forbidding casinos, while a quarter were neutral on the issue. Conducting an impact assessment, going through the normal legislative process, and comparing the experiences of other gaming destinations were strongly recommended. Accessibility was also a major concern, with the average being 2.0 of people recommending an improvement in transportation services.

Table 6. Suggestions to the government regarding casinos in Penghu County

Items	Distr	ibution	of Per	cent		(N=102)	)
	1	2	3	4	5	Mean	SD
Forbid the establishment of legal casinos on the island.	10.8	25.5	25.5	23.5	14.7	3.06	1.23
Conduct a thorough impact assessment before launching the project.	44.1	23.5	15.7	6.9	9.8	2.15	1.32
Go through required statutory and legislative processes to implement it.	40.2	28.4	18.6	7.8	4.9	2.09	1.16
Improve public transport services before launching the project.	49.0	21.6	15.7	6.9	5.9	2.00	1.28
Offer casino management courses to educate or train those who are interested in this area.	35.3	37.3	16.7	6.9	3.9	2.07	1.07
Study the patterns of Las Vegas and other well established gaming destinations to avoid weaknesses and build on their strengths.	49.0	17.6	22.5	6.9	3.9	1.99	1.17

To understand the possible influence of participants' demographic characteristics and previous visits to casinos and their current perspectives, a Oneway ANOVA analysis of variance was conducted to evaluate significance between variables (Table 7). The results indicate that there were statistically significant differences between males and females (F(1,100) = 10.133, p = 0.002). The males (M=2.37, SD=1.31) were more likely to support the establishment of casinos in Penghu County than the female participants were (M=3.19, SD=1.22). The other variables (i.e. age, education, residency in the USA, and previous experience with casinos) do not appear to have a statistically significant influence on the opinions of participants as regards the legalization of casinos in Penghu.

**Table 7.** Demographics and previous experience with casinos and opinions about casino development in Penghu County.

Background	F	P
Gender	10.133	0.002*
Age	0.659	0.622
Education	0.742	0.566
Residency in USA	1.276	0.212
Previous Experience With Casinos	0.007	0.935

<sup>\*</sup> p<0.05

A similar One-way ANOVA was also conducted to see if these same variables affected participants' interest in visiting a casino in Penghu if one vere to be developed (Table 8). Like Table 7, the results in Table 8 note that there was a significant difference between males and females, again with males being more interested in visiting a casino if one were to be built in Penghu. Again, the other variables of age, education, residency in the US and previous casino experiences did not show a statistically significant relationship.

Table 8. Demographics and previous experience with casinos and intent to visit

Background	F	P
Gender	6.996	0.009*
Age	1.741	0.147
Education	0.450	0.772
Residency in USA	1.373	0.152
Previous Experience	1.102	0.296
With Casinos		

In traditional Chinese society, females have been conditioned to become good home makers and mothers, and in the past they have been discouraged from working outside the home. Likewise, Chinese women are socially conditioned to be more refined and self-controlled than men, which may explain the gender differences in approving of, and involvement in, casino gaming (Beaver et al., 1995; Chia et al., 1997). In the context of gambling, studies have noted Chinese women's much lower propensity to gamble than Chinese men, and they often start gaming much later in life (Tang et al., 2007). According to a study by Blaszczynski et al. (1998), Chinese men were nearly four times as likely to gamble as Chinese women. The differences noted in the present study appear to support the general literature on gender differences in Chinese gambling behavior.

#### Discussion and Conclusion

This study has sought to understand the perceptions and opinions of Taiwanese students currently studying at a major American university about the establishment of legal casinos in Penghu County, Taiwan, in an effort to contribute to expanding knowledge about various stakeholders' views of a highly controversial effort. While the information provided in this study is interesting and useful, the study has several limitations. Namely, it is a small-scale, descriptive case study, based on a convenience sample and is limited in its statistical analysis. Thus, it should not be generalized to the entire population of ROC or even of Taiwanese students in the United States. Nonetheless, it is indicative of the experiences of many Taiwanese citizens in the United States and in Taiwan. It certainly elucidates empirically the experiences of one stakeholder group, which ought to be taken into account by destination decision makers as they contemplate the possibility of building casinos.

In the case of Taiwanese students studying overseas, gender appears to the most influential personal factor to influence their perspectives on gambling in Taiwan. Female participants were less likely to approve of legalized casinos in Penghu, and fewer women stated their willingness to visit casinos if they were to be built. Age, education and previous experience with gambling appear not to have a significant bearing on participants' attitudes and potential behaviors. The survey population was quite evenly split about whether or not casinos should be built in Penghu. Participants' expected negative outcomes of casino gaming are very similar to those introduced by other studies in other locations, namely crime, prostitution, bankruptcies, addiction, and other harmful results. Their opinions also supported those in other studies related to the positive outcomes, such as leisure opportunities for locals, jobs, tax revenue, and foreign investments, although in the Taiwan context there are additional concerns about legalized casinos curtailing

Stakeholder 4 Tews of Legalized Casino Gambling in Tarwan: Tarwanese Student Perceptions illegal gaming and keeping Tarwanese people home to play rather than traveling to Macau, Korea, Singapore or other gaming destinations in Asia.

Participants in this study are the future leaders of Taiwan and will have a significant bearing on the country's future economic and social development. They are also part of a larger mix of stakeholders in ROC, and tourism growth, as noted in the literature, needs to be based on all stakeholders' input. Therefore, it is important to gauge their views and allow them to express their opinions. Leaders in Penghu County and the rest of Taiwan can utilize the findings of this study in conjunction with the information they already have either to support or reject the idea of developing casinos in the Republic of China.

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