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Divergent Expectations: Case Studies of Community-Based Tourism on the Island of the Gods, Bali

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Abstract

This thesis examines the success of community-based tourism in Bali, a popular mass tourism destination in Indonesia. Presented as an unalloyed good and the antithesis of ‘bad’ mass tourism, community-based tourism is expected to create broad equitable distribution of benefits, expand livelihood options, empower local communities, and conserve both culture and the environment. In practice, however, it is difficult to find successful examples of community-based tourism. Most projects have failed to produce significant benefits and are too dependent on external assistance.

Using four Balinese villages as case study sites, the views of the local community and support organisations were explored to find out what they perceive as successful community-based tourism. The results indicate that while there are many benefits enjoyed by the communities, most residents see that the community-based tourism initiative in their village is not yet successful. A key finding of the research is that while the communities recognise the socio-political, environmental and cultural benefits of the initiative in their village, they would like to enjoy more significant economic benefits, both at the community and individual household level.

The thesis concludes that there are divergent expectations at play among the communities and the organisations supporting them as there is a difference in the emphasis of what success means between the community and the support organisations.

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1 CHAPTER ONE Introduction

1.1 Introduction

The importance of tourism in Indonesia has shifted dynamically. Initially playing a political role, tourism has become economically significant and more recently, has played a growing socio-cultural role. Tourism is expected to decrease the economic imbalances among different regions, increase unity and understanding among the 350 cultural ethnic groups, discourage urbanisation, and encourage conservation. As a result, community has become the subject of tourism development (ILO, 2011, p. 21).

The government adopted the concept of community-based tourism (CBT), and socialised the programme “*Pariwisata Inti Rakyat*” (literally translated as community-based tourism) in 1995. However, despite the Decentralisation Law No. 22 of Year 1999 which created more impetus for participatory approaches in planning tourism, the implementation of CBT initiatives has been slow, partly due to lack of understanding of participatory tourism development by the stakeholders and top-down approach (Suhandi & Simatupang, 2013).

In the future, tourism is expected to play a greater economic role as the primary sector deposits are decreasing (ILO, 2011, p. 21). The National Tourism Development Master Plan of 2011 sets out clear strategies to develop 50 tourism destinations, 88 strategic tourism areas and 222 regional tourism clusters by 2025. This is to be carried out in conjunction with the 2011-2025 Master Plan for the Acceleration and Expansion of Indonesian Economic Growth, which identifies Bali - Nusa Tenggara as an economic corridor for a gateway for tourism (MOTC, 2013). Concurrently, the government is planning a marine zone stretching from Bunaken in Sulawesi to Raja Ampat in Papua, which are also marine protected areas (MPAs) and the location of the Coral Triangle.

Meanwhile, to implement the ASEAN Tourism Strategic Plan 2011-2015 (in which CBT has been identified as one of the main ASEAN tourism products to be developed), a CBT standard in the region is now being explored and an ASEAN Ecotourism Strategic Plan developed (ASEAN, 2012 & 2013). The convergence of

the national and ASEAN priorities has meant that recent local governments' tourism campaigns promote CBT more vigorously.

Indonesia is the world's largest archipelago and has a large rural population living in coastal villages across more than 17,500 islands. National and regional tourism schemes will undoubtedly affect the lives of the farmers and fishers (especially the eastern part of the country), as all aspects of the local communities – economic, social, environmental, cultural and political – will be influenced.

CBT is often seen as offering an opportunity to create broadly equitable distribution of benefits, expand livelihood options, empower local communities, and improve community development and cohesion (Armstrong, 2012, p. 2). However, despite its potential virtues and wide adoption, it is argued that there is little demonstrable evidence of the benefits generated (Gascón, 2013, p. 717; Goodwin & Santilli, 2009, pp. 4-9): in practice, it is difficult to find successful, good examples of CBT practice (Scheyvens, 2002, p. 72; Tolkach, King, & Pearlman, 2013, p. 321). Moreover, it is observed that CBT ventures fail to produce significant benefits (Manyara & Jones, 2007, p. 629; Phu et al., 2011, p. 65; Scheyvens, 2011, p. 199), do not last beyond initial external funding (Armstrong, 2012, p. 2), and are too dependent on external assistance (Manyara & Jones, 2007, p. 628 & 642; Lapeyre, 2010, p. 757).

According to Goodwin & Santilli (2009, p. 4), there are very few studies of the actual contribution of CBT enterprises to either conservation or community livelihoods. They also stated that there have not been many studies on the success (or otherwise) of CBT. Further, they asserted, it is difficult to find data on “what criteria, factors or indicators are, or can be, used to determine the success of such projects or, indeed, what characteristics such projects share which could be used to inform decision makers in establishing future projects” (2009, p. 9).

While reviewing literature on CBT initiatives, I found there is relatively limited published literature which showcases CBT ventures in Indonesia, especially in comparison to other Southeast Asian countries such as Thailand, Malaysia, the Philippines, Lao PDR, and Cambodia. Most of the available literature either focusses on identifying potential CBT in Indonesia, or ongoing projects located in

Indonesian national parks and heritage sites which have been initiated by international organisations. In addition, of the limited literature that exists, only very few use Indonesia as a good practice case study. This raises the question whether it is indeed too difficult or premature to find a CBT initiative in Indonesia that can be categorised as ‘successful’ or provides adequate data, or whether this form of tourism faces more challenges in Indonesia than other countries in the region.

Two noteworthy CBT projects that I came across, however, are found on the island of Bali, a major tourist destination in Indonesia. Considering tourism in Bali has largely been planned by the Indonesian central government in the capital and by foreigners, and is predominantly mass tourism, it would make an interesting case study to investigate ‘Jaringan Ekowisata Desa’ (JED) or Village Ecotourism Network in association with the Wisnu Foundation, and of the Bali Community Based Tourism Association (Bali CoBTA). Both projects were primarily initiated by local actors and encompass Balinese villages in comparatively underdeveloped areas of the island. While JED¹ has been in existence since 2002 and the object of a few studies recently (notably by Christian Byczek, who published a journal article and a book based on his thesis – which attempted to answer the question in how far community-based ecotourism initiatives may constitute sustainable alternatives to the negative effects associated with mass tourism developments), Bali CoBTA was only formed in 2010 and there have not been any studies of this initiative published yet.

Following the proposal of this research in December 2013, in February 2014 the Tourism and Creative Economy Ministry announced a programme to develop 561 tourism villages across Indonesia (Onetikk, 2104). As a follow-up to this, in April

¹ ‘Jaringan Ekowisata Desa’ (JED) or Village Ecotourism Network will be referred to as JED in this thesis.

2014 the Bali provincial government launched a programme to develop 100 tourism villages in Bali (The Jakarta Post, 2014). The province will be assisted by, among others, experts in developing tourism villages, including JED (and Wisnu Foundation as the support organisation) and Bali CoBTA (The Bali Daily, 2014).

This research was conducted in view of the background described above,. This research focuses on providing the views of the village communities and support organisations about what is ‘success’ in CBT, by utilising both JED and Bali CoBTA villages as study cases. It is hoped that this study will contribute to the existing literature on CBT and inform future tourism planning, especially in the Indonesian context. This research aims to inform the development of CBT initiatives throughout Indonesia particularly and in the Southeast Asian region generally.

1.2 The objectives and research questions

The objectives of the research are to: 1) examine the views of the local community and support organisations about what is successful community-based tourism, and 2) taking into account the views identified in 1), to identify factors contributing to the success of community-based tourism.

Research questions that were addressed were:

1. What do the local community and support organisations perceive as successful community-based tourism?
2. What do the local community and support organisations consider the factors are that contribute to the success in community-based tourism?
3. What types of external assistance are most effective in supporting a community-based tourism initiative?
4. Do local people living in villages with community-based tourism perceive their community-based tourism initiative to be successful, and why/why not?

The outline of the thesis is as follows: chapter 2 discusses the literature supporting the research focus; chapter 3 outlines the research methodology and methods; chapter 4 gives the context of the research; chapter 5 provides the findings and chapter 6 discusses the findings relating to the literature.

2 CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews development literature on community-based tourism. Consisting of eight sections (plus this introduction and summary), this chapter begins by looking at the evolution of firstly conventional and then alternative forms of tourism from a development perspective. It then reviews the literature on the conceptualisation of CBT, followed by a discussion on the challenges and benefits thereof. The next section focuses on factors that make CBT successful, particularly in the context of external assistance.

2.2 Disillusionment with mass tourism

Recognition of tourism as a tool for development started in the 1960s and has continued since then as part of modernisation and neoliberal paradigms (Telfer, 2002a, pp. 50-56). Tourism is believed to generate employment and foreign exchange, transfer technology and attract development capital, and was in the 1990s identified as a promising economic sector for poverty alleviation strategies (Harrison & Schipani, 2007, pp. 84-88; Lanfant & Graburn, 1992, pp. 95-102; Scheyvens, 2011, p. 45; Telfer, 2002a, pp. 50-56). As Telfer and Sharpley (2008, p. 2) conclude, 'the most common justification for the promotion of tourism is its potential contribution to development, particularly in the context of developing countries'.

The sector's contributions include economic as well as non-cash livelihood benefits. Creation of jobs and development of backward linkages with agriculture and other economic sectors are among the most cited reasons for a country to pursue tourism (de Kadt, 1979, pp. 35-41; Telfer & Sharpley, 2008, pp. 17-18). In addition to these, tourism can facilitate dispersal of economic activity throughout a country, acting as an agent for regional development (Mings, 1969, as cited in Weaver, 2014, p. 132; Telfer, 2002b, pp. 112-148; Telfer & Sharpley, 2008, p. 18), and creating opportunities for local entrepreneurship and for involvement of otherwise marginalised groups such as women and the youth (de Kadt, 1979, p. 12 & p. 43-44; Scheyvens, 2002, p. 10). This sector has also been promoted for its generation of

collective community income and enhancement of local livelihoods options (Scheyvens, 2011, pp. 3-4). Governments, development agencies and researchers recognise that tourism offers the poor a framework within which training opportunities, capacity development, education, healthcare and infrastructure investment can be delivered (de Kadt, 1979, pp. 11-12). Moreover, tourism can provide stimulus for the conservation of natural and cultural assets (Harrison & Schipani, 2007, pp. 90-91; Murphy, 1985, pp. 31-32; Scheyvens, 2002, p. 10).

The pursuit of growth and economic gains has been the focus of the tourism industry since the 1950s, mostly in mass tourism (Butler, 1999, p. 18; Murphy, 1985, pp. 1-3). The post-World War II economic reconstruction and technological advances led to a rapid growth of international mass tourism (Jafari, 1989, as cited in Weaver, 1998, p. 11; Mowforth & Munt, 2009, p. 84; Murphy, 1985, pp. 19-21). Identified as one of the most promising drivers of growth for the world economy, governments of industrialised and developing countries have endeavoured to develop and encourage investments in large-scale mass tourism, making it a major national or regional activity (Smith & Eadington, 1992, p. 2; Lanfant & Graburn, 1992, pp. 95-98). In this *advocacy platform*, tourism is presented as an unalloyed good, the ‘saviour’, particularly for rural, regional and remote communities (Jafari, 1989, as cited in Weaver, 1998, p. 11; Beeton, 2006, p. 14).

As a result, mass tourism has increased tremendously in recent years (Mowforth & Munt, 2009, p. 94) as can be seen in Figure 2.1 which shows that international tourist arrivals have grown from 25 million in 1950 to 1,035 million in 2012 (UNWTO, 2013, p. 2). Arrivals are projected to rise further by 3.3% annually from 2010 to 2030 to amount to 1.8 billion by 2030. With a 4% rise in real terms, the increase in international tourism receipts corresponded to the increase in arrivals. International tourism receipts grew by US\$ 33 billion within a year, from US\$ 1,042 billion in 2011 to US\$ 1,075 billion in 2012 (UNWTO, 2013, p. 3). Southeast Asia is reported to be the fastest growing sub-region in the region and in the world both in 2012 and 2013, with an annual increase of 10% in international tourist arrivals (UNWTO, 2014, p. 4). The total contribution of tourism to the global economy increased to 9.5% of global GDP (US\$7 trillion) in 2013, making it faster growing than other

important sectors such as manufacturing, transport and financial and business services (WTTC, 2014, foreword).

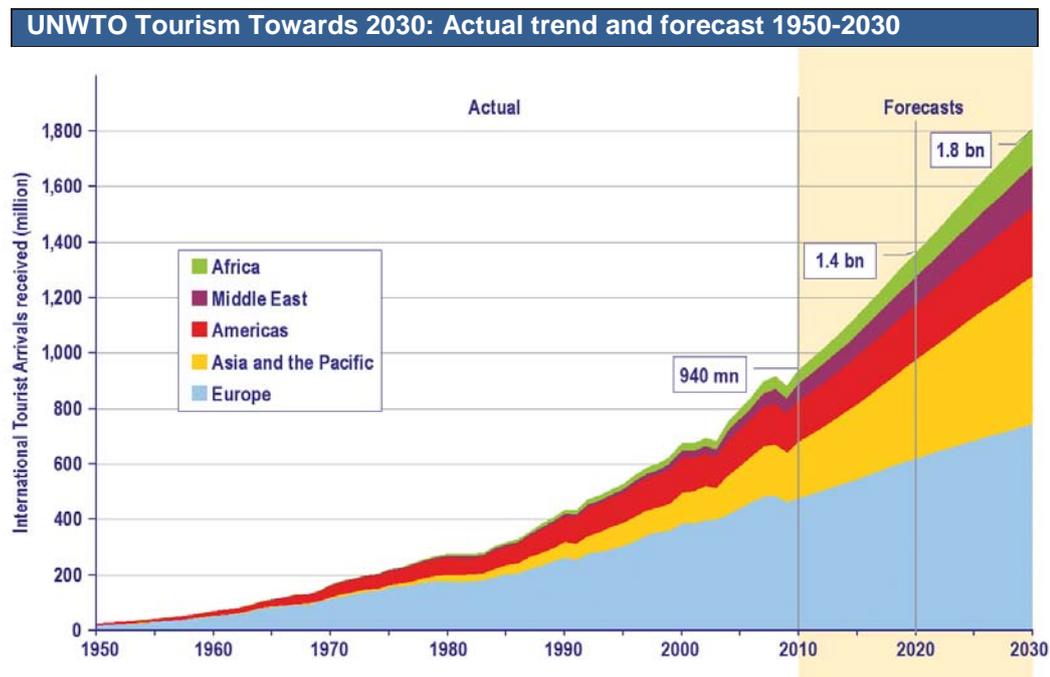


Figure 2-1 International Tourist Arrivals by region. (Source: UNWTO, 2013, p. 14)

As can be observed from Figure 2.1., despite the decline in arrivals in 2009, the post global financial crisis recovery years show positive growth, indicating the resilience of tourism demand, and giving rise to the optimistic forecasts of the UNWTO amidst the economic and geopolitical challenges (UNWTO, 2014, p. 1 & p. 17).

Not everyone has regarded the growth of tourism as a positive phenomenon, however. With increased international tourism, criticisms of tourism as a development strategy grew from the 1970s and throughout the 1990s, particularly in those countries in which tourism is the leading sector (Scheyvens, 2011, p. 81). Many studies have identified a range of problems caused by the growth of mass

tourism, which include environmental damage², social conflicts³ and cultural erosion⁴, inequitable redistribution of income and wealth⁵, loss of access to natural or cultural heritage⁶, degradation of tourism resources⁷, high economic leakage⁸, and even the spread of disease⁹. As Timothy (2002, p. 149) notes, typically the expansion and promotion of mass tourism is initiated by external forces beyond the control of the host population, leaving only few of its positive benefits to the locals. Similarly, Shah and Gupta (2000, pp. 39-40) point out how local communities bear the costs of such tourism development, which is likely to bring limited benefits to them and even leave the poor worse off. A study conducted by Wall (1996, as cited in Shah & Gupta, 2000, pp. 39-40) found that the villagers living close to upmarket and mass tourism resorts in Bali showed less enthusiasm about the benefits of tourism than those who had less experience with the impacts of mass tourism.

2.3 Alternative tourism

Disillusionment with mass tourism because of its negative impacts – by the tourists, host populations, tourism experts and some sectors of the governments (Lanfant & Graburn, 1992, p. 106; Milne, 1997, p. 295) – has led many tourism researchers to favour forms of alternative tourism (Brohman, 1996, p. 63; Mowforth & Munt, 2009, pp. 95-96; Smith & Eadington, 1992, p. 3). Informed by the alternative perspectives

² Butler, 1992, pp. 33-35; de Kadt, 1992, pp. 53-54; Hunter, 2002, pp. 14-15; Lanfant & Graburn, 1992, p. 106; Mowforth & Munt, 2009, pp. 94-95; Smith & Eadington, 1992, p. 9

³ Butler, 1992, pp. 33-35; de Kadt, 1979, pp. 6-10 & pp. 66-67; Smith & Eadington, 1992, pp. 7-9

⁴ Butler, 1992, pp. 33-35; de Kadt, 1992, pp.54-56; Groupe Huit, 1979, pp. 297-302; Lanfant & Graburn, 1992, pp. 102-106); Noronha, 1979, p. 193

⁵ Butler, 1992, pp. 33-35; de Kadt, 1979, pp. 9-12; Mowforth & Munt, 2009, pp. 94-95; Smith & Eadington, 1992, pp. 7-9

⁶ Butler, 1992, pp. 33-35; de Kadt, 1979, p. 45; Lanfant & Graburn, 1992, p. 106; Smith & Eadington, 1992, pp. 7-9

⁷ Butler, 1992, pp. 33-35; Weaver, 2014, p. 132; Smith & Eadington, 1992, p. 9

⁸ Murphy, 1985, p. 3; Noronha, 1979, pp. 183-202; Telfer and Sharpley, 2008, p. 184; Weaver, 1998, pp. 8-11

⁹ Mowforth & Munt, 2009, p. 94

in development theory which focus on people, grassroots and bottom-up approaches and local involvement (Harrison & Schipani, 2007, p. 85; Telfer, 2002a, pp. 47-60), and influenced by sustainable development principles (Telfer, 2002a, pp. 47-60; Weaver, 2014, p. 133), alternative tourism supports types of tourism which are small-scale, locally owned and thought to be less harmful to the environment and culture (Brohman, 1996, p. 64-67; de Kadt, 1992, pp.50-53; Telfer, 2002b, p. 142). They stress equitable participation and empowerment of local communities in the decision-making and in the benefits of tourism (Lanfant & Graburn, 1992, pp. 110-111; Scheyvens, 2002, pp. 11-14). They also seek to build more meaningful relationships between hosts and guests (de Kadt, 1979, pp. 54-55; Smith & Eadington, 1992, p. 3), while aiming at bringing benefits to poorer communities (Scheyvens, 2011, pp. 37-38). Since alternative tourism businesses are small-scale, often individually or family owned, and require less capital than mass tourism, women have greater opportunities to open their own bed and breakfasts or restaurants, utilising their existing skills and increasing their role in the society (Gentry, 2007, pp. 479-480).

Alternative approaches to tourism are in line with Jafari's concept of an adaptancy platform (Beeton, 2006, pp. 14-17; Weaver, 2001, p. 107). Emerging in the early 1980s, advocates of this platform believe that certain modes of tourism can bring economic and other benefits while minimising adverse impacts, and propose community-inclusive types of tourism. Under the rubric of alternative tourism are green tourism, soft tourism, indigenous tourism, volunteer tourism, justice tourism and ecotourism (Beeton, 2006, pp. 14-17; Scheyvens, 2011, pp. 37-38; Smith & Eadington, 1992, pp. 10-11; Weaver, 1998, p. 11). According to Weaver, alternative tourism is also linked to Murphy's more general conceptualisation of community-based tourism (Murphy, 1985, as cited in Weaver, 1998, p.11; Telfer, 2002a, p. 73).

Among these forms of tourism, ecotourism has received the most attention and is the fastest growing component in the tourism industry (Harrison & Schipani, 2007, pp. 85-86; Telfer, 2002a, p. 60; Telfer, 2002b, p. 122). Originally initiated to promote and establish sensitivity and responsibility in nature-based tourism development, the concept has expanded to include not only conservation of the environment and

natural resources, but also cultural heritage, as well as involvement of local communities and enhancement of local livelihoods (Leksakundilok & Hirsch, 2008, p. 215; Scheyvens, 2002, p. 71). As Leksakundilok & Hirsch (2008, p. 215) note, “the local experience and the implications of ecotourism at the community level in many countries [including Thailand] have shown the transformation of ecotourism into what has become termed ‘community-based ecotourism’ (CBET), and sometimes simply ‘community-based tourism’ (CBT) – both based on attempts to redirect or capture the flows of benefits hitherto largely accruing to outsiders”. Recognising a “need to promote both the quality of life of people and the conservation of resources” (Scheyvens, 1999, p. 246), this shift implies the considerable importance placed on the social sustainability of local communities through benefits, control, involvement and welfare (Kontogeorgopoulos, 2005, pp. 4-5; Sakata & Prideaux, 2013, pp. 880-882). As Kontogeorgopoulos (2005, p. 18) mentions, by merging sustainability, grassroots development and conservation, community-based (eco) tourism offers hope that the economic, social, political, and environmental interests of host communities can be promoted.

Within the growth of the alternative development discourse, the 1990s saw tourism as a means of diversifying the livelihood options of poor communities, stimulating active participation and facilitating empowerment (Scheyvens, 2011, p. 45). Thus community-based tourism gained increasing recognition in the mid-1990s as a tool for sustainable development and conservation, particularly in developing countries and in the context of development assistance and cooperation (Gascón, 2013, p. 716; Hiwasaki, 2006, p. 677). Development agencies, governments, the private and community sectors have shown support for the development of this form of tourism that is seen as offering an opportunity to create broader or more equitable distribution of benefits and improve community development and cohesion (Asker et al., 2010, p. 2; Goodwin, 2008, p. 870; Harrison & Schipani, 2007, pp. 84-89; Weaver, 2012, p. 109).

Concurrently, the dissatisfaction with the mainstream development industry, which shifted the focus of the development agenda to poverty alleviation in the late 1990s, led to the emergence of pro-poor tourism (PPT), defined as ‘tourism which brings

net benefits to the poor' (Ashley et al., 2001, p. 2; Harrison, 2008, pp. 851-854; Scheyvens, 2011, pp. 25-30). Linking tourism and poverty reduction is expected to facilitate policy frameworks which encourage more direct participation by the poorer communities in decision-making, and partnerships between the public and private sector (Harrison & Schipani, 2007, pp. 84-86; Scheyvens, 2011, pp. 3-4). While practitioners of ecotourism and community-based tourism have sometimes adopted the language of PPT (Goodwin, 2008, p. 870), PPT does not focus specifically on small-scale, alternative types of tourism (Shen et al., 2008, p. 22). It encourages all tourism, including mainstream tourism enterprises, to make changes in their practices (Scheyvens, 2007, p. 243):

“Pro-Poor Tourism is about changing the distribution of benefits from tourism in favour of poor people. It is not a specific product. It is not the same as ecotourism or community-based tourism, nor is it limited to these niches. Any kind of tourism can be made pro-poor. PPT can be applied at different levels, at the enterprise, destination or country level.” (Pro-Poor Tourism Partnership, 2005, p. 1, as cited in Scheyvens, 2011, p. 31).

The distinction between mass versus alternative tourism itself has blurred. Butler (1990, p. 41 & 1992, pp. 35-36) states that mass tourism need not be inappropriate and uncontrolled and alternative tourism is not always considerate and sustainable. Weaver (2001, p. 108) provided an example of the former in the management practices of the German tour operator TUI. Driven by enlightened self-interest, TUI has been taking measures to minimise negative effects in the destination areas. In the other end of the spectrum, uneven tourism development of traditional guest houses and the unbalanced material benefits resulting from it caused conflicts among the clans in the Tufi region of Papua New Guinea (Weaver, 2001, p. 108).

Meanwhile, Cochrane (2009, p. 255) highlights that ecotourism can no longer be categorised as 'alternative tourism' like it was in the early 1990s, as it has been integrated into conventional tourism, making it difficult to disaggregate its practices and impacts from other forms of tourism. Butler (1999, p. 18) suggests that as these new forms of tourism gain increasing popularity, they will likely become varieties of mass tourism. Kontogeorgopoulos (2003, as cited in Cochrane, 2009, p. 255) who looked into resort-based 'mass ecotourism' in Phuket and Bali, points out that

ecotourism does not always occur in spatial isolation from mass tourism, and that many of the consumers of ecotourism products are in fact mass tourists.

Indeed Weaver (2001, pp. 109-110), similar to Butler, argues that ecotourism can be, and is for the most part, a variant of mass tourism. He also contends that along the 'hard-soft' ecotourism continuum (see Weaver, 2001, pp. 105-106; Weaver & Lawton, 2001, pp. 4-8), mass ecotourism can be more sustainable than the more narrow types of the sector. Mass tourists residing in resorts may visit the nearby ecotourism sites, making mass tourism contribute to increased revenue inflows of the ecotourism project. Thus when other industries such as mining and logging companies want to exploit the natural environments, the government and other public sectors may be in more favour of and support ecotourism than other exploitative endeavours. On the other hand, ecotourism aids in sustaining traditional mass tourism as it offers more diverse activities than the 3S 'sea, sand and sun' and shopping, such as wildlife viewing, forest walks and folk dance performances, which attracts the new breed of environmentally and socially aware tourists.

Now that I have briefly discussed the evolution of alternative forms tourism and their connections to mass tourism, I will explore in the following section what exactly CBT entails. As a dynamic industry influenced by various disciplines and development models, the conceptualisation of CBT is multifaceted as will be shown below.

2.4 Community-based tourism as a concept

As noted in the previous subsection, the aspiration for sustainable tourism development, the global consensus on poverty reduction, and a change in tourist preference (López-Guzmán, Sánchez-Cañizares, & Pavón, 2011, pp. 69-70; Tasci, Semrad, & Yilmaz, 2013, p. 6) led to various tourism approaches that focused more on sustainability and community participation. According to Goodwin and Santilli (2009, pp. 9-11), there is no rigorous concept of CBT as it can adopt a wide range of methodologies; nonetheless they share the common characteristic of linking environmental conservation and socio-economic development, particularly in and around protected areas. Zapata et al. (2011, p. 726) state that most CBT started as

ecotourism projects in small rural communities and nature conservation that then expanded to various tourism products (e.g. local folklore, traditional arts and crafts, gastronomy) and organisational models, and which exists within a community, owned by one or more community members and managed by community members. Tasci, Semrad, & Yilmaz (2013, p. 9) hold the view that the defining feature of CBT is that it devolves control and power to the local communities in directing the tourism development. Similarly, Tolkach, King, & Pearlman (2013, pp. 320-321) maintain that the main characteristic of CBT is community participation in the decision-making, and that a bottom-up approach (as opposed to top-down) is a prerequisite for this type of tourism to be optimal. Akin to these conceptions, Okazaki (2008, p. 526) asserts that the core elements of CBT are community participation, power redistribution and collaboration processes. Mitchell and Muckosy (2008, p. 1) cite collective ownership and management of tourist assets as characteristics of CBT.

Table 2.1 provides different definitions of CBT by several authors.

Table 2-1 Different definitions of community-based tourism (CBT)

Definition of CBT	Author/Source
<p>“Community-based tourism development would seek to strengthen institutions designed to enhance local participation and promote the economic, social, and cultural well-being of the popular majority. It would also seek to strike a balanced and harmonious approach to development that would stress considerations such as the compatibility of various forms of tourism with other components of the local economy; the quality of development, both culturally and environmentally; and the divergent needs, interests, and potentials of the community and its inhabitants”.</p>	Brohman, 1996, p. 60
<p>A form of tourism “where the local community has substantial control over, and involvement in, its development and management, and a major proportion of the benefits remain within the community.”</p>	WWF International, 2001
<p>CBT are tourism ventures “in which local communities have a high degree of control over the activities taking place, and a significant proportion of the economic benefits accrue to them. They may also be characterised by local ownership and a low level of leakage”.</p>	Scheyvens, 2002, p. 10
<p>“Defined by its four objectives:</p>	Hiwasaki, 2006, p. 677
<p>(1) empowerment and ownership: increasing local community empowerment and ownership through participation in the planning and management of tourism in protected areas;</p>	
<p>(2) conservation of resources: having a positive impact on conservation of natural and/or cultural resources in and around protected areas through tourism;</p>	
<p>(3) social and economic development: enhancing or maintaining economic and social activities in and around a protected area, with substantial benefits—economic and social—to the local community; and</p>	
<p>(4) quality visitor experience: ensuring that visitor experience is of high quality and is socially and environmentally responsible.”</p>	
<p>“A type of sustainable tourism that promotes pro-poor strategies in a community setting. CBT initiatives aim to involve local residents in the running and management of small tourism projects as a means of alleviating poverty and providing an alternative income source for community members. CBT initiatives also encourage respect for local traditions and culture as well as for natural heritage.”</p>	SNV (Stichting Nederlandse Vrijwilligers) and University of Hawaii, 2007, p. 9
<p>“Tourism owned and/or managed by communities and intended to deliver wider community benefit.”</p>	Goodwin and Santilli,

“Generally small scale and involves interactions between visitor and host community, particularly suited to rural and regional areas. CBT is commonly understood to be managed and owned by the community, for the community. It is a form of ‘local’ tourism, favouring local service providers and suppliers and focused on interpreting and communicating the local culture and environment.”

“Any business organisational form grounded on the property and self-management of the community’s patrimonial assets, according to democratic and solidarity practices; and on the distribution of the benefits generated by the supply of tourist services, with the aim at supporting intercultural quality meetings with the visitors.” Zapata et al, 2011, p. 727

“A tourism that is planned, developed, owned and managed by the community for the community, guided by collective decision-making, responsibility, access, ownership and benefits.” Tasci, Semrad, & Yilmaz 2013, p. 9

“Alternative forms of tourism development which are aimed at maximising the benefits flowing to local people and which advocate capacity building and empowerment as means of achieving community development objectives.” Tolkach, King, & Pearlman, 2013, p. 319

"CBT is tourism that takes environmental, social, and cultural sustainability into account. It is managed and owned by the community, for the community, with the purpose of enabling visitors to increase their awareness and learn about the community and local ways of life." Suansri, 2003, p. 14

(Source: Author, based on literature)

Based on the aforementioned definitions, we can conclude that the term CBT is used to refer to forms of tourism development which: (1) aim to share the benefits optimally and evenly among local people; (2) advocate empowerment and ownership by active participation of the local community in the planning and management of tourism in general and of profits in particular; (3) emphasise local control; (4) promote social and economic development, including building of capabilities and assets, and providing alternative livelihood strategies which help to reduce the vulnerability of poor communities; (5) prioritise community needs, involvement and interests; (6) are small-scale, based around local skills and resources; (7) support conservation of natural resources and/or preservation of cultural heritage; (8) enhance quality visitor experience and host-guest interactions; and (9) are all-inclusive, hence gender sensitive. Figure 2.2 illustrates the essential and optional components of CBT based on these conceptions.

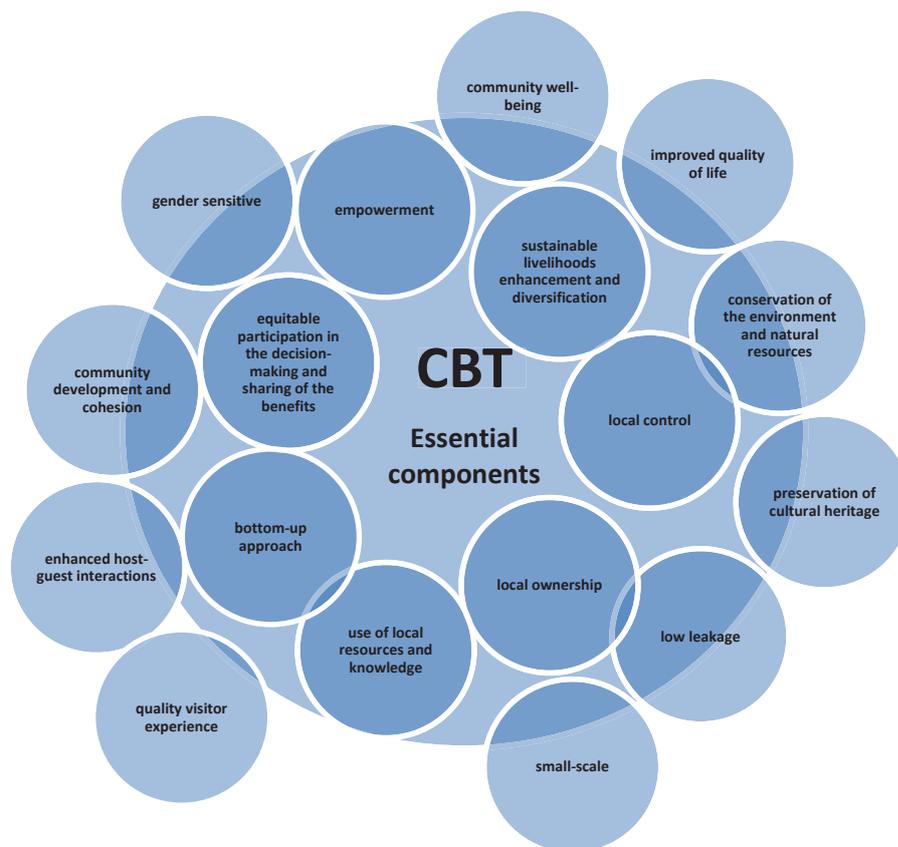


Figure 2-2 Essential and optional components of community-based tourism (CBT)
 (Source: Author, based on literature)

As demonstrated by Figure 2.2., the essential components of CBT: (1) equitable participation in the decision-making and sharing of the benefits, including sensitive to gender; (2) local ownership; (3) local control; (4) empowerment; (5) sustainable livelihoods enhancement and diversification; (6) use of local resources and knowledge; and (7) bottom-up approach. The optional components are: (1) community development and cohesion; (2) improved quality of life; (3) low leakage; (4) community well-being; (5) conservation of the environment and natural resources; (6) preservation of cultural heritage; (7) small-scale; (8) enhanced host-guest interactions; and (9) quality visitor experience.

From the literature, we can further discern that community participation is the most mentioned element of CBT. As host residents are affected the most by tourism development in their communities, they must take part in the planning decisions (Tosun, 1999, p. 616). Murphy (1985, p. 165, as cited in Tosun, 1999, p. 616) argues that destination community is a crucial component of the tourism product as “the industry uses the community as a resource, sell it as a product, and in the process affects the lives of everyone”. Local people are seen as a key asset in sustaining the tourism product (Hardy, Beeton, & Pearson, 2002, as cited in Sebele, 2010, p. 136 and in Stone & Stone, 2011, p. 98). Several authors have proposed that community participation is required for long-term success of the tourist destination, and that strong community support is critical for tourism development to be successful. Participation would also lead to desired guest-host relationships and increase the quality of the benefits derived from tourism to national development (Tosun, 1999, p. 616).

Tosun (1999, p. 626) identifies that participation can be viewed from two perspectives, namely in the decision-making process and in the benefits of tourism development. On a similar note, Timothy (2002, pp. 152-153) maintains that CBT can be seen from at least two points, namely public participation in decision-making and resident involvement in the benefits of tourism. However, as Tosun (1999, p. 626) points out, participation in many of the developing countries is understood in terms of economic benefits, such as hiring the locals as employees or supporting them in starting their own small business, as opposed to creating opportunities for

the residents to contribute in the decision-making process of tourism development. As indicated by several studies (Tosun, 1999, p. 626), without enabling the local communities to participate in the decision-making process it would be extremely difficult for them to gain adequate benefits from tourism development.

According to Timothy (2002, p. 150), CBT is a more sustainable form of development than mass tourism because local communities are liberated from the hegemony of tour operators and the oligopoly of national elites at the national level. He further states that CBT is about grassroots empowerment and self-determination as it incorporates “the needs and aspirations of host communities in a way that is acceptable to them, sustains their economies, rather than the economies of others, and is not detrimental to their culture, traditions”. In parallel, Sebele (2010, p. 137) affirms that for tourism to produce sustainable outcomes, tourism must reflect the values of host residents, and for this to happen, they must be empowered and participate fully in decision-making and ownership of tourism developments. He further proposes that community participation is seen as important due to the local knowledge that exists within communities, which is important in tourism development.

Based on the conception of CBT and research findings as outlined above, it can also be discerned that empowerment is a mainstay feature of CBT (Fiorello & Bo, D., 2012, p. 7). SNV mentions that “One of the key differences between community-based tourism and other forms of tourism is the focus on empowering the local community to run their own tourism businesses” (SNV, 2007, p. 14). According to Zhao and Richie (2007, as cited in Scheyvens, 2011, p. 37), empowerment is a prerequisite for poverty alleviation as it aims to strengthen and enhance people’s participation in political processes and decision-making, as well as removing the barriers that work against the poor, building assets which allow them to become effectively involved in markets. Empowerment is also a key to sustainable tourism (Cole, 2006 and Sofield, 2003, as cited in Scheyvens, 2011, p. 37), as alternative tourism has been inspired by sustainable development. Brohman (1996, p. 60) further suggests that CBT can enhance the well-being of local communities.

Empowerment is a non-cash livelihoods benefit or intangible result from community involvement in tourism (Scheyvens, 2002, p. 240 & 2011, p. 4), that is both a success factor for and an objective of (Hiwasaki, 2006, p. 677 & 688) CBT ventures (Goodwin & Santilli, 2009, p. 5 & 19; Manyara & Jones, 2007, pp. 641- 642). Empowerment is also a means to determining and achieving socio-economic objectives. It can assist in breaking down the power structure that usually sees external stakeholders having control over tourism initiatives (Scheyvens, 2002, p. 238). Akama (1996, p. 573) mentioned that the local community needs to be empowered to decide what forms of tourism facilities and wildlife conservation programmes they want to be developed in their respective communities, and how the tourism costs and benefits are to be shared among different stakeholders.

Drawing on the work of Scheyvens (1999), the empowerment framework can be applied to analyse the actual or potential impacts of tourism on local communities. Empowerment in this context is defined as a process “through which individuals, households, local groups, communities, regions and nations shape their own lives and the kind of society in which they live”. In recognition of the multidimensional nature of development, four levels of empowerment are used in this framework: economic, social, psychological and political (Scheyvens, 1999, pp. 247-249 & 2002, pp. 59-62), as shown in Table 2.2.

Table 2-2 Framework for determining the impacts of community-based tourism (CBT) initiatives on local communities

	Signs of empowerment	Signs of disempowerment
Economic empowerment	To assess whether economic empowerment has taken place as a result of a tourism initiative, we need to consider if local people have greater employment opportunities in both formal and informal sectors, and whether they are engaged in business endeavours. Signs of empowerment include earnings distributed evenly between many households, and improvements in meeting basic needs, etc.	In most cases communities do enjoy some economic gains. However, the issue is whether the economic benefits are shared equitably. Often local elites enjoy most of the economic benefits arising from a tourism development in a community, whereas some groups such as women and youth find it difficult to gain any advantages. People who lack capital and/or skills may also be excluded in sharing in the benefits.
Psychological empowerment	A community that takes pride in its tradition and culture can be said to be psychologically powerful. This can be enhanced by acknowledgment of their uniqueness and natural or cultural resources by outsiders, leading to improved well-being. Increased self-esteem can motivate a community member to pursue education and training to develop skills further, which leads to increased status and more opportunities. This is particularly important for women and youth. Hence, tourism initiatives which respect and promote aspects of traditional culture can be empowering for local people.	In the reverse, tourism development that neglects local people's needs and interests may cause feelings of inadequacy and inferiority, leading to psychological disempowerment. If modernisation and Western values are forcefully imposed, indigenous peoples' self-esteem may suffer.
Social empowerment	This occurs when a community's sense of cohesion and integrity has been confirmed or strengthened by participation in tourism. Signs of an empowered community may be strong community groups, good participation in community meetings, and use of tourism profits to fund social development projects such as health clinics.	On the other hand, social disempowerment may occur when tourism initiative results in social problems such as loss of access to resources, displacement from traditional lands, cultural decay, crime, begging or prostitution.

Political empowerment

In a politically empowered community, the voices and concerns of local people guide the development of tourism project from the outset through to monitoring and evaluation. Marginalised groups should have representation in the decision-making mechanisms. Education relevant to the project must be provided on a continuous basis. Modes of participation must be tailored to suit the community's needs as formal decision-making forums may not be the best platforms; a community may feel that it is politically empowering for them to discuss their development priorities within the community before presenting their views to a tourism development board.

(Author,

based

on

literature)

However, similar to other tourism development models, there is a “major gap between the academic definition of the concept and the way it is used by practitioners” (Goodwin & Santilli, 2009, p. 5 & 19). Unfortunately, “the reality in practice has not often matched the ideals in principle” (Moscardo, 2008, p. 175, as cited in Armstrong, 2012, p. 2). While CBT does seek to adopt a more sustainable and equitable approach than mass, conventional tourism, what happens on the ground may be a different story (Scheyvens, 2011, pp. 12-13). The following subsection will discuss the challenges faced by CBT that make it difficult to be successful.

2.5 Constraints to running a successful community-based tourism initiative

As mentioned above, despite the good intentions and promises that CBT holds, most initiatives enjoy very little success (Goodwin & Santilli, 2009, p. 4; Scheyvens, 2002, p. 72; Tolkach et al., 2013, p. 321). Table 2.3 shows factors impeding the success of CBT enterprises.

Table 2-3 Constraints to community-based tourism (CBT) initiatives

Constraining factors	Issues	Authors/Source
Heterogeneity of a community and balance of power within the community and with external actors	Communities are heterogeneous entities, comprise complex relationships of class, gender and ethnicity with diverging interests. Also there may be local elites dominating the project, making democratic processes and equitable participation and sharing of the benefits difficult. Often it is traditional authorities that take crucial decisions.	de Kadt, 1992, pp. 72-73; Blackstock, 2005, pp. 39-46
Lack of economic viability	Lack of monetary viability due to lack of trade between costs and benefits. Insufficient profit generation and inappropriate resourcing to sustain the operation. The current impacts on poverty are at a community level only. While CBT initiatives may contribute to better education and health services, they did not significantly alleviate poverty at the individual household level.	Telfer, 2002b, p. 144; Marx, 2011, p. 22; Tolkach, King, & Pearlman, 2013, p. 321
Lack of genuine community control	Communities often do not legally own the land or have access to and control over natural and financial resources, thus limiting their participation to co-option by outsiders. Also due to social exclusion of the poorest of the poor in community structures, adopting a community-based approach may prove to be ineffective in reaching this section of the community.	Blackstock, 2005, pp. 39-46; Tosun, 2000, pp. 621-626; Timothy, 2002, pp. 159-163
Limited capacity on the part of host community to participate in tourism development	Local communities must be engaged in decision-making when planning for tourism development rather than later at implementation phase, which is often the case. Capacity development and awareness-raising programmes must be facilitated in early stages of the inception phase of the CBT project.	de Kadt, 1992, pp. 72-73
Lack of appropriate skills, knowledge and resources	Lack of business expertise and marketing skills are often lacking at the community level. Communities usually face challenges to acquire the capital necessary to develop tourism facilities or attraction. Often when they do, they invest in building expensive facilities, which are high maintenance, or which do not generate tangible direct income.	de Kadt, 1992, pp. 72-73; ; Tolkach, King, & Pearlman, 2013, p. 321; Zapata et al., 2011, p. 769
Poor market access and/or commercial	It is important that local people have adequate commercial products and	Telfer, 2002b, p. 144; Marx,

activities	services to ensure a sustainable market demand for local income generation or conservation funds.	2011, p. 22; Mitchell & Muckosy, 2008, p.1
Remote inaccessible locations and peripherality	Very few communities have strong tourism assets; they must sell goods and services to attract tourists. For this to happen, strategic location is imperative.	Scheyvens, 2011, pp. 69-71
Lack of engagement with the private sector	Cooperation with tourism enterprises including tour operators and travel agents may increase the chance of success.	Lucchetti & Font, 2013, pp. 2-3
Heavy reliance on donor funding and dependency on external actors	Often donors invest huge amount of aid money into community-based tourism projects which receive only few visitors, and the benefits reaped by the local community are low in comparison to the costs involved. Long-term dependency on external assistance such as governments and NGOs often hinders the empowerment agenda of CBT. Through foreign control of tourism resources and heavy reliance on donor funding, CBTs promote neo-colonialism and reinforce dependency and as such, not sustainable. In addition, it could be heavily reliant on Western investment and products.	Tolkach, King, & Pearlman, 2013, p. 321; Scheyvens, 2011, pp. 69-71; Manyara & Jones, 2007, p. 628, 630 & 639;
Often more priority placed on conservation than development	Often money from tourists is channelled to fund conservation, rendering local people in competition with conservation projects for earnings.	Scheyvens, 2002, p. 57, 206 & 236
Lack of a coherent policy framework	There is no clear enforceable regulation and policy framework for effective and equitable CBT processes and outcomes.	Manyara & Jones, 2007, p. 628, 630 & 639

(Source: Author, based on literature)

Numerous CBT projects have been unsuccessful, and the main reason for the failure is lack of financial viability. A study of 200 CBT initiatives across the Americas by the Rainforest Alliance and Conservation International reported that the occupancy rate of many accommodation providers was as low as 5% (Mitchell and Muckosy, 2008, p. 1). According to Mitchell and Muckosy (2008, p. 1), this supports evidence from Asia and Africa that a CBT initiative is doomed to collapse after funding ceases, the key causes being poor governance and poor market access.

Manyara & Jones (2009, p. 638) maintain that CBT ventures fail because there is insufficient support as a result of lack of sensitisation during the initial inception phase, poor knowledge and skills, inadequate management, no transparency, lack of leadership, disadvantageous partnerships, political interests, elitism, inadequate exit strategies in case of outside intervention. According to Timothy (2002, p. 159), the greatest challenge to CBT is the strong traditional institutions and power relationships upheld by communities in many developing nations. In spite of formal structures of democracy, dominant national and local elites tend to restrict democratic processes to the privileged class so that the majority of people are not able to articulate their interests. Within this power structure, women and ethnic minorities are further under represented and hence have the least control over a CBT initiative.

This viewpoint is shared by Mitchell and Muckosy (2008, p. 1) who attribute poor governance to domination of critical decision-makings by traditional authorities, especially pertaining to financial resources. Community projects may unintentionally exacerbate patriarchal power structures while offering no room for changes. Furthermore, collective management structures are often too complicated and burdensome to be functioning well. Mitchell and Muckosy (2008, p. 1) also indicate that CBT is not participatory in many cases. The Rainforest Alliance revealed that 40% of CBT did not involve communities in decision-making.

In addition, since CBT is relatively new to most destinations, resident communities and tourism officials are typically lacking awareness of the need for, and benefits of, community tourism development. Moreover, as many rural people may never have experienced being a tourist due to socio-economic limitations, they have low

understanding of tourism activities and associated requirements. Another constraining factor is peripherality in the political economic and physical sense, which results in a lack of administrative and financial support in peripheral regions and exclusion during tourism policy development. This causes national-level policies to be at odds with the needs and priorities of distant communities (Timothy, 2002, pp. 161-163).

Further, as Scheyvens (2002, p. 236) indicates, many development agencies have invested major funds into developing community tourism, but this only involves a small percentage of the tourism market; it does not earn a lot of profits in the short term, making the costs of undertaking such initiative greater than the economic benefits. In addition, as this form of tourism encourages direct interaction between tourists and host communities, it may be even more harmful than conventional tourism (Butler, 1992, pp. 35-39; Gentry, 2007, p. 480).

There is also a concern among communities undertaking CBT that this initiative can cause existing divisions to be more prominent or give rise to new ones. Although this situation can happen in other community ventures not related to tourism, the risk may be higher in CBT as it involves interactions with outsiders that are visible to community members, who may think the profits are high. It is often the case that CBT initiatives face problems of jealousy, fairness and marginalisation, creating instead of resolving conflicts (Sproule, 1997, pp. 237-238). It raises the question whether mainstream tourism, rather than small-scale alternative ones, could be made more beneficial to the local residents (Butler, 1992, pp. 40-46). Similarly, Mitchell and Muckosy (2008, p. 1) argue that mass tourism may bring more benefits than traditionally thought. They also point out that CBT rarely reduces poverty and vulnerability.

2.6 Benefits of community-based tourism

Despite the challenges identified above, many development actors are still pursuing CBT as a key strategy that could directly enhance the well-being of the poor

(Scheyvens, 2011, p. 32). Higher levels of indigenous ownership and control can stimulate stronger linkages with the local economy, thus increasing economic benefits for local people, while reducing negative social and cultural tensions (Macnaught, 1982, pp. 376-377; Milne, 1992, pp. 208-209; Milne, 1997, pp. 295-298; Telfer, 2002b, p. 142). Small-scale businesses can potentially provide the most positive economic benefits in host communities as they tend to employ residents and utilise local products, thereby substantially reducing economic leakage to the outside and decreasing dependence on external agents and suppliers (Milne, 1992, pp. 208-209; Timothy, 2002, pp. 156-158). In addition, strong backward and forward linkages with local industry would also mean dispersal of economic benefits to the surrounding areas, aiding regional development (Telfer, 2002b, p. 140 & p. 147).

As scale affects the intensity and nature of participation, communities may find it more manageable to exert control over small-scale ventures than large enterprises. It is argued that small-scale tourism initiatives which are based upon local skills and resources can increase the chances for active participation and empowerment of communities, including involvement of the less powerful groups such as indigenous people, women and youth (Scheyvens, 2002, p. 58 & 235). Table 2.4 shows the perceived benefits of CBT enterprises to rural communities.

Table 2-4 Benefits of community-based tourism (CBT) initiatives

Benefits	Arguments	Authors
Provide alternative livelihood strategies and build resilience	Farming and tourism development often complement each other; profits from tourism provides additional income and livelihood diversification Earnings in tourism are greater than those in agriculture, though less than in industrial work	Harris, 2009 ; Lapeyre, 2010 ; de Kadt, 1979, p. 37
Discourage urbanisation	CBT can enhance human occupation or reinhabit rural areas that now have improved global information infrastructure. Thus tourism can reduce or stop the rural-urban migration by creating new economic activities and employment opportunities in rural regions	di Castri, Sheldon, et al., 2002, as cited in Harris, 2009
Cultural revival	CBT can bring cultural revitalisation to rural, remote and isolated communities.	Di Castri, Sheldon, Conlin, Boniface, & Balaji, 2002, as cited in Harris, 2009
Minimise leakages occurring at the local level	Local communities receive most of the income generated in their area, thus minimising leakages. CBT provides more chances to retain the revenue in the local economy when compared with other sources of income (e.g. pensions, crops and livestock farming).	Lapeyre, 2010
Maximise linkages	CBT creates multiplier effects for local businesses through use of local products	Lapeyre, 2010; Goodwin & Santilli p 7
Foster empowerment and sense of ownership	Through full involvement in the management of the project, community members acquire managerial and institutional capacity. CBT can enhance social capital and empowerment of a community	Lapeyre, 2010; Goodwin & Santilli, p. 8;
Build up capabilities and assets	CBT can assist communities in building and increasing their financial, human and physical capital. These new capabilities and assets form a safety net in case of unforeseen expenses and unlucky events, can support their children's education and expand their livelihood options (e.g. set up a small business).	Lapeyre, 2010
Secure rights and gain greater control	Empowerment facilitated by CBT can lead to enhanced well-being and self-reliance.	Scheyvens, 2011
Promote community development	Improved information flows and tourism technology can result in an opening up the culture to the rest of the world, rejuvenating the socio-economic life of the community; CBT promotes community pride.	Harris, 2009; Suansri, 2003, p. 12
Conservation of natural resources and	CBT encourages sustainable use and management of natural resources; by	Hiwasaki, 2006, p. 677

protection of the environment

deriving benefits from the use thereof, community will conserve natural assets and protect the environment.

(Author,

based

on

literature)

Based on a study of street vendors in Bali and Yogyakarta, Indonesia, Timothy suggests that when governments allow community members to open their own businesses in the formal and informal sectors, the benefits can be spread more broadly across the society (Timothy & Wall, 1997, pp. 336-337; Timothy, 2002, p. 158). This is in accord with Brohman (1996, pp. 69-60), who contends that “A large proportion of the local population should benefit from tourism, rather than merely bearing the burden of its costs”.

However, there is scepticism of the economic benefits of CBT to local people due to lack of data, as expressed by Kiss (2005, p. 234), “the literature is full of claims but short on data and quantitative analysis”. There are very few studies showing how economic benefits are distributed (from any type of tourism), and where studies have been made, findings are contradictory. Whether pertaining to large or small-scale tourism, “economic data are rarely available and extremely hard to collect” (Harrison & Schipani, 2007, p. 86).

2.7 Success in community-based tourism

2.7.1 What is success in community-based tourism?

Goodwin and Santilli (2009) conducted a study on the outcomes of CBT projects that are seen as according with success, from the views of experts, namely funders, conservationists, development workers, and from the views of the managers of the project. The study concluded that there is a discrepancy between the views of the experts and those of the project managers as how they see successful projects. Table 2.5 shows, based on this study, criteria of success according to both experts and project managers

Table 2-5 Reasons for a CBT being regarded a success

Ranked Importance of Criteria for Experts and Managers

<u>Experts</u> (funders, conservationists, development workers)	<u>Managers of Projects</u>
1) Social capital and empowerment	1) Improved Livelihood/Standard of Living
2) Local economic development	2) Conservation/Environment
3) Improved Livelihood/Standard of Living	3) Tourism
4) Conservation/Environment	4) Social capital and empowerment
5) Commercial viability	5) Sense of Place

6) Education	6) Commercial viability
7) Sense of Place	7) Education
8) Tourism	8) Collective benefits
9) Collective benefits	9) Local economic development

(Source: Goodwin & Santilli, 2009)

According to the study, these views also differ from the views of academic literature (Goodwin & Santilli, 2009, p. 21). Academic literature places collective benefits first, whereas experts place collective benefits as no. 9 while managers rank these as no. 8, as seen in Table 2.5.

Table 2.6 gives an overview of various understandings of success in CBT based on the study of Goodwin and Santilli (2009) and of literature discussing success in CBT.

Table 2-6 What is success in community-based tourism (according to the literature)?

Definition of success in CBT	Author/Source
Empowerment (is a success factor and also an objective of CBT)	Scheyvens, 2002, p. 240 & 2011, p. 4
Collective benefits	Hiwasaki, 2006, pp. 677 & 688
Economically sustainable/economic sustainability	‘Academic literature’ as cited in Goodwin & Santilli, 2009
Commercial viability	Goodwin & Santilli, 2009, p. 7
Employment	
Local economic development	
Collective community economic benefits	
Local economic linkages	
“If, over time, the enterprise becomes financially self-sufficient, creates awareness of the importance of natural resource preservation, and provides both tangible and intangible social benefits to the broader community, then it can be viewed as a successful community-owned enterprise”	Halstead, 2003, p. 21
Economically viable	
Does not depend on grants or subsidies	
Delivers collective and individual benefits to the community	
“Some quantitative indicators of success were readily identified, such as high occupancy rates, high visitor numbers and revenue generation. Other indicators depended on the respective local communities’ development priorities (e.g. enhanced access to education, health services and clean water, infrastructure development and the support of diversified livelihoods)”	Armstrong, 2012, p. 3
	Manyara & Jones, 2009, pp. 638-639

(Source: Author, based on literature)

The views of donor/support organisations and academics might be different from the views of the community. Therefore, based on the definitions of success found in the literature as seen in Table 2.6 and on the benefits of CBT discussed in the literature, Table 2.7 has been developed as a framework to help guide in the data collection and analysis for the purpose of this study.

Table 2-7 What is success in CBT (according to the literature)?

Elements of success	Explanation
Socio-political benefits	
Social capital	Community development and cohesion Strengthened local institution
Empowerment	Community are involved in project planning, designing and implementation (local ownership) Community members feel more in control of their own destiny and decide how to spend earnings, how to invest (local control) Equitable participation in the decision-making Building of capabilities including institutional capacities e.g. management skills, governance Pride instilled by recognition
Economic benefits	
Improved livelihoods/standards of living)	Provides increased or supplemental income Improved access to education, quality of house Employment opportunities Equitable sharing of the benefits
Local economic development	Local economic linkages: - Use of local resources (hence lower leakage) - Opportunities to sell local goods and services through CBT Collective economic benefits e.g. building of assets, improved infrastructure, financing for social projects
Commercially viable CBT enterprises	Development of locally-owned and managed tourism businesses that generate a reasonable return on investment, e.g. through steady tourist inflow Economically sustainable e.g. the initiative is not dependent on grants or subsidies
Environmental benefits	
Conservation of the environment and natural resources	Protection of natural assets thanks to CBT Greater knowledge of and respect for the environment
Cultural benefits	
Cultural cohesion and pride	Preservation of cultural heritage Use of indigenous knowledge Traditions revived

(Source: Author, based on literature)

2.7.2 Factors contributing to success in community-based tourism

In her research, Armstrong (2012, p. 1) found that the principal conditions for success include (a) a strong and cohesive host community; (b) genuine community participation, ownership and control; (c) engagement with the private sector; (d) planning for commercial viability; (e) attractive, quality products based on community assets (f) good market research and attractive product development; (g) appropriate stakeholder support; (h) transparent financial management; and (i) effective monitoring and evaluation.

In their study case in Kenya, Manyara and Jones (2007, pp. 641-642) found the following critical success factors for benefit CBT enterprises: (i) awareness and sensitisation; (ii) community empowerment; (iii) effective leadership; (iv) capacity building; and (v) an appropriate policy framework addressing partnership and land ownership issues. They concluded that if benefit of CBT initiatives were able to address local community priorities, emphasise independence, enhance community empowerment and transparency, discourage elitism, promote effective community leadership and develop community capacity to operate their own enterprises efficiently, then the impacts of CBT enterprises on economic development and poverty reduction would be greatly enhanced.

Goodwin and Santilli (2009, p. 9) highlight that a key success factor for conservation and development projects is that local peoples must be active participants and direct beneficiaries. Moreover, decentralising tourism development to the community level and involving lower-level governments (e.g. municipality, district, province) may increase the chances for success as the project will be better suited to local conditions and regional cultures (Timothy, 2002, p. 155).

Table 2.8 shows factors that are seen as contributing to success based on the literature.

Table 2-8 Factors contributing to success in community-based tourism (according to the literature)

Factors (conditions) contributing to success	Author/Source
Empowerment	Scheyvens, 2002, p. 240 & 2011, p. 4; Hiwasaki, 2006, p. 677 & 688
Strong community support	Goodwin & Santilli, 2009, p. 6; Tosun, 1999 p. 616
Strong market linkages/good market access	Wood as cited in Goodwin & Santilli, 2009, p. 11
Good early planning incorporating viability studies; financial assistance; broad consultation; transparency of financial accounting; and a framework to facilitate this.	Halstead, 2003, p. 21
Awareness and sensitisation, community empowerment, leadership, capacity building and an appropriate policy framework	Manyara & Jones, 2009, p. 641
Engagement with the private sector; a strong and cohesive host community; genuine community participation, ownership and control; planning for commercial viability; sound market research and demand-driven product development; attractive, quality products based on community assets; transparent financial management; appropriate stakeholder support; success takes time; effective monitoring and evaluation	Armstrong, 2012, p. 3
Links with the private sector, proximity to the tourism market, creation of attractive and competitive products, consideration of profitability, community's will to engage in tourism, implementation of a monitoring and evaluation process	Lucchetti & Font, 2013, p. 1

(Source: Author, based on the literature)

Based on the literature, Table 2.9 has been developed to help guide in collecting and analysing the data.

Table 2-9 What are the factors contributing to the success of CBT?

Factors contributing to success	Explanation
Socio-political aspects	A strong and cohesive host community Arrangements that strengthen institutions Appropriate stakeholders support/collaboration between local communities, government agencies, NGOs and the private sector Community empowerment i.e. genuine community participation, ownership and control Strong community support/community's will to engage in tourism Awareness and sensitisation Leadership Capacity building and training An appropriate policy framework
Economic aspects	Linkage between the project and the local economy Financial assistance with an appropriate exit strategy Transparency of financial accounting/management Good early planning incorporating commercial viability studies e.g. consideration of profitability, sound market research and demand-driven attractive, quality product development based on community assets Adequate market access/strong market linkages to ensure economic sustainability e.g. link to tour operator Effective monitoring and evaluation
Environmental aspects	High levels of environmental awareness in the local community Self-regulations related to conservation
Cultural aspects	-

2.7.3 External assistance

The external assistance referred to here include policy, technical assistance, capacity building, and financial support. Since many communities lack the capacities, networks and experience to successfully participate in tourism, they may opt to cooperate/collaborate with other stakeholders. In most cases, communities commence tourism development with input from an external source, whether the local government, an NGO promoting sustainable livelihoods, a donor, an international conservation agency or a private tourism operator (Scheyvens, 2002, p. 10 & 2011, p. 125). Equitable ways of collaboration among communities and these

other stakeholders might determine the success or failure of a community-based tourism venture.

In her study Armstrong (2012, pp. 28-29) concluded that engagement with the private sector and support and collaboration with donors, NGOs, government, brokers and intermediaries are among the conditions for the success of community-based tourism enterprise. Table 2.10 indicates some examples of external assistance.

Table 2-10 Engagement with external actors

Private sector	Market access and insight into actual market demand.
Donors and NGOs	Providing training, capacity building and advice on livelihoods, establishing network, Monitoring & Evaluation and sharing good practice. Ensuring CBT operates as a business that generates profits which will be sustainable long after financial aid has stopped.
Brokers and intermediaries	Bridging the gap between CBTs and mainstream industry: horizontal and vertical integration through networks, membership organisations and links with government, training and tourism agencies.
Government	Providing an enabling policy environment and supportive legislation, e.g. community rights, land tenure, allocation of licenses or concessions to tourism operators, use of planning controls, and placing conditions on investment. Promoting joint venture opportunities between communities and the private sector. Conducting research on tourism and collecting statistics, so their tourism plans, policies and strategies can be well informed

(Source: Armstrong, 2012; Scheyvens, 2002 & 2011)

Harrison and Schipani (2007, p. 89) recognise that only when donor-supported, community-based tourism ventures partner up with the private sector, will they be able to sustain themselves. In addition, the inclusion of various stakeholders in policy processes and collaboration among all stakeholders will influence the outcome of a community-based tourism initiative.

2.8 Summary

CBT has been promoted widely, however there have been few directives on how this might be achieved in practice (Okazaki, 2008, pp. 526-527). When community engages in such initiative, they invest time and money. It is important that they derive benefits when pursuing it. However, as the literature shows, there are many constraints the community faces. The study of Goodwin and Santilli (2009) also shows that there is a disparity in the views of the experts, i.e. namely funders, conservationists, development workers, and of the managers of the projects regarding success in CBT. The views of the communities themselves on what is successful CBT might also differ. This research attempts to examine what the community sees as success in CBT, so that their needs and interests are met.

The next chapter presents the research methodology and methods to carry out this research.

3 CHAPTER THREE

Research Methodology and Methods

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the research methodology. It describes the methods used in order to answer my research questions, with the field work in four case study villages as the main vehicle to achieve this. The chapter starts by explaining the qualitative approach employed for this study, followed by a discussion of strengths and weaknesses of a case study approach as well as the actual conduct of the case studies, in which a reflection on how the research went in practice will be provided. The next subsections will describe the selected data collection methods and data analysis. Finally issues of ethics and limitations will be reflected upon.

3.2 Qualitative Methodology

A qualitative methodology has been selected for this study because of the nature of the research problem, which seeks to understand and explore the local community's or host residents' perceptions of success in community-based tourism, compared with the views of NGOs supporting community-based tourism. Therefore, based on information requirements, this study is exploratory-explanatory in nature (Jennings, 2010, pp. 17-19). Exploratory research is used to identify possible categories and concepts suitable for use in further research or in understanding that which prevails in areas related to the study topic, such as social capital (e.g. strong and cohesive community) or institutional capital (e.g. genuine community control). These are factors that would lead to a CBT initiative being successful. Explanatory research aims to explain the 'how' and 'why' of the social and tourism phenomena under study, such as how a tourism initiative is influencing a livelihood asset and thus considered to be a success (or otherwise) by the people in the locality.

This research is informed by both the interpretive social sciences and critical theory paradigms. The interpretive social sciences paradigm utilises an inductive approach, initiating the study in a real-world setting of social action in an attempt to develop explanations of phenomena, and to generate or modify theoretical constructions as opposed to testing a theory or being hypothetic-deductive (Decrop, 2004, p. 157;

Stewart-Withers, Banks, McGregor, & Meo-Sewabu, 2014, p. 59). In seeking to understand these phenomena, the researcher uses an insider's perspective, or 'emic perspective', rather than an outsider's perspective, which enables the researcher to discover multiple realities since the views of all social actors are considered and are equally valued (Jennings, 2010, pp. 40-41).

Both the interpretive social sciences and critical theory paradigms share the same epistemological basis, in which the research process involves interaction between the researcher and the subject under study, and the interactive, participative and cooperative relationship is a subjectively oriented one rather than objective (Decrop, 2004, p. 157; Jennings, 2010, pp. 40-44; Petty, Thomson, & Stew, 2012a, p. 270). From an axiological standpoint, both paradigms value propositional, transactional knowledge which leads to social change and emancipation of marginalised peoples (Jennings, 2010, pp. 41-45). The researcher strives to find meaning behind the obvious and understand the social setting from the position of a person in the lower socioeconomic group being studied, as opposed to those in powerful positions (Jennings, 2010, p. 46). Tribe (2001, as cited in Tribe, 2004, p. 56) notes that the adoption of interpretive methods in tourism allows meaning to be understood in terms of the people who participate in tourism. The use of critical theory paradigm in this study is to support and identify the interests and needs of the local community and minority groups within the community, and collect data to be interpreted/(re)constructed in order to improve the livelihood outcomes of the community members. According to Habermas' theory of knowledge-constitutive interests (1978, as cited in Tribe, 2004, pp. 55-56) interpretive methods seek understanding, while critical theory seeks emancipation.

Being informed by both the interpretive social sciences and critical theory paradigms, or collectively described as holistic-inductive paradigms (Jennings, 2010, p. 124), the methodology adopted in this study is a qualitative one. As the nature of this study is development research studying individuals' subjective experiences and perceptions within tourism, and since tourism is a complex phenomenon based on interrelations and interactions, it is apt to employ a qualitative method of inquiry. Qualitative approaches can help us understand the human dimensions of society,

which in tourism include its social and cultural implications (Phillimore & Goodson, 2004, p. 4). Goodson and Phillimore (2004, pp. 39-40) point out that tourism spaces are not physically but socially constructed, and therefore we need to consider how the meanings relating to those spaces are constructed, deconstructed and reconstructed over time.

Therefore it is important to adopt a more person-focused approach. A qualitative mode of inquiry seeks to collect or generate data in natural settings, explaining complex social phenomena from the perspectives of how people understand them (Stewart-Withers, Banks, McGregor, & Meo-Sewabu, 2014, pp. 59-60). The researcher needs to be in the field setting for some time, entering the social milieu and everyday lives of the social actors, so that the researcher understands the phenomena or people being studied and gains acceptance within the community (Creswell, 2013, p. 151; Jennings, 2010, p. 42). The researcher focuses on naturally emerging languages and the meanings people assign to experience. In addition, the researcher is interested in life-worlds including emotions, attitudes, empathy, motivations, aspirations, concerns, behaviours, interpretations, symbols and their meanings, value systems, culture or lifestyle, and other subjective aspects associated with the naturally evolving lives of individuals and groups (Babbie, 2011, p. 315; Berg & Lune, 2012, p. 15; Marshall & Rossman, 2006, as cited in Stewart-Withers et al., 2014, p. 60). Naturalistic inquiry enables the researcher to highlight detailed and in-depth snapshots of the participants under study (Flick, von Kardorff & Steinke, 2004, pp. 6-9; Phillimore & Goodson, 2004, p. 40). A qualitative approach thus facilitates the collection of a greater variety of responses and an in-depth knowledge of the phenomena or experience that is grounded in the empirical field, providing rich and ‘thick descriptions’ for interpretation (Phillimore & Goodson, 2004, p. 40; Stewart-Withers et al., 2014, p. 61). To facilitate this, a qualitative case study approach is employed in this study, as will be described in the following subsection.

3.3 A Case Study Approach

Yin (2014, pp. 16-17) defines a case study by its scope and features; by scope it is “an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon (the “case”) in depth and within its real-world context, especially when the boundaries between

phenomenon and context may not be clearly evident”. Since this study seeks to understand complex social phenomena in their contemporary real-life context or setting, a case study approach is employed (Yin, 2014, p. 4). Moreover, the exploratory-explanatory nature of the research problem(s) can be best addressed by doing a case study or multiple case studies. The research questions require a detailed examination that a case study approach can facilitate (Yin, 2014, pp. 10-14), namely “What do the local community and support organisations perceive as successful community-based tourism?”; “What do the local community and support organisations consider the factors are that contribute to the success in community-based tourism?”; “What types of external assistance are most effective in supporting a community-based tourism initiative?”; and “Do local people living in villages with community-based tourism perceive their community-based tourism initiative to be successful, and why/why not?”. By choosing four case studies, these questions will be aptly explored in this case study, as will be explained below.

3.3.1 Strengths and Weaknesses of a Case Study

Having no or little control over contemporary events, or not having the ability to manipulate the relevant behaviours in these situations calls for a case study as a preferred method, especially as this strategy of inquiry can deal with various evidence – interviews, observations, documents, and artefacts (Creswell 2013, pp. 105-106; Yin, 2014, p. 12). The use of multiple sources of evidence makes case study research all-encompassing as its method includes the logic of design, data collection techniques, and specific approaches to data analysis (Yin, 2014, p. 17). O’Leary (2010, p. 174) maintains that a prolonged engagement and building of rapport that a case study approach affords allows for a holistic understanding. Similarly, Berg (2007, p. 284) asserts that a case study enables the researcher to capture a wide range of patterns, facets and nuances that other approaches might not, and hence gives a holistic description and explanation.

However, this form of inquiry has been criticised as posing a considerable challenge in making generalisations (Stake, 1995, pp. 7-8; Yin, 2014, pp. 20-21). Nevertheless Flick (2009, p. 134) suggests that one should be able to draw more general conclusions from analysing case studies. Flyvbjerg (2007, as cited in Greener, 2011,

p. 138) argues that if chosen well, generalising from a single case is possible. Yin (2014, p. 21) contends that case studies are generalisable to theoretical propositions, not populations or universes. He further recommends the use of theory or theoretical propositions in the initial design of a case study in order to help with generalising the lessons learned from a case study. According to Yin (2014, pp. 40-45), a case study should strive for generalisable findings or lessons learned, that is 'analytic generalisation', and this analytic generalisation aims to contribute to or potentially be applied to other various concrete situations or cases. Transferability to other situations has been indeed a criticism directed at case studies, because findings are specific to the case study (Jennings, 2010, p. 187). However Petty et al. (2012a, p. 270) point out that though knowledge generated from research cannot be assumed to be generalised – due to the fact that it was co-constructed by the participants and researcher – it may be transferrable to other situations. To anticipate the issues surrounding generalisation and transferability, this study uses frameworks developed from the literature to help guide in the data collection and analysis.

Furthermore, Berg (2007, pp. 284-285) notes that case study strategies are more closely associated with theory building rather than theory testing, although there are instances in which this method is used in the latter or in combining both theory building and testing. The case study method informs theory by way of enabling the researcher gaining insights into the 'sensemaking' processes developed and utilised by individuals involved in phenomena, group, organisation or event. Sensemaking is defined by Berg (2007, p. 285) as

“the manner by which people, groups, and organisations make sense of stimuli with which they are confronted, how they frame what they see and hear, how they perceive and interpret this information, and how they interpret their own actions and go about solving problems and interacting with others”.

In an attempt to gain deeper understanding of these sensemaking processes and possibly bring new understandings to the fore, I draw on a collection of case studies. By opting for 4 case studies rather than a single case study, I hope to be able to draw stronger analytical conclusions (Yin, 2014, pp. 63-64). By hand-picking a wide variance of cases, I hope to see different perspectives that may help in giving

meanings to the processes, interactions and elements surrounding tourism and local livelihoods, thus gaining a holistic understanding (Creswell, 2013, p. 100).

A disadvantage in doing a multiple-case study is the extent of resources and time an independent researcher has to commit (Yin, 2014, p. 57). Notwithstanding, a researcher may still pursue it for the substantial analytic benefits attained from having two, or as this study has it, 4 case studies.

3.3.2 Selection of the Village Case Studies

The selection of four specific tourism villages, all with differing characteristics and contexts, is based on a number of reasons, among others pragmatics, intrinsic interest and purposiveness (e.g. to allow the researcher to make relevant arguments) (O’Leary, 2010, pp. 176-177). On a practical level, the selection of the case studies has been influenced by current developments in the country as elaborated in the Introduction Chapter (e.g. Bali to develop 100 tourism villages by 2018; Bali - Nusa Tenggara identified as an economic corridor for a gateway for tourism for the Acceleration and Expansion of Indonesian Economic Growth; Indonesia to develop 50 tourism destinations, 88 strategic tourism areas and 222 regional tourism clusters by 2025; ASEAN to develop CBT and ecotourism as main ASEAN tourism products). Intrinsic interest in the study cases derives from media attention to the work of the Wisnu Foundation/Village Ecotourism Network (JED), and Bali CoBTA in their capacity as support organisations of the tourism villages.

Since the fall of the New Order in 1998¹⁰, critics of tourism development in Bali have been calling for a moratorium on hotel development in three overburdened

¹⁰ New Order is the regime of the second Indonesian President Suharto (1965-1998).

areas of southern Bali (Denpasar, Badung, Gianyar)¹¹. In addition, to redress regional imbalances, Balinese tourism experts have long suggested that tourism development be directed towards the less developed regions (Buleleng, Jembrana, Karangasem) (Picard, 2003, pp.112-114). Along these lines, the Wisnu Foundation and Bali Community-Based Tourism Association (Bali CoBTA) work with 4 and 7 villages, respectively, located in comparatively less developed parts of the island, although these areas may be within the touristy regions. Since most of Indonesia's regions – especially in the eastern part – are less developed, and future tourism developments are geared to these areas, this research focuses on less developed regencies of Bali in an attempt to draw 'analytic generalisation' (ILO, 2011).

Relying initially on the information found on the Internet (of which 2 of the Bali CoBTA partner villages are not on the website) and subsequently on the goodwill of the support organisations, 4 villages were purposively selected on the grounds of their transferability, locality and diversity. The selection took place prior to the departure for field work. Villages that have exceptionally distinctive culture, traditions and institutional arrangements bound with this very culture such as the Bali Aga villages (pre-Hindu original Balinese ancient village settlement) of Tenganan Pegringsingan and Penglipuran were not chosen even though they have been involved in tourism for longer and experienced a relatively higher visitor volume. This is to allow for more generalisable findings around those that are perhaps not so popular and applicability to other cases or situations.

To have a comprehensive picture of the tourism villages in Bali and identify important common patterns that cut across variations, 2 villages were selected from

¹¹ Only in December 2010 was a freeze called upon with the Bali Provincial Governor's decree No. 570/1665/BPM, which became effective in January 2011. However, building permits have still been issued by the local and regency governments and new hotels and villas built.

each support organisation that are at variance in terms of regions, livelihood assets and stage of tourism development. Nusa Ceningan and Dukuh Sibetan¹² were chosen from the 4 villages of the JED ('Jaringan Ekowisata Desa' or Village Ecotourism Network). Nusa Ceningan is an island (*nusa* means 'island') in the regency (*kabupaten*) of Klungkung of which the local community of seaweed farmers and fishermen were successful in resisting government- and investor-led mass tourism development in 1999. Dukuh Sibetan was selected due to its locality in the less developed Karangasem regency and its unique *salak* (snake skin fruit) cultivation as the main livelihoods of the predominantly pre-welfare villagers (*Keluarga Pra Sejahtera*), i.e. not able to fulfil basic needs). Pancasari and Blimbingsari were picked from the 7 villages of the Bali Community-Based Tourism Association (Bali CoBTA) network. Among all 11 community-based (eco) tourism villages of the 2 organisations, Pancasari and Blimbingsari are the only villages located in the less developed Buleleng and Jembrana regency, respectively. Pancasari people are farmers of vegetables, herbs and strawberries. Blimbingsari is the only village in Bali in which all residents are Christians (most of Indonesia's Hindu minority live in Bali, and Bali's population is mostly Hindu).

3.4 Data Collection Methods

A qualitative methodology allows for flexibility of data collection approaches. Being based upon qualitative case studies informed by the holistic-inductive paradigm, this research utilises multiple methods of data collection to help deepen understanding of the cases, namely in-depth interviewing, questionnaires and observation (Creswell, 2013, pp. 36-37; Jennings, 2010, p. 185; Petty, Thomson, & Stew, 2012b, p. 379). Methodological triangulation is employed in an attempt to crystallise — that is to

¹² Precisely Dukuh *banjar*, Sibetan village.

generate in-depth interpretations of meaning through multiple representations (Jennings, 2010, p. 152).

The primary data were gathered in the four above-mentioned villages (“the case studies”). Depending on the circumstances, the researcher spent considerable time in each village for primary data collection. The designated time frame for carrying out the interviews and observation, as well as administering questionnaires was from July to August 2014.

The participants were local villagers involved in the tourism project, village community leaders, village elders and women, NGO management and project staff, government officials, tourism practitioners and academics. The participants were recruited by way of the snowball technique, in which a potential participant was recommended by a gatekeeper, contacts or other people who had participated in the study. However, in the end, data from other NGOs, the government officials and academics are not being used for this research.

3.4.1 Interviews

Realising the importance of interviews as a means to develop relationship and trust that provide rich, in-depth data and flexible in nature (O’Leary, 2010, p. 196), the interviews were done on one-on-one basis — except for one joint interview — so as to allow the researcher control over the process and the interviewee the liberty to articulate her or his thoughts. Open-ended questions were the main characteristics of the interview. There were 5 to 10 interviews with the local residents undertaken in each village. In total, 32 interviews were carried out with the village community members and leaders, and 12 with other stakeholders. However, the data used for

this research are only those of the local residents and the JED coordinating body¹³, Wisnu Foundation and Bali CoBTA. Three interviews from one of the village case studies were omitted due lack of relevant information to the research topic. In the end, only 35 interviews are being used for this study. The interviews with the residents focused on their views of CBT in their villages and how they consider success, and what they really want from engaging in this form of tourism. Recurrent themes from the interviews were identified, documented and analysed.

The interviews with community members and other key informants were semi-structured with predetermined topics and questions that served more as a guide. The interviewer was allowed to ask beyond the prepared questions (probing) and the interviewee was free to share her or his unique experiences and perspectives (Berg, 2007, p. 95; Stake, 1995, p. 65). This was intended to generate interesting data beyond the defined questioning plan to emerge (O’Leary, 2010, p. 195). The questions asked were tailored to the interviewee’s familiarity with the theme, as were the formulation of wording so that they ‘spoke’ to the interviewee’s worldviews (Berg & Lune, 2012 p. 122). This was to facilitate the interviewee’s ability to answer (O’Leary, 2012, p. 207). The key informants were local villagers involved in the CBT initiative, community leaders, village elders and women, the JED coordinating body coordinator, the Wisnu Foundation director and manager, the Bali CoBTA chairman and a tourism practitioner who used to be a staff of Bali CoBTA.

The challenge in conducting interviews among others is to listen ‘well’ to the informants and capture the exact words uttered while recognising the implicit message that might transpire. Interviews may become a space for personal reflection

¹³ ‘Jaringan Ekowisata Desa’ (JED) or Village Ecotourism Network is a network of 4 village communities. The JED initiative in each village is collectively managed by the locals, but within the network there is a coordinating body to manage the business side of the initiative (levelling of management).

(Jennings, 2010, p. 171). In addition, the researcher needs to maintain objectivity and restrain from any bias (Mikkelsen, 1995, p. 110). Another issue to be dealt with is real and symbolic languages that may be used by the respondent that is unfamiliar to the researcher of a different cultural background (Berg & Lune, 2012 p. 123). Therefore, recording the interviews was the researcher's preferred procedure. However, this was only followed through with the interviewee's consent. Given the alternative, the researcher took notes and made observation of the respondent during the interview.

3.4.2 Questionnaires

Questionnaires are suitable when the researcher knows exactly what data are needed and the information is relatively straightforward (Laws, 2003, pp. 306-307). In view that all respondents were able to read and write, fifteen short structured questionnaires, which mostly were self-completed, were administered in the villages except Dukuh Sibetan due to time constraint. These were conducted to obtain information from participants who did not have the time for an interview or those who were reluctant to participate in an interview because they felt they had limited knowledge or involvement in the CBT initiative. Either self- or interviewer-completed (Jennings, 2012, pp.238-242), all questionnaires were completed with the researcher's presence. As Jennings explains (2010, pp. 241-242), face-to-face interaction stimulates more personal engagement. This facilitates increased participation of the respondent, possible probing by the researcher to extend responses, easier clarification on the part of both parties when needed and also observations, which in turn enables richer data collection.

3.4.3 Observation

As case studies, the data collection involved direct observations ranging from formal observation such as of meetings and tourism activities, and casual such as of daily routines in the villages (Yin, 2014, p. 113). Observation was combined with in-depth interviewing to add richness to the data collected and to enhance crystallisation processes. The reasoning is that because in interviews, the researcher is relying on second-hand verbal accounts of social realities and what people say they do may be

different from what they actually do. In observations, the researcher can see the behaviour or action in the context in which it occurs, as it takes place in the real world as opposed to a constructed research world (Jennings, 2010, p. 173; O’Leary, 2010, p. 209). Observations took place concurrently with and independently of the interviews.

As the researcher stayed for a limited time only in each village, the type of observation was candid non-participant semi-structured or unstructured observations (O’Leary, 2010, p. 210). Being an external observer has the advantage of lessening bias and subjectivity that may be at risk when a researcher endeavours in a complete immersion of an activity or a community under study (Jennings, 2010, p. 181; O’Leary, 2010, p. 216; Yin, 2014, p. 117). In documenting what people actually do, the researcher took field notes with a loosely predetermined criteria observation schedule. Photographs, audios and videos were taken to help convey important case characteristics, where feasible (O’Leary, 2010, p. 217; Yin, 2014, p. 115).

3.5 Ethics

Ethics are an integral part of conducting research, and ethical principles should guide the process and outcomes of a research project, from the outset through to writing up findings (Scheyvens, Nowak, & Scheyvens, 2003, p. 139). It is important to bear in mind that doing ethical research is about building professional relationships based on mutual respect and integrity. Being fully aware of my responsibility as a researcher, I behaved in an ethical manner to ensure the mental and physical well-being of my research participants. Having undergone a rigorous process of in-house ethics review at the Institute of Development Studies and subsequently securing a low risk notification from Massey University, I faithfully observed the Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations involving Human Participants.

In accordance with the moral obligations of a researcher as outlined by O’Leary (2010, p. 40-41), I acted in a conscientious, equitable and transparent manner when interacting with my research respondents. I fulfilled my ethical obligations by securing informed and voluntary consent, in which I disclosed any potential consequences that might arise as a result of participating in the study, and the

voluntary nature of the involvement. I produced my own information consent form in the national language (*Bahasa Indonesia*). If verbal consent was preferred by the participant, I recorded their oral consent to being interviewed prior to conducting the interview. Alternatively, I did so at the end of the interview. In most cases, I had the participants sign the forms at the beginning of the interview. In some instances, I had them sign at the end of the interview, for the purpose of absolute consent, after the information had been accessed.

I endeavoured not to cause any harm to the participants, as their concerns and interests were central to me. I also guaranteed my respondents' confidentiality and kept their identity private if they so wished. I asked the participants of their preference whether to use real names or pseudonyms. If it is a high level official however, it may not be possible to guarantee confidentiality, but I made them aware of this. In the latter chapters, I use discretion to decide whether information provided by a respondent can be safely published without jeopardising any party.

I kept all files including audio MP3 files confidential on my external hard drive that needs a passcode to access it. I either kept this with me, or locked it at a secure location. I also made back-up files in a secure cloud drive which also needs a password to access. I have used all information gathered for thesis and related presentations only. My consent form asked the participants if they were okay with me using the material, including direct quotations. My consent form also asked the participants if they agree to me using the data for presentations and publications.

Recognising the importance of trust and objectivity in carrying out research (Scheyvens, Nowak, & Scheyvens, 2003, p. 147), I avoided any conflicts of interests in view of my positionality, and sought my supervisors' advice should this issue arise. Although I was staying as a guest in the village homestays, there was no confusion about my role as a tourist or a researcher. I made it clear to the villagers and participants that my primary reason for being there was to do academic research.

As an expression of appreciation, I provided my respondents with refreshments and small gifts where appropriate. Most of all, I showed respect for their culture, values and beliefs by carrying myself and dressing in a way that is culturally acceptable, by

being polite. I informed the participants that upon completion of the research, the thesis will be available online through the Massey website. If the participants would like to have a summary of the preliminary research findings, they could indicate so in the consent form that had an optional box. A summary of the preliminary findings will be posted or emailed to those requesting this. As requested by the NGOs, I will make a copy of my thesis available to the villages and the NGOs. In so doing, I will be truthful and yet considerate in recognition of the social and political implications of the information I publicise.

3.6 Data Analysis

There is no particular method in analysing data associated with case studies (Petty, Thomson, & Stew, 2012b, p. 379). Yin (2014, p. 133) points out that the analysis of case study evidence is one of the least developed research components. Yin (2014, p. 135) suggests starting the analytic process by writing memos that commences during the fieldwork, recording any preliminary interpretation of any part of the data. In addition to memo writing, the researcher may use other methods of interpretation/(re)construction, namely coding and content analysis (Jennings, 2010, pp. 207-213). Yin proposes ‘manipulating’ the data in the search for patterns, concepts or insights. O’Leary recommends reducing and coding into themes, looking for patterns and interconnections, mapping and building themes (O’Leary, 2010, pp. 263-267).

Guided by the research questions and the frameworks developed based on the literature, the researcher created matrices of categories to assist in drawing conclusions. In analysing the interviews, ‘selective transcription’, e.g. transcribing those parts that are relevant to the research questions, was the main mode of transcription in this study.

3.7 Some Reflections on How the Research Went in Practice

Before leaving for fieldwork, information had been gathered on the official permissions needed to conduct research. Official written permission is required at the provincial and regency level, and in some cases also at the administrative village

level, and each takes around 1-3 days to be issued, depending on the completeness of supporting documents and availability of the local government staff. The office of the secondary level local government is in the capital of the regency, and a long distance from the village research sites. Considering that the research was conducted in four different regencies spread out across Bali, it was a rather vigorous task and lengthy process to secure all official permissions. Permissions were also sought from the support organisations to approach the villages; whereas Bali CoBTA did this by way of verbal communication with the local managers of the tourism initiatives, the Wisnu Foundation prepared support letters for the JED or local managers to submit to the head of the villages.

Pancasari was the first village visited as it is closer to the capital Denpasar than the other village case studies. After two days in Pancasari, there were no tourism activities in the village to be observed. After 4 interviews in the first 3 days, it became clear that the CBT initiative in the village is not fully operational and was still in the very early stage. However, switching to another village would have meant getting a new research permission which would involve traveling back to the capital, going through the procedure and delaying starting up the research project. So I stayed in the village and conducted more interviews than initially planned – from the intended 5 it became 10 – in an effort to find answers to my research questions, especially so after a questionnaire respondent told me that my questions were ‘irrelevant’.

Fortunately, the second case study village, Blimbingsari, demonstrated longer engagement in and more activities of CBT. I was able to have my research questions answered as I had hoped for. Since I had done 10 interviews in the first village, I aimed for the same number in Blimbingsari. The visit to the supposedly third case study village, Dukuh Sibetan, however, had to be re-scheduled as the locals were fully occupied with religious ceremonies. So Ceningan became the third village to be studied. Before doing so, Wisnu Foundation invited me to join a monitoring site visit as part of a programme with the organisation’s partner, a Jakarta-based NGO called *Indonesia untuk Kemanusiaan*, ‘Indonesia for Humanity’. The purpose of inviting me was to have me meet with a community leader who would become my host and

interviewee, and to give me an idea of the current situation on the island so that I could re-consider my selection of the village. It was also intended to submit a support letter for research and introduce me to the head of the village, but time did not allow this to take place. After this one day visit, I stayed for a couple of days at the Wisnu Foundation office to collect printed materials, have briefings and hold interviews with the Wisnu Foundation management as well as the JED coordinator. I also had the chance to interview the chairman of Bali CoBTA during this week.

Although I was informed of the challenges I might face due to the past and present circumstances involving conflicts arising in Ceningan, I was determined to stay and carry out the research in the village – if not for pragmatics, partially it was driven by curiosity. It turned out that finding willing participants to my research was difficult on this tiny island. Fortunately I had the help of my host, who introduced me to some of the people involved in the original group responsible for the community-based (eco) tourism initiative. Because of this, and also due to family obligations that made me leave Bali for a while (fortunately in Jakarta I was able to arrange 2 interviews with 2 NGOs who had been involved in early JED programmes, however in the end I did not use the data), I had to return to Ceningan for more information and finally managed to obtain 10 interviews.

Following an observation of the mid-year meeting of JED attended by the owners and managers of the CBT in three villages (Tenganan Pegringsingan was absent due to religious ceremonies), I carried on my research in the fourth location, Dukuh Sibetan. Due to time and budget constraints, my stay in this village was shorter. I conducted 5 interviews as originally planned in the research design, however, no questionnaires were administered. Nonetheless, the interviews contained information that I was searching for. Additionally, I met with a tour operator manager (who used to be the assistant of the chairman of Bali CoBTA), Bali province tourism officials and hospitality management academics for interviews (data from the latter are not being used).

The interviews were carried out in semi- structured fashion to draw out attitudes, perceptions, opinions and beliefs, with the goal to obtain rich information. In some

settings, topics were prepared instead of questions. In most cases, the interviews took form in fluid conversations led by the informant. The dynamic of the interview was a two-way communication in which the researcher responded to the informant as much as the other way around (Berg & Lune, 2012 pp. 110-111). The frameworks/tables developed based on the literature served as a guideline to keep the conversation relevant to the line of inquiry, and the questions generated are impromptu. Informal unstructured interviews can provide additional data to direct observation and are suitable for situations in which there is a wide range of respondents with a wide range of responses. Opting for a “how” question to the participant to ask a “why” question was frequently done to maintain a conducive ambience for flowing storytelling.

3.8 Limitations

Triangulation was attempted through the use of multiple methods of data collection, however this study deals with subjective opinions and perspectives, which may put limitations on the interpretation. People by nature may be inconsistent in giving answers (Babbie, 2011). Therefore, repeated questioning and observation were done to achieve crystallisation.

Limitation may also occur due to contextuality of the study. The researcher acknowledges that the people and text studied will not reflect the wider population as the findings of the study will be of relevance only to those who participated (Jennings, 2010). Another limitation was the resources and time constraint of the independent researcher undertaking fieldwork and study cases in four different regencies of the island.

In Ceningan, there were not many community members involved in the current initiative, or of the few who are, they were not available for interview during the time the fieldwork was carried out. From the 10 interviews conducted, 3 had to be dropped because they were not discussing CBT or their information was irrelevant. From the remaining 7, only 2 are involved in the current CBT, and 1 of them has not been involved for more than 6 months at the time of the fieldwork (July-Aug 2014). 4 interview participants were people who were involved in the previous initiative run

by the cooperative before it collapsed, and 1 was the former *klian banjar dinas* (head of administrative sub-village) head whose house was used for NGOs staff to stay at. Further, some interviewees did not answer some of the questions asked, because they are no longer involved in the current CBT. Nevertheless, the information obtained was rich and provided sufficient data.

In Dukuh Sibetan, originally the fieldwork was to be undertaken in July 2014 but due to religious festivals in the village, it was rescheduled to August. Because of little time left available, fieldwork in the village was carried out in a shorter time, with 5 interviews conducted and no questionnaire administered.

In Pancasari, the initiative has not been operational yet, rendering insufficient data in terms of what has been achieved and what has helped to achieve success. However, the data collected can give an insight of what the residents consider success in CBT, how they think success can be achieved and what external support they need. The findings can be (hopefully) referred to when developing future CBT initiatives.

Another limitation is that I did not find many women in the villages who were available for interview. In addition, in view of the social casting system in Bali (I am not addressing this in my research), I did not specifically seek out the voices of lower caste people (I am not sure if at present day caste is still persistent as this was not obvious or mentioned during fieldwork).

3.9 Summary

This research aimed to gain an insider understanding of the way local people see success in CBT as a livelihood diversification strategy, and hence the way they understand the factors that may contribute to a CBT being successful. The methodology employed in this study is thus one that seeks to understand, explore and explain. Hence a qualitative approach is used to make apparent multiple voices of the host communities concerning their perceptions of and experience with tourism.

To do this, fieldwork in four villages (“the case studies”) was conducted, and drew on methods of interviewing, questionnaires and observation. Data collection and

analysis were guided by the frameworks/tables developed from literature review. The data analysis methods were memo writing, coding, selective transcription and content analysis.

In retrospect, I was constrained in gathering all the data I had set out to do, and largely it was due to the fact that the villages I went to would not be seen by most people as an example of successful CBT, and this made it difficult in some respects to match my research questions to the case studies. Nevertheless, I was able to collect some very useful data, and that will be reported on in the following chapters.

4 CHAPTER FOUR Tourism in Bali and the Case Studies of Four Balinese Villages

4.1 Introduction

This chapter elaborates upon the development of tourism in Bali and the 4 village case studies. The chapter begins by briefly explaining the tourism development plans in Indonesia, in which the political background and economic strategy of the country in relation to tourism will be touched upon. The next subsection will recount tourism development in Bali since being designated international tourism destination by the central and regional government and the impacts thereof. The following subsection will briefly describe the 2 organisations supporting CBT initiatives in Bali. Lastly an account of the 4 village case studies where research was conducted for this study will be given.

4.2 Tourism in Indonesia

To address critical issues of national balance of payments deficits, Indonesia's New Order government under the rule of the second President Suharto started to re-open the country to the West (Picard, 1990, p. 41; BAPPENAS/National Development Planning Agency, 1968, pp. 13-18). Within the framework of the First Five Year Development Plan (1969-1974) which aimed at national political and economic stability and economic development with agriculture as the main sector, the government identified international tourism as a foreign exchange earner (BAPPENAS, 1968, p. 166).

Expert advice from the World Bank and IMF also prompted the New Order government to view tourism as an important factor in the economic development of the country. The Directorate General of Tourism and the National Tourism Development Agency (BAPPERNAS) were formed in 1969 with the tasks to, *inter alia*, increase both the flow of international and domestic tourists and national income, create a conducive climate for a tourism development adhering to international standards, and generate job opportunities. In addition, it was also regarded as important to promote the natural and cultural capitals of Indonesia and

encourage understanding among diverse ethnic groups to foster national awareness and identity (Atmaja, 2002, pp. 31-32; Spillane, 1991, pp. 65-67; ILO, 2011, pp. 21-22).

However, only following a decline in oil revenues in 1986, did the Indonesian government begin to develop tourism as a matter of priority over the next decades, both as an important means of foreign exchange earnings and employment creation (Picard, 2003, pp. 110; Booth, 1990, pp. 45-46).

4.3 Tourism Development in Bali

Tourism was first introduced in Bali when the Dutch East Indies expanded its colony to the island in the beginning of the twentieth century. The suicidal resistance, *puputan*, committed by the three Balinese royal courts together with their families and followers spurred protests over the brutality of the colonisers. To overcome criticisms, the Dutch sponsored “a new image based on the preservation of Balinese culture and the development of the island as a tourist destination” (Picard, 1997, p. 185 as cited in Hitchcock, 2001, p. 105; Atmaja, 2002, p. 23). Tourists began flowing to Bali following the establishment of a steam-packet service in 1924. By the 1930s, Western artist and anthropologists were residing on the island. Before becoming part of the Dutch colony, however, Bali had been considered by the Dutch orientalisists as a ‘living museum’ of the Hindu-Javanese civilisation that had disappeared with the rise of Islam. To preserve the island’s heritage, the Dutch designed a ‘Balinisation’ policy in which Balinese culture was to be shown to the world as an object of appreciation, and also in which the Balinese “were taught how to be more authentically Balinese” (Picard, 1995, p. 47 as cited in Hitchcock, 2001, p. 105).

Capitalising on Bali’s fame for its distinctive culture and rich traditions, and on the image of the island as the ‘last paradise’ built during the Dutch colonisation period, the promotion and development of international tourism focused on Bali as the showcase of Indonesia (BAPPENAS, 1968, pp. 167-170; Picard, 2003, pp. 109-110). Planning for tourism development in Bali was also a tool for regional development (BAPPENAS, 1968, p. 94). Bali served as the focal point of the central Indonesia

region (encompassing Java, Bali, Sulawesi, Nusa Tenggara) from which tourism activities were intended to spread to other regions. Promotional activities for the island, enhancement of services to tourists (by way of concentrating certain areas as tourism hubs) and completion of the Ngurah Rai international airport to attract international tourists to Bali became the primary concerns of the New Order initial national development plan pertaining to tourism (BAPPENAS, 1968, pp. 169-171).

Under the New Order, the culture of Bali became an asset of an emerging national culture, which acted as a catalyst for growth in tourism and national pride (Hitchcock, 2001, p. 107). Following the advice of the World Bank and funded by UNDP, in 1969 a team of SCETO French consultants was commissioned to draft a Master Plan for the Development of Tourism in Bali, which aimed to facilitate the growth of mass tourism in Bali (Noronha, 1979, p. 194; McTaggart, 1980, pp. 459-460; Picard 1990, p. 41). The report submitted in 1971 proposed the development of 'cultural tourism' and the construction of a 425-hectare tourist resort at Nusa Dua, which is a considerable distance from the more densely populated areas. Roads connecting to the tourist attractions were built to give an opportunity to the visitors to see Balinese cultural performances and buy local arts and crafts. The isolation of the major hotels from the residential areas of local people was intended to minimise any undesirable effects resulting from contacts between tourists and the Balinese community. The Master Plan was adopted by the central government by Presidential Decree in 1972 and became the basis for further policy formulation onwards (Noronha, 1979, pp. 194-196; McTaggart, 1980, pp. 460-461; Picard, 1990, pp. 41-43). Tourism has become a major contributor to the Balinese economy ever since, taking second place after agriculture (Picard, 1990, p. 41; Wall, 1996, pp. 127-128).

According to Noronha (1979, p. 196), there is no evidence to suggest that the regional government and the Balinese *banjar*¹⁴ were consulted during the formulation and adoption of the master plan. The Balinese had little awareness of the five-year plan and the master plan that followed. Jakarta-based Indonesians were the ones who knew of these plans and could accordingly take economic advantage thereof. Further, the 1969 study conducted by SCETO was predicated on international tourist influx and foreign exchange earnings, hence disregarded domestic tourists from other Indonesian islands who for the most part were not expected to stay in international standard hotels. Also the form of tourism proposed was mostly beyond the capacity of most Balinese in terms of funding and management, as opposed to small-scale hotels and homestays which would be better afforded by the Balinese. In addition, the lack of institutionalised links between the *banjars* and the government, and the non-representation of *banjars* meant that any legislation and mandates declared by the province had no enforcement value. Lastly, as Noronha points out, the master plan did not take into account the cultural resilience and adaptiveness of the Balinese society. Nevertheless Noronha concluded in the late 1970s that the Balinese do want tourism and to be part of it (Noronha, 1979, pp. 199-201)

4.4 The Case Studies

The research was conducted in 4 Balinese villages that work in partnership with local NGOs.

4.4.1 The Support Organisations

¹⁴ *Banjar* are small communities of 20-500 families concerned with village (*desa*) affairs. The traditional *banjar adat* serves its members religion and communal needs. The administrative *banjar dinas* represents the government at the lowest administrative level; it can be seen as a sub-village or hamlet. *Banjar* is the smallest unit and the building block of the Balinese society (Sudantira, 2007).

Both NGOs are locally established organisations working with and for the Balinese communities, if from different backgrounds.

4.4.1.1 Wisnu Foundation: The Village Ecotourism Network ('Jaringan Ekowisata Desa' or JED)

The Village Ecotourism Network ('Jaringan Ekowisata Desa' or JED) was launched in 2002 during the Post-New Order by 4 Balinese village communities and one of Bali's oldest environmental NGOs, the Wisnu Foundation. JED was primarily a response to the prevailing mass tourism in Bali. It aims to supplement village livelihoods, support community development and environmental conservation, and reintroduce Bali from a true Balinese perspective (APEC, 2010, p. 20). JED operates as a business entity; the coordinator and staff are employed by and report to the JED owners, namely the 4 village communities and Wisnu Foundation. Profits made will be distributed to the owners for their management. The Wisnu Foundation allocates its profit to the villagers for capacity building programmes. Currently there are 4 villages working with the Wisnu Foundation, namely Kiadan Pelaga, Tenganan Pegringsingan, Dukuh Sibetan and Nusa Ceningan.

4.4.1.2 Bali Community-Based Tourism Association (Bali CoBTA)

Established in 2010 with support from the Ministry of Culture and Tourism's Destination Development Department, the Bali Provincial Tourism Office, and independent contributors, the Bali CoBTA is a non-profit and non-governmental organisation that promotes sustainable tourism. Its mission includes enhancing the community welfare, empowering local communities, facilitating facility and infrastructure upgrades of tourism villages by liaising with government agencies and the private sector, and management of natural resources. Bali CoBTA assists the community to analyse opportunities and risks in developing CBT, and assess critical factors for the success of this venture. It also provides counselling and recommendations in improving tourism activities and facilities, and helps finding sponsors to fund the necessary upgrades for the home stays, tourism products, public space, and capacity building. It gives training in planning, organisational development, management, operation, marketing, monitoring and quality control to

the community. It also conducts marketing activities to promote the villages (Bali CoBTA, n.d.).

4.4.2 The Four Village Case Studies

The villages are located in 4 different regencies of the Bali province, which are considered to be among the less developed ones on the island.

4.4.2.1 Nusa Ceningan

With an area of 306 hectare, this small island off the southeast coast of Bali is made up of 2 *dusun* and 5 *banjar*. It is under the administrative governance of the Lembongan village of the Klungkung regency, a neighbouring touristy island separated by a suspension bridge. According to the data collected for the participatory mapping in 2000, the population of Nusa Ceningan was 1,603 with 323 families as at December 2000. (The population of the whole Lembongan village was 4,917 with 1,054 families as at March 2009 according to the Lembongan village profile, 2009). The livelihoods of Ceningan people are farmers (73.23%), fishermen (6.25%), self-employed or private enterprise employees (3.76%), civil servants (1.01%) and others (15.75%) (Yayasan Wisnu et al., 2000). Since its introduction in 1983, many farmers have taken up seaweed farming as the main source of income, leaving cultivation of the land as a less prioritised activity.

“You have nothing”

Traditionally the people of Ceningan live from agriculture, cultivating cassava and corn for subsistence. They also catch fish for food and when in abundance sometimes for sale. Their crops grow seasonally. Farming on the land relies heavily on rain water. In the past, when drought caused the harvest to fail, the island would be affected by famine. As one seaweed farmer recalls:

Cassava and corn used to be our staple foods. People didn't know rice. But we could not harvest them all year round. So every year we would have food crisis (N, seaweed farmer, July 2014).

During the New Order, the national government implemented a programme promoting rice as the countrywide staple food. Ceningan soils are unsuitable for

planting rice. This has had severe implications on the islanders. Not having rice daily on the table has left them with a sense of being underprivileged and poor

Since the New Order, regions where rice cannot be cultivated have been deemed to be unproductive land by the government. By denouncing Ceningan as lahan kritis¹⁵ or dryland we have been told that our land produces nothing, that we have nothing (MM, head of priests, July 2014).

For the majority, cultivating seaweed has brought about significant changes in their economic welfare. Introduced in late 1983, selling well since 1987, seaweed farming has become the main livelihood for many. Fewer people are taking up land farming. This has raised concerns among the local priests that this would give rise to a land grab. They fear that investors will appropriate their land on the basis of non-productivity and they will be driven away.

Eyes Wide Open

Before the Wisnu Foundation first came to the island in 1999 for a participatory mapping training exercise¹⁶, the community had not been aware of their capitals. For years, disregard of the community's natural, human and cultural resources by the authorities has led to feelings of disempowerment.

From the mapping we came to know our strengths. Before that we had been made to believe that we were incompetent, that Ceningan natural environment would not give life to its people. That traditional knowledge was a regression, a weakness (MM, head of priests, July 2014).

Working together with the support organisation and having their capacities built through various trainings brought new realisation and hope.

¹⁵ literally translated as 'critical land'

¹⁶ In partnership with Kehati Foundation (as funder), Manikaya Kauci Foundation, Bali State Polytechnic and PT. Ganeshaglobal Sarana.

I participated in a seminar on land use of lahan kritis (dryland). Lahan kritis does not mean the entire land is unfit for cultivation, there are productive areas. If we learn we will find suitable crops to grow (N, seaweed farmer, July 2014).

Development for whom?

Near the end of the mapping exercise, the community learned of the plan to convert the whole island into a resort called ‘The Green Island’ in which 16 chain hotels and a golf course were to be developed (B, personal communication, July 2014). Equipped with their new awareness, 7 thematic maps¹⁷ and one island planning map, they confronted the investors¹⁸ and Klungkung government.

There were pros and cons. Most lands in Ceningan were owned by inhabitants of the adjacent bigger island, Lembongan, who in contrast to the Ceningan residents did want to sell their land. In addition, there had been tension between the islands communities. Administratively, Ceningan *banjar* is under the governance of the Lembongan village. The people of Ceningan had long felt discriminated against by the village government, and political conflict¹⁹ on village head selection divided the communities.

¹⁷ 1) Basic map, 2) land ownership map, 3) residential map, 4) land use map, 5) topographic map, 6) map of frequently seen birds and 7) map of non-frequently seen birds.

¹⁸ Nusa Penida Devindo Wisata, a consortium of Bali Tourism Development Corporation (state-owned enterprise), Government of Klungkung Regency and Puri Loka Asri (property developer) (D, NGO manager, July 2014).

¹⁹ Disputes over the election of the village head was manifested in hostile behaviour of the neighbouring islanders towards each other and among themselves. This affected family relations and even went so far as serious vandalism and aggression against outsiders who were suspected of taking sides. These are untypical behaviours of the peace-loving Balinese. When friction reached its peak, the NPDW investors came in. This led to a hypothesis that the political conflict was a scheme (by the government) to make way for the investors (D, NGO manager, July 2014).

It was a lengthy process of raising awareness at many *sangkepan* (*banjar* meetings) and women's group meetings²⁰, taking more than a year²¹. At the time, a shift of political power occurred in the country in which the thirty-two-year regime of Suharto's New Order had ended the year before and was replaced by *Reformasi*, the Era of Reform, allowing greater freedom of speech. The Ceningan community took charge of their cause fighting for their rights – with the quiet support of the Foundations from behind – which “might be in Bali the only successful advocacy against big investors” (D, personal communication, July 2014).

We resisted such plan also because we witnessed two major cases in Bali. First was Pecatu, people were forced away from their land, they were coerced by the government into selling their land and they used military to intimidate the community. The second was Serangan Island, Bali Turtle Development Island, there was intimidation by the military initiated by the government to forcefully make people sell their land. Until now nothing has been built on Serangan. We feared the same would happen to us, that if we sold our land, but had to wait another 10-20 years for them to develop the island... while we already sold our land... where were we going to live? That was our fear... (B, dive instructor, July 2014).

Part of the community's rejection of the resort development plan was due to their religious beliefs. Lands in Ceningan have historical obligations to *Pura* (temples). The owner of the land must adhere to religious duties towards the *Pura* of that particular land. There were concerns that if the investors bought the island, these religious practices would be neglected (D, personal communication, July 2014).

²⁰ *Sangkepan* are attended by the married male *banjar* member, usually the head of the family, representing the family members. The wife of the family inactively participates and can share her opinion through the husband who joins the meeting.

In the name of 'women's development', PKK (*Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga* or Maintenance of Family Welfare) groups were formed by the New Order government and integrated into villages nationwide. Some view PKK as the extension of central power to control regional stability and maintain national security.

²¹ During the process, vocal individuals who resisted the investors' plan were offered monetary reward if they could persuade others to succumb to it (B, dive instructor, July 2014).

During decades of a highly centralised administration in the country, development programmes were designed by the central government with little inputs from the regional authorities, much less consultation with the indigenous communities. The lack of a contextualised development has been one of the issues raised against the state:

Our place is very unique, we are a tiny island, and we have agricultural traditions which include fishing traditions. Because of our uniqueness we require a specific programme suited to our needs (MM, head of priests, July 2014).

New Beginnings

In the absence of government support, many communities found relief in civil society organisations. *Reformasi* opened opportunities for NGOs in assisting disenfranchised communities by means of participatory approaches. The Ceningan community continued their association with Wisnu Foundation by embarking on new ventures. Together with 4 other village communities²², they engaged in proactive discussions and exercises, exploring democratic practices²³ of self-determination and self-empowerment in more depth. Facilitated by a network of NGOs, the villagers studied other villages with community-driven initiatives already in place (S, personal communication, July 2014), starting in 2000 with funding from Kehati Foundation²⁴ and own its financial resources. By 2001 the communities decided on a community- and ecologically-based tourism model. This was essentially collective strategic planning of community organising and a spatial and

²² The villages are Dukuh Sibetan, Kiadan Pelaga, Tenganan Pegringsingan and Belok Sidan (the latter withdrew from the programme).

²³ Balinese are familiar with democratic processes via traditional *banjar adat* meetings (*sangkepan*), pertaining mostly to religious and communal affairs at the *banjar* (sub-village) or *desa* (village) level.

²⁴ Kehati Foundation or 'Yayasan Keanekaragaman Hayati' (Indonesian Biodiversity Foundation) provides money for ecotourism as an entry point to biodiversity conservation (S, NGO director, July 2014).

natural resource management advocacy programme. Being in Bali, linking the programme to tourism was inevitably both a necessity and a strategy.

To the Balinese, tourism is their second God after The One. We saw tourism development in Bali was worryingly straying away from what had initially been the objective of tourism in Bali, 'cultural tourism'. Tourism has been tremendously exploiting all resources, exhausting water resources, land, energy, everything. But saying no to tourism was (and is) not an option. So our advocacy programmes have been coated with the word 'tourism'. We were searching for an alternative to what was there (D, NGO manager, July 2014).

Not everyone was keen at first. The village conflicts and unpleasant experiences with external parties left a profound mark in the villagers, resulting in suspicion towards outsiders. This diminished with concerted capacity building efforts, and a new consciousness emerged. The community learned to manage tourism that respects their interests and values.

Wisnu Foundation aims to enable the community to initiate tourism by and for the community itself. The aim of tourism is not for the sake of tourism itself...It's about how we strengthen our capacities and resources, how we must make our land productive... and how we must safeguard our ocean so that we could avoid pollution...They motivated us to retrieve our age-old traditions. We saw changes in the village with regards to our cultural heritage, Sanghyang²⁵ (Nik, seaweed farmer, July 2014)

In addition, new friendships have been formed among the village communities. Wishing to keep the tie, they established a network called 'Jaringan Ekonomi dan

²⁵ Frequently referred to as 'dances', Sanghyang are traditional cultural expressions or 'expressions of folklore' that interweave music, dance, art, designs, performances, ceremonies, narratives and handicrafts in one. Sanghyang are considered sacred ritual expressions, and therefore performed only for religious events, not for tourist entertainment.

Believed to bring balance and harmony, negligence of Sanghyang is deemed to cause undesired consequences. Ceningan and Lembongan people did not observe Sanghyang for 29 years. Some community members were concerned about the effect if Sanghyang was not honoured for one generation (30 years) (D, NGO manager, July 2014).

Wisata Desa’ or Village Economy and Tourism Network²⁶, later to be known as *Jaringan Ekowisata Desa*’ (JED), the Village Ecotourism Network²⁷. Combining the uniqueness of the 4 villages the communities support each other in managing their resources, supplementing their livelihoods and increasing their capacities – being the owners of tourism business as opposed to onlookers (S, NGO director, July 2014).

JED Ceningan in 2014

What is the current condition of the community-based ecotourism in Ceningan twelve years after JED was first launched? Ecotourism had been managed as part of the business activities of the JED Ceningan cooperative ‘Saringin Segara’. The function of the cooperative is management of the community’s assets²⁸ (S, NGO director, July 2014). Owned and run jointly by its members, the cooperative enjoyed success with its undertaking of sale and purchase of consumables as well as saving and credit. It had a considerable increase in assets including a boat and a vehicle, and even opened a branch on Lembongan island. However it subsequently collapsed due to mismanagement and ceased to operate since 2011 (D, NGO manager, July 2014).

²⁶ JED was launched on 4 June 2002. Their initial core activity was community economic development by way of distribution of village produce (essential goods) among the village communities through cooperatives. Tourism ran in parallel as a supplemental endeavour. On 12 October 2002 the first Bali bombing took place. To the JED owners this occurrence accentuated the precarious nature of the tourism industry. The community business of goods distribution continued to be the main pursuit until they suffered major setbacks. Since 2004 ecotourism became the focus, only to face challenge by the second Bali bombing 2005 (D, NGO manager, July 2014).

²⁷ Ecotourism became the term for the JED community- and ecologically-based tourism model in concurrence with the Kehati Foundation biodiversity conservation programme and the promotion of ecotourism in Indonesia in 2002 (S, NGO director, July 2014) (see also Schellhorn, 2007, p. 125: ... *at the 2002 World Ecotourism Summit, the Indonesian Tourism Minister expressed the underlying shift in promotion and development focus very clearly: “...as the world market trend is undergoing a shift from travel for leisure to travel for widening horizon and individual experience, so ecotourism is becoming the focus of the national tourism development policy”* (Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2002, p. 5).

²⁸ In 2002 each of the four JED villages established a cooperative in the village (‘primary’ cooperative). A ‘secondary’ cooperative was also formed by the JED head office in Denpasar (D, NGO manager, July 2014).

The people responsible for the management of the cooperative have had no intention to resolve the problem (J, farmer, July 2014) and the members, having invested their money for ten years, have had no will to bring the matter into open discussion. They have been waiting for the past three years for a call to a meeting (L, *ex head of banjar*, July 2014).

With the loss of the cooperative's money and assets, the profit made from ecotourism that had been deposited in the cooperative was gone. No one was willing to assume the task of operating the cooperative, leaving ecotourism unattended and not receiving visitors in 2011. Since 2012 the Wisnu Foundation and JED owners started coordinating with the local priests, *Pemangku*. MM²⁹, head of the local priests, was given mandate to run the ecotourism initiative, together with his fellow *Pemangku*³⁰.

During the course of running the initial community-based ecotourism initiative under the cooperative in early 2000, no substantial changes were felt. Only a small number of people who had been directly involved had been impacted by the arrivals of tourists. However, the number of tourists was fewer than the people managing the cooperative were hoping for, thus resulting in low returns, as the following interview explains:

We didn't manage ecotourism in an optimum way because the revenue was not adequate to fulfill our needs, it was supplementary. We wanted to have visitors 1-2x a week, but we only had 1-2x a month (J, farmer, July 2014).

²⁹ MM (not yet a 'Mangku' or priest at the time) was the head of *Forum Komunikasi Nusa Ceningan* (FKNC), 'Communication Forum of Ceningan Island', a group formed as a result of political conflict in 1997-1998. FKNC was also the leading force of the local community in resisting the large-scale tourism development plan in 1999.

³⁰ There are 40 *Pemangku*, however, only about 10 have the true calling of 'ngayah' or sincere devotion to social work. Most of these *Pemangku* are well above 50 years old (MM, head of priests, Aug 2014).

The small number of visitors to Ceningan has been associated with the higher operational and transportation cost due to its location. To reach the island, people need to travel by speedboat from the south eastern tip of Bali. JED offers day trips for the other three JED villages and overnight trips for all villages³¹. A day trip to Dukuh Sibetan, Kiadan Pelaga and Tenganan Pegringsingan costs USD75 and overnight trip USD105. By comparison, an overnight trip in Ceningan is charged USD130, slightly higher.

Visitors have to stay overnight and use speedboat. Everything on the island is much more expensive than on mainland Bali, hence the higher rate. Because of this, there are fewer visitors coming to Ceningan than to the other 3 JED villages (B, dive instructor, July 2014).

The new group of people currently running the initiative experiences low visits as well. This is considered to be caused by the fact that the initiative has been in operation again only recently. The inadequacy of revenue has been cited as one of the reasons for the reluctance of the group of people previously involved to keep managing the former CBT or to participate in managing the newly activated one. People are busy earning a livelihood that would fulfill their basic needs.

I would be satisfied if the programme were to be sustainable..... My involvement ended in 2006, I felt the communication was no longer aligned, as well as the economic interests..... I am restricting my involvement in social works. If I commit myself [to an undertaking] I think of the return, it has to be the same as main income. If we talk about empowerment, we need to think in terms of ourselves. If we are not yet empowered to support ourselves, we should not try to empower other people (J, farmer, July 2014).

To be upfront, I did not gain anything from ecotourism, I did not receive remuneration. That is the reason why people are reluctant to join, because

³¹ Trips may be tailored according to the visitor's request. A day trip to Ceningan is not mentioned in the JED website but has been done for study tour purposes.

they see that in other places they can get this amount [of money] whereas here they get nothing (B, dive instructor, July 2014).

In accordance with the JED programme as well as Wisnu Foundation and other support organisations capacity building efforts, community-based ecotourism has been initiated as a supplemental livelihood activity. Villagers have been encouraged to maintain their traditional livelihood practices or other professions outside the tourism sector which is seen as volatile (GA, personal communication, July 2014). They have been trained in aspects of tourism such as Food & Beverages, housekeeping and guiding to host visitors as an additional means of support. As the types of tourists who commonly seek out JED are those with special interests, keeping the indigenous livelihood activities and lifestyles forms part of the appeal of JED villages and is seen as what sets them apart from mass tourism (D, personal communication, July 2014).

To minimise the impact, a quota of 10-15 visitors per day per village has been established. This is in consideration of the limited capacity of the local people. In the past, a stricter limitation was in place. People are still expecting, however, to make tourism the main livelihood.

We cannot rely on CBT as our main livelihood. We can only do so with private tourism businesses. But with JED we didn't have maximum funding, there were no visitors, we spent money for maintenance of the bungalow, but there was no revenue (J, farmer, July 2014).

When people decide to take part in tourism, they hope to earn a living. The reason they go into tourism is so they can support their family (N, seaweed farmer, July 2014).

Being in close vicinity with mass tourism development in Lembongan, with many of them employed by the investors, makes it challenging for them to resist the desire to develop Ceningan ecotourism as the main source of income, despite advised otherwise (D, personal communication, July 2014). Many search for jobs in tourism in Lembongan. Only separated by a suspended bridge and reachable on foot or via motorcycle, the influence of Lembongan tourism upon Ceningan is greatly noticeable. Everyday tourists from the neighbouring island would come to Ceningan

on scooters passing by villagers' houses to enjoy Ceningan secluded beaches, surf waves, blue lagoon and hilltop view [field observation].

Another reason for the difficulties in maintaining CBT in Ceningan is that it comprises 5 *banjar* and the initiative is an agreement of a group of people as opposed to that of the whole 5 *banjar*. By comparison, Dukuh Sibetan, Kiadan Pelaga and Tenganan Pegringsingan each consists of one *banjar* only and CBT is a commitment of the whole *banjar* (D, personal communication, July 2014). Also a key problem is the obvious lack of support of the village government towards the initiative, which led to disillusionment of the community members to pursue it.

Our proposals have not been supported by the village government. It has been left unanswered for 13 long years... in the end we couldn't maintain our cohesion... people became disenchanted... (MM, head of priests, Aug 2014)

4.4.2.2 Dukuh Sibetan

The CBT takes place in one of the 10 *banjar* of the Sibetan village located in the Karangasem regency, namely Dukuh *banjar*. The population of Dukuh was 565 with 114 families in 2010; it had 24 households which fell under the category of poor households (Statistics of Sibetan Village, 2010). According to S (personal communication, Aug 2014), Dukuh is the only *banjar* in the whole Sibetan Village that has maps; one produced with the Wisnu Foundation and one by the Tourism Department.

The village of Sibetan devotes 80% of its land for agriculture. 80% of the villagers are farmers (NS, personal communication, Aug 2014), notably 'salak' (Salacca zalacca) or *snake* fruit farming which has been practised for generations and has become the icon of the village. Dukuh Sibetan prides itself as the only village in Indonesia that cultivates 14 varieties of snakefruit and Bali's only *salak* wine producer. The JED pilot project of snakefruit agritourism in Dukuh was recognised and given permission to operate by the Karangasem *kabupaten* through the Tourism Department in 2003/2004. It has been supported by the Sibetan village administration. It ranks, however, third among the four JED villages in terms of visitor number (and consequently economic benefits). According to the JED

coordinator [personal communication], the remote location of the village in the highland and the less popular *salak* fruit as the main agritourism product are the reasons for this.

The Sibetan village, including Dukuh *banjar*, has *awig-awig*, local regulations that prohibit the selling of land to outsiders. The local people themselves are not allowed to build villas or two-storey houses. Based on one of the *sangkep* (assembly) or *banjar* meetings³², a written agreement was produced to prohibit the establishment of hotels and restaurants.

Private houses can only build up to five guest rooms. Otherwise people would not be able to share the benefits equitably, defeating the purpose of CBT (K, banjar head, Aug 2014).

The villagers place great importance on keeping the local tradition and culture alive, hence they only accept tourists if it does not interfere with religious ceremonies. Profits received from JED ecotourism have been used to support *odalan*, the Balinese religious festive celebration. Since the past 3 years the festival in the *banjar* has been fully financed by the profits generated so that the Dukuh villagers haven't had to spend money on *odalan*. Though income from *salak* farming is low, there seems to be no interest to replace farming with tourism. While the agritourism is a strategy to expand livelihood option during the non-harvesting season, the *salak*

³² It is obligatory for a Balinese married man to join the *banjar*. The basic social unit of the *banjar* is the *pekurenan* (couple). Only Balinese married couples are full *banjar* members and subjected to the *banjar* rights and obligations. Most members are Balinese Hindus as the *banjar* will be occupied with Balinese Hindu ceremonies and community events. Decisions taken at *banjar* meetings are on the basis of unanimous agreement by the *sangkep* (assembly) of the *banjar's* male members, the *krama banjar*, which are held in the first week of every Balinese month.

wine home industry was initiated to supplement the villagers livelihood during the harvesting season when there is over production (harvest is twice a year).

4.4.2.3 Blimbingsari Village

Situated in the less developed area adjacent to Java island and consisting of 2 *banjar* with an area of 456 hectare and 1,086 people (279 families), Blimbingsari is the only village in Bali in which the whole population is Christian. It had been an exile of Protestant missionaries during the Dutch colonial period and become the ‘promised land’ of the evicted. Primarily attracting visitors due to its unique Balinese church, the village became a tourist destination for spiritual tourism since 2004-2005. Every first Sunday of the month the church service is conducted in Balinese context, in which the church goers wear traditional Balinese clothing and Balinese music instruments are played. In addition to spiritual tourism, the village has been developing agrotourism and nature-based tourism in recent years (M, personal communication, July 2014).

Tourism in the village has been supported by the village administration, Department of Tourism and the West Bali National Park. The village is allowed to use and manage 4 hectares of the West Bali National Park (M, personal communication, July 2014).

Profits generated are distributed for village and communal needs. The villagers are farmers of cacao, copra and chicken. They are considered to be more educated than the neighbouring villages (or most villages in Bali) as most have completed high school and university degree. The village serves as a model for the Jembrana *kabupaten* to develop Tourism Villages in the *kabupaten*. The village is very clean and well-kept with beautiful gardens. There is an evident sense of pride in the villagers.

We realised that everything in the village, houses, gardens are fruits of very difficult struggle, and it is God’s answer to our prayers. To show our respect for our blessing we maintain our environment as best we can, we keep it clean, green, fertile and lush. The residents as well as the guests can feel the calming surroundings (M, tourism committee, July 2014).

The CBT initiative seems to be operating in a well-organised manner. A reason for initiating CBT was that there had been a fear of a dying village as people were leaving in the search for jobs elsewhere. Bishop K. Suyaga Ayub, the former chairman of the Synod of the Protestant Christian Church in Bali (PCCB) who headed the village church in 2004 was the initiator of the initiative, and together with the village government, Blimbingsari diaspora and other community leaders started the initiative in 2004-2005. Subsequently they established the tourism committee, upon recommendation of Djinaldi Gosana, later to be the chairman of Bali CoBTA (GS, personal communication, July 2014).

There is a strict rule of no selling of land to outsiders, which has been adhered to by the villagers.

Land ownership is very guarded here. For 75 years almost all land is owned by the locals. Even if someone is selling a piece of land, it is within the family (A, community leader, July 2014).

As much as 75% of the houses in the village are converted into homestays and as many as 350 people visited the village in May 2014. 15-25% of the profit is allocated for operational costs of the tourism committee (GS, personal communication, July 2014). Partnership with investors for financing upgrade of homestays was proposed to the village community at the time of the conduct of this study and awaiting a response.

4.4.2.4 Pancasari Village

Located in the cool mountains area in the Central-North of Bali, Pancasari Village attraction includes Bulian Lake, forest and strawberry agrotourism. The village comprises 5 *dusun*³³ and 8 *banjar*, populated by 4,680 people (1,015 families). It is adjacent to the touristy Candi Kuning village. The villagers are farmers of

³³ *Dusun* is sub-village of bigger size than *banjar*.

vegetables, herbs and strawberries (WD, personal communication, July 2014). Many of the locals used to be employed by the Bali Handara golf resort which was the only golf facility in Bali in the 1980s. In June 2014 the Buleleng regency launched the first Bulian Festival in an attempt to promote tourism in the area.

The CBT initiative that was introduced by Bali CoBTA in 2011 has not been operating effectively. This situation seems to be due to lack of communication and coordination among the local managers of the initiative and community members [fieldwork observation and personal communication]. In addition, there are strong local regulations to protect the natural assets, especially the Bulian Lake. This has been pointed out to be the reason why Pancasari is less developed than the neighbouring villages in the area.

We are conserving nature according to our traditional knowledge. We do not allow motor boat, and any other water vehicles or activities that may pollute the lake. We also do not allow ngaben³⁴ because we preserve nature. Maybe this has given people second thought for developing this area. We need to find a way so that indigenous knowledge and tourism development can work in harmony (GNA, bendesa³⁵, July 2014).

There is one existing tourism initiative of a local fishermen's cooperative since 1992. Partnering with a travel agent, they take tourists twice a week to trek in the woods and go on a canoe excursion on the lake with traditional boats (*pedau*). Fifteen fishermen were trained in English language and tour guide by the Buleleng Regency Department of Forestry. The fishermen see tourism as a side job. 10% of the profits go to the cooperative, 90% to the cooperative members. This grassroots initiative however has not been integrated yet into the village community-based tourism initiative. The head of the cooperative was not aware of community-based tourism in the village (MS, personal communication, July 2014).

³⁴ *Ngaben* is the Balinese tradition of burning the deceased.

³⁵ Traditional village head

4.4.2.5 Summary

Tourism development in Bali has been centrally planned with little control by the Balinese. In an attempt to reap more benefits for the local community, several villages have engaged in CBT. The initiatives have been receiving support from two local NGOs. Field work conducted in July-August 2014 indicated that there are many complexities surrounding the initiatives and that communities (and support organisations) have enormous tasks at hand if the initiatives are to be sustainable and bring the communities significant benefits.

The following chapter presents the findings from the data.

5 CHAPTER FIVE Findings

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings from the research and is split into 3 sections. The first discusses the perspectives of the local villagers within each village case study. The second shows the perspectives of the JED coordinating body that operates as a business entity. The third reflects the perspectives of the two organisations supporting the communities in their CBT initiatives.

5.2 Perspectives of Local Villagers in each Village Case Study Regarding Success

The following sections discuss the views of the local community members on success and success factors of CBT in their villages. For each village, a table will be presented to show the outcomes and current state of CBT in the village using the categories of elements of success in CBT identified in Table 2.7 in Chapter 2, namely: 1) Socio-political benefits, 2) economic benefits, 3) environmental benefits, and 4) cultural benefits. I will begin in the order of the villages which started earlier with the CBT initiative, namely Nusa Ceningan and Dukuh Sibetan followed by Blimbingsari and Pancasari.

5.2.1 Nusa Ceningan

As noted in Chapter 4, Ceningan cannot be regarded as successful CBT by most people. The people currently involved in the initiative have only been running it since 2012. The people who were previously organising the initiative no longer wish to be part of it.

Table 5.1 provides an overview of the numbers of tourists visiting JED villages. The data of the first two villages, Nusa Ceningan and Dukuh Sibetan, are from my case studies. The last two are not from my case studies but are presented here to provide a comparison.

Table 5-1 Data of JED customers 2007 – 2014

Year	Nusa Ceningan		Dukuh Sibetan		Tenganan Pegringsingan		Kiadan Pelaga	
	Daytrip	Overnight	Daytrip	Overnight	Daytrip	Overnight	Daytrip	Overnight
2007	0	21	4	8	28	8	6	43
2008	24	27	18	19	51	19	116	43
2009	5	60	68	17	155	9	81	47
2010	2	19	14	12	55	13	44	118
2011	0	0	12	23	88	6	61	140
2012	9	28	8	23	118	6	162	95
2013	2	14	8	40	111	10	51	176
2014	0	24	20	5	143	7	54	99
Total	42	193	152	147	749	78	575	761
Grand Total	235		299		827		1,336	

(Source: JED)

As Table 5.1 shows, the visitor number to Ceningan is lower than that of the other three JED villages, notably Kiadan Pelaga which is located closest to the International Airport and major tourism spots.

5.2.1.1 How do they define success in community-based tourism?

Table 5-2 How successful is CBT in Ceningan

Elements of success	Explanation
Socio-political benefits	
Social capital	+ Established a network together with 3 other JED villages. - After establishment, most people lost faith in working together for CBT due to slow return on investment, especially compared to the neighbouring Lembongan tourism.
Empowerment	+ Participatory approach by Wisnu Foundation facilitated appropriate needs assessment and involvement of community members in the development and implementation of CBT model. + CBT managed effectively by the cooperative in the earlier days. + Capacity building and training provided.
Economic benefits	
Improved livelihoods/standards of living	- Income generated is too low to be considered successful. - Only 2 households regularly receive visitors as a result of CBT.
Local economic development	+ CBT is using local produce such as cassava, banana and fish for the guests' meals. - CBT has not resulted in improvements for the broader community in terms of better infrastructures such as roads.
Commercially viable CBT	- Revenue generated not yet significant enough to be seen as

enterprises	successful. - Low visitation hence CBT is seen as not yet successful
Environmental benefits	
Conservation of the environment and natural resources	+ Wisnu Foundation provided good environmental education in the early stages of CBT. - Due to disenchantment of CBT, people have paid less attention to environmental cleanliness and management such as plastic waste.
Cultural benefits	
Cultural cohesion and pride	+ CBT has revived Sanghyang which had been 'lost' for 29 years.

As demonstrated in Table 5.2., there are mixed results (7 + and 7 -) as to the current outcomes of community-based ecotourism in Ceningan. The initiative has brought about social benefits to the community, significantly in the area of empowerment, which has been notably facilitated by the Wisnu Foundation (and Kehati Foundation as funder). It has also succeeded in reviving the long lost Sanghyang, a sacred cultural heritage foregone for 29 years due to contemporary life demands. However, the initiative has not led to substantial economic benefits to the community, which are necessary to make it sustainable.

In general, there are similar views as to whether community-based ecotourism in the village has had success or otherwise. Overall, people think that community-based ecotourism in the village has simply been “running” (*berjalan*³⁶) with no significant proceeds. Out of 7 interviewees, 5 think the initiative is not successful, while 2 believe it is not yet successful. The open-ended questionnaire, administered 6 in total in Ceningan, indicates varied answers to the question “Do you think CBT in your village is successful?” There are 2 “Yes”, “Somewhat” and “No”, respectively³⁷.

The views that the initiative was merely “running” was attributed to the fact that it received low visitor number most of the time.

³⁶ *Berjalan* or *jalan* literally means ‘to walk’ in Indonesian, often used to denote that something e.g. initiative, idea, business, project etc. is on-going or still proceeding or in the process [my insert].

³⁷ A sound understanding of the meaning of CBT seems to be lacking among the villagers in many instances [field observation].

It was running but the volume of tourist arrival was low. Maybe it was due to competition or our shortcomings, be it marketing or standards of service or facilities (M, supplier, July 2014).

According to his predecessor who was heading the cooperative in the earlier days, the initiative had had some success in the past, however in the end it was seen as unsuccessful as outside investment has penetrated

It was quite successful at one point. It was managed by the cooperative; we had an increase in profit. During the last three years [of my involvement] we made a profit of Rp 40 million from ecotourism and sales of goods. The people who participated in the ecotourism group were enthusiastic. We had many visits from Wisnu Foundation's associates from outside Bali, they came to learn our modelling (J, farmer, July 2014).

The common viewpoint of Ceningan people is that CBT does not work because it has not brought about visible changes in improved living standards, as the comment below shows:

People think that ecotourism does not work because they see that the persons who are engaged in ecotourism have had no significant economic development. People here will only believe if they see change in economic welfare (N, seaweed farmer, July 2014).

To MM himself who is now responsible for the initiative, 'success' is not strictly understood in economic terms.

From our friendship with Wisnu, firstly we succeeded in saving the island from land grab for tourism, and secondly we succeeded in reviving Sanghyang which is just phenomenal. If you are speaking from an economic point of view, it cannot be said a success because Wisnu and JED Ceningan do not have the resources (MM, head of priests, Jul 2014).

So how do they define success in CBT? 'A steady influx of tourists' was recurrently mentioned as how the research informants define successful community-based tourism in Ceningan, referred to by 4 (out of 7) interview and 2 questionnaire (out of 6) participants.

A successful CBT is when guests come regularly (L, ex head of banjar dinas, July 2014).

Success in CBT is when there is a regular inflow of visitors. Currently it is only once every 2-3 months. It should be 2 people every other day (B, dive instructor, July 2014).

One respondent of the self-completed questionnaire clearly states “constant flow of tourists”, while another suggests that the initiative is not successful as it does not have steady arrival of guests due to lack of specialised agent.

The visitor number of the ecotourism initiative in Ceningan is a major concern to the participants. Table 5.3 presents the data of tourists visiting Ceningan 2007 – 2014, which shows a very low number of tourist arrival.

Table 5-3 Nusa Ceningan Visitors 2007 – 2014

Year	Daytrip	Overnight	TOTAL
2007	0	21	21
2008	24	27	51
2009	5	60	65
2010	2	19	21
2011	0	0	0
2012	9	28	37
2013	2	14	16
2014	0	24	24
TOTAL	42	193	235

(Source: JED)

Obviously the frequency of tourist arrivals correlates directly with livelihoods and improved standards of living. The following interview shows, if not so directly, a perception of how monetary gains derived from tourist arrival represent success in tourism, and how not gaining any has led people to abandon the initiative.

Successful CBT has a constant flow of tourists. ...To be upfront, I did not gain anything from ecotourism, I did not receive remuneration. That is the reason why people are reluctant to join, because they see that in other places they can get this amount [of money] whereas here they get nothing... Success means at least 4-5 guests in a week (B, dive instructor, July 2014).

Both adequate income generation and improved living standards were the next explanations given by the informants to consider CBT successful. Adequate income was mentioned by 2 interview and 1 questionnaire participants, whereas improved

living standards were cited by 1 interviewee and 2 questionnaire respondents. A research participant defines success in CBT as in the initiative providing the main livelihood as opposed to mere additional income.

Success in CBT is when we derive income from there to fulfill basic needs. It means people work in CBT and is able to earn one's living (J, farmer, July 2014).

In another interview, both improved standards of living and employment were mentioned as how successful CBT is characterised. The 3 questionnaire partakers who identified income and enhanced living standards as what make community-based tourism success specified the followings: “can produce ample income”, “can improve standards of living”, and “gradual improvement of living standards year after year”. In addition, 1 questionnaire response suggested “providing employment” as a definition of success in community-based tourism.

The interviews also revealed 2 participants who perceived “preservation of culture and tradition” as how success is defined.

The difference between community-based ecotourism and mass tourism is that we strive to revitalise our traditional knowledge... If we preserve our tradition, people will want to know why we are preserving it. People will come because of their curiosity of our local tradition. Now that is successful CBT (MM, head of priests, Aug 2014).

While most interviewees acknowledged the positive outcomes of building of capabilities and assets as a result of community-based ecotourism, such as awareness of their assets and sustainable use thereof as well as increased capacity e.g. running a small-scale tourism business and managing a cooperative, none of them specified these outcomes as an element of successful CBT.

In conclusion, research participants in the village define success in CBT as steady inflow of tourists, adequate income generation, improved living standards, employment opportunities and conservation of cultural and traditional assets. Based on this, the general response indicates that emphasis is placed on economic benefits for CBT in Ceningan to be seen successful.

5.2.1.2 What do they think would help them to achieve success in community-based tourism?

Table 2.9 in Chapter 2 revealed that there were 4 categories of factors contributing to the success of CBT: 1) Socio-political aspects, 2) economic aspects, 3) environmental aspects, and 4) cultural aspects. In the case of Ceningan, the community mainly focus on socio-political as well as economic aspects.

Residents of Ceningan believed the following factors could enhance the chance of success for CBT in their village, namely a strong and cohesive community, strong community support/community's will to engage in CBT, local government support and collaboration between the community and other stakeholders, infrastructures and transparency of financial accounting/management.

Four informants, namely 2 interviewees (out of 7) and 2 questionnaire respondents (out of 6) cited commitment and cohesion of the community as a factor contributing to success.

A factor that would lead to successful CBT is the cohesion of the community. There must be willingness to have the same shared goal (J, farmer; July 2014).

Two questionnaire respondents cited "community members help each other in managing CBT" and "commitment of the community".

Another factor that was also highlighted as contributing to success is strong community support, quoted by 3 interviewees, which has been lacking in the village.

Success can be achieved as long as there is a will and there are people dedicated and focusing on the initiative. What we lack here are those people (B, dive instructor; July 2014).

The next mostly quoted factor that is considered to increase the chance of success is local government support and collaboration with stakeholders, referred to by 2 interview and 1 questionnaire participants.

A factor contributing to the success is support and engagement of the village officials, the local government and local tourism officials in CBT. Otherwise

it will be the same [as before]. If the initiative is organised well and supported by the village officials as well as local government, I believe it will be successful (N, seaweed farmer, July 2014).

The questionnaire partaker specified “Success in CBT can be realised if there is collaborative partnerships between the community and other stakeholders based on mutual benefits”. Related to this, a questionnaire participant responded “a specialised agent to bring visitors on a continued basis” as a factor contributing to success, which might be interpreted as a link to travel agent and tour operator, thus indicating engagement with the private sector/tourism industry stakeholder.

The next mostly cited factors believed to bring success are infrastructures, mentioned by 2 interview and 1 questionnaire participants. Infrastructures were discussed as factors in need of external assistance.

... Other factors that would contribute to the success of CBT are infrastructures, there has to be roads, electricity, water (J, farmer, July 2014).

The questionnaire respondent listed “infrastructures that have been lacking up to now, such as proper roads”.

Transparency of financial accounting/management was the next factor thought of as a factor contributing to successful CBT, quoted by 2 interviewees.

... The second factor for successful CBT is management, the system has to be transparent. There has to be transparency (J, farmer, July 2014).

A factor that would help attaining success is a good financial management (L, ex head of banjar dinas, July 2014).

Related to this, the head of the local priests, who is currently mandated to manage the initiative, indicated that training in management or managerial skills was a factor that was needed for the initiative to be successful, along with promotion and marketing.

We need better management. If JED is managed well by someone with capabilities, the initiative will run well. For JED Ceningan, I have ideas of things to offer. But it needs packaging/presentation. For example wine, we can produce it but we need packaging/presentation then marketing...

Trainings that we had were essential in motivating us, but we need to understand management. We need promotion for JED. We need a strong identity, we need to be accessible via the internet, and our place here [Le Baoh] needs a signage indicating our identity as JED. We need someone capable of managing... There are plenty of houses that can be used as homestays, but we have difficulties now in managing... I do not know management (MM, head of priests, Aug 2014).

No other interview or questionnaire participant, however, specified capacity building and training as well as promotion and marketing to be factors that would contribute to the success of the initiative or factors that would need external assistance. This might be due because, as pointed out in Chapter 3, there are not many community members involved in the current initiative, or of the few who are, they were not available for interview during the time the fieldwork was carried out.

5.2.2 Dukuh Sibetan

5.2.2.1 How do they define success in community-based tourism?

Table 5-4 How successful is CBT in Dukuh Sibetan

Elements of success	Explanation
Social benefits	
Social capital	+ Established a network together with 3 other JED villages. + CBT has led to a more cohesive community within the <i>banjar</i> and village.
Empowerment	+ Participatory approach by Wisnu Foundation facilitated appropriate needs assessment and involvement of community members in the development and implementation of CBT model. + Community is able to seek opportunities thanks to CBT-related capacity building provided by Wisnu Foundation and Kehati Foundation. Enhanced recognition by the government. + Equitable participation by women since the inception phase of the CBT initiative. + Self-regulation to prohibit outside investment in establishing hotels or restaurants, and to limit locals to only provide up to 5 rooms per house for homestay (self-funded). + Capacity building and training provided.
Economic benefits	
Improved livelihoods/standards of living	+ CBT seen as alternative livelihoods that provides additional income for the homestay families, <i>salak</i> garden owner, cooking group, local guide, cultural performers. - However income generated is too low to be considered successful. - Equitable distribution of benefits to individuals and households has not effectively taken place yet due to low visitor number.
Local economic development	+ CBT provides funding for religious ceremonies and other social activities though profit distribution to <i>banjar</i> , temple, conservation,

	<p>cleanliness and cooperative.</p> <p>+ Improved access to <i>salak</i> gardens, water supply.</p> <p>- Opportunities to sell <i>salak</i> fruit, <i>salak</i> wine and snacks made from <i>salak</i> have not been maximised due to low visit</p> <p>+ Increase in community assets such as food serving appliances and chairs to be rented out for religious ceremonies.</p> <p>- However, it is expected to provide more funding to be considered successful.</p>
Commercially viable CBT enterprises	<p>- Revenue generated not yet significant enough to be seen as successful.</p> <p>- Low visitation hence CBT is seen as not yet successful</p>
Environmental benefits	
Conservation of the environment and natural resources	<p>+ CBT encourages preservation of natural environment.</p> <p>+ Increased environmental awareness in the local community e.g. maintenance of trash-free and neat gardens, clean houses.</p> <p>+ Establishment of local self-regulations related to environment/conservation as a result of CBT e.g. no shooting of birds, no littering, no destroying of plants, etc.</p>
Cultural benefits	
Cultural cohesion and pride	<p>+ Maintenance of traditional livelihood practices as <i>salak</i> farmer as main livelihood in recognition of cultural heritage.</p> <p>+ No negative impact on cultural integrity has been felt yet.</p> <p>+ CBT instils sense of pride for their culture and tradition.</p>

Despite the many positive aspects of CBT in Dukuh Sibetan, as shown in Table 5.4, most interviewees (4 out of 5) considered the initiative in their *banjar* as not yet successful, the reasons being low visitation and low revenue generation.

CBT in the village cannot be considered successful yet, because the frequency of tourist arrival is low... A successful CBT would entirely or for the most part support religious ceremonies – since those require a lot of money – as well as social activities. It would also support family income (S, salak farmer & CBT managing team, Aug 2014).

For this resident, success means sufficient revenue to support religious, social and family needs. After twelve years, most see the CBT initiative in the village as not yet attaining success fully, primarily because of the low tourist inflow, thus leading to low returns.

Table 5.5 provides the statistics of visitors of Dukuh *banjar*, Sibetan village 2007 – 2014, showing that the number of overnight visitors has generally increased, although there was a slump in 2014, while the day visitors have decreased since 2009, with the exception of growth in 2014. Clearly for the hosts, there is little stability of tourist income.

Table 5-5 Dukuh Sibetan Visitors 2007 – 2014

Year	Daytrip	Overnight	TOTAL
2007	4	8	12
2008	18	19	37
2009	68	17	85
2010	14	12	26
2011	12	23	35
2012	8	23	31
2013	8	40	48
2014	20	5	25
TOTAL	152	147	299

(Source: JED)

Because of the low number of visitors, not everyone in the community can enjoy the benefits equally.

I would say the degree of success of CBT in my village is 50%. If it were successful, 100% of the community would enjoy the benefits in the same way. Everyone should be able to sell salak fruits to the visitors every day. But because there are very few tourists, only 1 or 2 persons can sell their produce (A, local guide, Aug 2014).

Success according to this person is understood as sharing the benefits equitably. In addition, the benefits should be enjoyed at individual and household level as opposed to merely at community level. The community members who provide rooms for guests in their homes and have tourists visit their *salak* garden receive additional income for their family. However, as visitors are still low in number, monetary gains at individual and household level are seen as modest.

The profits will be contributed to the banjar, for the community as a whole, not to individuals. That's why I think community-based tourism is 50% benefitting the people (A, local guide, Aug 2014).

Another view of what constitutes success in CBT is that the local community are the managers and direct beneficiaries of the initiative. Ownership and control are in the hands of the residents, they exercise power over the initiative.

For me successful CBT is when the income earned from visitors is managed, used and enjoyed by the community of the banjar (K, banjar head & CBT manager, Aug 2014).

Because the benefits accrued directly to the villagers as opposed to outsiders, the initiative is thus considered to be successful by this interview respondent, regardless of the extent of the benefits.

As demonstrated in Table 5.4, with regards to social and economic benefits, the proceeds obtained have thus far been managed by the *banjar* community members and used to purchase community necessities, increasing their collective assets. More importantly, the earnings have been used to help pay for religious ceremonies. In fact, the community has been spared from spending money for the last 2-3 *odalan*. Because of this, the initiative is seen to be successful by one informant.

The benefits of JED are that we receive shared profits that can be used for religious ceremonies, so that the community pays less... The community now understands the benefits of community-based tourism that we have pursued for the past 12 years (K, banjar head & CBT manager, Aug 2014).

Pertaining to cultural benefits, the villagers wish to preserve their cultural heritage as *salak* farmers and are proud to be the only village community to cultivate fourteen *salak* variants. While they would like to see increase in tourist arrivals and tourism income, the interviewees want tourism as supplemental livelihood only and keep *salak* farming and cultivating as main livelihood. This is despite the fact that the latter does not provide adequate earnings.

We developed the initiative as an alternative livelihood. Our concept since the beginning has been to preserve nature and our traditional livelihood. If we have visitors, we will tell our stories as farmers and our experiences in farming. Our main activity is farming. It is a legacy inherited from our ancestors for generations (S, salak farmer & CBT managing team, Aug 2014).

Relating to socio-political benefits, CBT in Dukuh Sibetan has boosted the community's confidence in asking the local government for support they require. The government in return has demonstrated recognition for the community's voice. By pursuing CBT model, the community feels a sense of empowerment. The community has increased capacity in accessing their rights and directing their future.

Since CBT in the village, the local government has shown more responsiveness to our needs. We are able to seek opportunities. We prepared

proposals and made suggestions to the local government. There is an increased empowerment as a result of CBT (S, salak farmer & CBT managing team, Aug 2014).

Empowerment has been felt since before the initiation of the initiative through to its operation. The community, represented by the appointed members of the *banjar*, have been involved in the planning, designing and implementation of the initiative. Empowerment has been pointed out as a reason for the community's independence.

We do not feel dependency on Wisnu Foundation or other organisations. We have been empowered since the beginning; the involvement of the foundations has been reduced gradually. What matters now is how we use our empowerment (S, salak farmer & CBT managing team, Aug 2014).

As previously articulated by this informant, community-based tourism has led to an enhanced environmental awareness in the villagers. This pertains to protecting birds as well as village clean-up programme.

People now keep their gardens and the streets clean and tidy. We also set up regulations to keep orderliness and protect the environment in the banjar (S, salak farmer & CBT managing team, Aug 2014).

A sense of pride was expressed by the resident whose village is located a good distance away from major tourist spots.

We are far away from the cities but the fact that people from afar know about our village and adat-istidadat (culture and tradition) gives me moral satisfaction. I had never imagined that people from overseas would come to our village because they want to know us...

In summary, the interviews show that success in CBT means sufficient revenue to support religious, social and family needs, a steady flow of tourists, equitable sharing of the benefits for all community members, empowerment, and preservation of cultural and traditional heritage. Overall it can be concluded that although only one interview participant thinks the initiative is successful, all participants are aware of the actual and potential benefits derived from CBT. All interview respondents expressed their willingness to continue the initiative and are hopeful they will

eventually achieve more success as determined by more visitors but minimal cultural erosion in the future.

5.2.2.2 What do they think would help them to achieve success in community-based tourism?

As compared with Ceningan, this case study has been more successful even though it has not achieved full success. Below residents explain both what has worked well so far, and what more could be done to achieve success.

Factors that the community saw as leading to success in community-based tourism mainly fall under the category of socio-political aspects. Participation, support and collaboration of all stakeholders were mentioned by 3 out of 5 interview participants, one of whom is quoted below.

We cannot do this without the support of the government. Participation of the village head is important here. Factors contributing to the success are human capital, supported by natural capital. Collaboration with stakeholders, as well as moral and material support from the government. Participation of every component, not just the farmers but also the tourism industry (NS, village head, Aug 2014).

Capacity building and training were cited by 3 interviewees, specifically for acquiring skills in tourism and English communication. Capacity building and training were discussed as both factors that have contributed and would contribute to the success in community-based tourism, as well as factors that would require external assistance. Reference is also made to the lack of language skill.

Capacity building, empowerment, since we are farmers we need a lot of time and knowledge to convert to service-oriented business, such as the design of tourism package, guest relations etiquette (S, salak farmer & CBT managing team, Aug 2014).

English communication skills are lacking here, we do not have a local guide who speaks English. We lack capacity... We've had many training in guiding, but not in English (K, banjar head, Aug 2014).

Strong community support/community's will to engage in tourism was also referred to by 3 interviewees as a factor that contributes to the success of the initiative.

A factor contributing to success is participation and willingness of everyone to engage in CBT. If we want to succeed, all community members have to be involved, not just those managing the initiative (W, homestay owner & cooking team member, Aug 2014).

Promotion, marketing and market access were next highlighted as factors that are seen to contribute to success but ones that would necessitate assistance from outside.

We would be happy to receive assistance in promotion and guidance related to tourism. We have the products but not the marketing or access to market (NS, village head, Aug 2014).

A factor that would contribute to success is marketing, how to promote us to hotels, for example by putting brochures there so that tourists will come here, so that every community member has the same share of benefits (A, local guide, Aug 2014).

The interviews conveyed that factors believed to be contributing to success are support and collaboration of all stakeholders, capacity building and training, strong community support/community's will to engage in community-based tourism, promotion and marketing, and market access.

5.2.3 Blimbingsari Village

As elaborated in Chapter 4, CBT in Blimbingsari started since 2004-2005 as a strategy to halt the village from becoming a 'dying village' as a result of urban migration. Known for its unique church and identity as the only all Christian village in the Hindu populated island of Bali, Blimbingsari draws on its social capital of the church network and Christian community to have people come to the village, many of the institutions becoming frequent visitors. Since 2010 it became a partner village of Bali CoBTA (Bali Community-Based Tourism Association), together with 6 other tourism villages.

5.2.3.1 How do they define success in community-based tourism?

Table 5-6 How successful is CBT in Blimbingsari

Elements of success	Explanation
Social benefits	

Social capital	- Urbanisation of the younger generation still persists despite CBT, hence it is seen as not yet successful in this regard. + Access to the outside world and relationships built thanks to CBT. + Since 2010 expanded network by collaborating with Bali CoBTA.
Empowerment	+ Community participation since the planning phase. + Local community are the owner and manager of the tourism initiative. + Recognition from the local government; the village becomes a role model for Jembrana regency/West Bali province. + Enhanced skills and capacity as a result of guest-host interaction.
Economic benefits	
Improved livelihoods/standards of living	+ CBT provides additional income for homestay owners, those supplying catering, guides, local entertainers, cacao, copra and chicken farmers.
Local economic development	+ Profits distributed to the village (maintenance), church, orphanage and school. + Opportunities for more people to sell local handicrafts and sell home industry produce.
Commercially viable CBT enterprises	- Continuous flow of tourists to support revenue generation has not been achieved by all enterprises. - Low number of visitors trekking thus low income for the local guide. + The village has had repeat visitors. + Development of a niche as a 'live-in community college'. + Development of room standardisation e.g. suite, deluxe, standard rooms
Environmental benefits	
Conservation of the environment and natural resources	+ CBT encourages maintenance of environmental cleanliness and well-kept green natural surroundings + Protection of birds and trees thanks to CBT
Cultural benefits	
Cultural cohesion and pride	+ Preservation of culture and tradition + Pride instilled by arrival of guests from all over of the world

As illustrated in Table 5.6, there are many positive outcomes felt by the Blimbingsari community members as a result of CBT. There are mixed views as to the success of the initiative. Interview participants (8 of them) are divided into 3 "Yes", 4 "Not Yet" and 1 "No answer". Questionnaire respondents (5 of them) are split into 2 "Yes" and 3 "Somewhat". No informant of either interview or questionnaire responded with "No".

Additional income was predominantly mentioned (6 out of 8 interviews and 3 out of 5 questionnaires) for CBT to be considered successful.

Success is when the village stays green and the income of the people is increased. Improved livelihoods of the community. They keep farming but

have additional earnings from tourism (D, tourism committee head, July 2014).

All 3 interview participants who think the Blimbingsari initiative is successful cited extra income as one of the reasons for the initiative in the village to be seen a success, as exemplified by the quotation below:

The villagers earn supplemental livelihood, keep the neighbourhood clean, and preserve culture and tradition. The initiative can bring economic growth to the community (R, village head, July 2014).

A continuous flow of visitors was next mostly quoted (2 interview and 3 questionnaire participants) for CBT to be deemed successful. The 2 questionnaire respondents who perceived the initiative in Blimbingsari to be a success referred to regular tourist influx in the village as their explanation. On the other hand, another 2 interviewees felt that the initiative is not successful yet because it still lacks visitors.

Success is when there are consistently a number of guests throughout every month. Now visitors come just once a month. If we depend only on trek guiding we would not have foods on our plate... because we would have to wait in uncertainty for tourists to come (M, local guide, July 2014).

Table 5.7 gives the 2010 – 2014 statistics of tourists to Blimbingsari, showing that there are much higher numbers of visitors than in the previous two case studies.

Table 5-7 Blimbingsari Visitors 2010 – 2013

Year	International	Domestic	TOTAL
2010	427	1,427	1,854
2011	270	3,242	3,512
2012	174	2,419	2,593
2013	690	2,014	2,704
TOTAL	1,561	9,102	10,663

(Source: Blimbingsari Tourism Committee)

One questionnaire partaker who considers the initiative to be not yet successful deliberated “Many people coming and staying in the village so that there is income for catering, homestay, cultural performers and hired help” as how successful CBT

should be like. One interviewee and one questionnaire respondent who think the initiative is successful gave “repeat guests” as a reason why they think it is a success.

Building of capabilities and assets was cited by 3 interviewees and 1 questionnaire partaker as how successful CBT is characterised.

Successful CBT is when we can learn and upgrade ourselves. We get to know people from various countries, we are able to enhance our creativity and activity, and we learn things such as other cultures. Tourism has motivated us to improve our way of life. We learn from being farmers to becoming hosts to guests (K, homestay owner, July 2014).

The questionnaire response suggested “able to communicate with guests in their language” as how a successful initiative is perceived.

Local community ownership and control were the fourth most identified characteristics of how successful CBT is defined (2 interviews and 2 questionnaire responses). Two interview participants who view the Blimbingsari initiative a success stated local ownership and control as their clarification for thinking so.

[Our CBT is successful because] the local community participates in and manages the initiative. The community has genuine control over the initiative, unlike in investor-driven ventures in which the locals have little to say. In successful CBT the residents feel that everything accomplished is due to their involvement and direction (R, village head, July 2014).

Two questionnaire respondents concur in defining successful CBT to be, among others, “One that involves the community, by and for the community” and “Owned and managed by the indigenous community”. However, none of these people actually thought CBT was successful on these terms.

An interview participant believes that successful CBT would have a continuous flow of tourist, the local community as direct beneficiary and an increased income of the residents. Positive outcomes arising from CBT that were significantly reflected upon are pride and recognition.

The government starts to notice us... Blimbingsari has become the role model for the [Jembrana] regency. We will be given the task to help develop other tourism villages (D, tourism committee head, July 2014).

Yet despite the benefits, the initiative has not affected the urban migration of the younger generation.

If I say CBT in Blimbingsari is not yet successful it's because the young people still wish to work in Denpasar. They do not aspire to revitalise their own village (M, local guide, July 2014).

In summary, to the research participants of Blimbingsari a successful initiative is one that brings additional income, increased capabilities and assets as well as recognition, and is characterised by a continuous flow of visitors and local community ownership and control. After 10 years, it can be said that the villagers view the initiative as somewhat successful, however they would like to see more visitation, revenue and participation of the younger generation.

5.2.3.2 What do they think would help them to achieve success in community-based tourism?

As many as 6 interview (out of 8) and 1 questionnaire (out of 5) participants agree that stakeholder support and partnerships with various actors are factors contributing to success, as exemplified by the quotations below.

[A factor contributing to success is] collaboration. We work together with the guests who have been to the village, in terms of marketing, because most visitors who came here they knew about us from other visitors, in addition to brochure or website. We also work with the church network (WM, tourism committee, July 2014).

Along with the church circle and diaspora, the village government has been a major supporter of the initiative too.

Since officially becoming a tourism village (Desa Wisata) end of 2011, the tourism committee is under the management of the village government. We provide them with an office including a tourist information center to manage tourism in the village (R, village head, July 2014).

Other partners that have lent support are Bali CoBTA, educational institutions and West Bali National Park. Clearly the church, a core institution of Blimbingsari identity and of spiritual empowerment of the villagers, has had a big influence on the success of the initiative. It facilitates in the dissemination of information and

organisation of the community, raising awareness of tourism related issues such as hospitality or maintenance of green and clean neighbourhood as well as ensuring the residents' involvement in the initiative. As described in Chapter 4, connected closely with the role of the church is the leadership of the former priest of the village church and initiator of CBT in Blimbingsari, backed by the diaspora and the village government. Leadership as a factor contributing to success was specifically mentioned by 3 interviewees and transpired (i.e. not the exact word uttered but rather the concept) in several other interviews as a factor that has helped the initiative gaining success.

...We were thinking on how to stop Blimbingsari from becoming a dying village. Coincidentally Pak³⁸ Ayub was assigned [as a priest] to our church here. Pak Ayub had many ideas, despite many challenges he kept on going. He had so many ideas and he acted upon them. Many developments have taken place since [2004] (K, homestay owner, July 2014).

The church has a tremendous role. We have church service every Sunday. In addition to attending to our religious and spiritual needs, the service is also a medium for information, communication and motivation to raise awareness on environmental cleanliness, safety and order (WM, tourism committee, July 2014).

Human capital/people's capacity was cited by 3 interview and 2 questionnaire participants as a factor that have helped the success of the initiative and as a factor that would enhance the chance of more success.

One of the factors that would contribute to more success is professionalism of the human resources. We are developing professionalism by working together with Bali CoBTA (WM, tourism committee, July 2014).

³⁸ Pak means 'Mister' in English.

A questionnaire response was “The community has to be willing to take feedback and learn a lot more, has to learn servicing guests and cooking”. Related to this, training was mentioned by 1 interview and 1 questionnaire informant as a factor that has contributed to the success of community-based tourism in the village and as an effective form of external assistance that they have received.

We’ve had training with University of Dyana Pura in housekeeping and Foods & Beverages, and with West Bali National Park in training for trekking guides (WM, tourism committee, July 2014).

The questionnaire response articulated “training given in servicing guests, housekeeping and F&B” as a factor contributing to success.

Promotion was referred to by 4 interviewees as a factor contributing to the success they have enjoyed so far, as well as a factor that would contribute to (more) success.

What we have achieved so far is the result of our efforts, so that we were chosen as 1 of Bali CoBTA 7 villages. It’s thanks to how you communicate yourself, how you promote yourself (A, community leader, July 2014).

Promotion and marketing were emphasised by 1 interviewee as factors that have contributed to the success of CBT in Blimbingsari, and also as types of external assistance most effective in contributing to the success – alongside training. Correlated to promotion and marketing is access to market or market linkage that is considered to be a factor that would help them to achieve success, and one that necessitates outside support. Link to the market was identified by 2 interviewees, one of whom is quoted below.

We start to collaborate with travel agents this year [2014], that’s one of the outcomes of our partnership with Bali CoBTA. We have received guest twice from the travel agents. We were introduced to the travel agents by Bali CoBTA (D, tourism committee head, July 2014).

Clean and green environment was identified by 3 interviewees and 1 questionnaire respondent as a factor that has contributed and would contribute to (more) success. The questionnaire respondent answered with “green lush environment” as a factor that has played a role in the success of the initiative in the village

As can be discerned from the responses of the informants, factors most cited that have contributed to the success and would contribute to more success of CBT in Blimbingsari are stakeholder support and collaboration, leadership, capacity building and training, promotion and marketing, as well as clean and green environment.

5.2.4 Pancasari Village

As discussed in Chapter 4, started in 2011, CBT in Pancasari has not come into full operation. After 3 years of initiation no significant tourism activities can be observed yet. Personal communication with community members – those not in the capacity as research participants but people approached through casual conversation in public places – revealed that most villagers are not aware of the CBT initiative in the village.

5.2.4.1 How do they define success in community-based tourism?

Table 5-8 How successful is CBT in Pancasari

Elements of success	Explanation
Social benefits	
Social capital	+ Community cohesion stays intact. - As CBT is still in the initiation phase, urbanisation still occurs.
Empowerment	- Full participation of all community members has not been in place yet. - Equitable distribution of benefits has yet to happen. - People have yet to receive capacity building and training. - Local community has yet to be engaged to become the manager of CBT activities.
Economic benefits	
Improved livelihoods/standards of living	- CBT has not yet provided additional income for the residents. - 10 households providing homestay have not received any guests. - CBT has not yet created employment opportunities for the locals.
Local economic development	- Opportunities to sell local goods and services have not been facilitated by CBT yet. - Collective economic benefits have yet to be gained.
Commercially viable CBT enterprises	- Inflow of tourists is still low.
Environmental benefits	
Conservation of the environment and natural resources	+ Natural assets have not been affected by the initiation of CBT. - Awareness of environmental cleanliness and clutter needs to be raised for CBT to succeed.
Cultural benefits	
Cultural cohesion and pride	+ Culture and tradition have stayed preserved. + Use of traditional knowledge has not been affected by CBT.

All 8 interview participants said CBT in the village is not yet successful, while 5 questionnaire respondents came back with 4 “No” and 1 “Somewhat” answers. Since the initiative is not effectively operational, the following findings present views of the community of what they would like to see in the village to consider CBT successful.

Both income generation or increased income and regular inflow of tourists were mentioned the most. Income generation was cited by 6 interviewees (out of 8) and 1 questionnaire respondent (out of 5), while frequent influx of visitors was quoted by 5 interviewees and 2 questionnaire respondents. The followings depict various references to income as what constitutes a successful CBT.

There are guests coming to the village so that there is income to increase welfare of the community. It is especially desired for traditional needs, such as spiritual events (WD, village head, July 2014).

Successful community-based tourism is when there is significant income for the village and villagers, and is evenly enjoyed by community members (GA, florist & restaurateur, July 2014).

The 1 questionnaire response stated “there is real income that is directly enjoyed by the community”. With regards to regular inflow of visitors, 2 questionnaire partakers responded “many visitors coming”. Table 5.9 illustrates the number of tourists to Pancasari in 2011 and 2012, however it does not reflect the actual number of visitors coming to the village for its CBT initiative. Most tourists come to do camping/trekking in the national park and visit the Bulian Lake with no awareness of or much contribution to CBT in Pancasari [personal communication]. No revenue from the visit is allocated for collective benefits.

Table 5-9 Pancasari Visitors 2011 – 2012

No.	Location	Tourists/Year			
		Domestic		International	
		2011	2012	2011	2012
1	Agrotourism	200	720	12	40
2	Water Tourism	220	350	10	30
3	Palace Tourism	30	250	2	4

4	Camping/Trekking	400	500	20	70
5	Spiritual Tourism	130	150	3	5
6	Cultural Tourism	50	55	25	30
7	Homestay	-	-	-	-
8	Pre-Wedding	5	5	-	2
TOTAL		1,035	2,030	72	181

(Source: Pancasari CBT manager)

Most visitors are either day trippers or they sleep in their own tents in the park, in the park managed huts or in externally owned hotels outside Pancasari. As can be observed from Table 5.9, no tourist has stayed in any of the 10 homestays in the village. As one of the homestay owners uttered:

So far we have never had guests (WW, homestay owner, July 2014).

The following interviews show the opinions of the interview participants who think that regular flow of tourists equals success in CBT.

[Success in community-based tourism is when] guests come to the village 2x – 3x a week (WA, homestay owner, July 2014).

Protection of natural assets was the next element of success for the Pancasari research informants, mentioned by 4 interviewees and 2 questionnaire respondents. The main concern of the majority of people is Bulian Lake, which is regarded as the biggest asset of the community but threatened by degradation due to land farming waste as its position is in the valley. In addition, waste, especially plastic waste has been a major concern in the village.

[Success in CBT is when] the natural environment stays natural, green and free of litter. Our lake is protected from pollution, free of motorboats, jet skis or other motorised water vehicles, as well as free from waste (WA, homestay owner, July 2014).

Preservation of cultural heritage was the next frequently quoted, referred to by 2 interviewees and 1 questionnaire participant.

[Success in CBT] is when natural, social and cultural assets are conserved (NS, farmer & retiree, July 2014).

Employment opportunities was mentioned by 2 interviewees of how they view success.

Success in CBT is when the residents participate so that they can work or find job such as selling souvenirs (WW, homestay owner, July 2014).

From the responses of the research participants, it can be determined that success in CBT in Pancasari means income generation, regular influx of visitors, protection of natural assets, preservation of cultural heritage and employment opportunities.

5.2.4.2 What do they think would help them to achieve success in community-based tourism?

As highlighted before, CBT in Pancasari has not run effectively yet, therefore the following findings refer to factors that the research informants think would help them achieve success.

Environmental cleanliness and tidiness secured the most answer to the question of which factors the residents thought would help them attain success in CBT. Five interview (out of 8) and 2 questionnaire (out of 5) participants considered litter free environment and awareness about hygiene to be factors that would contribute to the success of the initiative in the village.

The community as a whole must have awareness of hygiene, of an environment free of plastic waste. We must have a working system in the village on how to manage waste, sanction must be applied to those who break the rule (KM, strawberry farmer, July 2014).

The 2 questionnaire partakers stated “keeping the village clean” and “the village officials to attend to environmental cleanliness/orderliness in the village” as a factor they considered would help the initiative in reaching success.

Government support and collaboration with other stakeholders, and infrastructures and facilities are both the second most cited factors considered to be contributing to success. Stakeholders support and collaboration were cited by 4 interview and 2 questionnaire participants, while infrastructures and facilities were quoted by 5 interview and 1 questionnaire informants. The two factors are correlated directly in

this case study, as infrastructures are identified by the informants as a factor they crucially need and one that necessitates external assistance, especially from the government.

Success will come if the community and local government cooperate well in this agrotourism development. Awareness of the residents and the local government to actively participate in the initiative, as well as harmonious communication between the community and local government are factors that would contribute to its success (WA, homestay owner, July 2014).

Questionnaire respondents listed the following items related to stakeholder support and collaboration as well as facilities to be factors contributing to successful CBT in Pancasari:

“There has to be partnerships between the community and other stakeholders (sealed with a Memorandum of Understanding); government engagement in directing and protecting the initiative is very important; investors are also needed as long as it is based on mutual benefit” (NS, farmer & retiree, July 2014).

Through partnering with Bali CoBTA, it is hoped that the village will have access to travel agent and tour operator. The next most identified factor thought to contribute to success was promotion, quoted by 5 interviewees. Due to lack of resources, promotion was hoped to be done with external assistance.

A factor contributing to success is promotion. We need marketing so that visitors will come (GNA, bendesa, July 2014).

As pointed out in Chapter 4, the local fishermen cooperative has had ongoing self-initiated tourism activities in Bulian Lake and the national park since the past 22 years, however it is not integrated into the CBT initiative yet. They collaborate with travel agents to get tourists, however the frequency is low, e.g. twice a week and the revenue is inadequate. Promotion has been identified to be an issue for them to gain more benefits.

We lack promotion because we lack the capacity, we don't know how to attract tourists to come as we want them to. If we put an advertisement in the media, it will only be advertised for 2x, but what we hope is sustainable flow

of tourists, the information must be out there on a continued basis (MS, fishermen cooperative head, July 2014).

Human capital/people's capacity, cited by 4 interviewees, was next repeatedly referred to as a factor contributing to the success in CBT. Related to this, 2 interviewees mentioned the need for training, which would require assistance from external parties.

The community's awareness [of tourism] in Pancasari is low. We need a pioneer to raise awareness. We have tried for the past 3-4 years to develop CBT in the village but we are constrained by finance and administration. The community collects money but the administrative management is not well-run. Therefore the village highly needs training, training in administration and organisation (GA, florist & restaurateur, July 2014).

So far, the community members in the village have not had any training or capacity building.

We have not had any training yet, we have been self-taught (GA, CBT manager, July 2014).

The fishermen cooperative tourism venture, which is not yet part of the Pancasari CBT initiative, has had training in English for guiding provided by the local forestry agency, however there is still a need for further training.

The Bali Province forestry agency had us [6 fishermen] take English course for guiding, we obtained certificate and were officially allowed to take guests... Still our income [from guiding] is low, barely sufficient for the welfare of the cooperative members. The guide from the travel agent takes the bigger share, although we are the ones doing the work. Maybe they have the advantage of better training, whereas we fishermen are lacking foreign language skills. That's why I would say a very important factor contributing to the success is language skills and we need training for that (MS, fishermen cooperative head, July 2014).

In conclusion, research participants in Pancasari considered the following factors as potentially contributing to the success in CBT in the village: environmental cleanliness, government support and collaboration with other stakeholders, infrastructures and facilities, promotion and capacity building/training.

5.3 Perspectives of Jaringan Ekowisata Desa (JED) as the Coordinating Body of JED Villages Regarding Success

This section presents the views of the coordinator of Jaringan Ekowisata Desa, I Gede Made Astana Jaya, who manages the daily operation of the business and coordinates with the JED villages, and the views of one Kiadan Pelaga village community member (i.e. JED owner), I Gede Wirata, who accompanies the tourists as a guide to the JED villages.

5.3.1 How do they define success in community-based tourism?

To the coordinator, the initiative is quite successful based on the information given by the community members. The success is seen in the increased capacity and awareness of the village communities to manage their assets, as well as social capital.

Lili: In your view, is JED community-based tourism successful so far?

GA: There are many success indicators but from what the communities told me, they are happy with it. First, their measure is not just materialistic. There is an increased capacity in the villagers so they are more aware of any issues concerning their village. In terms of materialistic benefits, in comparison to the general tourist arrival in Bali, tourist arrival to JED villages is modest. However, they get other benefits such as togetherness. They are also more careful in managing their assets, such as not selling land. Without JED they still survive as they have farming land. So there are many measures to gauge success.

Lili: Does JED have indicators of success?

GA: Income. We have a turnover (gross revenue) of this amount. As a company it is running well. It is also a source of pride, as the only company there is that is owned by the networking communities.

Lili: What is your own definition of success in CBT?

GA: My own definition of success is that the agreed system is working as everyone's expectation and it has given benefits to the communities. We don't measure in materialistic terms only, but also social relations, culture. The system is working well, it just needs to be optimised. On the ground it is a dynamic process, success today may not be success tomorrow (GA, JED coordinator, July 2014).

Revenue was mentioned as one of the success indicators, as were non-economic benefits such as pride, social relations and culture.

The JED guide sees the initiative as successful as there is an increase in the community's knowledge and engagement as well as revenue generation and tourist arrival, the latter particularly in contrast with the previous years. Despite the fact that Kiadan Pelaga is the JED village receiving the most tourists and despite the profit generation, the income received is seen as modest. However other outcomes such as more respect for nature and tradition are seen as important benefits resulting from the initiative.

When seen from the amount of contribution it is not that big. The income is not very significant. But the initiative will be very beneficial for the future because tourism trend now is back to nature (GW, JED guide, July 2014)

5.3.2 What do they think would help them to achieve success in community-based tourism?

Factors that are seen to be contributing to success are awareness of all stakeholders, including the government. Relating to this, integrity is seen to be the biggest asset of the communities. Further, based on the feedback of JED visitors, external assistance that may be required to enhance the chance of more success are environmental management, creative ideas for activities in the villages (attractive product development) and financial capital to upgrade facilities.

We've had training, it just needs maximising. It takes patience, funding and capacities. What we actually want to do is giving exposure in information technology [web], but seeing the current capacities, we need to polish in the villages first, and if everything is ready it would be no issue to receive a bigger group of visitors... If we maximise in marketing but the villages are not ready, it will be no use (GA, JED coordinator, July 2014).

As mentioned before, in comparison to the tourist arrival in Bali, tourist arrival to the 4 JED villages has not been maximal yet. Table 5.10 shows the number of visitors to the villages per year.

Table 5-10 JED Visitors per Year 2007 – 2014

Year	Ceningan	Sibetan	Tenganan	Pelaga	TOTAL
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2007	21	12	36	49	118
2008	51	37	70	159	317
2009	65	85	164	128	442
2010	21	26	68	162	277
2011	0	35	94	201	330
2012	37	31	124	95	449
2013	16	48	121	227	412
2014	24	25	150	153	352
TOTAL	235	299	827	1,336	2,697

(Source: JED)

A report of 2001 documenting the JED processes states that the agreed short term target of tourist arrival is 550 visitors per year for all 4 villages, while the long term target is 1% of the total tourist arrival in Bali.

The coordinator explains that part of the commitment of the JED owners is to put a limitation of 10 -15 tourists per village per day, to minimise environmental destruction and cultural erosion.

GA: If we calculate 10 visitors per village per day, a maximum of 300 visitors per village per day is within the agreed terms.

Lili: With the average of 400 visitors to all 4 villages within the last 3 years, isn't there still room to receive tourists?

GA: Yes. But we are not yet very progressive in marketing, for the following reasons: we do not want to bring mass tourism in the villages, we still need to improve our facilities, and we do not want the local people to leave their main job as farmers. The communities are aware of this, and we are selling the experience of the way of life [of the farmers]. Our emphasis is to keep their nature as farmers because of the volatility of the tourism business. When there are problems in the origin country of the tourists, no tourist will come, the same thing happens when there are issues in the tourist destination, no tourist will come (GA, JED coordinator, July 2014).

To the JED guide, factors contributing to success are good coordination and intense communication between JED coordinating manager, local JED managers, Wisnu Foundation and the village communities. In addition, promotion was suggested as a factor that needs to be intensified to help achieve more success.

Maybe promotional programmes need to be more intensive, we have to find strategies in promoting ecotourism, because not everyone is familiar with ecotourism programmes (GW, JED guide, July 2014).

External assistance that is viewed to have been effective in supporting the initiative is training and finance received from various organisations and also the government.

5.4 Perspectives of Wisnu Foundation and Bali CoBTA as the Support Organisations Regarding Success

This section presents the views of the organisations supporting CBT. Wisnu Foundation is the NGO working with the case studies Nusa Ceningan and Dukuh Sibetan. Bali CoBTA is the association working with the case studies Blimbingsari and Pancasari.

5.4.1 Wisnu Foundation

As outlined in Chapter 4, Wisnu Foundation is the main support organisation working alongside the 4 village communities of the *Jaringan Ekowisata Desa* (JED) or Village Ecotourism Network, and is also one of the owners of JED. The following sections discuss the views of the director of Wisnu Foundation, I Made Suarnatha and the manager of Wisnu Foundation, Ni Made Puriati, regarding success and success factors in CBT.

5.4.1.1 How do they define success in community-based tourism?

The director explained that throughout the course of JED community-based ecotourism from 2000 to 2014, the programme has faced many ups and downs. Despite the challenges, the initiative as a whole has attracted relatively stable enquiries and experienced growth, and is therefore seen as an achievement in itself with regards to collective management at the community level.

The following interview shows the many positive outcomes as a result of community-based ecotourism, encompassing socio-political, economic, environmental and cultural benefits:

In each village, the villagers have become fully aware of the natural assets in their villages that have supported their livelihoods and have been managing these with more care. They have an increased knowledge of socioeconomics, of the importance of education and information, as well as of the supply and demand particularly related to their needs to sustain life in the village, and where their income derives from. They are also able to see their needs for health and rituals. They understand power relations and gender, as these are part of our brainstorming. With regards to politics, now they have a full understanding of their rights and interests as citizens, as we discussed constitution as well. Relating to legal aspects, they have laws, awig-awig, traditionally they have powerful arrangements in managing their resources and rights. Technology of cyber space communication needed to be introduced to them.

The initiative is seen as a wholesome framework and the programme is running well.

The process is a long one. We gave technical assistance to build and strengthen management capacities, after which we developed a coordinative body, not a new institution. JED is the coordinator of the villages, coordinating what the villages have and communicating these to the world. The village communities expect to be part of the tourism industry, that people come to visit their villages, or they themselves go visit other places, and they gain education, experience as well as money, within that context yes the programme has been running well. If I evaluate the whole process from the initial phase to the management to the end result, it is a wholesome framework, notwithstanding there are deficiencies and there needs to be improvement as well as innovation. JED as an entity has been serving as a place for people to do internship, as a process it has been documented for research (S, NGO manager, July 2014).

The initiative is considered to be a success based on the community's ownership and control, additional income received, employment opportunities, enhanced capacities and increased social capital, as articulated below.

In terms of success, financially, the local communities receive income with each guest coming in... Previously they used to be objects, now they are the subjects. Therefore I think it is successful, because they are the owners, they are the actors, they are the beneficiaries. If seen from financial point of view, previously they did not get any payment or maybe sometimes they would get contribution in the amount of Rp 5,000 – Rp, 10,000, but now they can sell USD50 or USD100, it all goes to their pockets. With regards to knowledge or awareness, previously they were not aware or knowledgeable enough, but now they are more aware and knowledgeable of their life constellation in the village. Whereas they used to work as individual villages, now they have a network. Previously they could not believe that a remote mountain village

can have international communication, now they can. So... if these were elements of success, I consider it successful.

Lili: Does JED or Wisnu have success indicators?

S: There are a few indicators, each programme has it, there are some agreed terms, but... in general this initiative has an impact, in the sense that it creates employment, economically it provides for additional income, the communities become resource persons, their villages become known... There are many indicators for each step. But indicators of the impact of the programme, in general, have been achieved (S, NGO director, July 2014).

Since the success indicators of the impact of the initiative have been generally achieved, namely employment creation, additional income generation, increased capacities and recognition, the initiative is thus considered to be successful by the director of the NGO.

To the manager of Wisnu Foundation, the initiative is successful in terms of socio-political benefits gained, namely the building of empowerment, capacities as well as social capital. However, in regards to economic benefits, the initiative is perceived as less successful as the economic impact generated is not as significant.

With regards to organising the communities, I say it is successful, as they are able to advocate themselves. They have been independent these past 14 years. Now they are able to say if a programme is good or not, whether it will be suitable to be implemented in their villages or not.

An absolute success, no, but now they can seek funding on their own, they can independently access resources for their villages. However in terms of success in the economic sense, it may not bring significant impact. The biggest success is intangible... during the 14 years of working together, the village communities have built ties and close relationships.

There are many indicators, but overall, the success indicator is that this model has been running and replicated. JED has been replicated, for instance the Bali DWE Association, they replicated from us... Is it successful? Yes, because 18 villages who registered to be JED village partners can consult directly with the 4 JED villages, the existing JED villages are able to give guidance to other villages (D, NGO manager, July 2014).

Empowerment and recognition were the key indicators referred to to determine the success of CBT.

With regards to success in particular JED villages, both the director and manager recognised the different degree of success experienced by each village. This pertains particularly to the Ceningan case study, which has faced more challenges in remaining sustainable as shown by the interviews with Ceningan research participants.

If from 4 villages that were organised, 1 of them is not successful, does it make the whole initiative unsuccessful? It's not that Ceningan is unsuccessful, they are merely still in the process, there is still a will to manage their resources (D, NGO manager, July 2014).

The difference of the degree of success is pointed out to be due to geographical location, specific socio-economic-political context and also the nature or characteristics of the people.

There are differences, because of the different geographical area, contextual relations and characteristics. The degree of success is different. For example Kiadan Pelaga, by nature it is geographically located nearer to the tourism industry. Tourists who only want to spend 1 hour travelling to a location will opt for Kiadan Pelaga. In addition, it has organic coffee produce. Its success rate in terms of visitation is higher. However JED managerial mechanism has it that each village shares its revenue with other JED owners (S, NGO director, July 2014).

In summary, Wisnu Foundation thinks JED community-based ecotourism initiative is successful based on increased empowerment, capacities and social capital. While the director refers to additional income generation and job creation as well as what makes it successful, the manager sees these to be less significant to be cited as reasons why the initiative is considered a success.

5.4.1.2 What do they think would help them to achieve success in community-based tourism?

The factors that are seen to contribute to success are education and awareness, database system for knowledge management, managerial skills/management capacities including capacity for partnership, protection of intellectual property rights, and increased capacity of the local government. These factors were discussed as factors that need to be made more concrete to make the initiative more successful.

Factors contributing to success that need to be made more concrete, in my view, are education system and awareness, so that people have the same understanding and awareness. A database system has to be developed, because we need to develop knowledge management so that it can be replicated in other settings. Next is capacity in management, technical managerial skills have to be enhanced, as well as the capacities and mechanism for partnership or joint-work. Success stories or milestones need to be protected and regulated, in relations to intellectual property rights. Increased capacities at the local government level are needed (S, NGO director, July 2014).

Relating to these, the biggest assets of the communities that are viewed to have contributed to or may contribute to the success of CBT in Bali are belief system, life concepts and worldview that are based on the Balinese philosophy of Tri Hita Karana³⁹. Social capital, natural capital and other capitals are regulated within a traditional cultural framework, leading to strong social capital and respect for nature (e.g. rituals are manifestation of biodiversity conservation). The existing social and institutional structures are also assets, in which communal ownership and democratic practices such as *banjar* meetings are still practised.

The concept system, structures and framework already exist, what needs to be worked on is enhancing the capacity and awareness of the people. We are not creating a new system, we tune in, build in and empower the system and human resources (S, NGO director, July 2014).

Other factors that are identified as contributing to success are the communities themselves and committed support organisations.

Whether a programme is successful or not is mainly determined by the communities. We do not live there, we cannot say whether it's successful or not, the local communities are the ones who can say and prove whether it's a

³⁹ *Tri Hita Karana* is an ancient concept that focuses on harmonious relationship between the trilogy of God, human and nature.

success. It all depends on the communities, but also the intervention of external parties (D, NGO manager, July 2014).

The biggest asset mentioned by the manager was human resources/capacity, followed by natural capital, social capital, infrastructure and financial capital. Identifying these assets through a thorough mapping facilitates suitable intervention and ensures the programme runs well. Discussing external assistance, intense communication and coordination among JED managers, JED owners and Wisnu Foundation are perceived to be most effective for the initiative to succeed.

5.4.2 Bali Community-Based Tourism Association (Bali CoBTA)

As deliberated in Chapter 4, Bali CoBTA is the support organisation working alongside 7 village communities. The following sections discuss the views of the chairman of Bali CoBTA, Djinaldi Gosana, and his former assistant, Christine Sutanti, who is currently the manager of a private tour operator, regarding success and success factors in CBT.

5.4.2.1 How do they define success in community-based tourism?

The chairman explained that most of the 7 Bali CoBTA villages are located in the less popular tourist areas and hence less developed. The purpose is to spread the economic benefits of tourism to poorer areas while empowering the communities. The organisation has only been effectively running for 3.5 years, however the development of the villages is seen to be relatively good with the support from Bali CoBTA.

The chairman sees the initiative as successful in terms of recognition by the government⁴⁰. Nonetheless, it will take another 5-10 years to be able to determine the success.

Lili: What is your definition of success in CBT? Are there success indicators?

D: Success is when it can be implemented and the benefits can be enjoyed, there are outcomes according to our targets. However, if the development of community-based tourism does not bring prosperity, the activity may be a success, but the outcome is not yet successful. Unfortunately this can only be probably seen in 5-10 years' time. But for the time being, it this was not successful, the local tourism agency would have not involved me in the development of 100 tourism villages... A tourism village will be more prosperous if it receives visitors, the visitors want to help with environmental care, they offer their skills to improve the produce of the local people, the visitors want to do transaction, or they invest to create employment for the people⁴¹ (D, chairman, July 2014)

To the former assistant of the chairman who was working closely with the communities, success is when there are less poor people in the village, there is improved welfare and the local community is able to run the programme independently without external support.

Me: If seen from this definition, do you think the initiative is successful?

C: Unfortunately Bali CoBTA did not receive any support from competent parties to do a research on poor households and economic status [in relation to the initiative], so CoBTA does not have the data. But talking of independence, Blimbingsari, Jasri and Budakeling villages are already independent, in the sense they do not need much guidance from CoBTA (C, tour operator manager/ex CoBTA, Aug 2014).

⁴⁰ Bali CoBTA has been consulted by the local tourism agency for the development of 100 new tourism villages in Bali by 2018 (D, chairman, July 2014).

⁴¹ CoBTA wants to develop TTI, Tourism, Trade & Investment.

5.4.2.2 What do they think would help them achieve success in community-based tourism?

Factors that are viewed to contribute to success are government support and collaboration with related government agencies.

We have to ask the government for their support, they have the budget. In developing a tourism village we have to work with the related agencies, according to their task and function to help with improvement of living standards (D, chairman, July 2014)

Other factors quoted that would help the initiative achieve success are training, funding, promotion and leadership of the initiator in the village.

Factors contributing to success are training for the villagers including guidance in management because tourism standards are different from most people, for example in hygiene, and financial support is needed to upgrade facilities and infrastructures. Promotion is very crucial in the success of the programme; now that I work with tour operator I promote the villages and send tourists there (C, tour operator manager/ex CoBTA, Aug 2014).

In relations to the Bali CoBTA case study villages, the challenge of Blimbingsari is the geographical location whereas for Pancasari it is the activities.

Blimbingsari has been running since 2004 and the community is cohesive. The programme experiences a slower progress because of the location far away from Bali center point. Bali CoBTA still helps them in promotion. However since I have been working with tour operator, I realise the difficulty in incorporating the village into a tour programme due to the distance, unless the entry point is Jawa.

The challenge for Pancasari is the tourist attraction. Bali CoBTA suggested a few things to the village but there has been no follow-up. It turned out that the community leaders have not given their full approval. The initiator faces difficulties as well to find willing and capable people to work as a team (C, tour operator manager/ex CoBTA, Aug 2014).

5.4.3 Summary

In summary, the results of interviews and questionnaires indicate that most village respondents consider the CBT initiative in their villages as not yet successful, revealing 24 “not yet successful”, 8 “yes” and 11 “no” answers. The findings also indicate that overall the research participants in the four case study villages see a

steady inflow of tourists and income generation as what successful CBT means. They also view preservation of cultural and traditional heritage as what constitutes success.

For the villages which have experienced less success in the initiative, more emphasis is placed on economic benefits. Both Ceningan and Pancasari mentioned employment opportunities as elements of success and both villages did not mention empowerment as how they perceive success. Only Ceningan participants cited 'improved living standards' as how they view success. Ceningan, being an island, has higher living costs due to its location off the mainland where goods have to be transported. In addition, they see up close how mass tourism development in the adjacent island brings some people wealth, so they are confronted with uneven development. For its people, the main reason to engage in CBT is to gain economic returns as their primary concern is earning an adequate livelihood to sustain life on the island. For Pancasari, in addition to economic benefits, the main concern is protection of Bulian Lake as their biggest asset is threatened by degradation.

For the villages which have already experienced more success in the initiative, socio-political benefits of empowerment, such as local ownership and control as well as increased capabilities (not mentioned by Ceningan or Pancasari), is an element of how they see success. Dukuh Sibetan clearly quoted empowerment as part of how they define success. Blimbingsari cited economic benefits the least as to how they view success and quoted recognition instead, as their baseline of economic welfare is higher than the other case study villages and they have the most visitors (and consequently income), hence giving cultural pride more weight. However, considering that CBT was initiated to stop urban migration (by giving employment opportunities to the youth in the village), this shows that economic benefits are also seen as important elements of success.

The next chapter discusses the implications of the findings as they relate to the academic literature outlined in Chapter 2. The differing views of the communities versus the views of the support organisations and JED coordinating body will also be discussed.

6 CHAPTER SIX

Discussion and Conclusion: Divergent Expectations: Case Studies of Community-Based Tourism on the Island of the Gods, Bali

6.1 Introduction

This thesis examined the success of CBT initiatives in Bali, Indonesia. As outlined in Chapter 1, the objectives of the research were to: 1) examine the views of the local community and support organisations about what is successful community-based tourism, and 2) taking into account the views identified in 1), to identify factors contributing to the success of community-based tourism.

The research questions that were addressed were:

1. What do the local community and support organisations perceive as successful community-based tourism?
2. What do the local community and support organisations consider the factors are that contribute to the success in community-based tourism?
3. What types of external assistance are most effective in supporting a community-based tourism initiative?
4. Do local people living in villages with community-based tourism perceive their community-based tourism initiative to be successful, and why/why not?

This chapter places the main findings presented in Chapter 5 into the research questions outlined above. Section 6.2 discusses some key issues in CBT, drawing together the research findings with the discussion in the literature. Subsection 6.2.1 compares the views of the different types of respondents – communities and support organisations – on the perception of success. Subsection 6.2.2 compares the views of these respondents on the factors that contribute to successful CBT. Section 6.3 discusses the implications of the differing views presented in 6.2, and the need for effective alignment of external assistance with community understandings of success. Section 6.4 concludes the chapter.

6.2 Community-Based Tourism in Theory and in Practice

Literature would suggest that while economic viability is one of the definitions of success in CBT (Armstrong, 2012, p. 3), most CBT initiatives enjoy very little success (Goodwin & Santilli, 2009, p. 4; Scheyvens, 2002, p. 72; Tolkach et al., 2013, p. 321), the main reason being lack of financial viability (Mitchell and Muckosy, 2008, p. 1). The findings presented in Chapter 5 confirmed that only very few initiatives have become commercially viable. I found from my case studies that the respondents in the villages, including those managing the CBT, cited lack of economic viability as a reason why they think the initiative is not successful or not yet successful. The overriding answer to the research question “Do local people living in villages with community-based tourism perceive their community-based tourism initiative to be successful, and why/why not?” was “Not yet successful” and the reasons given were low tourist inflow and insufficient revenue generation.

According to the literature, CBT does not bring significant economic benefits and that the current impact of CBT on poverty is at a community level only, but is not significant at individual household level (Telfer, 2002b, p. 144; Marx, 2011, p. 22). Meanwhile, according to the literature, the definition of success should also include delivery of collective and individual benefits to the community (Armstrong, 2012, p. 3), such as improved health care for the community as a whole and supplemental income for the individual household as a result of providing accommodation in their houses. In the case studies, the village respondents also mentioned that additional income received from CBT is not yet significant and that they would like to enjoy more income at household and individual level. The case study in Dukuh Sibetan shows that while recognising the many collective benefits of CBT (improved access to *salak* gardens and water supply, funding for *odalan* religious ceremonies, increased community assets e.g. food serving appliances and chairs), the respondents would like to have more families receive tourists in their individual *salak* gardens (thus receiving entry fee) and have their *salak* fruits bought on a frequent basis. A respondent from one of the support organisations also confirmed that economic benefits are not significant yet and that the initiative in economic terms is not as successful as it is in socio-political terms such as increased capacities and social capital.

According to the literature, the benefits of CBT include conservation of the environment and natural resources, as well as preservation of culture and tradition (Hiwasaki, 2006, p. 677; Timothy, 2002, p. 150), I found from my case studies that all respondents, the village communities, the support organisations and the JED coordinating body, also thought that CBT brings enhanced environmental awareness, protection of natural assets, preservation of cultural heritage and revival of traditions. Blimbingsari has always had a high respect for their village, 'the promised land', and following CBT developed community pride. Ceningan has revived the long lost tradition of Sangyhang, which is seen as the biggest outcome of the CBT initiative in the village. Dukuh Sibetan has regulations in place to protect nature and the environment.

According to the literature, empowerment is an outcome or non-cash benefit of CBT (Scheyvens, 2002, p. 240 & 2011, p. 4), as well as a factor contributing to the success of CBT (Hiwasaki, 2006, p. 677 & 688). The study shows that some respondents thought that successful CBT should result in empowerment of the community. They also considered that a means to achieve success is empowerment, e.g. increased capabilities.

In the literature, genuine community participation is discussed as an important factor for making CBT successful (Manyara & Jones, 2009, p. 638). A community that is cohesive and has strong institutional structures will more likely support the initiative and thus has better chance at success (Armstrong, 2102, p, 28). I found from my case studies that in those villages where the community is more cohesive, the initiative is more successful. The cohesion is related to the size of the community. Blimbingsari, comprising 2 small *banjar*, and Dukuh Sibetan comprising 1 *banjar* have had more success at sustaining the initiative and deriving benefits from it. Ceningan consisting of 5 *banjar* with less community cohesion has had difficulties in securing broad community support, and exacerbated by lack of village government support, led to unsustainable business venture. Pancasari with 8 *banjar* has been struggling for the last 3 years to get the initiative off the ground.

Literature would also suggest that there is a disparity between the views of the experts, namely funders, conservationists, development workers, and the views of the project managers as how they see successful projects (Goodwin & Santilli, 2009). This study also revealed that in practice there is a difference in emphasis of how the support organisations and JED coordinating body see success in CBT and how the local people managing the initiative at village level perceive success. Moreover, this study also revealed that there is a difference in emphasis of what success means to the communities versus the support organisations and JED coordinating body, a disparity of views that does not have great prominence in the literature.

The discrepancy is also discovered in the views of the factors contributing to success. This will be discussed further in the following subsection.

6.2.1 Views of Local Villagers versus the Views of the Support Organisations and JED Coordinating Body Regarding Success

The following discussion provides answers to the research question “What do the local community and support organisations perceive as successful community-based tourism?” Literature would suggest that definitions of success in CBT include economic viability, fostering of empowerment and increased social capital (Scheyvens, 2002, p. 240; Halstead, 2003, p. 21; Goodwin & Santilli, 2009, p. 7).

While empowerment was cited by Dukuh Sibetan and Blimbingsari villages, the overall results outlined in Chapter 5 show that the villagers, regardless of the degree of success and stage of CBT development, place markedly more emphasis on economic outcomes as to what success means and would like to earn significant economic benefits from CBT.

In general, the JED coordinating body and the support organisations Wisnu Foundation and Bali CoBTA also mentioned economic benefits such as additional income generation and employment creation as what success in CBT means, however there is a difference in the emphasis placed on these elements when compared with that of the village communities.

The interviews with the JED coordinator and both the director and manager of Wisnu Foundation revealed that there is a stronger emphasis on empowerment, increased social capital and recognition as how success is defined. The interview with the Bali CoBTA chairman also indicates that, while there were a mix of priorities and objectives, recognition is a primary element of how success in CBT is understood.

6.2.2 Views of Local Villagers versus the Views of the Support Organisations and JED Coordinating Body Regarding Factors Contributing to Success

The following discussion provides answers to the research question “What do the local community and support organisations consider the factors are that contribute to the success in community-based tourism?” Literature would suggest that factors contributing to success in CBT include appropriate stakeholder support, good market access and engagement with the private sector

I found from case studies that all 4 villages agreed that stakeholder support and community and stakeholder collaboration are factors contributing to success. Other factors most quoted by the community members are capacity building and training as well as promotion and marketing. Both Bali CoBTA and the JED coordinating body mentioned government support, while Wisnu Foundation cited committed support organisation and capacity building. However neither support organisations nor the JED coordinating body cited promotion and marketing as factors contributing to success despite the fact that their work with the communities has involved promotion and marketing.

6.3 Lessons from Bali: Aligning Expectations for the Success of Community-Based Tourism

While recognising the communities need for economic benefits from engaging in CBT, the JED coordinating body and Wisnu Foundation seem to accentuate socio-political benefits such as increased empowerment, capacities and social capital more. This is understandable in view of the importance of laying a strong foundation by strengthening the social-political aspects of the communities first before they expose themselves to various (negative as well as positive) impacts of tourism. As the

supporting system, following organising the communities, mapping their capitals in various themes and raising their awareness, Wisnu Foundation facilitated numerous capacity building programmes in JED villages to educate the minds and train the skills of the communities. However, as the Ceningan case study shows, despite increased awareness, knowledge and capacity, the initiative has difficulties in remaining sustainable because the community members expected more significant economic benefits, resulting in lack of community will to engage in the initiative. Based on the interviews, Dukuh Sibetan community members also place considerably more importance on economic benefits than other benefits. They want more additional income (for religious, social and family needs), tourist arrival and equitable sharing of benefits at the individual household level. There seems to be a difference in the emphasis of what is important to the village communities and what is important to Wisnu Foundation and JED coordinating body, the former placing more emphasis on economic benefits while the latter two placing less emphasis on economic benefits.

Being founded by tourism stakeholders including professionals in the tourism industry, the private sector and government officials, Bali CoBTA also acknowledges that largely the incentive of communities for participation in CBT is an economic one. However, the extent of economic benefits to accrue to the community and the ways these are to be gained, need to be addressed. As discussed in the previous section, empowerment is a factor contributing to success. While empowerment of the communities is a stated mission of the association, it receives little reference in terms of how success is defined.

In addition to tourist inflows and income generation, another economic benefit that Pancasari research participants define as success is employment creation. Having had no capacity building or training since becoming a village partner of Bali CoBTA, awareness raising and increasing the capacity of the villagers to manage tourism will help them prepare for effective participation in the initiative, including participation in the decision-making and sharing of the benefits. Building their knowledge would also help them in attending to their environmental cleanliness and maintenance issues, which in turn would contribute to higher chance of the

initiative's success once it is up and running. Despite being economically better off, Blimbingsari still wants significant economic returns, and is considering a partnership with an investor to upgrade their guestrooms, bathrooms and furniture. In return, the investor will bring tourists to the village and a profit sharing of 50% for a 15-year period is proposed. This needs careful consideration as the community may lack expertise in entering into business ventures with investors, and may require in-depth capacity building in financial management beforehand. As the literature suggests, lack of transparency may cause conflict among communities (Manyara & Jones, 2009, p. 638; Sproule, 1997, pp. 237-238).

While promotion and marketing have been activities undertaken by the JED coordinating body and support organisations, these factors seem to be less emphasised by them as factors contributing to success since they did not cite them. In contrast, promotion and marketing were quoted by the communities, which show consistency with their tendency to place more emphasis on economic outcomes.

The conclusion drawn from the discussion in this subsection is that there seems to be divergent expectations at play as there is a difference in the emphasis of what is important to the village communities and what is important to the support organisations and JED coordinating body. The communities, especially those that are economically less well off, are driven by economic motives. The support organisations and JED coordinating body, while recognising the communities need for economic benefits, are directed more by ideals, namely empowerment and recognition. Aligning the expectations between the communities and the support organisations may increase the chance of success of CBT that is benefitting the communities holistically.

The following subsection discusses the role and effectiveness of external assistance, emanating from the findings presented in the previous chapter, as they relate to the discussion above.

6.3.1 Effective external assistance

The following discussion provides answers to the research question “What types of external assistance are most effective in supporting a community-based tourism initiative? “

Literature would suggest that the constraints faced by the communities are, among others, lack of appropriate skills and resources, remote locations, poor market access and lack of engagement with the private sector (Scheyvens, 2011, pp. 69-71; Zapata et al., 2011, p. 769; Mitchell & Muckosy, 2008, p.1). This study confirmed that what the communities lack the most are capacities and experience in managing tourism, linkage to market and collaboration with travel agents and tour operators. All these factors thus constrain the chances of success. Literature would also suggest that only when CBT initiative partner up with the private sector, will they be able to sustain themselves (Lucchetti, 2013, p. 17).

Overall, the village respondents thought that the external assistance they require the most is capacity building and training as well as promotion and marketing. Upgrading of skills in tourism is seen by the communities to have been effective external assistance, while skills in English and management are seen to be still in need of external assistance.

The village respondents also highlight promotion and marketing as types of external assistance most effective in contributing to success. The support organisations and the JED coordinating body have been doing promotion and marketing for all their partner villages, but there seems to be a need to intensify these promotional activities and marketing strategies in the 4 case study villages as they are geographically more isolated than the other partner villages. In addition, there seems to be a need for more collaborative partnership with tour operators and travel agents, one that ensures equitable sharing of economic benefits and further socio-political, environmental and cultural benefits of the communities.

6.4 Conclusion

This research has sought to examine CBT success and the factors that contribute to the success from the views of the local community and support organisations. The

main conclusion drawn is that there are divergent expectations as there is a difference in emphasis of what success means between the community and the support organisations and JED coordinating body, a disparity of views that often receives little attention in the literature.

The divergent expectations may impede the chance of successful CBT. To increase the chance of success, the support organisations need to better align with the communities views, while still taking and promoting to the communities a holistic approach towards the all-encompassing benefits of CBT for the communities. In addition, in recognition of the different characteristics of the villages, the support organisations need to adopt an approach that is more embedded in the specific context of each community and address the different difficulties that they face in pursuing their involvement in CBT.

This research has offered an insight into the dynamics of CBT in practice. CBT as a concept aims to deliver a wide range of benefits to the community, socio-political, economic, environmental and cultural. CBT as an initiative attempts to gain these benefits through an economic activity; therefore its success must be evaluated from its economic viability.

For all these benefits to be realised, a concerted effort must be made by the community and other stakeholders – the government, donors, NGOs, the private sector – to align their views and priorities. A contextualised participatory approach tailored to the uniqueness of the community must guide all CBT development programmes. The benefits of CBT must exceed the costs that a community is investing its resources into, and only when the community's interests, needs and expectations are met, can CBT be seen as a successful community development enterprise.

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Appendices

Appendix A



Critical factors in the success of community-based tourism: A case study of Balinese villages.

INFORMATION SHEET

My name is Kathlia Sari Martokusumo. I am a student of International Development at the Institute of Development Studies, Massey University. I am conducting research for my Master's thesis entitled "Critical factors in the success of community-based tourism: A case study of Balinese villages" under the supervision of Professor Regina Scheyvens and Associate Professor Glenn Banks.

I would like to invite you to participate in this research by taking part in an interview of approximately 1 hour in length or filling in a questionnaire, in which you will be able to share your knowledge, experiences and perspectives relating to community-based tourism in the village. I am particularly interested in examining the following: 1) how success is defined, and 2) how success can be achieved.

Written and electronically recorded material made during the interview and in the questionnaire will remain confidential. It will be your decision whether you and your organization will be identified or remain anonymous. I will use all information gathered for thesis and related presentations and publications purposes only. If you would like to have a summary of the preliminary research findings, you can indicate so in the consent form.

You are under no obligation to accept this invitation. If you decide to participate, you have the right to:

- Decline to answer any particular question;
- Withdraw from the study at any time;
- Ask any questions about the study at any time during participation;
- Provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used unless you give permission to the researcher;
- Be given access to a summary of the project findings when it is concluded;
- Ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview.

I hope you will accept this invitation to participate in this research as I really value the input you could bring to this project.

If you have any questions about this research project, please contact:

Researcher
Kathlia Sari Martokusumo
Phone: +64223893889
Email: kathlia.s.martokusumo@gmail.com

Supervisor
Professor Regina Scheyvens
Institute of Development Studies
Massey University, Palmerston North
Email: R.A.Scheyvens@massey.ac.nz

"This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently, it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. The researcher(s) named above are responsible for the ethical conduct of this research. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you wish to raise with someone other than the researcher(s), please contact Professor John O'Neill, Director, Research Ethics, telephone 06 350 5249, email humanethics@massey.ac.nz".

Appendix B



Faktor-faktor penentu kesuksesan pariwisata berbasis masyarakat: Studi kasus desa-desa di Bali.

LEMBAR INFORMASI PENELITIAN BAGI PARTISIPAN

Nama saya Kathlia Sari Martokusumo, saya mahasiswa International Development di Institute of Development Studies, Massey University. Saya sedang melakukan penelitian untuk tesis Master dengan judul "Faktor-faktor penentu kesuksesan pariwisata berbasis masyarakat: Studi kasus desa-desa di Bali" dibawah bimbingan Professor Regina Scheyvens dan Associate Professor Glenn Banks.

Saya mengundang Bapak/Ibu untuk berpartisipasi dalam penelitian ini dengan bersedia untuk diwawancarai selama kurang lebih 1 jam atau mengisi kuesioner, dimana Bapak/Ibu dapat berbagi pengetahuan, pengalaman dan pandangan sehubungan dengan pariwisata berbasis masyarakat di desa. Saya tertarik khususnya untuk menggali: 1) bagaimanakah sukses itu didefinisikan atau dimengerti, dan 2) bagaimanakah kesuksesan dapat diraih.

Informasi yang diperoleh dalam wawancara atau kuesioner untuk penelitian ini, baik tertulis maupun rekaman, akan dijaga kerahasiaannya. Nama Bapak/Ibu dan organisasinya akan dijaga kerahasiaannya kecuali peneliti diberi ijin untuk menyebutkannya. Informasi yang diperoleh hanya akan digunakan untuk kepentingan tesis atau presentasi dan publikasi terkait. Jika Bapak/Ibu menginginkan ringkasan laporan hasil penelitian, mohon dicantumkan dalam lembar persetujuan partisipasi.

Undangan untuk berpartisipasi ini bersifat sukarela. Jika Bapak/Ibu memutuskan untuk berpartisipasi, Bapak/Ibu berhak untuk:

- Menolak untuk menjawab pertanyaan tertentu;
- Mengundurkan diri dari penelitian kapan saja;
- Mengajukan pertanyaan mengenai penelitian ini saat partisipasi berlangsung;
- Memberikan informasi dengan pengertian bahwa nama Bapak/Ibu tidak akan digunakan kecuali peneliti diberikan ijin untuk menggunakannya;
- Memperoleh akses ke ringkasan laporan hasil penelitian jika penelitian telah berakhir;
- Meminta alat rekaman untuk dimatikan kapan saja saat wawancara berlangsung.

Saya sangat mengharapkan kesediaan Bapak/Ibu untuk memenuhi undangan untuk berpartisipasi dalam penelitian ini karena masukan Bapak/Ibu sangat berharga.

Jika ada pertanyaan mengenai penelitian ini, silahkan hubungi:



Peneliti
Kathlia Sari Martokusumo
Phone: +64223893889
Email: kathlia.s.martokusumo@gmail.com

Pembimbing
Professor Regina Scheyvens
Institute of Development Studies
Massey University, Palmerston North
Email: R.A.Scheyvens@massey.ac.nz

"Penelitian ini telah dievaluasi dan dinilai sebagai penelitian dengan risiko rendah. Dengan demikian tidak dievaluasi oleh Massey University's Human Ethics Committees. Peneliti bertanggung jawab atas isu etis berkaitan dengan penelitian ini. Jika ada hal sehubungan dengan penelitian ini yang ingin ditanyakan selain kepada peneliti, silahkan hubungi Professor John O'Neill, Director, Research Ethics, telepon 06 350 5249, email humanethics@massey.ac.nz".

Appendix C



Critical factors in the success of community-based tourism: A case study of Balinese villages.

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM - INDIVIDUAL

I have read the Information Sheet and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I agree/ do not agree to the interview being sound recorded.

I would like to be referred to in this study in the following way (fill in your preference):

- My name and title i.e.
 - (e.g. I Gede Widya, Owner of Widya Homestay in Nusa Ceningan)
- My title or a descriptor i.e.
 - (e.g. Homestay Owner in Nusa Ceningan)

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

I would/ would not like a summary report of the findings sent to me on completion of this research. By email By post

Signature:

Date:

Full Name - printed:

Address/Email:

Appendix D



Faktor-faktor penentu kesuksesan pariwisata berbasis masyarakat: Studi kasus desa-desa di Bali

LEMBAR PERSETUJUAN PARTISIPASI

Saya telah membaca Lembar Informasi penelitian ini dan telah dijelaskan mengenai rincian penelitian ini. Pertanyaan-pertanyaan saya telah dijawab dengan memuaskan, dan saya mengerti bahwa saya dapat menanyakan hal-hal yang belum jelas bagi saya kapan saja saya butuhkan.

Saya setuju / tidak setuju wawancara ini direkam.

Dalam penelitian ini, saya ingin dirujuk sebagai (mohon diisi preferensi Anda):

- Nama dan titel/pekerjaan saya, yaitu.....
 - (misalnya I Gede Widya, Pemilik Widya Homestay di Nusa Ceringan)
- Titel/pekerjaan saya atau deskriptor yaitu.....
 - (misalnya Pemilik Homestay di Nusa Ceringan)

Saya setuju untuk berpartisipasi dalam penelitian ini dibawah ketentuan-ketentuan yang telah ditetapkan di Lembar Informasi.

Saya menginginkan/tidak menginginkan laporan hasil penelitian dikirimkan kepada saya jika penelitian telah usai. Melalui email Melalui pos

Tandatangan:

Tanggal:

Nama Lengkap:

Alamat/Email:

Appendix E



MASSEY UNIVERSITY
TE KUNENGA KI PŪREHUROA

11 June 2014

Kathlia Martokusumo
199 Ferguson Street
PALMERSTON NORTH 4410

Dear Kathlia

Re: Critical Factors in the Success of Community-Based Tourism: A Case Study of Balinese Villages

Thank you for your Low Risk Notification which was received on 9 June 2014.

Your project has been recorded on the Low Risk Database which is reported in the Annual Report of the Massey University Human Ethics Committees.

You are reminded that staff researchers and supervisors are fully responsible for ensuring that the information in the low risk notification has met the requirements and guidelines for submission of a low risk notification.

The low risk notification for this project is valid for a maximum of three years.

Please notify me if situations subsequently occur which cause you to reconsider your initial ethical analysis that it is safe to proceed without approval by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees.

Please note that travel undertaken by students must be approved by the supervisor and the relevant Pro Vice-Chancellor and be in accordance with the Policy and Procedures for Course-Related Student Travel Overseas. In addition, the supervisor must advise the University's Insurance Officer.

A reminder to include the following statement on all public documents:

"This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently, it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. The researcher(s) named above are responsible for the ethical conduct of this research."

If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you wish to raise with someone other than the researcher(s), please contact Professor John O'Neill, Director (Research Ethics), telephone 06 350 5249, e-mail humanethics@massey.ac.nz".

Please note that if a sponsoring organisation, funding authority or a journal in which you wish to publish requires evidence of committee approval (with an approval number), you will have to provide a full application to one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. You should also note that such an approval can only be provided prior to the commencement of the research.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "J. O'Neill".

John G O'Neill (Professor)
Chair, Human Ethics Chairs' Committee and
Director (Research Ethics)

cc Prof Regina Scheyvens
School of People, Environment and Planning
PN331

Assoc Prof Glenn Banks
School of People, Environment and Planning
PN331

Mrs Mary Roberts, HoS Secretary
School of People, Environment and Planning
PN331

Massey University Human Ethics Committee
Accredited by the Health Research Council

Research Ethics Office, Research and Enterprise

Massey University, Private Bag 11222, Palmerston North 4442, New Zealand T 06 3505573; 06 3505575 F 06 350 5622
E humanethics@massey.ac.nz; animalethics@massey.ac.nz; gto@massey.ac.nz www.massey.ac.nz

ERRATA SHEET

Location	Original text / Error	Correction /Clarification
Page 3	“Two noteworthy CBT projects that I came across...”	Add to the end of this paragraph: “I conducted fieldwork in four villages of these two Balinese projects: two case studies were carried out in the JED villages, namely Nusa Ceningan and Dukuh Sibetan, and two case studies in the Bali CoBTA villages, namely Pancasari and Blimbingsari”.
Page 21	Table 2.2 “Source: Author, based on literature”	Table 2.2 Change to “Source: Scheyvens, 1999; Asker, Boronyak, Naomi, & Paddon, 2010; Fiorello & Bo, 2012; Harrison, 2008; Okazaki, 2008; SNV, 2007.
Page 33	Table 2.7 “What is success in CBT (according to the literature)?”	Change to: Table 2.7 ‘Key elements of successful community-based tourism’
Page 36	Table 2.9 “What are the factors contributing to the success of CBT?”	Change to: Table 2.9 “Explanation of factors that lead success in community-based tourism?”
Page 48	“In the end, only 35 interviews are being used for this study. “	Change to: “In the end, only the 33 most relevant interviews (out of a total of 44 interviews) were used for this study. They comprise 27 interviews with local residents in the case study locations (8 from Nusa Ceningan, 5 from Dukuh Sibetan, 7 from Blimbingsari, 8 from Pancasari) and 6 with other stakeholders such as NGOs and government officials.
Page 52	Data analysis discussion “Guided by the research questions ...was the main mode of transcription in this study.”	Change to: “Guided by the research questions ...was the main mode of transcription in this study. To capture the complexities of meanings within the data, I used thematic analysis. Thematic analysis allows the researcher to understand the meanings that people give to their personal experiences of CBT. The textual data that I worked with were transcribed data generated from audio recordings of interviews that are 1 to 2.5 hours long. Verbatim transcription, namely transcribing word for word, was initially the method used for this research, however upon realising the amount of time this method had taken, subsequently selective transcription, namely transcribing those parts that are relevant to the research topic and research questions, became the main mode. Still, almost all key interviews were transcribed verbatim, resulting in 300 pages of transcription. I then highlighted and coded quotes that identified key words and key concepts. I identified recurring words, topics and themes; these codes became the basis for the ‘themes’. I reviewed the emerging themes for consistency and named them. These themes then became the categories for analysis. In writing up, I described from the transcription and quoted from the translated key quotes.”
Page 67	“...funding from Kehati Foundation and own its financial resources.”	Change to: “...funding from Kehati Foundation and its own financial resources”.
Page 87, 93 and 100	Tables 5-4, 5.6 and 5.8 “Social benefits”	Change to: “Socio-political benefits”