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The Private Sector and Gunung Rinjani National Park: An examination of tourism's contribution to development

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of
Master of Philosophy
in
Development Studies
at
Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand

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2008

Abstract

Tourism, as a tool of community development, has been utilised in Indonesia since the early development of protected areas. On the island of Lombok, Gunung Rinjani National Park (GRNP), the private sector businesses in major are involved in trekking, which is the only tourism product developed inside the park. However, the benefits arising from tourism in GRNP have not reached many of the poor living in the surrounding areas of the park, and tourism contributions to conservation of the natural resources have not been maximised.

This thesis seeks to find out more about private sector roles and involvement in development, through research on trekking businesses operating in GRNP. Thus, the main research question explored in this thesis is:

> *How can Lombok trekking organisers deliver more benefits to the conservation of Gunung Rinjani National Park (GRNP) and local community development?*

This research showed that tourism business players are currently ignoring social values when making business decisions about operations in GRNP. In addition, the government is reluctant to associate poverty alleviation with tourism. Businesses and government alike are mainly focussed on increasing tourism flows to Lombok. This research also highlighted that the concept of using tourism for poverty elimination is still a 'foreign' idea to those involved in the development of GRNP tourism sector. If tourism is to contribute more to development, then the willingness of the local economic players to enable tourism linkages is crucial. Lombok tourism planners would be well advised to concentrate on strengthening tourism's multiplier effects, by building direct and indirect links with various development sectors. These efforts, of course, require an enabling environment of supporting government policies, so that harmonious economical, social and environmental benefits could be delivered.

Ringkasan (Indonesian)

Sejak awal dibentuknya kawasan konservasi di Indonesia, pariwisata telah dipergunakan sebagai alat pengembangan masyarakat. Di Lombok, sebagian besar pelaku bisnis Taman Nasional Gunung Rinjani (TNGR) berkecimpung dengan trekking, satu – satunya produk pariwisata yang dikembangkan TNGR. Namun manfaat pariwisata TNGR belum menyentuh masyarakat miskin yang tinggal disekeliling kawasan dan kontribusi pariwisata terhadap konservasi sumberdaya alam belum pula terwujudkan secara maksimal.

Thesis ini berdasarkan penelitian pada para pelaku bisnis trekking yang beroperasi di TNGR untuk mengetahui lebih lanjut peran dan keterlibatan mereka dalam pembangunan. Pertanyaan utama penelitian:

> *Bagaimana caranya agar para trekking organiser di Lombok dapat memberikan manfaat lebih bagi konservasi TNGR dan pengembangan masyarakat lokal?*

Penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa pelaku bisnis pariwisata saat ini ketika beroperasi di TNGR mengabaikan nilai – nilai sosial. Pemerintah Indonesia pun masih enggan menyangkutpautkan pariwisata sebagai alat dan strategi pemberantasan kemiskinan. Pelaku bisnis dan pemerintah hanya menitikberatkan peningkatan arus pariwisata ke Lombok. Penelitian ini juga menegaskan bahwa penggunaan pariwisata sebagai alat pemberantasan kemiskinan masih asing bagi mereka yang terlibat dalam pengembangan pariwisata TNGR. Apabila pariwisata diharapkan dapat berkontribusi lebih untuk pembangunan, maka kesediaan para pelaku ekonomi lokal untuk mengembangkan 'daya kait' pariwisata (*tourism linkages*) sangatlah penting. Pada para perancang pariwisata Lombok disarankan untuk membangun dan mengembangkan 'daya penggandaan' (*multiplier effects*) pariwisata, dengan membangun 'daya kait' langsung maupun tidak langsung dengan berbagai sektor pembangunan. Tentu saja semua ini hanya mungkin terjadi apabila pemerintah menerapkan serangkaian kebijaksanaan (*government policies*) yang mendukung, sehingga manfaat ekonomi, sosial dan alam dapat tercapai secara harmonis.

Kesimpulan dan rekomendasi selengkapnya dari penelitian ini dijabarkan di Chapter 7, ringkasan rekomendasi terlampir di Appendix 4.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank NZAID for the scholarship opportunity and all staff at Massey International Student office, for the support and understanding they have given me, as I have worked on completing this thesis and degree.

I am indebted to my supervisors, Associate Professor Regina Scheyvens, Dr. Rochelle Stewart-Withers and Dr. Katharine McKinnon for their guidance, suggestions and critical comments. Their encouragement and willingness to respond to my need for direction have been much appreciated.

I am highly grateful for RTMB's full support during my fieldwork in Lombok, Indonesia. To Mr. Les Clark, Mr. Mal Clarbrough and Ms. Jean McKinnon I am indebted, as you have been constant pillars of strength, guidance, understanding and support throughout my study.

Many thanks go to the following respondents for without their full support and participation, my fieldwork would not have been completed.

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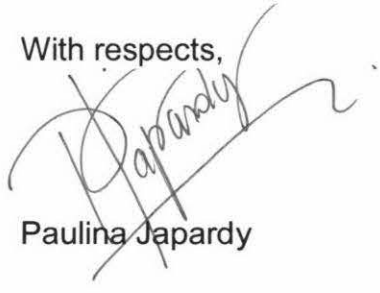
I would also like to thank the following individuals who have extended their full support and friendship during the fieldwork and the time completing my thesis:

Mrs. Rabiah Arkanita	Mr. Maman Husin
Mr. Didiek Priyono	Mr. N. Widhiarsana, ST.
Mr. Cokorda Gde Oka Sumampan	Mr. Irson Widiyantoro, SP.
Miss. Nuzlia Nur'aini SS.	Mr. Ramsjah
Miss. Khusnul Khatimah H.S.	Mr. Armasih
Mrs. Indrasti Maria Agustiana	Mr. Ary Suhandi

Lastly, to Craig Robert Harding, for your patience and endurance, I am truly grateful.

With respects,



Paulina Japardy

Table of contents

Abstract ii

Ringkasan (Indonesian) iii

Acknowledgements iv

Table of contents vi

List of boxes, figures, graphs and diagram ix

Acronyms and local terms x

1. Introduction - 1 -

1.1. Area of study - 2 -
1.1.1. Study aim - 3 -
1.1.2. Management of GRNP - 3 -
1.1.3. Trekking in GRNP - 4 -

1.2. Thesis outline - 6 -

2. Tourism, development & poverty alleviation - 7 -

2.1. Introduction - 7 -

2.2. The emergence of pro-poor tourism (PPT) - 8 -
2.2.1. PPT – Limitations - 10 -
2.2.2. PPT – Early lessons learnt - 12 -
2.2.3. PPT – Private sector roles - 14 -

2.3. Tourism & poverty in Indonesia - 16 -
2.3.1. Indonesian poverty - 17 -
2.3.2. Indonesian tourism - 21 -

2.4. Summary - 27 -

3. Indonesian protected areas tourism & poverty alleviation - 28 -

3.1. Introduction - 28 -

3.2. Protected natural assets & the Poor - 29 -
3.2.1. Protecting natural resources - 30 -
3.2.2. Managing protected natural resources - 33 -
3.2.3. Financing protected areas - 37 -

3.3. Tourism: A bridge between conservation & local needs - 38 -
3.3.1. Contradiction between SLA & ecotourism - 40 -
3.3.2. Tourism as a development tool in protected areas - 45 -

3.4. Summary - 53 -

4. Methodology - 54 -

4.1. Introduction - 54 -

4.2. Choice of topic & fieldwork preparation - 54 -

4.3. Research methodology - 56 -
4.3.1. Action research - 56 -
4.3.2. Qualitative research - 59 -

4.4. Research methods - 59 -
4.4.1. Respondent selection - 60 -
4.4.2. Respondent recruitment - 61 -
4.4.3. Data collection methods and procedures - 63 -
4.4.4. Data analysis, verification & presentation - 65 -

4.5. The study's limitations - 66 -

4.6. Experiences from the field - 67 -

4.7. Summary - 72 -

5. Gunung Rinjani National Park tourism - 73 -

5.1. Introduction - 73 -

5.2. Gunung Rinjani ecosystem - The people's livelihood - 75 -

5.3. Gunung Rinjani – Social and cultural values - 77 -

5.4. Gunung Rinjani National Park - 78 -
5.4.1. GRNPP (1999 – 2002), RTMB and RTEP (2003 – 2005) - 79 -
5.4.2. RTMB September 2006 – February 2007 strategic directions - 83 -
5.4.3. GRNP management ecotourism strategic plan (2005 – 2009) - 84 -

5.5. Summary - 86 -

6. The Private sector and the Park - 87 -

6.1. Introduction - 87 -

6.2. Private sector roles in park tourism - 88 -
6.2.1. Travel agents - 89 -
6.2.2. Community employment and enterprises - 89 -
6.2.3. Village-based trek organisers - 91 -

6.3. Reflecting on Ecotourism concept - 92 -

6.4. Disjuncture between private sector & conservation interests - 94 -
6.4.1. Environmental Problems - 95 -
6.4.2. Contributions to conservation - 97 -
6.4.3. Private sector suggestions concerning conservation - 103 -

6.5. Disjuncture between private sector & community development interests- 104 -
6.5.1. Business social responsibility - 106 -
6.5.2. Harmonising business and social pursuits - 111 -
6.5.3. Extending tourism benefits to the wider community members - 113 -

6.6. City and village-based Rinjani trekking organisers' partnership - 121 -

6.7. Summary - *126* -

7. Conclusions and recommendations: Can the private sector play a stronger role in community development and conservation of GRNP? - 127 -

7.1. Introduction - *127* -

7.2. GRNP tourism and the private sector - *128* -
7.2.1. Pressure for change - 129 -
7.2.2. Shared vision - 130 -
7.2.3. Capacity for change - 132 -
7.2.4. Set of actionable first steps - 134 -

7.3. Recommendations - *135* -
7.3.1. The private sector and GRNP conservation - 136 -
7.3.2. The private sector and GRNP community development - 138 -

7.4. Private sector as a social agent of change - *144* -

References - 145 -

Appendices - 158 -

Appendix 1 Question list - *158* -

Appendix 2 Information Sheet - *159* -

Appendix 3 GRNP 2005 – 2009 Strategic Plan, ecotourism action plan - *161* -

Appendix 4 Ringkasan Rekomendasi (Indonesian) - *162* -

List of boxes, figures, graphs and diagram

Box 2.1 Lessons on good practice for PPT ..... - 13 -
Box 2.2 Tourism "charity" strategies translated with a pro-poor business partnership approach ..... - 15 -
Box 3.1 Central government agency function related to conservation of forests and biodiversity resources ..... - 34 -
Box 5.1 Rinjani – afternoon view from Sembalun Lawang village ..... - 73 -
Box 5.2 Satellite image of Lombok May 1992 ..... - 74 -
Box 5.3 Cattle grazing illegally inside the GRNP ..... - 76 -
Box 5.4 Conquering Rinjani ..... - 78 -
Box 5.5 GRNPP, RTEP, RTMB: Goals, objectives, vision and mission ..... - 80 -
Box 5.6 RTMB stakeholders ..... - 82 -
Box 6.1 Key reasons why business owners are not contributing to conservation in GRNP ..... - 94 -
Box 6.2 Rinjani rubbish collection event ..... - 98 -
Box 6.3 Key reasons why business owners are not contributing to social development in the GRNP ..... - 106 -
Box 6.4 Rinjani porters and their trekking loads ..... - 109 -
Box 6.5 Rinjani porter and his trekking loads ..... - 110 -
Box 6.6 Impediments to partnership between city and village-based trek organisers ..... - 121 -

Figure 5.1 Population bordering GRNP ..... - 75 -
Figure 6.1 GRNP entrance ticket price and its pricing components (before and after 1st June 2007) ..... - 99 -
Figure 6.2 Senaru porter's income derived from trekking activities (2001 – 2006) ..... - 108 -
Figure 6.3 Annual numbers of total trekkers starting from Senaru & Sembalun ..... - 118 -

Graph 6.1 Income from entrance ticket (2001 – 2007) ..... - 101 -
Graph 6.2 Annual numbers of domestic trekkers starting from Senaru & Sembalun ..... - 119 -
Graph 6.3 Annual numbers of international trekkers starting from Senaru & Sembalun. - 120 -

Diagram 3.1 Sustainable livelihoods framework ..... - 41 -
Diagram 5.1 GRNPP's three-interlocking concepts ..... - 79 -

Acronyms and local terms

Adat	Traditional practices and customs
ASITA	Indonesian travel agent association
BAPPEDA	Development Planning Board (at Provincial and District Levels)
BPS	Bureau of Statistic (Indonesian: Badan Pusat Statistik)
CBNRM	Community Based Natural Resource Management
CBO	Community-Based Organisation
Desa	Indonesian for village
DFID	Department for International Development – UK Based
Dusun	Indonesian for hamlet
GoI	Government of Indonesia
GRNP	Gunung Rinjani National Park
GRNPP	Gunung Rinjani National Park Project
Gunung	Mount
HPI	Indonesian Guide Association (Perhimpunan Pemanduwisata Indonesia)
ICDP	Integrated Conservation and Development Project
Kabupaten	District government
Losmen	Small inn
MoF	Ministry of Forestry
Mulang pakelem	Religious ceremony celebrated yearly by Hindunese in Bali and Lombok
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
NTB	Nusa Tenggara Barat/West Nusa Tenggara Province
NZAID	New Zealand Agency for International Development
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
RIC	Rinjani Information Centre in Sembalun Lawang village
RTC	Rinjani Trek Centre in Senaru Village
RTEP	Rinjani Trek Ecotourism Programme
RTMB	Rinjani Trek Management Board
Sasak	Lombok indigenous people
SIMAKSI	Rinjani Trekking Letter of Permits
TRC	Tourism Resource Consultants
UMP	Indonesian provincial monthly minimum wage
Watu telu	Traditional belief system of Sasak People in Lombok

1. Introduction

Tourism, unlike many other industries, builds on the vast links of its private sector players (Edgell, 1990), from the conglomerations of multi-billion dollar hotel chains, transportation, catering, fine wine and dining, shopping, golfing, luxurious adventure and entertainment industries, to the street-side child vendors hawking beads to passing tourists. Tourism provides a wide range of products and services and therefore a wide range of opportunities. This lucrative tourism industry is an alluring magnet to the development industry, which sees tourism as a tool for poverty elimination.

In order to understand the complexity of tourism one has to appreciate the roles of various actors, including government agencies at different administrative levels, communities and the private sector. Therefore, it is crucial not to single out tourism and disconnect its development from the development of other sectors. It is claimed that tourism's ability to link with vast and diverse products and services could be beneficially translated into a much needed livelihood source for the poor, through the opening up of various opportunities along its value chains (Roe, 2006).

However, tourism cannot be promoted as the only 'alternative livelihood' because, in doing so, practitioners will fail to recognise that rural households rarely rely on just one activity or one source of income (Rhee et al., 2004, p. 1_6). It is still a growing debate on how, or whether, tourism can truly deliver significant benefits to the poor. The questions faced today are whether this issue has gone beyond the debating forum and whether it has been implemented in practice.

Upon this pleasure-servicing industry, development practitioners are expecting to reform the private sector's performance, in order that it will make a wider contribution to society: specifically the poor. While advocates of pro-poor tourism indicate that there are several reasons why businesses may

gain from pro-poor behaviour, they are yet to convince most players in the private sector of the need to enact significant changes to their practices.

This thesis is particularly interested in the wellbeing of local people living inside and/or in the surrounding areas of Gunung Rinjani National Park (GRNP), in Lombok, Indonesia. This introduction chapter will serve to explain the aim of this thesis and provide contextual information relating to the management of GRNP and its trekking tourism actors, products and services, in order to set forward the rationale for this chosen area of study. The following chapters will also be outlined to provide a preview of discussions that take place in this thesis.

1.1. Area of study

Tourism as a tool for community development has been pursued in Indonesia since the early development of protected areas, such as national parks. Often created in the middle of an area of high population density, national parks are frequently viewed as a significant threat to the livelihood of the surrounding communities. The most common response by the Indonesian government to this criticism is the creation of community related tourism opportunities, in order to compensate the local community for their loss of access to natural resources. However, park tourism benefits, generally, do not reach many of the poor living in the surrounding areas.

This thesis will concentrate on capturing the opinions of various GRNP stakeholders, particularly the tourism private sector, in order to understand the most feasible roles that business players can take up, to answer poverty and environmental challenges in Lombok.

1.1.1. Study aim

This research aims to explore the following question:

> *How can Lombok trekking organisers deliver more benefits for the conservation of Gunung Rinjani National Park (GRNP) and local community development?*

The notion that tourism has potential to contribute to poverty alleviation is new to Indonesia, particularly in Lombok. Thus, through my line of questioning, I intend to encourage research participants to consider whether national park tourism, conservation and community development can be tackled in a collaborative manner and in a way that will generate a win-win situation, in the long run, for all parties involved. It is assumed that all parties are capable of initiating and implementing change.

1.1.2. Management of GRNP

Gunung Rinjani National Park (GRNP) is located on the island of Lombok (4,725 km^2), in the eastern part of the Indonesian archipelago, at West Nusa Tenggara province. As of 2004, the island was populated by more than 2.5 million people with a population density of 537/km^2.

The main aim of the establishment of GRNP was for the protection and conservation of Rinjani biodiversity. Therefore, usage of the park for extraction of natural resources is prohibited. However, the surrounding communities are continuing to use the park's resources for their daily survival: this is unregulated and illegal.

Many continuous forms of degradation, from human usage, happen daily inside the park and in the surrounding areas, for example, farming, grazing and logging. With the popularity of the national park as a tourist destination, it is also experiencing further degradation from tourism activities.

Park management, with its limited budget, few trained staff and a complex management stratum, is faced with interlocking issues that make the management of the park resources and boundary a source of many conflicts. Situated astride three districts areas (West, Central and East Lombok), the park management, which was historically controlled by the central government, experiences conflict in terms of these three districts' policies and practices. However, the recent 1998 onward decentralisation policy in Indonesia opened up the possibility of fostering much needed collaborative management planning with provincial government approval and cooperation between the three district planning departments, particularly in the areas of conservation and tourism development.

There already exist efforts to involve local communities in tourism but tourism benefits, so far, are concentrated in the hands of a few local entrepreneurs and city based tourism players, thus leaving out the majority of the surrounding communities. Tourism contributions to conservation of the natural resources are not maximised and neither are there any plans in place for long-term impact mitigation.

1.1.3. Trekking in GRNP

Trekkers inside the park falls under three broad categories: pilgrim, domestic and international trekkers. Trekking trips are organised by religious organisations for the pilgrims, whilst private trekking organisers, such as travel agents, local entrepreneurs and individuals act as mountain guides serve the adventure seekers. There are also individual trekkers venturing up the mountain either alone or in various group sizes.

Park management, to date, requires an entrance fee to be paid by trekkers at the village information centres. In 2006, the number of international trekkers, from all over the world, reached 3,222, with 1,735 domestic trekkers (these are the numbers for commercial trekkers and do not include pilgrims who trek up annually). This was a modest increase from 2,500 international trekkers in

year 2001 and a decrease from 2,001 domestic trekkers of 2,656 individuals (RTMB, 2007). Various trekking facilities are also provided inside the park, for example, shelters, toilets, rubbish bins, signage and trekking trails. However, these facilities are not maintained properly and vandalism and littering are common sights inside the park. Factors contributing to the continuation of this degradation are the lack of cooperation and clear responsibility of roles between the park management and the tourism users of the park. The park management gains a portion of the entrance fee, which is insufficient for maintenance and overall management purposes. If these conditions are to continue, not only will the park eventually lose its tourism attractiveness but the continuous degradation of natural resources will also render park management very difficult.

Trekking for adventure and leisure inside the park is normally organised by city-based travel agents and local trek organisers, who are mostly migrants and as such, they are unfamiliar with the local *adat* (customs). Although cultural information and conservation information is explained in the park's promotional brochures and displayed in the villages' information centres, the organisers normally overlook this information. These travel agents and village-based trek organisers often deliver minimal benefits to the local communities who reside in the densely populated adjacent areas of Rinjani.

This research will consider the possibilities for collaborative tourism planning, by exploring the opinions of various trekking organisers, the park authority and the district tourism and development planning agencies. I am particularly interested in determining the possible roles, responsibilities and contributions that the private sector could willingly take up, in order to achieve conservation and community development goals. This thesis should thus contribute to wider debates concerning whether the private sector, as the locomotive of the tourism industry, is playing a significant role in poverty alleviation, through their business endeavours.

1.2. Thesis outline

Following an introduction to this area of study in this first chapter, Chapter 2 provides a review of tourism, poverty alleviation and development literature. The chapter is divided into two main sections: the emergence of pro-poor tourism and the literature review on Indonesian tourism and poverty.

Chapter 3 reviews national park tourism and poverty alleviation in Indonesia. Specifically, it assesses the link between Indonesia's natural assets and people's livelihoods and the government's intention to develop ecotourism as a mitigation, community involvement and conservation tool.

Chapter 4 elaborates on the chosen methodology and methods of this research and it discusses the study's limitations and my experiences from the field.

Chapter 5 provides background information on GRNP tourism and issues facing the surrounding communities, in order to further set the context of this area of study.

Chapter 6 examines the relationship between the private sector and the GRNP, based on the research fieldwork.

Chapter 7 scrutinises whether the private sector can play a stronger role in community development and conservation of GRNP. This is followed by conclusions and recommendations.

2. Tourism, development & poverty alleviation

2.1. Introduction

The new poverty paradigm has failed overall to reduce the world's poverty level (Chen & Ravallion, 2007; Manning, 2006; World Bank, 2005a). In 1999, the session of the UN Commission on Sustainable Development Workshop, saw the deliberate introduction of tourism as a poverty alleviation tool (Vandemoortele, 2004). Whilst it is undeniable that tourism can bring many benefits, which are greatly needed for a nation's development, it is also crucial to be cautious of the negative impacts, particularly when tourism development causes further marginalisation of the poor. Responsively, a number of scholars have suggested an approach to tourism, which aimed at unlocking opportunities for the poor, rather than just aiming to expand the size of the tourism sector. Scholars, such as Ashley et al. (2001) argued that tourism requires a new approach in developing strategies to deliver net benefits to the poor based on the assumption that the tourism industry is capable of reformation. It involves working across levels and stakeholders in order to; expand economic benefits for the poor; address non-economic impacts; and develop pro-poor policies/processes/partnerships. This approach is known as pro-poor tourism (PPT).

With the aforementioned in mind, the aim of this chapter is to firstly, discuss the emergence of PPT. The discussion will also highlight PPT limitations and the lessons learnt from the early implementation of the concept in practice. Because this thesis seeks to understand the relationship between the private sector and tourism which benefits the poor, consideration will also be given to the role of the private sector in PPT. Secondly, the need for PPT in relation to Indonesia will then be highlighted, by unpacking firstly, tourism in Indonesia and secondly, the issue of poverty in Indonesia. The chapter summarises by arguing the needs for PPT contextual analysis and sensitive application at a specific tourism destination level, that is, Indonesian protected areas.

2.2. The emergence of pro-poor tourism (PPT)

Due to a follow-up of a desk-based review of tourism and poverty, conducted for the Department for International Development (DFID) in 1999, tourism was adopted as one of the tools for poverty elimination. Unlike sustainable tourism, which derived from the debate on environmental sustainability (see Jamieson, 2003; Neto, 2003), PPT emerged from the sustainable livelihoods debate (UK-sponsored research on sustainable livelihoods, conducted in southern Africa http://www.propoortourism.org.uk/). This approach to tourism differs from the mainstream sustainability debate and it has been labelled as tourism that is pro-poor.

There are three key differences, as argued by Ashley et al. (2001), between PPT and the sustainable tourism agenda, even though there are considerable overlaps between the two. Firstly, whilst sustainable tourism generally focuses on the mainstream destinations, which are often located in the North, PPT focuses on the South, where the poor are mostly domiciled. Secondly, poverty is the core focus of PPT, whereas, in sustainable tourism, social benefits are just one aspect of sustainability and environmental concerns dominate. Thirdly, practical guidance on social issues is often weak, with few standards existing for social practices. Hence, PPT seeks to develop guidance on a tourism destination level for the South, relevant to each area's conditions.

The PPT experience, so far, has generated practical lessons, which could be incorporated within sustainable tourism. However, the work of PPT is hardly completed, since the complexity of poverty and the nature of tourism, and the underlying challenges still remain, until the poor themselves can be considered as the true clients of any development interventions (Najam, 1996).

The establishment of PPT can be a difficult issue because the tourism industry itself faces various challenges, despite its various approaches.

There is growing concern in the tourism industry as to how it can maintain its growth. The vulnerability of the industry is interlinked from both ends of the continuum: the tourist origin and the destination. Tourism is a volatile industry and it is extremely susceptible to events, which are difficult to control, such as political unrest, exchange-rate fluctuation, changes in economic policy, natural disasters and so on. A national tourism industry can be affected by events outside its control with crippling speed and severity. In poor countries with tourism-led development, this vulnerable nature of tourism can result in devastating effects on the poor, causing displacement, increased local living costs, loss of access to resources and social and cultural disruption. These multiple and diverse interconnections show that the impacts of tourism can spread way beyond economic factors and they are imbedded within the fabric of socio-cultural and wider environmental issues. Thus, tourism development cannot afford to risk its growth by ignoring poverty issues.

The industry's concerns, regarding growth maintenance, present a chance to reshape how this industry is operating. This opportunity lies in the creation of a wider awareness of the interlinking factors. Many lessons can be learned from the examples of bankruptcy, in places where the poor feel that they are not benefiting from tourism and this contributes to the rise of conflicts and violence. Likewise, acceptance by the community will provide a better service to customers (Salencon, 2004). Whilst commercial issues are the main driving force behind the industry, these issues are also the issues of the poor people's livelihood. The difference lies in the fact that, unlike established private actors, the poor require a higher degree of support, in order to unlock the opportunity in the first place. By creating the much needed accommodating environment for the poor to manoeuvre, the industry can draw its strength from all involved stakeholders (Roe & Khanya, 2001).

To date, the majority of international initiatives in tourism development and poverty reduction carry the terminology of pro-poor tourism (PPT), as rhetoric or a genuine approach. PPT continues to be widely used to describe the principles of how to adapt tourism, in order to generate more benefits for the local economy and the poor people. PPT is widely understood as a

significant way to change the way that the business of tourism is developed. Whilst the impact of tourism on the poor depends very much on the behaviour of private companies and individual tourists, in practice, the consensus in adopting pro-poor solutions are still the major issues (Scheyvens, 2007). Some constraints are strongly influenced by government, through its policies, regulations, public investment, expectations and actions, not only in the tourism area but also in other related sectors (Ashley, 2006).

2.2.1. PPT – Limitations

Whilst PPT seems to have much to offer, it also comes with a number of limitations. For a start, PPT is a new tourism philosophy with it own literature and independent researchers or consultants working within the organisations that lead PPT initiatives. They also undertake the facilitation of case studies, generally funded by various UK-based government and private organisations. So far, there is only limited research into the direct practices of governments, the tourism private sector, international non-government organisations (INGOs) and non-government organizations (NGOs), which demonstrate full commitment to the implementation of this new philosophy.

In 2001, a review of the early experience of PPT was undertaken by PPT Partnership (Ashley et al., 2001). They found several critical factors, which constrained the progress of PPT and argued that four major issues needed to be addressed. These were access to markets for the poor; commercial viability; policy framework; and implementation challenges in the local context. These four issues will now be expanded upon.

Firstly, the poor people's access to the market is normally constrained by their geographical location. For example, the poor often reside in rural areas where supporting infrastructure is insufficient to transport people, goods and services, including the transfer of much needed other development tools. Moreover, access can be further restricted, due to the monopolising by the economic elite, for example, the development of tourism enclaves, where the

local elite dominate tourism involvement, are factors that increase the many embedded social constraints on poor producers to gain benefits from tourism.

These issues of access also contribute profoundly to the debate on high tourism leakage (see Britton, 1982; Brohman, 1996; J. Mitchell, 2006; Mowforth & Munt, 2003). Since PPT's strategies often involve the development of new products, particularly those based on local culture and poor people's natural assets, they often defined as community-based products. However, the poor rarely have the access to involve themselves in tourism opportunities along its value chains (Kaplinsky & Morris, 2002; Van Den Berg et al., n.d.). Leakage normally occurred when tourism product and services procurements were sourced from outside, instead of utilising local potentials.

In PPT development, it is crucial to consider the capabilities of the local people to be beneficially involved. New community-based products need to be mainstreamed, for them to find markets. Therefore, product development planning needs to tap into the business and marketing expertise of the private sector, thus ensuring items produced and services offered are commercially viable.

Secondly, the tendency to focus on the creation of community enterprises is rarely accompanied by the commercial viability of these enterprises. This is similar to the case of community-based products development, as mentioned previously. The issues of product quality and price, sufficient marketing efforts and creating a supporting network, built by tapping into the strength of the broader destination tourism actors and infrastructures, are key components for success. Success requires partnership and supportive and collaborative planning across sectors (Ashley, 2005; Goodwin, 2006; Kepe, Ntsebeza, & Pithers, 2001). It is also important to understand that not everyone can develop entrepreneurial talent. Certain types of jobs in tourism require certain types of skills, for example, commercially viable tourism enterprises need organisational and business skills. Insensitive adoption and forced implementation of tourism, if especially practiced in conflict ridden

poor areas, might serve as a catalyst to increase social inequality even further (Salencon, 2004, pp. 29-31).

Thirdly, the poor themselves are often greatly hindered by the operating policy framework. These macro level policy environments, such as land tenure, regulatory context, planning processes and government attitude and capacity, are the major issues which can enable or further disassociate the poor, in their ability to diversify their livelihood strategies and take on tourism options (Ashley, 2006; Forstner, 2004; Scheyvens, 2002b; World Bank, 2006).

Fourthly, there are many implementation challenges in the local context. The key issues are highly linked with the maximising of collaborative partnership across stakeholders. The associated costs of collaboration need to be managed and be within a reasonable and feasible range, when compared to the correlated risks each stakeholder is willing to take. Expectations need to be managed from the start and long-term commitment is essential, since partnership benefits are not immediate. Whilst trying to recognise and utilise the potential benefits of tourism, it is also crucial to understand its limitations, as such, mitigation can be planned from the early intervention stage (Blaikie, 2006; Christian, 2006; Font, Cochrane, & Tapper, 2004; J. Mitchell, Ashley, Jarque, Elliot, & Roe, 2006).

These four limitations of PPT, at the same time, are also the biggest challenges of PPT. In order to put poverty as the centre of tourism development, it also means putting people as the centre of every development interventions, which are operating in the related destination level.

2.2.2. PPT – Early lessons learnt

There are valuable early lessons to be learnt from the handful of PPT practices that exist, which could be then used to encourage further adoption

of PPT (Ashley et al., 2001). Amongst these lessons is the understanding that, even though tourism itself may be occurring on a limited scale, in remote areas, it has the significant potential to bring on a greater poverty impact. It is shown that valuable input is greatly needed by tourism planners, who are associated with rural development. Rural tourism interventions need to be based upon the question: Is this development of tourism a beneficial addition to poor people's existing livelihood?

A summary of the lesson learnt from the emergence of good practice is presented in Box 2.1 below.

PPT is relatively untried and untested and there is no blueprint. Nevertheless, these case studies reveal a number of common lessons:

1. PPT needs a diversity of actions, from the micro to macro level, including product development, marketing, planning, policy and investment. It goes well beyond community tourism.

2. A driving force for PPT is useful, but other stakeholders, with broader mandates, are critical. PPT can be incorporated into the tourism development strategies of government or business (with or without explicit pro-poor language). Broader policy frameworks and initiatives outside tourism, such as those on land tenure, small enterprise and representative government are also key issues.

3. Location matters: PPT works best where the wider destination is developing well.

4. The poverty impact may be greater in remote areas, although tourism itself may be on a limited scale.

5. PPT strategies often involve the development of new products, particularly those based on local culture but these should be integrated with mainstream products, if they are to find markets.

6. Ensuring commercial viability is a priority. This requires close attention to demand, product quality, marketing, investment in business skills and inclusion of the private sector.

7. Economic measures should expand both regular jobs and casual earning opportunities, whilst tackling both demand (e.g. markets) and supply (e.g. products of the poor).

8. Non-financial benefits (e.g. increased participation, access to assets) can reduce vulnerability; but more could be done to address these issues.

9. PPT is a long-term investment. Expectations must be managed and short-term benefits developed in the interim.

10. External funding may be required and justified, to cover the substantial transaction costs of establishing partnerships, developing skills and revising policies (not generally for direct subsidies to enterprises).

Box 2.1 Lessons on good practice for PPT
Source: Retrieved on 6 February 2007 from http://www.propoortourism.org.uk/summary.html

PPT requires a range of combined strategies, in order to receive endorsement at the local destination and at national/policy and international level. Therefore, in order to maximise benefits for the poor, within a specific area of tourists' destination, it is crucial to develop practical measurements to asses the impact on the area. Pro-active initiatives can bring government, communities, NGOs and business together. It is crucial to foster partnership and local participation, particularly for the stimulation of economic linkages. However, these pro-active actions usually need to be accompanied by a supportive policy framework (Ashley et al., 2001). Therefore, the development of PPT requires a strong planning framework and government commitment. If this exists, small pro-poor changes in government rules can have a significant effect on implementation and impact can be mitigated (Deloitte & Touche, 1999).

2.2.3. PPT – Private sector roles

One of the crucial strategies, proposed by PPT is the development of pro-poor policies/processes/partnership. The PPT approach calls for collaborative work across all levels and stakeholders. Thus, it also entails *doing business differently*, across all levels and stakeholders (Ashley & Haysom, 2006, p. 1). Regardless, tourism remains a business and doing business differently generally only involves change at the margin. Ashley and Haysom (2006) argued that, since tourism is such a massive sector, a marginal change could actually be a major for development. However, recognising the counter-argument to this, a policy instrument is crucial, in order to bring in any changes to any given economy. As such, to bring even a marginal change, it first requires a significant shift in policy.

Those who control the tourism industry power generally implemented five broad strategies to show 'charity' towards the poor. From the limited PPT experiences explained previously, those five 'charity' strategies could be translated into 'pro-poor' strategies. As argued by Ashley and Haysom (2006), these type of 'charity' strategies will take on a very different tourism

outcome, if they are tackled with a pro-poor business partnership approach. The Ashley and Haysom arguments related to these strategies are summarised below in Box 2.2.

Tourism "Charity" Strategies Strategies	*Translated as* → **Tourism "Pro-Poor"**
To increase demand for goods and services of the poor	A sound and a cost effective procurement pattern
To reduce the costs paid by the poor, in meeting their basic needs	An effective tax system
To increase the asset base of poor people	A value of investment return
To decrease poor people's exposure to variability and risk	A decrease in the vulnerability level of the tourism industry as a whole
To increase government revenues, for goods and services provision to the poor	A series of well-targeted strategies for the nation's majority and a budget well spent, which would result in a significant impact on the sustainability of the nation

Box 2.2 Tourism "charity" strategies translated with a pro-poor business partnership approach
Source: Adapted from Ashley and Haysom, 2006

In order for tourism to deliver its net benefits to the poor, it is most crucial for PPT interventions to start by considering the vulnerability of the poor. If resources are scarce and lands are highly link with poor people's multiple-livelihood-usage, it is crucial for PPT interventions to start by considering whether the poor could play active roles in tourism initiatives, which are as described as the third pro-poor strategy, (see Box 2.2 above). This means prescribing to the industry that there is a business case in revaluing their business investment decisions, based on complimenting the poor people's livelihood, instead of the standard profit consideration (Hamann, 2006).

PPT arguments generally rest on the assumption that there is a business case for change. The private sector would find enough incentives to contribute more to society. However, at this early stage of PPT introduction to the industry (where voluntary acts of the industry are the sole hope for

industry reformation), it is very intriguing to explore ideas of PPT further in the field. This theoretical background, PPT and the private sector's perspective, is the base for this destination-level research in Lombok.

To focus further on destination level, the following sections serve to explore the situation in Indonesia, as one of the world's increasing tourism destinations. In brief, poverty and tourism conditions in Indonesia will be highlighted, providing a background to Chapter 3, where the destination focus will be narrowed down further to Indonesian national park tourism and its links to the sustainable livelihood of the poor.

2.3. Tourism & poverty in Indonesia

Indonesia is the fourth most populated country in the world, with 221.3 millions people by 2005. The latest Indonesian Social Indicators – ISI indicate that, from those 221.3 millions, 16.7% nationally are living under poverty conditions with the swinging index from 12.1% urban to 20.1% rural headcount (World Bank, 2005b).

The economic crisis of 1997-1998 had a devastating impact on both rural and urban communities across Indonesia. Many Indonesians saw their standard of living drop sharply and the number of people living below the poverty line doubled during the course of the crisis. The Government of Indonesia (GoI) recognises the necessity of immediate and continuous poverty reduction actions. Indonesian efforts to restore livelihoods and reduce poverty vulnerability face numerous challenges, which are best tackled at a variety of levels, most importantly centred on community level. Community-based initiatives must be coupled with upstream support, in order to assist all levels of government, in the planning and implementation of poverty reduction initiatives (UNDP, 2003).

Tourism, as a tool for community development is now utilised in Indonesia. Indeed, Indonesia is witnessing the mushrooming of community-based

tourism products all over the archipelago. However, whether these initiatives address the wider interlinked issues of poverty, such as multi-dimensional roots of poverty, through the creation of economic opportunities, improvement in the delivery of social services and empowering women, together with the integration of good governance and participatory approaches to decision-making, remains to be seen.

The following section highlights some of the issues relating to Indonesian poverty and bridges these issues with Indonesian tourism, particularly community-related tourism efforts that are endorsed by the government of Indonesia.

2.3.1. Indonesian poverty

Poverty in Indonesia is measured and based on a basic needs approach (Badan Pusat Statistik - Indonesian Central Bureau of Statistics, 2002). It conceptualises poverty as an inability to meet the basic needs, from an economic view and the inability to meet staple-food basic needs and non-food basic needs, such as non-staple food, shelter, education, health and so forth.

Poverty studies in Indonesia were first conducted at a national level in the 1970s (SUSENAS 1, 1999; SUSENAS 2, 1999). These studies generally used the poverty line as a threshold, to differentiate the poor from the non-poor and they have the tendency to utilise expenditure as a basis for calculating poverty. However, most of the Indonesian poor, who lived in villages, seemed to have irregular incomes, which leads to difficulties for a complete study of poverty to reflect its true meaning. In addition, most poor people derive their livelihood from various sources and most commonly in the informal sector, which is not classified as salary-based employment. As such, livelihoods derived from sustenance strategies are hardly accountable and thus they are not reflected in any national poverty measurement. This is particularly true in many Indonesian rural areas and this causes major

hindrances for a government that wants to design well-targeted poverty reduction strategies. Combined with other interlinking issues, tackling poverty in Indonesia is massively challenging.

Although the incidence of poverty has been studied since the 1970s, it was only formally examined and the results published by the Central Bureau of Statistics in 1984. The Indonesian Statistic Bureau (BPS) publishes periodical surveys and results every three years, called the National Socioeconomic Survey (Susenas). However, these surveys do not represent any village-level data and hence, poverty analysis at this level cannot be based on *Susenas* data. This suggests that, to examine poverty at the village level, independent research is required. This also implies that examining poverty, from the expenditure and consumption aspects, does not provide a full picture of a village's condition and the poor (urban and rural), who do not depend fully on salary-based employment (Rumbewas, 2006).

Poverty levels in Indonesia, particularly in recent years, have been unstable and fluctuating, due to many macro and natural disasters, from high inflation, economic stagnation, economic crises, prolonged drought and flooding (which all lead to food shortages), earthquakes and tsunami (A. Booth, 2000; Sadli, 1982; Soemitro & Tjiotoherijanto, 2002; UNDP, 2003). In addition to these macro-level causes, there are also micro-level causes identified by villagers (Mukherjee, Hardjono, & Carriere, 2002).

A few of these micro-level causes are:

1. Irregular income, triggered by a vicious circle of debt vs. daily survival
2. No access to land and/ or its deteriorating quality, due to the use of chemicals
3. No access to livelihood equipment, such as a boat or fishing equipment
4. A high number of children as dependents
5. No access to education, health, capital and financial support
6. Unfair competition over scarce natural resources
7. Relocation
8. Vulnerability caused by the introduction of new plant species

The Government of Indonesia (GoI) developed policies intended to encourage broad-based economic growth to help the poor. These policies focus mainly on the investment of physical infrastructure. In rural areas, in order to increase the living standard of the poor, GoI's investments have been put into agriculture, education, health and transportation (Sumodiningrat, 1997; World Bank, 1990).

The GoI twin objectives, to achieve a rapid rate of economic growth and ensure a more equitable distribution of income, are still producing a mixed return for the poor of Indonesia. The occurrence of the oil crisis (from 1982 to 1986) and the recent economic crisis in 1997 have significantly reduced national economic growth. This period was also marked by rising international indebtedness and GoI responses were generally to cut government expenditure, devalue the Rupiah in April 1983 and cancel some national projects (Hill, 2000). More recently, structural adjustment has also expanded to the privatisation of major government assets and increasing investments in non-oil exports. Inequality remains high in the country and, as argued by Booth (2000), this is a major hindrance for pro-poor growth.

In mid 1998, GoI introduced the Social Safety Net (SSN) within its anti-poverty programme, which is meant to provide a permanent-based safety net throughout the country (Perdana & Maxwell, 2004). However, the implementation of this programme did not touch the needs of the poor in some areas. Many factors contributed to its inefficient and ineffective implementation, ranging from the fact that the programme was centrally formulated (top down), did not consider the local needs and there was weak government control over implementation in the field, leading to the misuse of funds. As argued by Perdana and Maxwell (2004) and Daly and Fane (2000), the GoI poverty reduction programmes' failures can also be associated with an emergency relief type approach, which has not been accompanied by any long-term approach. For example, it only provided rice, when the poor needed agricultural equipment and support, to enable them to help themselves in the long-term (Daly & Fane, 2000).

There is a growing body of opinion that an understanding of how people adopt and adapt practices, in relation to their means of livelihood, is the key to designing a better anti-poverty intervention programme. Murherjee et al. (2002) argued that in countries, such as Indonesia, poor population groups are often identifiable by their relationship to a major livelihood resource, such as coastal fishers, rice farmers or forest dwellers. Thus, the solutions to poverty must focus on the existing strategies that people use to make a living. It is crucial to understand people's capacities and vulnerabilities and their relationships to institutions, power and livelihood resources. As shown in many of the sustainable livelihood analysis (SLA), poor people display the very common fact that the forces that push them deeper into poverty are those, which are beyond their control. These uncontrollable forces have a strong hold on poor people's ability to choose secure livelihood options (Franks et al., 2004; Hussein, 2002).

In the case of Indonesia's recent decentralisation efforts, Murherjee et al. (2002) strongly recommended that any poverty reduction programmes must be based on a framework, which aims to understand and then sustain the livelihoods of the poor.

Adopting tourism, as a poverty elimination strategy for Indonesia, is still debatable. Tourism effectiveness, as warned by Deloitte and Touche (1999), would leave out 20% of the poorest people and it would not generate equal benefits for all the poor. Furthermore, tourism is an outside intervention into the lives of the poor. It is not based on the poor people's livelihood options, which are mostly natural resources-based. Tourism, with its volatile industry nature, is a complex industry to be introduced delicately, as a viable livelihood option to the poor, who already live with high vulnerability. As mentioned earlier, in order to translate tourism with its exploitative nature, into a set of pro-poor strategies, it is necessary to base it on an understanding of people's capacities and vulnerabilities and their relationships to institutions, power and livelihood resources. The link between

sustainable livelihoods and natural resource management in Indonesia will be further elaborated upon in Chapter 3 of this thesis.

2.3.2. Indonesian tourism

In order to manage its huge range of biodiversity assets, generate national revenue and achieve community development, Indonesia involves its local communities in many of its development programmes, particularly those that are tourism related. Community involvement is also part of the government's political strategy in managing and financing Indonesian biodiversity assets (see Chapter 3). Most of the community-based tourism and nature-based tourism initiatives are broadly termed ecotourism. There are a growing number of ecotourism products, specifically linked with the establishment of national parks and protected areas in Indonesia.

However, to date, these initiatives have not been based on poverty alleviation and/or people-centred concerns. Set in motion by the importance of generating national revenue, securing international funding for protected areas management and keeping in line with international agendas, tourism in Indonesia is still mainly focused on mass tourism. Tourism mega development, for the specific development of the poor, is still largely untapped. In recent years, GoI has directed more attention to culture-based tourism. However, since the effort is relatively new, the underlying concept is still based on the very broad Indonesian tourism philosophy, which is not specifically tailored for any practical implementation, incorporating local community livelihood concerns.

The philosophy of Indonesian tourism is based on a religious value called "the balance of life or the three principles of happiness". These principles, according to the former Indonesian minister of Tourism and Culture, I Gde Ardika, consist of a balanced relationship between human beings and God; a balanced relationship amongst human beings themselves (individual with individual, individual with his/her community, people with people); and a

balanced relationship between human beings and their environment (Ardika, 2006).

Upon this philosophy, some basic principles of Indonesian tourism have been drawn up (Ardika, 2006, p. 2):

1. *Human beings (people) are the centre or become the subject of tourism, not the object.*
2. *All creations of people (tangible and intangible) and inter-relations between people are cultural affairs and it is the development of those creations that stimulate movement (travel) of the people, which is cultural tourism.*
3. *People (community) are the strength (competitive advantage) of cultural tourism.*
4. *Tourism must be based on community (from the people, by the people, for the people). This is the definition of Indonesian community-based tourism.*
5. *Taking benefit (exploitation) from culture and nature must be balanced with preservation and conservation of culture and nature itself. This must be based on the sustainable tourism principles of practicing a sense of self-control or not being greedy by just exploiting culture and nature for economic returns.*

Tourism is also one of the five priority sectors for Indonesian development, together with agriculture, mining, forestry and fisheries (Indonesia National Plan 1999-2004). In the 2004 – 2009 Indonesian National Development Plan, tourism is identified as one of the sectors that are prioritised for investment improvements. The goals of tourism development are to enhance the prosperity of the people and strengthen the unity and identity of Indonesia. Tourism development is also aimed at establishing an understanding and forming friendships with other nations, as part of Indonesia's contribution to world peace.

In 2002, Indonesian tourism contributed to 11.84% of the national GDP, with 18.6% of the national work force dependent on the contribution of international tourists. In 2004, foreign visitors contributed to US$ 5 billion earnings. This number is considered low, compared to the massive contribution of domestic tourist expenditure, equivalent to US$ 87 billion in 2005 (Ardika, 2006).

The focus on cultural tourism in Indonesia is relatively new and most GoI tourism development is still concentrated on nature-based efforts. This new

shift from nature to culture tourism is influenced by GoI's belief that tourism in Indonesia is mostly concentrated on vulnerable natural and cultural sites, which are experiencing increased stress on their fragile ecosystems and cultural environment. Therefore, a shift from the mass-tourism approach to the special-interest approach is deemed necessary, in order to reduce the negative impact on people, places and other potentially valuable sources (Indonesia Department of Culture and Tourism, 2005).

The development of community-based tourism in Indonesia, which is also broadly termed as ecotourism, is in line with the GoI tourism philosophy, as mentioned earlier. The largest part of the Indonesian population depends on farming and fishing and most of them fall under the category of lower income communities. GoI initiatives toward this lower income community, through its tourism development, are therefore focused on farmers and fishermen. It is envisioned by GoI that bringing tourism benefits to the farmers and fishermen is not just about economic benefit, but also about social and cultural benefits.

Programmes are not intended to change the farmers' or fishermen's main occupation to a tourism occupation, but tourism activities in the area are designed to complement the local people's original occupation (Ardika, 2006, p. 3). Overall, programmes are intended to increase local income, preserve local traditions and nature, empower local people to build capacity and hamper urbanisation, particularly of the youth. In practice, however, tourism planning is still considered as single sector planning, instead of involving other relevant sectors that are directly linked with the local people's main livelihood, such as agriculture, fishery and forestry.

Indonesian community-based tourism[1] is planned under the following principles: local community direct participation; shares ownership; prohibiting transfer of ownership of land and others; conservation/preservation of nature and culture; investor must empower local community through a partnership

[1] For the purpose of the discussion, **Park Tourism** will be used throughout this thesis when the author is referring to tourism in relation to Indonesian National Park Tourism – tourism in partnership between government, private sector and community.

principle; and maximising benefit for the local community. According to Ardika (2006), this type of community-based tourism is technically called Village Tourism, in line with the new adopted focus on culture-based tourism. Furthermore, the GoI is also recognising the fact that not all villages can be considered for village tourism. As a prerequisite, a village needs to have a uniqueness and attractiveness of nature or culture, for example a distinct way of life and/or architecture. It is also crucial to have the full commitment of the village community on whether the development of tourism activities within the boundary of their village is acceptable by all. Tourism activities are planned for village accommodation services, food and beverage (F&B) services, attractions, guide services and souvenirs. These services are then packaged as an integrated tourism attractions product.

According to Ardika (2006), Village Tourism requires various supporting roles in its development. The government role is just as a facilitator and supporter, by providing land use planning, accessibility (road, telecommunications), water, sewerage system, the local people's training needs and village promotion. The role of the tourism industry (private sector) is crucial, since it is the business partner that provides capital and expertise or knowledge transfer to the local people, for example, expertise and knowledge in accommodation management, F&B preparations, guiding techniques, attraction management etc.

These principals reflect the basic principles of PPT, which expand the economic benefits for the poor, address non-economic impacts and develop pro-poor policies/processes/partnership. However, the study case example presented by Ardika (2006) for Tanjung Village, as the best practice tourism village in Indonesia, did not show the full analysis of costs and benefits from economic, social and environmental factors or a comprehensive impact assessment, based on a sustainable livelihood analysis (SLA). Therefore, the extent of this new village tourism effort, in contributing to pro-poor growth and poverty reduction in Indonesia, needs to be explored further, before it can be replicated throughout Indonesia. This challenge is particularly demanding

when faced with the fact that there are 500 ethnic groups in Indonesia, with 600 tribal languages and thus they represent enormous diversity in relation to culture and tradition. Most importantly, it is necessary to develop a set of policies that are practical and implementable.

The unequal distribution of poverty is scattered throughout the archipelago, from the lowest poor population in Jakarta at 3.18%, Bali at 6.85%, Riau islands at 7.24%, Yogyakarta at 19.14%, West Nusa Tenggara at 25.38%, to the highest in West Irian Jaya at 40.20% (Maksum, 2004). Interestingly, Jakarta, Bali, Riau islands and Yogyakarta are amongst the top ten Indonesian tourist destinations.

Indonesian tourism policy is also no exception to trade liberalisation pressures. Tourism is posted on the five largest foreign exchange earners, including the oil and gas industry (UNDP - World Bank Assessment Team, 2003). Trade liberalisation is occurring, in conjunction with World Trade Organization, International Monetary Fund and World Bank pressure for lower tariffs and the elimination of import quotas and this is also a part of the process of integration within regional blocs (R. Hall, 2006). Ironically, at the same time, in order to be effective, tourism needs to be built on the development of products and services based on local potential resources: traditional knowledge and skills and local people's capitals[2].

There is a growing demand for the wide range of Indonesian attractions and natural resources. In the context of decreasing levels of trade protection, this growing demand has significant implications to domestic income and employment generation, income distribution and welfare. Nevertheless, according to a study by Sugiyarto et al. (2003), tourism growth amplifies the positive effects of globalisation and lessens its adverse effects. They found that tourism could generate an increase in production and improve welfare standards, whilst decreasing the effects of government deficits and reduced

[2] People's capitals based on sustainable livelihoods analysis (SLA) consist of financial, human, natural, physical, social and cultural capitals.

trade balances. It is good news for Indonesia, which is becoming increasingly reliant on tourism.

However, GoI, in its effort to attract more international investment into the industry, is implementing a non pro-poor tourism policy, by allowing 100% foreign ownership, introducing a tax holiday and welcoming non-national professional workers within the tourism sector. These ventures do not include pro-poor tourism measures. Import licenses were converted to tariffs and the licensing procedures for hotels and other tourism facilities were also simplified (Kompas Daily, 1999). Therefore, despite numerous studies (Sugiyarto et al., 2003) predicting the ability of tourism to deliver macro level benefits, the real micro level impact on the Indonesian poor is yet to be analysed. It is only then that the trickle-down effect of tourism benefits for the poor can be addressed and corrected.

2.4. Summary

This chapter has explored the emergence of PPT from the debate of sustainable livelihoods. Having been made aware of PPT limitations and the lesson learnt from its early adoption within tourism practices, PPT concept was then linked to both poverty and tourism discussion in Indonesia. A growing body of opinion argued that, in order to design a better anti-poverty intervention, it must start with the understanding of how people adopt and adapt practises, in relation to their means of livelihood.

In countries such as Indonesia, poor population groups are often identifiable by their relationship to a major livelihood resource, such as coastal fishers, rice farmers or forest dwellers (Mukherjee et al., 2002). Thus, the solutions to poverty must focus on the existing strategies that people use to make a living. All these nature-based livelihood resources are increasingly used for the development of tourism resource bases. As such, in order to contextualise PPT concept further on a more specific tourist destination level, the following chapter will focus on Indonesian protected areas tourism.

Chapter 3 will explore the natural assets in Indonesia and their links to the people's sustainable livelihood. Focus on tourism, poverty and environmental issues will take the discussion through to the creation of protected areas and national parks in Indonesia. The discussion will then elaborate on the most common tourism initiative — ecotourism — that is considered the ideal community-based tourism and it is also seen as the most viable conservation alternative in Indonesia.

3. Indonesian protected areas tourism & poverty alleviation

> *While it is agreed that biodiversity conservation is critical, **how** that happens, **what** is conserved, and **for whom** requires a complex set of trade-offs that protected areas on their own can not achieve* (Roe & Hollands, 2004).

3.1. Introduction

Forests and associated natural resources in Indonesia have long been arenas of conflict amongst stakeholders with differential political power, particularly in regions that are rich in commercially valuable natural resources (Barber & Johnson, 1994; Dove, 1993; Lynch & Talbott, 1995; Poffenberger, 1990). The Government of Indonesia (GoI) faces a constant battle to balance the needs of conservation and at the same time to serve the immense obligation to generate development, for the prosperity of the state.

Created in the middle of areas of high population density, Indonesian national parks are often viewed as a significant threat to surrounding communities' livelihoods. Hence, the most common response from the government is the creation of community-related tourism opportunities, which offer a form of compensation to the local community. Since the majority of Indonesian poor depend heavily on their surrounding natural resources, tourism becomes the only entry point for them to regain some of the benefits, which have been lost through the implementation of government conservation efforts. However, this compensation, instead of focusing on reducing the vulnerability of the poor, is concentrated on a conservation agenda and community 'involvement' in the management of the area.

Clearly, reaching a balance between national park management, tourism development and poverty alleviation is a complex and very significant issue that needs to be tackled further (Goodwin, Kent, Parker, & Walpole, 1997), Particularly due to the fact that the direct adoption of tourism as a poverty elimination strategy is still missing from Indonesia's national development and tourism planning. However, the question remains whether approaching

tourism from the principles of PPT will result in significant differences in the lives of the poor living in and around the national park areas.

This chapter will explore the relationship between Indonesian protected natural resources and the poor, taking into considerations the government policy in protecting these resources, its management and financing complexity. The consecutive sections will explore current tourism roles in bridging conservation and local needs. The sections start by careful comparison between the types of tourism; ones derive from environment protection value (ecotourism) and sustainable livelihood analysis (SLA) and it concludes by questioning the likelihood of tourism, as a protected area development tool, in a pro-poor manner.

3.2. Protected natural assets & the Poor

Indonesia, consisting of 17,000 islands, is a country flourishing with biodiversity; it is ranked first in the world for its number of mammals, palms, swallowtail butterflies and parrot species. Furthermore, it is the centre of plant species diversity for a number of genera and it is one of the world centres of species diversity for hard corals and many other groups of reef-associated flora and fauna. However, due to multiple threats to its forests and their associated biodiversity, Indonesia has been identified, by all recent international priority-setting exercises, as a global priority area for action to conserve biodiversity. A regional biodiversity analysis demonstrated that threats to biodiversity and forests have worsened, since the political, economic and environmental shocks of 1997-1998 (Rhee et al., 2004).

Approximately 40 million Indonesians depend directly on forest resources and millions of others also reap indirect benefits (Bennett & Walton, 2003; World Bank, 2001). Forest and non-forest products are being exploited at unsustainable rates, which adversely affects forest-dependent communities (Rhee et al., 2004, p. xviii). Many of these people also find themselves increasingly impoverished by the economic decline in Indonesia. Poor people

are most dependent on biological resources for their livelihoods and they then suffer the most from the impact of the degradation of biodiversity and environmental services (Rhee et al., 2004, p. 1_3).

In 2003, the rate of deforestation in Indonesia was the highest in the world and it reached 2.4 million hectares per year. Overcapacity in the wood-processing industry, which consumes at least six times the officially allowed harvest (6.3 million m^3 for 2003), is a key factor driving the over-exploitation of forests and illegal logging. Conversion of forests to agricultural purposes is also a primary cause of forest loss and a secondary cause of the 1997-98 forest and land fires, which burned almost 5 million ha and imposed approximately US$8 billion in economic losses on Indonesia's citizens (Rhee et al., 2004).

3.2.1. Protecting natural resources

Until the fall of the New Order[3] regime, control over natural resources lay within the authority of a highly centralised state, characterised by authoritarian rule, aggressive exploitation of natural resources and the marginalisation of forest dependent communities, justified by national laws and policies (Barber & Johnson, 1994; Lynch & Talbott, 1995; Poffenberger, 1990).

Whilst on paper, Indonesia has a reasonably representative set of protected areas, most of these areas come under ongoing multiple threats. Nevertheless, Indonesian national conservation strategies are reasonably well defined and the local human capacity and resources to manage protected areas are steadily improving. There is burgeoning and vocal civil society interest in conserving forests and biodiversity, stimulated in part by

[3] New Order (Indonesian: *Orde Baru*) is the term coined by former Indonesian President Suharto to characterize his regime (1966 – 1998). This regime is associated with heavy centralized government planning and control over the development of Indonesian archipelago.
Derived from various sources including
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/New_Order_(Indonesia)#Beginnings_of_the_New_Order

environmental catastrophes, such as, floods, erosion, landslides, loss of potable water and pollution, which are often caused by bad forestry practices (Rhee et al., 2004).

In late 1998, Indonesian decentralisation laws offered the hope that local governments and communities would purposively respond to environmental crises, at both policy and ground levels (Rhee et al., 2004, p. xviii). Decentralisation promised both great opportunities and challenges.

In theory, devolving control of biodiversity and forest resources to the level of the users most dependent on them should have lead to improved management practices, compared to a situation where management was from afar and control was weak. However, in practice, the central government retained the planning and policy authority for natural resource use and conservation. Although passed later in the same year, the forestry law does not take into consideration the law on decentralisation (Sembiring S et al, 1999).

The Basic Forestry Law articulates a centralised decision making structure, with respect to forest use and management. The implementing regulation for this law (PP No. 34/2003) goes even further and makes explicit centralised regulatory control for forest use and management. This regulation removes the powers of Governors and District Heads to grant small timber exploitation concessions. In other words, the local authorities face legislation and jurisdiction constraints, in securing the natural resources within their areas and managing them for the benefit of the local residents: whichever is deemed the most appropriate.

As part of the confusion within the decentralisation process in Indonesia, the defining of roles and responsibilities between central and district authorities is still largely unclear. District level sectoral agencies (e.g., forestry, mining and environment) are accountable to the district government and not the national government. Thus, central agencies have had their capacity to implement programmes reduced, whilst local agencies have increased their capacity,

resulting in less central guidance, management and control. District governments issue regulations and permits, which allow or prohibit actions that may not conform to national laws. The central agencies may not recognise local rules as legitimate, but they do not have sufficient resources to consistently enforce the rules across Indonesia (MoFEC, 2000).

Yet to date, the effects of decentralisation have been primarily negative for Indonesia's biodiversity, forest resources and forest dependent communities. This is, of course, not due to decentralisation per se, but rather the context within which it was instituted, namely, it was a reaction to a prior situation and it has been implemented by a set of historically weak government institutions. Thus, a key challenge, for biodiversity and forest conservation and management, is to (re) build government and civil society institutions for sustainable and equitable development (Rhee et al., 2004, p. 2_21).

Hence, the factors driving Indonesian environment degradations are not only multiple, but they are also the legacy of the New Order (World Bank, 2001). Resolution of conflicts over land tenure and management rights are key factors to reducing the on-going rate of deforestation and this will then achieve more sustainable natural resource management. Support for this focus will be through the creation of more awareness that economic gains may be achieved through better land practices, which conserve biodiversity (Curran L et al, 2004; World Bank, 2001). The emphasis on multiple land-use planning is part of a contemporary awareness that biological diversity in Indonesia cannot be sustained within protected areas (PAs) alone, but that it requires management of the entire conservation domain, much of which is outside PAs (Rhee et al., 2004, p. 1_6). However, it remains to be seen whether, in practice, this newfound awareness will shift the centre of environmental debate to a people-centred approach, imbedded within the complexity of local livelihoods.

3.2.2. Managing protected natural resources

In order to achieve the objective of conserving Indonesia's rich biodiversity for Indonesians and the global community, Indonesia's conservation area is sub-categorised into national parks, strict nature reserves, nature recreation parks, wildlife reserves, grand forest parks and hunting parks.

There are numerous government institutions concerned with biodiversity conservation, management of forests and other natural resources in Indonesia (see Box 3.1 below), which has resulted in a set of complex and sometimes counter-effective policies.

Central Government Agency	**Function Related to Biodiversity and Forest Conservation**
1. Min. of Forestry	Jurisdiction over national forest lands (68% of Indonesia's landmass), including protected areas, national parks, nature reserves, etc.
2. Min. of Environment	Responsible for managing environmental impacts, establishing policies, standards and criteria for environmental programmes, and regulating pollution discharges.
3. Min. of Mining and Energy	Regulates oil, mining and other energy industries.
4. Min. of Agriculture	Oversees agriculture sector, in addition to plantation crops.
5. Coord. Min. of Economic Affairs	Coordinates the work of financial sector agencies, including Ministries of Finance, National Planning, Industry and Trade, State Owned Enterprises, and special institutions such as IBRA. Co-chairs the Consultative Group on Indonesia (CGI), a group of donor countries.
6. Min. of Defence	Oversees actions of security forces, which have a role in border protection, law enforcement, military and police operations
7. Min. of Culture and Tourism	Promotes Indonesia as a tourist destination. Sets standards for hotels and tourist facilities
8. Min. of Home Affairs	Major responsibility for decentralised governance policies and practices, in addition to capacity development for regional governments. Oversees approval of district issued regulations, which includes justification of district issued natural resource extraction permits
9. Min. of Industry and Trade	Formerly, regulated licensing of wood processing industry but now only pulp and paper. Regulates international trade, export licensing and tariffs.

10. Min. of Finance	Oversees national budget, taxation policies and the distribution of resource revenue earnings through the decentralisation framework. Also, controls general and special allocation funds, which incorporate part of the reforestation fund.
11. Min. of Settlements and Regional Infrastructure Formerly Department of Public Works.	Oversees public infrastructure investments and plays a role in oversight/review of spatial planning process.
12. Min. of Justice and Human Rights	Strengthens national legal system (including national laws and regulations) in the framework of rule of law, together with human rights.
13. Min. of Research and Technology	Oversees research and technology activities. Conducts research and maintains data systems on the distribution of natural resource wealth in Indonesia. Mapping and GIS capabilities.
14. Armed Forces	Main role is national defence, border protection and public order. Involved in joint efforts with MoF related to illegal logging.
15. National Police	Important role in law enforcement, public order and criminal investigation. Involved in joint efforts with MoF related to illegal logging.
16. National Development Planning Board	Plans and coordinates national level development. Formerly powerful in determining budget allocations, now has the role of Finance.
17. National Land Bureau	Regulates and issues permits for land outside the forest estate.
18. Min of Marine Affairs and Fisheries	Authority over the fishing industry and the proposed increasing role in management of marine protected areas.
19. Judiciary	Judges determine verdicts. Notably weak in issuing guilty verdicts for those clearly involved in illegal logging.
NB: 1-13 are members of Inter Departmental Committee on Forestry (KepPres 80/2000)	

Box 3.1 Central government agency function related to conservation of forests and biodiversity resources
Source: Rhee et al., 2004, p. 2_10

The Ministry of Forestry (MoF) has a prominent role as one of the primary agencies with responsibilities for biodiversity conservation and preservation and the management of forest resources. The MoF is responsible for the system of national parks and other protected areas. It is also the implementing agency for Basic Forestry Law (1999) and the law relating to Conservation of Biodiversity and Ecosystems (1990). The MoF is directly responsible for administration and management of 68% of the land area of Indonesia, in addition to substantial areas of marine environment (including

coral reefs, mangroves and coastal areas), which are included in the national park system (Rhee et al., 2004, p. 2_10).

Protected areas, such as national parks, still fall under the central authority of the MoF, since their management system has not been devolved to district governments. District governments have little if any incentive to manage or conserve national parks and the MoF lacks the financial and human resources (as do the provinces and districts) to manage them properly (Rhee et al., 2004, p. 2_12).

All protected areas in Indonesia, including national parks, have high commercial value in sustaining local livelihoods and generating national income but despite that, national and international laws dictate a requirement for protection, which disregards the reality of local communities' livelihood requirements. However, these laws do provide loopholes for private companies that provide foreign exchange benefits for the nation.

The history of international practice, relating to the setting up of a national park, is very different to the historical reality of how Indonesian national parks came into being. National parks appeared relatively late in Indonesia's protected area (PA) history. The first Indonesian national parks were declared at the 1982 Bali World Park's Congress but they were not enacted until 1990 under Law 5 (Rhee et al., 2004, p. 4_4). The vastly increased international resources for conservation, following the 1992 Rio Earth Summit, allowed experimentation with community-based management in Indonesia on a grand scale. This trend is defining Indonesian national park management, in terms of community-based (co-) management. However, protected areas were difficult to integrate into the Indonesian political economy. Unlike logging or plantation concessions, they did not generate local revenue.

In the mid 1990s, government budgets for protected areas were high, by international standards. For the three-year period 1994-97, the Directorate of Nature Conservation received 19% of the overall MoF Budget (equating to

$34.7 million annually) and national parks received nearly 27% of this allocation ($10.2 million in 1996/97). Nearly 70% of this budget came from two sources, the MoF development budget and the Reforestation Fund, both of which were financed by tax revenues from logging and concession fees (MacAndrews & Saunders, 1998). These sources of funding disappeared, following the economic and political changes of 1997 and the real value of the routine budget was eroded.

Now, international development aid is an important source of funding for PA management in Indonesia, because it accounts for 40-55% of the annual operating budgets of the programmes of eight international conservation NGOs within Indonesia. Any flow on reduction in development aid, to these organisations, could have serious repercussions for the human resource base in protected area policy and management (Rhee et al., 2004, p. 4_10; Wells, Guggenheim, Khan, Wardojo, & Jepson, 1999). This is especially because the GoI's commercialisation efforts of the protected areas through community-based tourism and/or tourism in general do not generate enough funds to manage the continuity of these areas.

The above explained political situation has resulted in the formation of two alternative paradigms of park management in Indonesia (Rhee et al., 2004). The first is a social forestry approach, whereby local government actors and communities together protect and manage forest resources, for their direct socio-economic benefits. The second strand, which is more protectionists, is concerned with managing and protecting attributes of nature, such as mega-fauna, species diversity and wilderness, whose benefits to society accrue at a larger spatial and temporal scale. The first of these paradigms is the government's preferred alternative when managing most of Indonesian national parks. Hence, this thesis is concentrating on one of such management partnerships: Gunung Rinjani National Park, in relation to PPT.

3.2.3. Financing protected areas

A number of policy studies have considered options to replace the anticipated decline in revenues from logging, which financed PA management in Indonesia before 1997. Ideas for alternative financing can be divided into two types: a) those that can generate revenues at a scale to finance PA management through the government's (MoF) budget; and b) those, which reduce the cost of park management by building local buy-in, through improving the livelihoods of rural peoples. The first category includes debt-for-nature swaps and carbon credits and the second includes low-impact resources extraction and community-ecotourism (Wells et al., 1999). This second option, to build buy-in through community-ecotourism, is the focus of this thesis and there will be further elaboration in the following sections of this chapter.

A number of political, economic and technical problems have so far thwarted financing mechanisms, which seek to promote co-management of protected areas, through the provision of new income sources for communities and/or local government. Amongst these financial debates, Indonesia has seen rises in ecotourism initiatives in recent years. It is uncertain, however, whether Indonesian terrestrial protected areas can attract international tourists (for national foreign exchange revenue purpose), on a significant scale. Furthermore, targeting the domestic tourist segment will mean major challenges in increasing most Indonesian's spending capacity and time for leisure. In terms of dive tourism, for example, Indonesia's reefs, seamounts and currents are of an international standard, but building an economically significant marine tourism industry would require major investments in transport infrastructure, in addition to major reforms in licensing and organising the tourism industry. Nonetheless, whether this financial consideration will eventually shift the concern into a genuine concern for people's livelihoods, which are highly interlinked with poverty in Indonesia, remains to be seen.

3.3. Tourism: A bridge between conservation & local needs

For many years, the interests of government, conservation organisations or private landowners dominated decision-making relating to protected areas. Historically, creating public protected areas meant declaring ecosystems as public lands and resources. This factor is a part of Northern hemisphere priorities that drive international conservation agendas, which are controversial when applied to a Southern setting, particularly in developing countries. This incompatibility is mainly due to the lack of attention paid by this type of conservation agenda, to the traditional resource use patterns and tenure rights issues in the developing country's setting (Roe & Hollands, 2004).

The 2003 World Parks Congress (WPC) and 2004 Programme of Work on Protected Areas of the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) reflected a shift in the world conservation agenda (Borrini-Feyerabend, Kothari, & Oviedo, 2004; Borrini-Feyerabend, Pimbert, Farvar, Kothari, & Renard, 2004). This new focus recognised that the disruption of well-established human-nature balances caused deep-rooted conflicts and unexpected pressures on natural systems. Therefore, these new approaches now embarked on a new focus, based on the idea of integrating protected areas with wider uses and values, including cultural assets, livelihood uses and ecosystem services.

Protected areas can be a beneficial source of environmental services and employment, if they are managed for local needs. However, many cases have shown that the establishment of protected areas has, in fact, increased poverty, often amongst the poorest of the poor (Bigg & Satterthwaite, 2005; Brown, 2001; Ghimire & Pimbert, 1998; Roe, 2005; Roe & Hollands, 2004).

Now, finally, the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) is also recognising the United Nations Millennium Development Goals specifically, poverty reduction. It is acknowledging that economic and social development and poverty eradication are the first and overriding priorities for developing

countries. This preamble is in line with the World Parks Congress' (WPC) 2003 recommendation to link more closely the quality of protected areas governance with the well-being and quality of the surrounding society (Wells & Brandon, 1992).

The future of protected areas, as argued by Molnar et al. (2004), depends upon: a mix of management approaches and conservation models tailored to the local conditions; increased local involvement in conservation; making the best used of local and traditional knowledge and information; the development of fair and dynamic tourism; and ecosystem service markets. However, the much-needed initial approach based on sustainable livelihood analysis (SLA) and PPT is yet missing from their proposed arguments.

Tourism in the rural areas of Indonesia, indeed, needs to be approached sensitively in a fair and dynamic manner. It is not ethical to disregard people's traditional livelihood sources, since, for too many people it is simply not possible to change, due to high associated risks and/or the lack of required capacity. These risk-associated income sources, such as tourism are unlikely to be pursued just for the sake of income diversification. Rural tourism interventions, in particular, need to start from the reality that local people need to survive on a daily basis and it is not ethical to take away their source of traditional living per se and worse, without providing the tools for them to pursue other options (Roberts, Mitchell, & Hall, 2003).

In Indonesia, the government has used ecotourism as a mitigation tool in that ecotourism enterprises are seen to provide compensation for those who lose resources when protected areas are established. Ecotourism has received substantial support from the conservation and development communities, as a mechanism to achieve local conservation and development goals. Ecotourism has also become the general terminology used for any nature-based and culture-based community tourism involvement in Indonesia.

However, ecotourism practices in Indonesia and throughout the world in general, rarely start with the local people's livelihoods as the centre of the

development intervention. As such, local realities are sacrificed to make way for tourism business interventions, in the name of servicing tourist expectations. The following section will explore the main contradictions between sustainable livelihood approach (SLA) and the ecotourism concept, in addressing poverty issues and it highlights the rationale for PPT.

3.3.1. Contradiction between SLA & ecotourism

To achieve a sustainable livelihood requires a new problem analysis of the environment and its development at the local level (WCED, 1987). This new approach is based on people-centredness and participation (Glavovic, Scheyvens, & Overton, 2002).

Ecotourism, on the other hand, is a form of tourism based on nature – it is tourism where the primary attraction is the environment, where tourists are mostly well informed about and sensitive to the environment and local cultures and where efforts are made to maximise returns to the local economy (Fennell, 1999).

Ecotourism is complementary to the maintenance of biodiversity but not to the people-centredness approach of sustainable livelihoods. This focus encourages local people to respect protected areas and it creates strategies within rural livelihood diversification as an incentive.

On the other hand, the sustainable livelihood approach recognises a range of capitals, beyond natural capital, in order to alleviate poverty (see Diagram 3.1 below). As such, caution in the use of ecotourism principles is crucial.

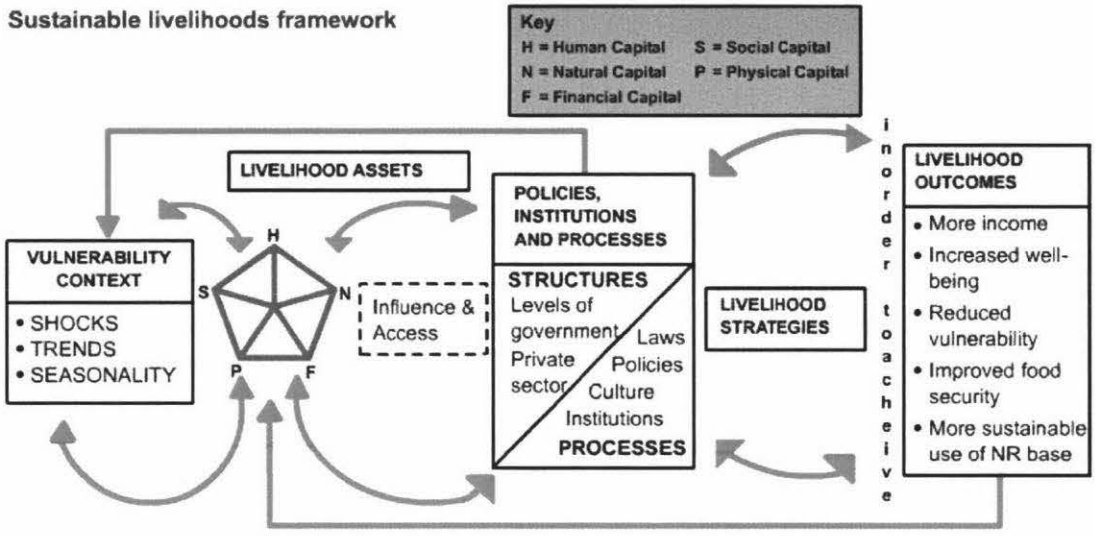


Diagram 3.1 Sustainable livelihoods framework
Source: Livelihoods Connect. Retrieved on 20 February 2007 from http://www.livelihoods.org/info/info_guidancesheets.html

Although it could be used as one of the alternatives, ecotourism could not be used as the only 'alternative livelihood' strategy but instead it should only be used as a complimentary strategy to a range of other forms of nature and non-nature based livelihood strategies, which are made available to the community. It is beyond the scope of ecotourism to provide satisfactory answers to sustainable livelihood's complex requirements.

The development of effective and sustainable livelihood strategies are based on diversity, rather than simple uniformity (Glavovic et al., 2002). In essence, the sustainable livelihoods approach is a way of placing people at the centre of development (people-centredness) – where people must define their own needs and define their own goals.

According to DFID (1999/2000), SLA, rather than seeking to minimise the negative impact of human activities towards the environment, it is better to seek to maximise the positive contribution made by the natural environment to people's livelihood outcomes. The goal is participation, which leads to empowerment of the people and therefore it allows each person to participate in their own development. The sustainable livelihood approach is based on

the self-set-determinant factors, which are the goals and the indicators, as perceived by the poor. This approach recognises the importance of promoting more secure access to and better management of natural resources, which will contribute to a significant impact on the alleviation of poverty (Malins, Blowfield, Nelson, Maynard, & Gallet, 1999; Roe, 2005).

According to Scoones (1998):

> *A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including both materials and social resources) and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks maintain and enhance its capabilities and assets, while not undermining the natural resource base* (Scoones, 1998).

According to Cater and Lowman (1994) and Hunter (1995),

> *Ecotourism is a way to put value on the world's precious natural environments and bringing income to local people so they have a long-term vested interest in preserving these environments rather than exploiting it for short-term gain* (Cater & Lowman, 1994; Hunter, 1995).

Some striking questions emerging from this definition of ecotourism are:

1. How high is the price tag on the environment?
2. How much from that price tag is transferable as income for local people?
3. Is the amount transferred enough for the local people to live by?
4. Are there any local reasons for the local people to preserve nature, beyond monetary reasons?

According to Ceballos-Lascurain (1996),

> *Ecotourism is environmentally responsible, enlightening travel and visitation to relatively undisturbed natural areas in order to enjoy and appreciate nature (and any accompanying cultural features both past and present) that promotes conservation, has low visitor impact, and provides for beneficially active socio-economic involvement of local populations (Ceballos-Lascurain, 1996)*

This definition of ecotourism provokes the following inquiry: If they have to leave these areas undisturbed, what must the local people (who rely on these natural resources) do in order to make their living?

In contrast with the sustainable livelihood approach, as mentioned, ecotourism is environmentally centred (Bookbinder, Dinerstein, Rijal, Cauley,

& Rajouria, 1998; Brennan & Allen, 2001; Cater & Lowman, 1994; Clifton & Benson, 2006; Fennell, 1999; Geoffrey, 1997; Karwacki & Boyd, 1995; Ngobese, 1994; Oliver, 2005; Ross & Wall, 1999; Scheyvens, 1999). It seeks to minimise the negative impact of human activities towards the environment, by providing financial incentives, as a reward for conservationism behaviour. The focus is to encourage local people to respect protected areas and to create a diversified strategy of tourism for rural livelihoods as the incentive.

The ecotourism approach does not begin with the local people's reality in mind but with the conservationist's reality. It searches for innovative ways to help finance the management associated costs of natural resources, which belong to governments and/or business entities. This undermines the local people's realities and basic principles, in their search to secure a livelihood. Although ecotourism can be used as a source of income, its equal distribution is difficult to achieve. Despite the fact that ecotourism, to some extent, can be used to promote and preserve local culture, in its implementation, however, local culture's underlying social meanings could be diluted further which cause cultural degradation. As in some cases, conflicts could arise from the mixing up of 'modern' culture with the local culture. Nevertheless, one can also argue the same for any other kind of 'modern' development interventions.

The following are comments made by Thaman (1994, p. 188) and Theopile (1995, p. 27) cited by Scheyvens (2006) when recognising the need for ecotourism practices to start with an analysis process, seen from economic and livelihood aspects:

> *In Western industrial societies, where large amounts of land are privately or state-owned, and where legislation can be enacted to promote conservation and wildlife protection, and prohibit resource degradation, tourism and conservation verge on the symbiotic. This (idealized) view of ecotourism becomes problematic in the context of Pacific Island (developing countries – emphasis made by author) societies, where economic livelihoods (20% - 80% of real incomes) and cultural integrity depend on the continued use of ecosystems on a sustainable basis, be they forests, the sea, rivers, beaches, reefs, or agricultural and village lands. Thus while 'communities do not want to destroy their environment ... they do need ways to maintain or improve their standards of living'.*

Comparing the concept of sustainable livelihood and ecotourism, the most apparent contradictions arise from the basic realities, from where each concept derives its approach. These immediate contradictions are discussed as follows.

The first contradiction is that these environments do not belong to the people, even though their livelihood generally depends on them. By law, these environments belong to the government and they are off limits to the local communities. However, permission is given for economic exploitations to privileged groups, such as mining, timber and large tourism companies. The first consideration should be to look at the section of environment and seeing how it actually relates to the local communities, before any 'conservation' law are invented. How did the people create their livelihood portfolio around this nature-based resource? How did their social and cultural life and so forth co-exist and co-evolve within this nature-human relationship? This is not a question of 'people first' or 'environment first' but it is the original state of the land, where people and nature coexisted, before power 'blocking' and 'cake cutting' by government and private sector ownership.

Secondly, income generated by local people is concentrated within small privileged groups, which have been established because of the opening up of areas as tourism destinations. Ecotourism provides an alternative for income diversification but only for a small segment of the community. It does not reduce the vulnerability of the community as a whole. Indeed, this vulnerability increases in the correlation within many macro level tourism factors, for example with the complete dependence on tourist flow, the tourism operator system, government policy on travel and economic and political stability. It may open up a niche market but, when it becomes profitable, if it is adopted and monopolised as a mainstream product, thus creating competition between mainstream operators and local operators and vice versa.

Finally, the 'long vested interest in preserving the environment rather than exploiting it for short-term gain' statement, which is part of the ecotourism definition, induces further questions: Whose interests are we safeguarding and whose daily life survival is used as the trade-off? What can be used to justify the fact that the privileged few can use the same environment to the maximum? Does adopting the ecotourism principle also mean, in practice, the fostering of short-term gain, instead of long-term advantage? Does adopting ecotourism, in practice, contradict the needs of preservation and conservation, which stand against any kind of usage? What kind of usage is good usage?

3.3.2. Tourism as a development tool in protected areas

As mentioned, mass tourism and nature-based tourism are still the largest focus of Indonesian tourism development. Similar to any other forms of economic development (mining, forestry, dam construction, housing and industrial estates), tourism takes place against a background of competing interests. The politics of Indonesian tourism is highly saturated with competition for (and consumption of) scarce resources, where local, national and trans-national interests compete for control (Aditjondro, 1995; C. M. Hall, 1994; Hirsch & Warren, 1998; Lucas, 1992).

Indonesia is yet to develop a comprehensive co-operative management system, in order to achieve a sustainable tourism development. Issues of land access, employment, training, provision of goods and services may seem insignificant, in the light of more pressing financial, economic and political questions that Indonesia continues to confront. However, a large and prolonged imbalance of power relationships and elite interests, particularly between tourism developers and host communities, can have a severe impact on critical security, at the sub-national level (Fallon, 2001; Hitchcock, King, & Parnwell, 1993). In the long run (if this condition continues) and combined with the natural volatility of tourism industry, the national tourism plan will be rendered insignificant in achieving its goals at both the national

economic development level and the local socio-economic poverty stabilisers.

Fallon (2001), in her study relating to conflict, power and tourism, states that, in most cases, the local population is increasingly realising the power that tourism can hold to provide a better economic future. People are not opposed to tourism development, per se, but want the opportunity to negotiate with the government and the private sector. They seek more transparency and consultation and less corruption in their area's tourism development. The request is indeed in line with the Government of Indonesia (GoI) tourism philosophy of not 'objectifying' the local population but instead seeking ways to encourage the local community to be an active subjects in the tourism development (Ardika, 2006).

It is crucial to develop sound, cooperative planning for Indonesia being seen as a tourist destination, if the aim is to reduce tourism's negative impact and enhance its positive impacts. As argued by Inskeep (1991), tourism should be viewed as an interrelated system that ought to be planned as such. All elements of regional tourism, such as transportation, accommodation, promotion, attractions and information need concrete planning, in order to avoid conflicts between tourism sub-sectors. Community-based and incremental planning are suggested as a planning process, which can be used together, to ensure collaborative consideration of all interrelated elements in the planning process at one time, on long and consecutive stages of development (Hudson, 1979; Inskeep, 1991; B. Mitchell, 1989).

To capture the full potential of tourism as part of the effort to mitigate poverty, environmental, economical and wider social issues, tourism ought to be integrated into the overall plan and total development strategy of Indonesia as a destination, particularly for district and local planning (Boyle, 1993; Carbone, 2005; Lee, 1987). It is crucial not to single out tourism alone for development. Rather, it should be planned in conjunction with a region's broader development goals (Baud-Bovy, 1982).

In Indonesia, poverty is so often associated with natural resource issues, power concentration and rapid economic development, which serves to widen the gap between the 'haves' and the 'have nots'.

In seeking a balance between people and environment, the concept of Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) is the most common one used in Indonesia. The theory behind CBNRM argues that the best way to manage natural resources is for local people to use their local knowledge and technologies (Blaikie, 2006).

CBNRM aims to achieve both sustainable environmental management and community development and usually there is a link with a tourism component (ecotourism), used as a means to generate income for the local people. The key arguments for CBNRM are: (1) it contributes to poverty reduction, by using local labour and investment; (2) it promotes the use of local knowledge and local technologies, which helps to preserve the local ecosystem.

This local management means that local people have the power and they can make decisions and it creates accountable and democratic local institutions. People have a stake in the protection of their nature capital, which is more effective than government enforcing the use of local resources. It is a better solution for conservation than the 'fencing off' of natural resources and the exclusion of local people. The idea of community management is attractive to policymakers, programme designers and donors. However, since the theory is attractive, policymakers and environmental managers use biased 'success stories' to support the theory. In reality, the communities involved are usually disappointed with the process (Blaikie, 2006; Boyle, 1993; Butcher, 2006; Cameron, 1995; Dowling, 1993; L. A. Fisher, 1999).

With the increasing pressure of GoI to create more protected areas, natural resources are put further from the local community's reach. Common practices in Indonesia show many examples of centralised decision-making

power and resource control, which undermine traditional local resources management.

At the local level, one example illustrated in a case study by Cameron (1995), in Sulawesi Lore Lindu National Park, Indonesia, shows the quantification of the economic dependency of a community on protected area is at least 50% of the village income. In addition, the fewer productive assets the individual households possess, the greater the dependence on forest resources (Cameron, 1995).

In Indonesia, the only way that local communities can gain economic benefits from areas being protected for conservation reasons, is through tourism. The ecotourism trend in Indonesia has mushroomed in recent years but in practice, this tourism product is often non-pro-poor.

Another most commonly applied management prescription, to alleviate existing or potential conflicts between protected areas and the local livelihood, is the development and implementation of alternative livelihood projects. The use of these projects is a common feature of Integrated Conservation and Development Projects (ICDPs). These projects are normally undertaken as extensions of protected area programmes and they often take place in buffer zones: again, many of them have a tourism component. Similar to CBNRM approach, however, the results of the tourism components within ICDPs have often been disappointing, with local people benefiting little from tourism revenues (Goodwin & Roe, 2001; Wells et al., 1999).

The use of tourism as a livelihood strategy is generally complementary to the maintenance of biodiversity. The implementers are usually conservationists, pursuing the purpose of encouraging local people to respect protected areas. This approach, as explained by Goodwin and Roe (2001), is based on the theory that, by creating economic incentives for reserve-adjacent communities (through tourism involvements), nature tourism will support

biodiversity conservation within the protected area, since the financial returns from tourism will decrease the local community's dependency on the protected area resources. In practice, this theory does not work.

The 1992, a survey of 23 most well known ICDPs (Wells & Brandon, 1992) highlighted some of the reasons for the failures encountered in practice. The findings showed that the main reasons why tourism failed to deliver the expected benefits are that tourism revenues generally go directly to the central treasury or to private business with concessions. In addition, tourism revenues are not returned directly to finance any park conservation or management activities and they do not go to the local people living in and/or around the protected areas. The 1998, this survey was further confirmed by a study of the Royal Chitwan National Park in Nepal (Bookbinder et al., 1998). The case study found that nature tourism offered few benefits to local people, since it provided little employment potential for local people and it had only a marginal effect on household income.

According to Goodwin and Roe (2001), any type of conservation-based tourism, such as nature-tourism, ecotourism, sustainable tourism, community-based tourism and alternative tourism, has generally failed the local communities. These failures are mostly associated with economic viability, lack of genuine participation in tourism, unrealistic expectation of aiming for tourism as the livelihood 'alternative' and the complexity of using tourism as the incentive for conservation schemes

Tourism, in general, is a highly competitive industry, market-driven and vulnerable to economic and socio-politic issues, particularly when dealing with international tourism. Therefore, it is essential to determine first the economic viability of any conservation-based tourism products and services. The economic viability is highly linked with sufficient access to adequate markets for tourism products and services. This access, if it is to be used profitably, needs to be paired with a compatible capability level of producers, in order to capture a significant part of the retail price, which is normally

monopolised by large budget tourism players (Larson, Freudenberger, & Wyckoff-Baird, 1998).

In the first instance, to be able, to determine economic viability, it is crucial to understand the full extent of the market for biodiversity commodities and services and predictions of the stability of that market. It is not only essential that the local community has an adequate level of marketing experiences, it is also important to build a supporting network of institutional relationships, if local benefits are to be ensured (Hughes, Smith, & Swiderska, 1998).

All community-based tourism, particularly those in associations with protected areas, is designed within a revenue sharing scheme, for example, through the income sharing of entrance fee collected. However, as mentioned previously, only a small portion of protected areas around the world, that attract large enough number of international tourists (4 out of 50 protected areas), are able to accumulate significant incomes that can be spread amongst the community's members (Goodwin & Roe, 2001). The most attractive destinations are those with large charismatic mega fauna, spectacular scenery, reasonable access and developed infrastructure (Wells & Brandon, 1992). Therefore, to ensure that the revenue sharing scheme is significant and relevant[4], it is crucial to create a strong link between local development, biodiversity conservation activities and the broader tourism activities in the destination area.

Limited financial benefits to the local communities are the most considerable barriers, to local community participation in tourism (Ashley & Roe, 1998). The local community is highly likely to lack the skills and capital to make the best use of their resources. Without the necessary business experience and access to the right marketing links, it is probable that any community-based enterprise will suffer.

[4] Significant and relevant, for examples, involvements beyond the sharing of entrance fee to the development of local enterprises ownership and the building of local procurement links along tourism value chains.

In addition, in most cases, the local elite easily monopolise tourism activities. This is because tourism, by its nature of operation, tends to centre on the type of people who hold the concentration of power - people with education, language skills, or those who happen to live in the strategic place (A. Kothari, Pathak, Suryanarayanan, & Vania, 1997; Scheyvens, 1998).

Furthermore, the lack of linkages with the local economy in the surrounding areas also means that very little of the tourist expenditure will actually stay in the locality visited (Ashley & Roe, 1998). All of these barriers dampen community motivation to participate further in these activities.

Promoting tourism as the 'alternative livelihood' is fundamentally flawed because it fails to recognise that rural households rarely rely on one activity or one source of income (Goodwin & Roe, 2001). The ICDPs fundamental premise of a positive correlation between the increase in local benefits and the increase in conservation and sustainable resource use, in and around protected area, (Sanjayan, Shen, & Jansen, 1997) is disputed by Scoones (1998). Scoones believes that a sustainable rural livelihood is based not just on financial capital, but also on natural, social, human and physical assets (as recognised by SLA). Individuals draw on the combination of all these assets to increase their security, rather than simply wanting an increased income (Scoones, 1998).

Without prior and proper livelihood and market analyses, tourism can be a risky option, if the ultimate objective is poverty alleviation through livelihood security (Goodwin, 2006). The risks are associated with the fact that local tourism industries are vulnerable to a range of national and global events, which are beyond the local people's control. Particularly in the case where there is an over reliance on international tourists, the industry is extremely vulnerable to the tourist-originating countries' downswings (economic, social, political etc.). When zero visitations occur, tourism, as the main source of income, will also collapse. Therefore, there is a direct danger in increasing the vulnerability of the local livelihood by linking it solely to the vulnerability of the tourism industry.

Insensitive persuasion when promoting tourism as the 'alternative' livelihood, will also generate further conflict between other livelihood activities and priorities (Goodwin, Kent, Parker, & Walpole, 1998). However, with proper consideration and prior appropriate analysis and planning, tourism has a high potential as a tool for poverty alleviation (Brockington, Igoe, & Scmidt-Soltau, 2005; J. Mitchell, Ashley, Jarque, Elliot, & Roe, 2006; Roe, 2006). If linkages, within the rural economy and between the rural and urban economies, can be built and nurtured, opportunities for the poor to diversify their livelihood strategies are widened. Thus, tourism can be built in as a very attractive supplement to a broader range of livelihood strategies.

Tourism incentive for conservation is based on the principle of 'if it pays it stays.' Since cash benefits from tourism are often only significant for a minority group of people within any given community, it also yields a minority conservation act exercised by the few (Brandon, 1996; Steiner & Rihoy, 1995). However, conservation of species or habitat, through common property resource management, such as a national park, usually depends on the commitment of all residents or members of the producer community (Murphee, 1993).

Therefore, to ensure collective resource management, it is important to understand that this communal response depends not only on cash incentives but also on local people having rights, responsibilities, skills and appropriate management institutions. Furthermore, when the focus shifts from conservation to people's sustainable livelihoods, it is crucial to base decisions on the people's realities, such as communal responsibility, links with the land, with ancestors and with future generations (Adams & Hulme, 2001; Boonzaier, 1996; Ngobese, 1994).

3.4. Summary

Park tourism in developing countries, particularly in Indonesia, cannot be expected to fully fund park conservation and maintenance. Not only is this caused by a low tourist flow but also it is also affected by insufficient management and planning of the park itself.

Tourism contribution to the sustainable development of local communities is still limited. In order to solve poverty problems, associated with a national park, it is necessary to start with a sustainable livelihood analysis (financial, human, natural, physical, social and cultural capitals) of the poor. This analysis needs to begin from the fact that, by creating the protected area/national park, the poor people's asset (their natural capital) is greatly affected and any mitigation should start from this original base. In relation to national park tourism, it is still debateable whether the benefits derived from tourism activities can significantly decrease poor people's vulnerability.

Clearly, reaching a balance between national park management, tourism development and poverty is a complex and very significant issue to be further tackled (Goodwin et al., 1997). The question remains as to whether approaching tourism in a pro-poor manner will result in significant differences to the life of the poor people in and around the national park areas. This question will be the underlying central inquiry of this thesis and it will be elaborated upon further in the following chapters. The general assumption is that, if various tourism actors can reflect on each other's reality, a consensus on feasible collaborative actions is likely to be found.

The following chapter will present the methodology used in conducting this research. This chapter will also describe the process of collecting, analysing and verifying the primary and secondary data and it will explain the various limitations encountered in the field, during the methodological implementation.

4. Methodology

4.1. Introduction

This chapter describes the research methodology and the ways in which the fieldwork was carried out. The chapter is structured in five main sections. The first section explores how research permission was obtained and how the fieldwork was implemented in the selected area. The second section outlines the research methodology, which was chosen as the most appropriate way for conducting the fieldwork. The third section includes details on respondent categories, how the respondents were selected and how the data was collected, analysed and presented back to the respondents, before my departure from the field. The final two sections explore the study's limitations and present my field experiences, including some conflicts of interests that emerged, due to my dual roles as a former working partner with some of the respondents and as the current independent researcher.

4.2. Choice of topic & fieldwork preparation

As will be explained further in Chapters 5 and 6, the NZAID - Gunung Rinjani National Park Project (GRNPP) was established in 1999 and sought to foster a new type of partnership between government sectors, community members and organisations, and the tourism private sector. This partnership is in line with the GoI approved alternative park management strategy with a social forestry approach and the building of a local buy-in through community-eco-tourism, as explained in Chapter 3.

Throughout 2002 until early 2003, I had the pleasure of holding the position of Rinjani Trek Manager. Since I was part of the Lombok field team for GRNPP, I was stationed at the head office in Mataram town and in two of the project villages Senaru (West Lombok) and Sembalun Lawang (East Lombok). GRNPP, during that period, was embarking on the

commercialisation stage of its Rinjani community-based tourism products and services. Hence, as the manager for the two information centres, Rinjani Trek Centre (RTC, Senaru) and Rinjani Information Centre (RIC, Sembalun Lawang), I was responsible for the bridging of communication between various village stakeholder groups and the wider circle of tourism private sector players, within and outside Lombok.

Amongst my priorities were the development of the villagers' business skills and knowledge. I found that it was difficult to marry an interest in development with the establishment of successful tourism enterprises. These experiences generated my inquisitiveness to follow through with this research. My passion and interest were (and remain) to develop further understanding of the dynamic relationship between development and business, particularly in association with protected areas tourism.

Instead of exploring how business should function, from the ideal development point of view, my research sought to focus on understanding how the business point of view shaped the way development was undertaken. For this reason, I decided, prior to the fieldwork, that my selected respondents should represent tourism business institutions, various related government officials, tourism and community groups/organisations and various non-government organisations in Lombok, instead of individual members of the local communities.

The main idea at that time was to explore various institutional viewpoints, particularly those in the private sector, relating to the possibility of using tourism as a poverty alleviation tool in Lombok. A secondary idea was to explore issues that arise when various institutions are brought together to discuss the links between tourism and poverty, in relation to Lombok's development.

This fieldwork was taken up with encouragement from the current (2007) chairperson of Rinjani Trek Management Board (RTMB), who represents the Board's continuous efforts to find and implement strategies to deliver more of

the park's tourism benefits back to the local community. Before leaving for the fieldwork, an introductory letter covering research objectives, the length of fieldwork, methodology, methods and questions list (see Appendix 1) were provided to the RTMB chairperson and the Head of Gunung Rinjani National Park management. This was offered in the hope that RTMB and GRNP management would later take on full ownership of the findings and use them for development purposes within the national park.

Prior to arriving in the field, business respondents were pre-selected, using a contacts list provided by RTMB. Upon arrival in Lombok, the same introduction letter and information sheet (see Appendix 2) were sent to all business respondents by email, mail or by personal delivery.

4.3. Research methodology

The possibility of links between tourism and poverty reduction is still a new concept for people in Lombok. For this reason, this study aimed to explore various institutional viewpoints relating to this possibility. Through this research, I wished to create an opportunity to bridge the gap between various stakeholders, who do not normally come and plan together for the overall development of Lombok. In the hope that I could share my research with the Rinjani stakeholders and with the expectation that my respondents would take ownership of the findings, I chose to base my fieldwork on action research and qualitative methodologies.

4.3.1. Action research

The concept of action-research has its origins in the work of social psychologist Kurt Lewin but it has been further developed by numerous researchers (Taylor, Goodrich, & Bryan, 1995). Whilst researchers may differ in their emphasis on action or research, most agree on the cyclical nature of action, followed by reflection, which is then followed by further action (Chamala & Mortiss, 1990; Chambers, 1997). Action research typically

proceeds through cycles of action/intervention and reflection and it is therefore iterative and adaptive (Taylor et al., 1995).

Most conventional research methods gain their rigor by control, standardisation, objectivity, and the use of numerical and statistical procedures (Chamala & Mortiss, 1990). Such methods were deemed inappropriate for me to achieve what I had set out to explore, understand and contribute, whereas, in action research, the aim is responsiveness (McNiff, 2002). In this case, I aimed principally to be responsive to the tourism users of the park and the tourism planners in Lombok. This would include their concerns and what they might see as problems that needed to be addressed.

According to Taylor et al. (1995), for any group action there are four action-based key ingredients need to be present.

1. A pressure for change
2. A shared vision
3. A capacity for change
4. A set of actionable first steps

These four key ingredients are used for the analysis and conclusion of the possibility of any group action of my private sector respondents, which will be presented in the final chapter of this thesis (Chapter 7).

Recalling my past working experiences with various Rinjani stakeholder groups, I hoped that, by using action research methodology, I would encourage the private sector respondents to reflect on their practices and to consider acting to ensure more benefits to the poor in the future.

By using semi-structured interviews and a workshop (see section 4.4.3.), I was looking to discover whether the respondents felt there was a genuine need to improve or change the existing tourism practices, in relation to development concerns. If this need existed, then it was safe to assume that there was *pressure for change*. However, without a clear, *shared vision* (involving general agreement on the key tourism and development issues and priorities), any action taken by the respondents would lack focus and the

initial motivation would be easily lost. Therefore, I tried to initiate and manage a process of inquiries, which enabled people to express their views through semi-structured interviews, a workshop and the accessing of various organisations' documentation. This research will present the common and contradicting views of the respondents.

In keeping with action research, semi-structured interviews, workshop exercises and secondary data analysis results were provided back to the respondents. The results consist of the respondents' general understanding of the private sector's current practices, their point of view on linkages between tourism and poverty and their daily constraints in linking business, social and environmental issues. I hoped that the presentation of the respondents' contextual situation, which explains their *capability, and incapability for change*, would encourage constructive collaboration in the future.

Through the presentation of my findings, I also anticipated demonstrating that, even when respondents felt they did not have the skills to take on key roles in community development in relation to GRNP tourism, they did possess profound knowledge and understanding of their own situations and the issues that needed to be addressed. This knowledge and experience should be respected and utilised, and mutual learning encouraged (Taylor et al., 1995). Respondents may also lack the skills or ability to implement the strategies they have committed themselves to and the timeframe they have set themselves to achieve these goals. Encouragement and support may therefore be required to get people involved or to keep them involved (McNiff, 2002). This might happen if the respondents study and accept my findings and then acted upon them.

To complete the first cycle of this action research quest, it was crucial for one or some of the respondents to assume leadership positions, in order to ensure that constructive collaboration efforts would take place in the near future (Taylor et al., 1995). In this case, the highest probability of this

happening lay with the RTMB. As such, *a set of actionable first steps* could be collaboratively planned. I began the process by:

1. Exploring various institutional viewpoints on tourism and poverty
2. Searching for possible common threads for future collaborative actions
3. Creating, during the interviews, an initial awareness about responsible tourism business conduct
4. Finding a common interest for further discussions amongst respondents

The next section will explain my choice of a qualitative research methodology since it was complimentary to the action research approach.

4.3.2. Qualitative research

This research is also based on qualitative methodology. Qualitative research is selected because it provides the means to understand the actions and perceptions of various respondents. By choosing qualitative research, I have to undertake three commitments (Bryman & Burgess, 1999). Firstly, I have to be prepared to explore the meaning of spoken, unspoken and body language of my respondents. Secondly, I have to explore the nature and causes of my respondents' actions and thirdly, I need to empathise with their constraints. This methodological approach also means that I need to be able to acknowledge any personal bias on my part, as the researcher in conducting the research and analysing and presenting the findings.

Most importantly, I do not seek to justify a certain set of theories but instead I seek to provide insights from various respondents, which can then be used by them in the future, as a starting point for collaborative action.

4.4. Research methods

The following section describes the key respondents, data collection procedures, methods and the fieldwork timeframe.

4.4.1. Respondent selection

The private sector was the main respondent category for the research. I focused on travel agents in Lombok, individual business entrepreneurs in Senaru and Sembalun Lawang villages and two co-operatives established by GRNPP.

My rationale for focusing on trekking organisers was based on the fact that GRNP tourism is associated with trekking for recreation and religious purposes. Although promoted by government agencies as an ecotourism destination, the main drivers of the trekking industry are the trek organisers. These trek organisers consist mainly of travel agents, trek organiser outlets (normally associated with independent trekking guides), local community trek organisers (including small local inns, in association with independent trekking guides) and local pilgrim organisers. Whilst there are also domestic independent trekkers, due to the lack of institutional affiliation, these domestic trekkers were excluded from my targeted research respondent groups.

These private sector actors benefit most from the use of the park as a tourism and religious destination. They hold the 'legal' usage of natural resources within the park. Therefore, if local communities are to stand a chance of enjoying the tourism benefits of the park, they need to affiliate themselves with these trek organisers' tourism activities. The involvement of local community in tourism is not automatic: it depends highly on these business operators' willingness to share their profits.

For both tourism and religious reasons, the conservation of the national park's natural resources is highly desirable. Therefore, it is logical to seek these trek organisers' contribution to national park conservation, since their operations are based on 'selling' the park's natural resources, as the main component of their trekking packages, which are marketed to customers for leisure and/or religious purposes. These trek organisers could contribute

valuable inputs into the park's management in general and they are the driving force for bringing in the market demand, which determines the overall development of GRNP tourism. Hence, it is also important to explore their interest and willingness to contribute to the park's collaborative management and development.

Businesses could also act as a significant agent for change and it is therefore important to explore their pro-active actions in educating their customers about the park and generating further awareness relating to conservation, people and culture. Businesses, in one way or another, are shaping the way development is undertaken. Instead of describing ideal ways in which development needs businesses, in order to function, it might be more fruitful to create an understanding about the underpinning ways of business practices. This, in turn, might provide insights about how to create symbiotic relationships between the two spheres.

4.4.2. Respondent recruitment

I acquired most of my respondents through recommendation from the RTMB, which focused my respondent recruitment on those businesses actively involved in GRNP tourism. I also accessed information from public listings (yellow pages, websites and advertisements), through personal contacts and referrals from respondents upon making enquiries.

My research complies with Massey University's Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations involving Human Participants. All respondents were thus informed about the research and their rights to choose to participate or withdraw their participation.

Prior to undertaking the fieldwork, my research project was evaluated by peer reviews and it was judged low risk. In assessing the ethical issues present, I was required to participate in an 'in-house' ethics meeting prior to fieldwork, with academics from my School. In addition, I also benefited from the

monthly Development Studies Masters students' meetings and regular group discussions. Consequently, the Massey University's Human Ethics Committees did not need to review my project further. Rather, I was required to submit a Low Risk Notification form, together with the Ethics Screening Questionnaire, to the Massey University Research Ethics Office.

I was responsible for the ethical conduct of my research. In order to obtain the informed consent from my respondents, I prepared consent forms, which I provided to the respondents, prior to the interviews. Generally, I acquired the respondents' consent through personal visits, when I obtained their oral permission. In order to ensure that all respondents remained anonymous and all information was treated confidentially, unless names were permitted for direct quotes, I included an anonymity and confidentiality clause in my consent forms and I mentioned this fact orally to each respondent. During the interviews, I also made sure that my respondents were aware that I would guarantee the security/privacy of all information gathered and that the information would only be used for writing up my complete thesis requirements.

Participants were respondents who represented, either independently or through an organisation (travel agents), people who sold trekking trips and expressed a willingness to be involved in my research. Non-village-based individual organisers, such as freelance city guides, were not included as potential respondents. There were a handful of travel agents and village-based individuals selling trekking trips in Lombok. My research attempted to cover all individuals/organisations that met the trekking and consent criteria. Participation in the research was voluntary and there was no payment made to encourage involvement.

4.4.3. Data collection methods and procedures

I collected data from semi-structured interviews, a participatory workshop and secondary data from various organisations' documents. The following sections will further elaborate on these methods and procedures.

4.4.3.1. Semi-structured interviews

Prior to the fieldwork, I was operating on an assumption that PPT would be a foreign topic amongst my intended respondents. Therefore, I deliberately chose a semi-structured interview method. This is the most adequate tool to capture how a person thinks and at the same time, it allows the introduction of new ideas on the topic. Not only would semi-structured interviews allow me to capture my respondents thinking as much as possible, it was also a suitable tool for intervention (Honey, 1987). I was hoping that semi-structured interviews would compliment my chosen action research methodology, in order to induce new thinking and changes in perception amongst my respondents.

A semi-structured interview allowed me to also follow, in depth, the process of thinking, by posing new questions based on answers received (Mertens, 1998). Whilst this method would make each interview different, this tool provided me with the highest chance to minimise a rigid Q&A setting, in order to create a comfortable feeling of a natural "chatting" environment. It allowed my respondents to explain more complex feelings and attitudes on the matters to be discussed (Berg, 2007; Bryman & Burgess, 1999; Fossey, Harvey, McDermott, & Davidson, 2002; Silverman, 2004).

The semi-structured interviews focused on the following topics:

- The importance of conserving the national park's natural resources
- The importance of community development for the people living around the national park, in relation to park tourism
- Willingness to participate and contribute to the overall management of the park

- Capability and constraints to constructive participation and contribution to conservation and community development

4.4.3.2. Participatory workshop

At the end of my fieldwork, I also decided to conduct a participatory workshop, in order to learn more about the ways a group of respondents discuss similar topics to those presented in individual interviews. This was also the method that I used to explore the existence of the four action-based key ingredients (see section 4.3.1 and Chapter 7), within the private sector group.

This workshop was designed to enable representatives of various Rinjani's stakeholders, to come together to discuss and explore each stakeholder's point of view on the possible linkages between tourism and poverty in Lombok. The composition of the participants in the workshop was broadened to include not only private sector respondents but also provincial/district planning and tourism agencies, members of RTMB and other participants who might be deemed relevant by RTMB.

4.4.3.3. Secondary data collection and analysis

Various organisations' documentation was collected and analysed, in order to provide background information on:

- Lombok and Rinjani tourism
- National park planning and tourism development
- District tourism and development planning
- Trek organisers' business practices, in relation to conservation and community development

4.4.4. Data analysis, verification & presentation

Data collected from the semi-structured interviews was analysed in order to identify integrating themes. Opinions from the main business players were compared and contrasted with the village-based business players, in alignment with the two main topics of conservation and community development. Secondary data, collected from various organisations, served as background for the discussion and the context setting. Finally, theoretical background material was scrutinised against the acquired fieldwork information.

Before departing from the field, I distributed a preliminary summary of the semi-structured interviews by email and through printouts, to all respondents. Upon receiving it, some of the respondents orally verified they had received this early raw information. Most respondents are looking forward to receiving the complete summary of the final thesis work.

The mini-workshop, conducted at the end of the fieldwork, provided a wider angle to the presentation of various stakeholders' opinions on the link between tourism and poverty. The information collected was the result of participants' discussion on the matter and this information is presented in Chapter 6.

During the data analysis process, I had the privilege to correspond, through email, with some of the key respondents, for further data clarification and I collected further inputs which helped to make sense of various themes.

4.5. The study's limitations

As mentioned previously, action research work typically proceeds through cycles of action/intervention and reflection and it is therefore iterative and adaptive (Taylor et al., 1995). However, I recognise the limitations of my research, in fulfilling the whole cycle of action-reflection-action on its own. The limited time available, the scope of the Masters level research undertaken and the undeniable outsider role that I played as a researcher, have all placed barriers for me to participate fully in the process of change. Nevertheless, I hope that by presenting the findings of the fieldwork to the respondents, they will continue on their own action-reflection activities.

In addition, there is a limitation that needs to be acknowledged in this research, when evoking the participants' sense of ownership of the findings (particularly RTMB's and GRNP Management's). Through owning the findings of this research, both RTMB and GRNP management could play a leadership role in; inducing pressure for change; a shared vision amongst various stakeholders; an understanding of the extent of each stakeholder's capacity for change; and finally a series of actionable first steps agreed by all. However, I was not sure whether in fact RTMB or GRNP management would be willing to take on this role.

In conducting the fact-finding process, I focused on private sector perceptions relating to economic benefits, which underlies most of their daily activities. Thus, social, cultural and political aspects were not given direct attention in this research.

In exploring issues relating to conservation, environmental problems caused by irresponsible usage in the areas adjacent to the park did not fall within the scope of this research. In addition, the conservation problems discussed were only those raised by the private sector actors.

4.6. Experiences from the field

Fieldwork in Lombok, Indonesia, was conducted on schedule, within the planned timeframe from 19 May 2007 until 1 July 2007 and within the allocated budget. Respondents were located in various parts of the Mataram town areas and three villages from three of Lombok's West, Central and East Districts.

I spent my first point of contact in the field at the RTMB office, establishing old contacts and gathering information necessary to plan the next move and confirm my interview schedule. I received full RTMB support and they allowed me the use of their office facilities.

In the first week, I was also able to acquire RTMB's support to fully fund the planned workshop. This was a major step, which indicated the willingness of the RTMB to take a significant interest in the research topic and hopefully, in the long run, to take ownership of the findings. With a visit and brief interview with the Head of the GRNP management, I was able to confirm GRNP's interest in discovering more information about its tourism stakeholders' position on conservation and community development-related issues. They gave me full access to relevant park documents, which have been valuable in presenting accurate background information on the park.

Whilst collecting secondary data, I found that accurate Lombok demographic data is difficult to confirm. The provincial bureau of statistic (BPS NTB) only had a limited amount of published information (up to 2005) and I conducted this fieldwork in 2007. Detailed data on poverty, for village level analysis, is non-existent. There is also no clear data collection and presentation concerned with Lombok's tourism sector and the directly contributing sub-sectors.

It was easy to schedule interviews with travel agents and village-based trek organisers and I conveniently reached most respondents by landline and mobile phones. Generally, I conducted the interviews at the time agreed with

each respondent. Interviews progressed smoothly and all respondents were very responsive and cooperative.

I found some difficulty locating the pilgrimage organisers. Fortunately, the Balinese community have a governmental central organiser, who I could contact. However, for the Sasak community pilgrimages, I discovered that almost all traditional villages have their own organisers. To locate these people meant that I would need to visit each individual village. Due to time and budget constraints, I was only able to contact two Sasak organisers. However, during the course of my fieldwork research, I decided to concentrate fully on private sector business endeavours, whilst sidelining other issues that I had previously thought I would explore. It would have been fascinating to contrast the cultural usage aspect of the park by pilgrims with the business players' point of view, however I realised that I did not have the liberty to explore this angle, due to the time and budget constraints.

There are three legal entrances to the GRNP, and another one under review. For my fieldwork, I just focused on two entrances. These two entrances are the ones most familiar to me as the researcher and they are commercially developed. However, I experienced some conflict of interest whilst interviewing respondents from these two entrance villages, since I had been a former project consultant who had worked closely with them in the past: now I was coming to them in my role as an independent researcher.

During the interviews, particularly with the village-based trek organisers, I had to remind myself constantly not to ask leading questions and/or offer suggestions for actions, as part of a certain problem-solving effort as I would normally have done as a project consultant. In some cases, village respondents also had the tendency to describe the past project's efforts, instead of their own, perhaps influenced by the fact that we had been working together previously on the same project.

Meanwhile, some city-based travel agents applauded the past project's programmes, instead of explaining more about themselves, perhaps thinking that compliments were what I wanted to hear, since I had been a former project employee. Some respondents were still unconvinced that I was an independent researcher, with no affiliation to the GRNPP, as I was a recipient of an NZAID scholarship. This assumption was unavoidable, since NZAID funds GRNPP and NZAID is the agency, which funded my study.

During the fieldwork, I needed to adapt my data collection methods, due to the lack of respondents' familiarity with the interlinked issues between tourism and poverty. I modified the original workshop plan into a mini workshop and narrowed down the topics for discussion, in order to elicit answers to the following four questions:

1. What classified a person as poor?
2. What make this person poor? (Based on answers given for #1)
3. How can tourism answer these reasons for poverty? (Based on answers given for #2)
4. What is needed to enable tourism to answer these poverty questions? (Based on answers given for #3)

The number of workshop participants decreased and include only one or two representatives from each relevant stakeholder group. The following section explains this change of plan.

As mentioned, I had to cancel the intended participatory workshop and instead conduct a mini-workshop. This change was due to my semi-structured interview experiences and consultations with RTMB, GRNP and other related government agencies' representatives. These experiences made me realise how foreign is the concept of poverty elimination through tourism in Lombok. Therefore, instead of conducting a wide participatory workshop for stakeholders, I decided to test the pro-poor tourism (PPT) concept, within a smaller scale workshop involving a few selected key individuals.

The mini-workshop participants represented various stakeholders within GRNP tourism. They came from the National Park Management Authority,

Provincial Tourism Department, Lombok District Tourism Agency, the private sector, NGOs, CBOs[5] and religious and community leaders. I planned to divide participants into two discussion groups, with each group discussing the same topics amongst themselves. I wanted the results of these group discussions presented by each group's representative and discussed afterwards, in order to assimilate both groups' results, with the researcher acting as the moderator. In taking on the role of moderator, I only planned to provide the relevant questions for discussion. However, the workshop overall followed the participants' course of discussion and I then became the note taker for the proceedings. I intentionally took on this role, once the discussion of tourism and poverty issues took on a life of its own through group dynamics.

Although I planned this research as the initial stage of an action/reflection/action cycle, my fieldwork experiences instilled in me some doubts about the possibility of that cycle actually occurring. These doubts intensified through my observations of the group dynamics, during the group discussions and the overall mini-workshop proceedings.

One of the crucial contributing factors is that I began this action/reflection/action cycle as an outsider, which made local ownership a problem. Whilst in theory, an outsider could begin action research, in practice (and in my research case in particular) substantial group action can only be achieved if the initiator's role comes from within the group. This initiator role needs to be perceived by all stakeholders as the ultimate authority role, with an unbiased capability to accommodate various stakeholders' needs and requirements.

Despite my introduction on the issues of tourism business practices in Lombok and the acceptance of their links to conservation and community development as common sense, the general respondents' reaction was that

[5] CBOs in this thesis refer to Rinjani Trek Centre (RTC) in Senaru village and Rinjani Information Centre in Sembalun Lawang village, which have evolved into legal institutions in the form of co-operative.

to enquire further into these possible links was not an urgent concern. Businesses' and government's focus was on increasing tourism flows to Lombok (see Chapter 7).

At this point, I do not believe it is very likely that action/reflection/action will occur amongst all respondents, as a result of my line of questioning and their reading of the summary of findings. The best that I can hope for is that some respondents may be inspired to start taking up initiator and coordinator roles. I anticipate that this could occur with NGOs/CBOs or other organisations with social missions, rather than business players. The Hindu religious groups have the potential to use the collected data and pass it on to their social organisations. However, it is a fact that the Lombok Muslim majority can also be a hindrance to the minority Hindunese groups, who may wish to expand their social programmes outwards to the wider non-Hindu communities throughout Lombok. Thus, collaboration could only be achieved through government officials and NGOs (with no religious affiliations) acting as coordinators.

4.7. Summary

This fieldwork was based on action research and qualitative research, as the two methodologies I considered most appropriate to achieve the intended research goals. I chose my research methods accordingly. This research was conducted as an early stage of an action research continuum (Chambers, 1997; McNiff, 2002; Taylor et al., 1995).

By acknowledging my study's limitations and providing perspectives from my experiences in the field, I hope that future researchers can build on my methodology and explore similar issues to those that I have focused on in this work. I also hope that readers would understand that, with my chosen methodologies and the consequences of my research and personal limitations, my passion is clear: I wish to contribute to the development of various Rinjani stakeholders and this is the driver of my main research. I hope that this study, through the collaborative discussions during the research process and by the use of semi-structured interviews and workshop, will serve as a foundation for more focused linkages development on tourism and poverty in Lombok.

The following Chapter 5: Gunung Rinjani National Park tourism serves to examine the key stakeholders and their concerns relating to Rinjani development. This chapter is followed by the presentation of my main research findings in Chapter 6: The Private Sector and the Park.

5. Gunung Rinjani National Park tourism

5.1. Introduction

This third highest volcanic peak in Indonesia is Mount (*gunung* in Indonesian) Rinjani. Standing majestically, as shown in Box 5.1 below, Rinjani is the highest peak on the island of Lombok, at 3,726 meters. At 2,363 meters Gunung Baru, is an active volcano inside the Rinjani Crater Lake, the result of a 1994 eruption.

Rinjani's dramatic landscape has been created over millions of years of cone-building, violent explosions and erosion (Indonesian Department of Forestry - http://www.dephut.go.id/INFORMASI/tamnas/tn18rinj.html). Forested slopes, rising directly from sea, create their own weather pattern and act as water collectors for the whole island of Lombok (David, Sekartjakrarini, & Braun, 2005).

Box 5.1 Rinjani – afternoon view from Sembalun Lawang village
Source: Author 2007

Gunung Rinjani's mountainous terrain spreads approximately 1,250 km², covering one third of Lombok Island, as shown clearly from the satellite image in Box 5.2 below.

Box 5.2 Satellite image of Lombok May 1992
Source: Retrieved on 10 September 2007 from
http://volcano.und.nodak.edu/vwdocs/volc_images/southeast_asia/indonesia/lombok.html

The area that today forms the Gunung Rinjani National Park – GRNP (approximately 410 km² – 40,000 ha or one third of the total Gunung Rinjani mountainous terrain) has in the past been designated as a permanent production forest, a limited production forest, a multi-purpose area and then a protected forest (World Neighbors, 2003). The area has a rich but threatened biodiversity and provides the source of water for the whole island of Lombok. The Rinjani area is also highly valued for its aesthetic, cultural, spiritual and economic importance (Rinjani Trek Management Board (RTMB), 2002).

5.2. Gunung Rinjani ecosystem - The people's livelihood

There is a high population density and growth around the Rinjani area. 31 villages lie on the borders of GRNP, with a total population of 203,668 (Figure 5.1): this is approximately 9% of the total Lombok population (BPS NTB 2003 - 2,535,768 people). Another 40 villages, with some 300,000 people, depend on the ecosystem of the wider area, which is classified as bordering protected forests. Up to 70% of the families, who directly depend on the Rinjani forest ecosystem for their livelihood, are said to be landless (World Neighbors, 2003). Amongst these, 50% or more are estimated to be female-headed households.

Districts	Number of sub-districts	Number of villages	Population (BPS 2002/2003)
West Lombok	2	12	59,031
East Lombok	7	14	144,637
Central Lombok	2	5	
Total	11	31	203,668

Figure 5.1 Population bordering GRNP
Source: GRNP Strategic Plan 2005 - 2009

There is considerable poverty in the area, particularly amongst the indigenous Sasak people. An estimated 40% of the people who live around the mountain are poor, depending on the forest for their livelihood (Aliadi, 2002; Down to Earth (DTE), 1999; World Neighbors, 2003). Access to health care and education is inadequate, illegal logging threatens the forests and water must be shared amongst a great many people and enterprises.

The socio-political history of the Rinjani area is complex and conflict ridden and this affects livelihood options for people living in the area today. Formal protection for the Gunung Rinjani area began in 1929, when 1,170 km² was designated as a protection forest. Migration of families to the southern slopes of Rinjani occurred in the 1940s to 1950s, when these forest areas were first opened up to logging. In the 1980s, government policy changed: Gunung Rinjani was converted to protected status, thus stripping settled communities of their access to land and surrounding natural resources (L. Fisher,

Moeliono, & Wodicka, n.d.). As a result, many families' activities for survival were re-labelled as illegal, for example, the extraction of timber and other forest products. These activities, such as the harvesting of fuel wood and timber, in addition to the illegal clearing of forestland for farming and cattle grassing (Box 5.3), have continued unabated until today.

Box 5.3 Cattle grazing illegally inside the GRNP
Source: RTMB Documentation

Studies show that the area continues to attract many landless migrants from the dry southern plains, thus giving rise to intense socioeconomic competition and increased pressure on the forests (David et al., 2005; Fallon, 2001). According to David et al. (2005), the three most significant threats to the Rinjani ecosystem are the population pressure combined with landlessness and lack of opportunity for diversification into other more feasible and sustainable sources of livelihood.

5.3. Gunung Rinjani – Social and cultural values

In addition to dependence on the Rinjani ecosystem as a source of livelihood, the people of Lombok (Sasak and Balinese alike) and those from outside Lombok (Sasak, Balinese and Javanese), revere Rinjani volcano as a sacred place and the abode of deities. *Segara Anak* Crater Lake is the destination of thousands of pilgrims during the month of the Prophet Mohammed's birthday.

Muslims climb Rinjani to bathe in the sulphurous water of the lake and hot springs, which they believe have healing properties. The Balinese worship Gunung Rinjani, as one of the three mountains made by the God *Siwa*, to ensure the stability of the Indonesian archipelago (Kamardi, 2005; McKinnon & Suwan, 2000). The local indigenous Sasak people revere Gunung Rinjani as the home of *Dewi Anjani*, the queen spirit and ruler of the mountain. To the indigenous Sasak people, who continue to practice *adat* or traditional customs called *Wetu Telu*, Rinjani plays a significant part in their traditional system of governance and their ecological approach to conservation and management (Indonesian Department of Forestry).

However, these traditional systems are not being incorporated into the management or development of the national park. Therefore, Gunung Rinjani National Park is generally seen as a nature tourism destination in Lombok, which offers natural beauty packaged as trekking adventures and climbs for adrenalin seekers seeking another challenging peak to conquer (see Box 5.4 below).

Box 5.4 Conquering Rinjani
Source: RTMB Documentation

Furthermore, GRNP is closed during the rainy season and it only opens to the public during the dry season, thus providing seasonal jobs for the local people. Year round mountainous products and services, tourism or non-tourism, were still to be developed, in order to support local livelihood.

5.4. Gunung Rinjani National Park

Administratively, Gunung Rinjani National Park (GRNP) is located within three districts of Lombok, East (53.6%), West (29.9%) and Central (16.5%) in the West Nusa Tenggara Province. Thus, it is a forested ecosystem of strategic importance to all districts. Established as a national park on 23 May 1997, by the Ministry of Forestry (Sekartjakrarini & Legoh, 2004), GRNP is one of the Indonesian national parks which followed the Government of Indonesia's (GoI) policy to develop collaborative park management partnerships. This policy is based on the rationale that national parks in Indonesia cannot be managed (*and financed, emphasis made by author,*

2007) effectively without the support of local communities (*and foreign aids, emphasis made by author, 2007*), to ensure their development and protection (Tourism Resource Consultants, 2005).

One effort to manage the GRNP was a bilateral project between the Indonesian and New Zealand governments, called Gunung Rinjani National Park Project (GRNPP: 1999 - 2002). Starting in 2003, this project consisted of two main components: Rinjani Trek Ecotourism Programme (RTEP) 2003 – 2005 with Rinjani Trek Management Board (RTMB), as the managing board.

5.4.1. GRNPP (1999 – 2002), RTMB and RTEP (2003 – 2005)

Following the formal establishment of the GRNP in 1997, as mentioned previously, the Indonesian and New Zealand governments established a bilateral project in 1999. They formed the Gunung Rinjani National Park Project (GRNPP), in order to assist the park authorities to develop a three-way partnership in park management. The path for park tourism was paved by the GRNPP, following three concepts: community-based, commercially sustainable and environmentally sustainable tourism operations (see Diagram 5.1 below). These three interlocking concepts of conservation, community engagement and tourism were the foundation for the project.

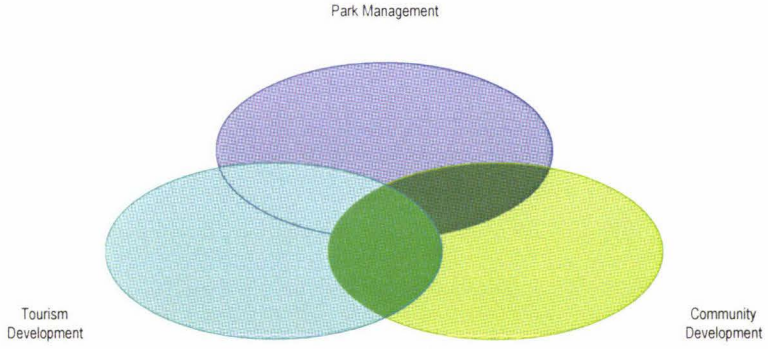


Diagram 5.1 GRNPP's three-interlocking concepts
Source: GRNP – RTEP End of Transition Phase Report, December 2005

Stakeholders from these three spheres were identified and programmes were designed and implemented for each sphere, in order to facilitate each stakeholder's readiness in the coming together of a three-way partnership, to achieve a set of common goals, as stated in Box 5.5 below.

The Original GRNP project goal was:
To assist with the development and protection of Gunung Rinjani National Park in a way that integrates the environment and community development aims of the Indonesian Government.

The three objectives towards achieving this goal were:
1. To improve park management through training, developing management techniques, and improving infrastructure
2. To foster community development on park boundaries, bringing about benefits to rural women and men, in recognition of the link between national conservation goals and local development goals
3. To develop responsible park tourism by encouraging ecotourism based on trekking and Sasak culture

Source: TRC 2005 p. 13

The Transition Phase strategic plan established NZAID's goals as:
To secure social, economic and conservation management benefits from the Rinjani Trek Ecotourism Programme (RTEP) in the Gunung Rinjani National Park (GRNP).

The two objectives toward achieving this goal were:
1. To establish collaborative and sustainable structures for management of the Rinjani Trek Ecotourism Programme
2. To generate and sustain value for community and conservation stakeholders through activities associated with the Rinjani Trek Ecotourism Programme

Source: TRC 2005 p.19

Goals and Objectives of the Rinjani Trek Management Board (RTMB):
To provide a coordination forum and policy consultation as a basis and direction of trekking and eco-tourism activity management in the area of Gunung Rinjani in a participative and integrated way amongst Government, Non Government Organization, the Community and tourism actors.

The RTMB's vision:
Establishment of credible partnership in developing Trekking and Eco-tourism activity in Gunung Rinjani area while maintaining preservation of the ecosystem in sustainable way

The RTMB's mission is to:
1. Build Rinjani image in developing trekking and eco-tourism in the Gunung Rinjani area
2. Promote eco-tourism in and around Gunung Rinjani National Park (GRNP)
3. Recognise voluntary involvement and participation of local, national and international community in an organization of Friends of Rinjani
4. Make the RTMB a partner of the Authority of GRNP which has a strong public image for work in good governance principles

Box 5.5 GRNPP, RTEP, RTMB: Goals, objectives, vision and mission
Source: Governor of West Nusa Tenggara Letter of Authority 2003 – TRC 2005

During the original GRNP project, each sphere/sector was engaged in a manner appropriate to that sector and no assumptions were made that commonalities existed amongst the three, since a collaborative working

relationship between these three distinct sectors was a new concept in Indonesia, particularly in the management of a national park. Fostering and encouraging capacity building, information and skill transfers were the objectives, in building the foundation for this new type of collaborative partnership (Tourism Resource Consultants, 2005). Gradually, the project introduced 'ecotourism', as the umbrella vision for all three sectors, to find a common purpose in working collaboratively, in order to achieve jointly agreed outcomes.

The main focus was the issue of sustainability in the transition phase of the project. The strategic goals were to secure benefits from the programme within the GRNP, to establish sustainable collaborative management structures and to maintain and sustain the Rinjani Trek Ecotourism Programme (RTEP). As stated previously, RTMB's vision was to be the credible partner to all involved in Rinjani development. Its mission was also to foster voluntary involvement and the participation of various stakeholders. To demonstrate the extensive attempts at collaboration, Box 5.6 below presents the various committee members and stakeholders, as defined by GRNPP.

Board of Advisors
Governor of West Nusa Tenggara
Director General of Forest Protection and Nature Conservation
The District Head of West Lombok
The District Head of East Lombok
The District Head of Central Lombok
Director of Area Conservation of the Directorate General PHKA
Head of Provincial Culture and Tourism of West Nusa Tenggara
Head of West Nusa Tenggara Forestry
Head of Bappeda of West Nusa Tenggara (provincial planning)

Board of Facilitators
Head of West Lombok Tourism Office
Head of East Lombok Transportation and Tourism Office
Head of the Gunung Rinjani National Park Office
Lombok Sumbawa Promo
Gunung Rinjani National Park Office
Culture and Tourism Office of West Nusa Tenggara
Forestry Office of West Nusa Tenggara
Environmental Impact and Monitoring Office (Bappedalda) NTB
Coordinating and Development Planning Office (Bappeda) NTB
Vulcanology section of the Mines and Energy Office of NTB
West Lombok Tourism Office
Transportation and Tourism Office of East Lombok
Bappeda of West Lombok
Bappeda of East Lombok
Nature Resources Conservation Office of West Nusa Tenggara
Bappeda of Central Lombok
Indonesian Guide Association of West Nusa Tenggara
Association of Indonesia Tour and Travel NTB
Hotel and Restaurant association of West Nusa Tenggara
Perekat Ombara (NGO)
Government of Senaru village
Government of Sembalun Lawang village
Rinjani Trek Centre Senaru (village community)
Rinjani Information Centre Sembalun Lawang (village community)
World Wildlife Fund (WWF) NTB (NGO)
Participatory Action Research (PAR) of Rinjani NTB (NGO)

Box 5.6 RTMB stakeholders
Source: Governor of West Nusa Tenggara Letter of Authority 2003 – TRC 2005

A team from Tourism Resource Consultants Ltd (TRC) Wellington was contracted to manage New Zealand's International Aid and Development Agency's (NZAID) contribution, in cooperation with the Indonesian Department of Forestry, during the project (GRNPP) and the transition phase (RTEP).

> *"This project is designed to contribute to NZAID strategic outcomes by providing development assistance for activities that contribute to poverty elimination by creating safe, just and inclusive societies, environmental sustainability and future livelihoods"* (Tourism Resource Consultants, 2005, p. 18)

The RTMB oversaw and supported the daily implementation activities thus combining the authority of the central government and local government with the voice of Lombok tourism's private sector, boundary communities and NGOs. This institutional model was unique in Indonesia and in 2005, the World Legacy Awards (Destination Stewardship Award) recognised it as a global example for the practical implementation of the ideals of ecotourism.

5.4.2. RTMB September 2006 – February 2007 strategic directions

In September 2006, NZAID extended its direct commitment to assist RTMB for another two years. This two-year assistance, called "Continuing Link Phase Programme", was aimed at ensuring the sustainability of RTMB – RTEP. The main sustainability focus was to enable RTMB, Rinjani Trek Centre (RTC) in Senaru Village and Rinjani Information Centre (RIC) in Sembalun Lawang Village, to continue supporting the GRNP activities, which were associated with the park, tourism and community development.

Programmes were designed to build the capacity of RTMB and both Senaru and Sembalun cooperatives, in order for the RTMB – RTEP to realise its potential for poverty elimination and good resource management. Objectives of the Continuing Link Phase Programme were as follow (RTMB – RTEP, 2007):

1. Re-define RTMB strategy and strengthen the capacity of its supporting organisational structures (RTC/RIC), in view of its enhanced role in poverty elimination and resource management.
2. To broaden the scope of RTMB's work in fostering ecotourism and recreation related income generating opportunities and partnerships to include other communities around GRNP, that have not previously been involved in the RTEP.
3. To contribute to continual improvement to the core ecotourism structure of the Rinjani Trek, through infrastructure works, trail maintenance, guide training and partnership for tourism promotion.
4. To assist in creating a highly visible profile of GRNP and the Rinjani Trek, as a means to develop market linkages to community based ecotourism operation associated with the park.

As mentioned above, the focus of the programme is still heavily concentrated on developing the capacity of various organisations. There needs to be an investigation of the issues relevant to the private sector (as the main driver of tourism).

The following section compares the GRNP management ecotourism strategic plan and that of its supporting tourism management board (RTMB – RTEP), in order to ascertain whether there are common tourism development goals between the two organisations. This comparison will be explored further, in relation to the private sector, in Chapter 6.

5.4.3. GRNP management ecotourism strategic plan (2005 – 2009)

The long term aim of GRNP management is to create a national park that represents the natural diversity of Lombok and which supports the concept of sustainable development (Balai Taman Nasional Gunung Rinjani, 2005).

In relation to park usage, community development and tourism, GRNP is still in the process of implementing the following:

1. To identify the park's full potential and the availability of information
2. To develop an action plan for park management and its usage
3. To develop park conservation education and research infrastructure and facilities
4. To maintain the park's nature and cultural tourism objects
5. To make available the park's nature tourism infrastructure and facilities
6. To create employment and/or business opportunities for the bordering communities
7. To increase government revenue, through park tourism activities

In comparison to the targeted RTMB – RTEP aims during its Continuing Link Phase programmes, which focused on the park's ecotourism products and services, the above GRNP management ecotourism strategic plan's focus, currently underway, is still at the stage of building up the management foundation within the park. This implies a mismatch between the readiness of GRNP management and the tourism industry players. GRNP's supporting

infrastructure, regulations and laws and its tourism direction are still yet to be strongly instituted by the GRNP management. Thus, the marketing coordinator/collaboration developer (RTMB – RTEP), the drivers of the industry (private sector) and other stakeholders, particularly local communities and tourism and development policy makers, have not been able to align themselves fully with the GRNP management. This alignment is crucial, if collaborative pro-poor ecotourism product development is envisioned.

In the GRNP management 2005 – 2009 strategic plan, ecotourism development is classified under the park's heading of: 'natural resources protection and conservation'. The wide-ranging GRNP management action plan in relation to park ecotourism is listed in Appendix 3. The qualitative aim is to protect conservation and protected areas from damage, due to uncontrolled and exploitative usage of the natural resources. However, the increasing commercial usage of the park, which results in potentially high damage to the biodiversity, has still been left unchecked. Ironically, it is not people but environmental protection, which is already the centre of the park development

Consequently, this heavy emphasis on conservation has also meant that the place of people's livelihood is second to conservation. Ecotourism, in this case, is neglecting the fact that a sustainable livelihood approach focus, instead of a biodiversity preservation focus, is more likely to alleviate poverty. The development of GRNP, as a whole, is still yet to entail taking into consideration the numerous communities bordering the park, whose livelihood is directly and indirectly link to Rinjani.

Prior to 2007 and including the time of this fieldwork, GRNP management still did not have a specific tourism business plan with adequate and specifically trained staff members, who were dedicated to intensive park tourism development, management, planning and daily implementation. Furthermore, when comparing RTMB-RTEP and GRNP ecotourism priorities, both sides'

targets have yet to be synchronised further and an intensive development of human resources capability is required from both organisations.

5.5. Summary

This chapter began by introducing the basic facts concerning the Gunung Rinjani area. It stated that the mountainous terrain is central to its people's livelihood and the mountain in particular, has imperative social and cultural values, which have existed long before the establishment of most of the area as a national park with protected forests.

GRNP management has gone through various stages and approaches in its collaborative partnership with various stakeholders. From a bilateral NZAID and Indonesian government project, which began in 1999, to achieving the sustainability stage of a long path partnership beyond the project period, GRNP management, is still making initial improvements to the management of the area as a whole.

Similar to any type of tourism, ecotourism is a business endeavour, seen as a form of benefit sharing, pursued by GRNP authorities, in order to engage its local communities. Official aid, policy and planning documents have highlighted the important role that tourism may be able to play, in terms of community development, conservation and the development of Lombok in general. However, very little action has taken place to get community-based ecotourism running effectively. One, as yet poorly explored area, which can be seen as the main driver of the tourism industry, is the private sector. The behaviours and attitudes of the private sector, in this type of collaborative tourism business development, have been very influential in determining the success of project outcomes and in this case, ecotourism practices. With the intention of gaining further insight and adding to the Rinjani stakeholders' and development practitioners' knowledge base, Chapter 6 of this thesis presents an exploration of the private sector's role, in relation to the park conservation and the concept of PPT.

6. The Private sector and the Park

6.1. Introduction

Gunung Rinjani National Park tourism has gradually acquired an international reputation, particularly during the time of NZAID's involvement. However, Lombok entrepreneurs[6], travel agents and local members of the park's adjacent villages had organised trekking trips for people to experience Rinjani's beauty and for pilgrimage purposes, long before the project started or before the area was declared a national park.

The oldest Lombok travel agents, selling trekking packages to Rinjani, drew upon their owners' own passion for Rinjani, after which they marketed Rinjani to the wider population as a tourism attraction. These pioneer travel agents involved some of the local villagers as porters, due to their knowledge of the mountain terrain, whilst acting as tourist guides themselves or using the available general tourism guides. Beginning as these hired porters, villagers were introduced to the income generating potential of tourism. Gradually, with the building up of necessary tourist services and English skills, most porters evolved as specialised mountain guides and went on to become trek organisers themselves.

These village-based trek organiser positions are considered the highest tourism achievement of local village entrepreneurship. Unavoidably, these positions also place them on the same playing field as the established travel agents, where competition is a common daily business practice. This issue, relating to the relationship between city-based travel agents, website entrepreneurs and village-based trek organisers, will now be explored further.

[6] The term 'Lombok entrepreneur' used in this thesis refers to an individual newcomer to the Senaru and Sembalun villages, who may come from various parts of Lombok. This term should not be confused with Lombok's indigenous people. Village-based entrepreneurs are those outsiders who have then settled in the area.

This chapter presents both city-based[7] and [8]village-based private sector roles in park tourism and a review of these roles in relation to conservation and community development issues, relating to tourism development. The researcher found that various disjuncture occurred in the field, between the way business is conducted and the pursuit of conservation and development interests. Data, collected from a series of interviews and secondary materials, provides insights into the nature of the problems faced by the private sector actors and it elaborates on their contribution so far, and their suggestions for future endeavours.

Ecotourism and community based-tourism concepts, when analysed from the private sector's point of view, provide the foundation for understanding the ways in which business pursuits can conflict with social pursuits. Lastly, this chapter will conclude by presenting various hindrances to partnerships between city-based and village-based businesses, which are an innate part of business nature.

6.2. Private sector roles in park tourism

City-based private sector actors involved in park tourism include travel agents, individual entrepreneurs and RTMB, who represent village-based businesses. None of the travel agents interviewed specifically target clientele only from the nature, adventure or special interest segments. Similarly, they all provide various kinds of tourism services, from accommodation, booking and transportation arrangements to Rinjani, to organising trips inside and/or outside Lombok.

[7] In the term of "city-based", city refers to Mataram, capital city of West Nusa Tenggara Province, located in Lombok island, Indonesia.
[8] In the term of "village-based", village refers to either Senaru village or Sembalun village, and/or both

6.2.1. Travel agents

The majority of travel agents work closely with other domestic agents, such as those in Denpasar, Surabaya, Yogyakarta, Jakarta and various other Indonesian cities. Others are part of international networks and they have become the inbound organisers for these international travel agents or tour operators.

Competition amongst travel agents is high and the main competitive advantage lies with price. Information gathered by the researcher from the interviews did not find evidence of strategies geared towards product development, innovative product packaging, quality, or the offering of unique experiences by tapping into niche markets, which are strategies commonly used by travel agents in order to ensure their business survival.

6.2.2. Community employment and enterprises

There are various community private sector actors in Senaru and Sembalun villages, where the two out of the three legal entrances to the GRNP are located. These groups were formed through GRNPP to encourage local involvement in tourism activities within and around the park. Based on Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) exercises in the early stages of the project, representatives from various community clusters were formally grouped (McKinnon & Suwan, 2000). These groups consist of *adat* (local customary) people, other people who are interested and/or already generating income as mountain porters, mountain guides, trek organisers, *losmen* (small inn) owners/managers, waterfall guides, women guides, women weavers, traditional art performers, handicraft makers, snack makers and a youth group, trained to learn T-shirt, and other screen printing skills. An information centre at each village was formed (Rinjani Trek Centre (RTC) in Senaru and Rinjani Information Centre (RIC) in Sembalun) where various community business, conservation and social activities could be conducted under one-roof. During GRNPP mid-term, RTC and RIC each evolved into

institution in a form of co-operative, in order to establish legal village-based business enterprises.

RTMB has positioned itself as the go-between trying to merge tourism business and community development interests. The RTMB office in Mataram has a role to promote and market Rinjani trekking and other village-based tourism products, such as guided walks by women, village accommodation services and local art performances. The office is caught in the predicament of its different roles, which include; business liaison; promoting park tourism for the benefit of local communities and the public in general; and being a social interest organisation, trying to achieve its goal of poverty alleviation.

Capacity building, institutional strengthening and programme development, for community private sector stakeholders, particularly business links and promotion, are still highly dependent on RTMB – RTEP guidance and funding. Whilst the RTMB office in Mataram sells tourism products/services and promotes community enterprises, village-based trek organisers are not fully dependent on the RTMB office. Most organisers have their own promotion network to ensure their business survival, in addition to the businesses generated by the RTMB office.

These trek organisers conducted their daily business as any travel agent: organising transportation, accommodation, meals, trekking equipment and services, such as guides and porters, and arranging additional trips to other tourist destinations within and outside Lombok. They have become the driving force in the villages by bringing tourism flows and village businesses, particularly accommodation, meals, porter and guide services, and these are strongly tied up with the trek organisers' success or failure.

6.2.3. Village-based trek organisers

Village-based individual trek organisers are generally new settlers to Senaru and Sembalun Lawang villages' indigenous communities. They have some guiding and English skills and they know about various Lombok tourism spots. They also have domestic and/or international networks, through which they offer their tourism services (including through website marketing for some). These trek organisers normally associate themselves with tourism establishments such as hotels, restaurants, tourist information centres, handicraft centres and transport companies. In addition to the two villages, they are often based in and operated from various well-developed Lombok tourist areas, such as the three *Gilis* (popular islands off the coast of Lombok), Senggigi and Lombok Kuta.

Although there is a recognised and legal guide association (Indonesian Guide Association - HPI) operating in Lombok and tourism laws state that any guide is required to have his/her guiding license, these individual trek organisers, when performing as guides, are not employed by any travel agent, and as such, the rules and regulations of the HPI are rarely observed.

In addition, they do not own an individual business license when performing as trek organisers. However, under the current conditions, being a member of their village co-operative (established by GRNPP), which owns a tourism business license as an organisation, somehow legalised these trek organisers individual business endeavours. Some successful village-based trek organisers were in the process of applying their own business license, whether as a travel agent or other forms of legalised tourism enterprises. This effort was taken with the intention of bypassing the village co-operative, which functions as the 'under one-roof' tourism business for the village, and RTMB, which act as the coordinating GRNP tourism board in Mataram.

6.3. Reflecting on Ecotourism concept

Protected area tourism, in GRNP management's opinion, will automatically attract a special interest segment of the tourism market, which is not the mass tourism market, but a market seeking products similar to that of ecotourism. Thus, the business principles used have to meet the terms of this targeted, special interest market. However, in practice, the Rinjani private sector was not targeting any special interest segment of the tourism markets: they tended to target the general mass tourism market, which consisted of any nature tourists or nature adventure seekers. Therefore, whether the natural assets sold were located within a protected area or not, there was no difference, in the way they were utilised by the private sector, when implementing its business strategies.

The businesses interviewed, that claimed to be marketing Rinjani as an ecotourism product, could not provide any concrete examples as to how their business strategies were based on ecological protection principles. The majority of the businesses considered that, by selling nature as a tourism product it automatically classified their product as an ecotourism product, *"It is the natural environment that we are packaging to the customers, in a way it is common sense to classify it as ecotourism"*, commented a city-based business respondent. This type of response clearly showed a discrepancy between the understanding of nature tourism and ecotourism.

Only a small percentage of businesses understood ecotourism principles. However, on further enquiry, this segment was also not selling Rinjani as an ecotourism product. According to the respondents, Rinjani was still not managed or developed properly in harmony with ecotourism principles and therefore they considered that marketing Rinjani as an ecotourism product was an unwise business move.

When the researcher enquired about linking their business conduct with environmental and social concerns, the private sector claimed that environmental and social contributions were automatically considered in their

daily operations. However, these environmental and social values would not necessarily be useful, if translated into their marketing messages. They preferred to focus on the economic and quality values of their products, such as competitive price, value for money, high quality service and to avoid using environmental and/or social messages as selling points.

> *"We sell trust. Trust in our product and service. We make sure that our customers are satisfied with their holiday experiences and feel that their money is well spent. When on holidays, people want to relax. Why bombard them with "reality"? I do not see how telling them about how we need funds for taking care of the environment and poor people, will help boost the sales"* (City-based private sector respondent, June 2007).

Printed promotional materials normally have a long shelf life and therefore the accuracy of data is significant. Frequently, no businesses had enough funds to update their promotional materials. They kept any written statement very general and gave additional information orally, upon request from the customer.

Another reason, why Rinjani was still marketed to appeal to mass tourists, was due to the way the park was managed. All respondents agreed that the government should play a decisive role. There was no strong message from the government on their full intentions for Rinjani, beyond rhetoric conservation messages. There was also no strong management support mechanism in place.

The private sector argued that the park should decide what type of message was needed for visitors to understand and comply with the park's regulations, beyond the rules of environmental protection. If shaping park visitors and trek organisers' behaviour were important, it was the park's responsibility to convey a suitable set of social/cultural messages. In addition, if the local stakeholders did not have any social/cultural values that they wanted to preserve, then it was not in the visitors and their trek organisers' interest to care about this fact.

Although the GRNP tourism approach was prepared by GRNPP with eco principles, in practice the private sector was not convinced that those

principles were actually set in place. A strong environmental and social agenda, implemented by the authorities, could force compliance from the private sector.

The private sector also argued that an education and awareness campaign need not necessarily be targeted at visitors, since it would be more useful to target the local people (people living adjacent to the park boundaries and in other Lombok areas). It was crucial for the park management to be able to demonstrate the real benefits of GRNP to the locals, beyond tourism economic value.

As mentioned previously, this discourse, which may add to the misunderstanding of the ecotourism concept between private sector and development actors, contributes significantly to the conservation and community development disjuncture experienced by both parties. The following sections will explore this disjuncture further.

6.4. Disjuncture between private sector & conservation interests

The disjuncture between the private sector actors and conservation interests is explored in the following section and summarised in Box 6.1 below.

Key reasons why business owners are not contributing to conservation in GRNP:

1. Businesses strive to make profits. Conservation is not economically cost effective.
2. Conservation is perceived as the responsibility of the park management and the people living adjacent to the park boundaries.
3. Effective and appropriate park conservation efforts require a significant operational fund and individual businesses are too small to contribute sufficiently and feasibly, except through the purchase of entrance tickets.
4. There are no government regulations to obligate business to comply with environmental standard of practice.
5. There is no credible party showing noteworthy, directive and continuous efforts in park conservation. Why should business be any different?

Box 6.1 Key reasons why business owners are not contributing to conservation in GRNP
Source: Author, 2007

6.4.1. Environmental Problems

The largest environment problem[9] agreed by all selected respondents is the litter left behind by trekkers inside the GRNP. From the interviews, GRNP cleanliness-related issues were given precedence over other environment problems by private sector actors, since this is highly associated with the image of the trekking business that they marketed to visitors. The general root of environmental problems, according to the respondents, could be classified under two main causes.

Firstly, the most obvious factor for all respondents was the increase in the number of trekkers (park users), in relation to the rubbish management system that has been implemented by the park, including the number of cleaners. In addition to the increase of park visitors, respondents also showed concern for the overall safety, security and quality of the park facilities in general. The park was yet to analyse its carrying capacity and to plan any park tourism development accordingly.

Secondly, respondents pointed to the fact that there is a lack of well-targeted environmental education, designed to shape the behaviours of the park user and the Lombok public in general, particularly in the case of local trekkers. Most city-based respondents indicated that the most feasible group of people, who could take larger responsibility in the environmental management of the park, were members of the communities living adjacent to the park. However, when interviewing village-based respondents, the researcher heard the following comments from village-based trek organisers, who conveyed the opinions of their guides and porters:

> *"We cannot be expected to act as the national park's (unpaid) eco-police; not only that, people are not taking our so-called licensed-authority seriously, we are already too busy attending to our clients' needs and not to mention the physical hardship that we have to endure during the long treks"* (Village respondents, June 2007).

In the course of conducting fieldwork, the researcher did not find any data, which showed significant efforts to encourage the local people's involvement

[9] Environmental problems, caused by irresponsible usage in the areas adjacent to the park, do not fall within the scope of this research.

in conservation, whilst at the same time providing tangible and significant livelihood benefits, as a reward for environmentally caring actions. Nor there were examples showing that the park is managed in a people-centred manner on the case either.

GRNP rubbish management issues are complex and require not only a relevant level of awareness from all stakeholders involved with the park in their daily lives but also a significant shift in the general public's awareness, regarding Rinjani and its environmental issues. Organised trekkers demonstrate different levels of environmental awareness when using the national park as their holiday destination, compared to independent domestic trekkers/users. *"Foreigners are used to the concept of conservation in their daily conduct but local trekkers seem to consider conservation as a job for the government",* commented a trek organiser, when asked about the different conservation attitudes between international and domestic trekkers.

On the other hand, domestic trekkers had a very different approach towards littering. These independent trekkers normally ventured inside the GRNP unguided, without using porter services and sometimes without proper trekking equipment and preparation. Their only contact with GRNP management was generally a quick stop to sign in and purchase tickets at the entrance. A trekking briefing is normally not conducted for these domestic independent trekkers and their only obligation is to pay the entrance fee.

Organised trekkers from overseas have influenced the way trekking businesses are conducted, for example, through efforts to use more environmentally friendly equipment and fresh foods, instead of canned foods. The expectations of tourists also directly shape the behaviours of the local actors, such as guides, porters and trek organisers. Thus, being sensitive to the environment has become an important component of good service.

Below is one of the interesting comments made by village-based respondents regarding tourists demand for fresh food.

> *"We trek up with live chickens as part of the "fresh trekking food" ingredients, the chickens of course, have to be "exterminated" out of the customers' sight. Some customers refuse to eat after seeing the chickens killed. The irony of requiring "fresh food""* (Village trek organiser respondent, June 2007).

Recently, the GRNP was tightening its trekking regulations and trekkers had to complete a form to declare their belongings, before trekking up. This form was then checked again when the trekkers came down (SIMAKSI Form). Since this new regulation was only implemented on 1st July 2007, it is too early to conclude whether this new regulation will have the strength to shape the behaviour of domestic trekkers and the general public.

6.4.2. Contributions to conservation

The following section provides a summary of the respondents' contributions towards Rinjani conservation. Their responses are clustered according to respondent groups: business players, religious event organisers and other park users.

6.4.2.1. Business players

All business respondents claimed to implement the "pack it in pack it out" system when organising trekkers and they stated that they brought down non-organic waste and burned or buried it. This complies with the new entry regulation to the national park, reinforced by the GRNP on 1st June 2007 (SIMAKSI – Rinjani Trekking Letter of Permits). Occasionally, for example, a group will organise a clean up event. Some students from Singapore initiated such an event for Rinjani, in collaboration with the private sector and local porters (Box 6.2 below). Although the Singaporeans instigated this event, since the private sector was simply providing a tourism 'special interest product' as requested by them, the business players considered this type of event was part of their contribution to park conservation.

Box 6.2 Rinjani rubbish collection event
Source: RTMB Documentation

The involvement of the national park and tourism authorities in this particular event's ceremonies (shown in Box 6.2 above) was seen as an occasion, which also demonstrated both parties' park conservation efforts.

"Pack it in, pack it out" method is the business players' conservation contribution, by controlling their organised clients' litter, in addition to paying to the rubbish management designated fund, which is included in the park entrance fee structure. Generally, the private sector players felt it was inappropriate to expect them to play a greater role in the rubbish management of the park, beyond what they have already contributed, through the purchase of entrance tickets.

Business players felt they could not rely on non-organised trekkers to keep the place clean but they also considered that initiating an environmental awareness programme was a distraction from their daily business activities. Businesses judged that they have already played a contributing role, through abiding by the national park rules and regulations, for example, by only using legal entrances and designated trekking routes, by not cutting down trees

and using stoves instead for cooking and showing appropriate conduct by paying entrance fees. They felt that it was the responsibility of national park management to clean up, carry the burden of park maintenance and plan accordingly as needed.

> *"If we, the private sector, are doing the park's tasks of park conservation, planning, maintenance and development of environmentally friendly infrastructure for tourism, are we not doing the national park's jobs? So what is the use of having a park management authority?"* (City-based travel agent respondent, June 2007).

The following Figure 6.1 provides examples of Rinjani income, from entrance tickets and the pricing sub-components. The change in the new price for an entrance ticket, activated on 1st June 2007, is based on the GRNP change of legal status, from Rayon 2 to Rayon 1 (level of Indonesian protected area classifications) and the efforts made to implemented improved GRNP management and the enactment of park laws and regulations.

Entrance Ticket Pricing Components	Before 1 June 2007		Since 1 June 2007		Pricing Component's Percentage toward the overall entrancee fee			
					Old Price		**New price	
	Domestic Trekkers	International Trekkers	Domestic Trekkers	International Trekkers	Domestic Trekkers	International Trekkers	Domestic Trekkers	International Trekkers
State non-tax-able income	Rp. 1,500	Rp. 15,000	Rp. 2,500	Rp. 20,000	60%	60%	33%	40%
Village administration	Rp. 500	Rp. 2,500	Rp. 500	Rp. 5,000	20%	10%	7%	10%
- Entrance Village (70%)			*Rp. 350*	*Rp. 3,500*			*5%*	*7%*
- Neigbouring Village from the entrance village (30%)			*Rp. 150*	*Rp. 1,500*			*2%*	*3%*
Village **Co-op*** - (for clean up patrol, facilities maintenance, administration)	Rp. 500	Rp. 7,500	Rp. 500	Rp. 7,500	20%	30%	7%	15%
Village Co-op (for evacuation fund)	Rp. 0	Rp. 0	Rp. 4,000	Rp. 12,500	0%	0%	53%	25%
Village Co-op (for conservation fund)	Rp. 0	Rp. 0	Rp. 0	Rp. 5,000	0%	0%	0%	10%
Total Village Co-op	*Rp. 500*	*Rp. 7,500*	*Rp. 4,500*	*Rp. 25,000*	*20%*	*30%*	*60%*	*50%*
Total Entrance Ticket Price	**Rp. 2,500**	**Rp. 25,000**	**Rp. 7,500**	**Rp. 50,000**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**

Figure 6.1 GRNP entrance ticket price and its pricing components (before and after 1st June 2007)
Source: Author, 2007
* Co-op i.e. co-operative, each at Senaru and Sembalun
** New price was activated on 1st June 2007 (NZ$ 1 exchange rate in 2007 approximately Rp. 6,800)

Through the purchase of entrance tickets, respondents were contributing to:

1. State non-taxable income – decreased from an average of 60%, from the total entrance fee before 1st June 2007 (old fee structure), to an average of 37% since the adjustment (new fee structure), however the nominal received is higher (Domestic from Rp. 1,500 to Rp. 2,500, International from Rp. 15,000 to Rp. 20,000).

2. Village government's administration fund – an average of 15% (old) decreased to 8% (new). Under this new price structure, a 2% - 3% from the total entrance fee is now allocated to the neighbour village of the entrance village, as part of spreading the tourism benefits to the wider communities.

3. Village co-operative fund, for regular contributions to the national park's operational activities (clean-up events, security patrols) - decreased from 25% to 11%.

4. Village co-operative evacuation activities fund – which was not collected before 1st June 2007, now exists at 39%.

5. Village co-operative national park conservation related activities fund – which was also not collected prior to the new pricing but now it consists of 5% from the total entrance fee.

Adding 3, 4 and 5 sub-components, means that the total funding received by the co-operative has increased from an average of 25% to 55%, since the ticket price adjustment, which seemingly has resulted in more money being allocated to co-operative related activities and development. However, this fund allocated to the village co-operative is mainly designed to contribute back to park conservation/maintenance/emergency efforts instead of community development activities, although community members participated in the efforts do receive occasional park conservation/maintenance/emergency employment and wages from this fund. This predicament is conforming to the same examples as illustrated by other types of tourism revenue sharing schemes (Bookbinder et al., 1998; Wells & Brandon, 1992, refer to Chapter 3).

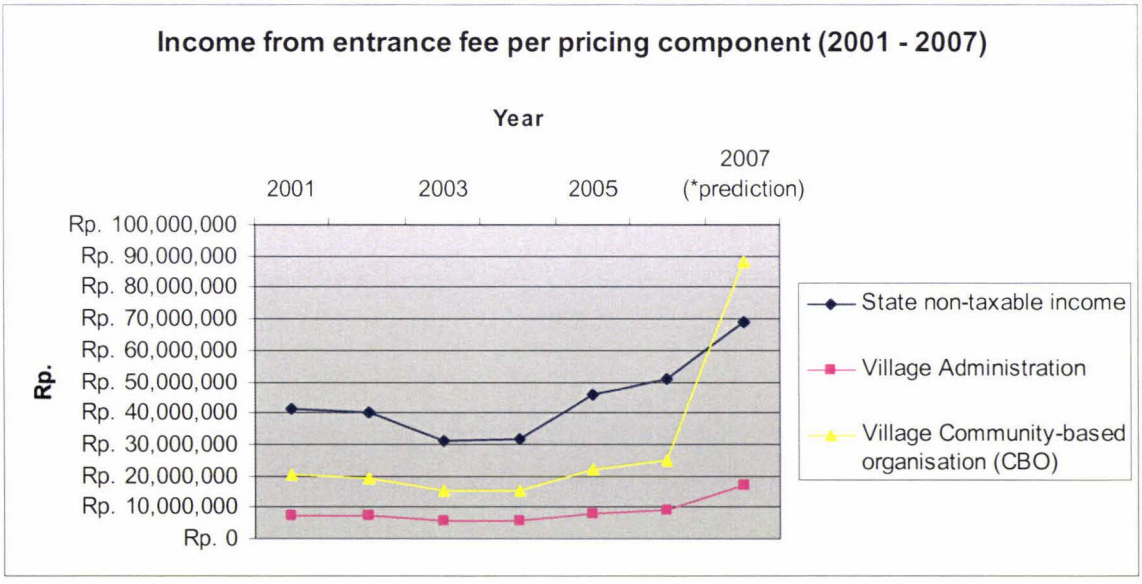
The village co-operative derives its profit from its main savings and loans services. The income generated from these savings is used to finance its administration and programmes development. The entrance fees fund allocation bias, towards park management related activities, means that co-operative funding needed for community development is highly subsidies by RTMB – RTEP.

The respondents, however, had no knowledge as to whether the collected funds were sufficient to finance the park's management requirements: the

price for the entrance ticket had been set and the respondents complied with this arrangement.

According to the GRNP management, even after introducing the new price structure, the visitors' "willingness to pay" was still not compatible with the expenses needed to maintain the conservation of Rinjani. It is unrealistic to assume that the maintenance of the Rinjani ecosystem of a 41,330ha park could be paid through just the collection of entrance fees. Graph 6.1 below, provides a description of the income gained from entrance tickets sold from 2001 to 2007.

For 2007, the researcher has predicted the level of income that will be earned, if the level of trekkers is equal to the 2006 trekker figure (4,957 - international and domestic trekkers (for details see Figure 6.3, section 6.5.3.2 Village tourism development, in this chapter). The entrance fee ticket has been adjusted to take into account the new pricing for the 2007 income prediction.



Graph 6.1 Income from entrance ticket (2001 – 2007)
Source: Author, 2007
*This prediction made by author was based on the increase in entrance fees, as of 1st June 2007 and using the same number of trekkers as the 2006 figure.

Although the 2007 prediction shows an increase in income gained from entrance fees, the researcher could not conclude whether this increase was sufficient to finance park maintenance and whether the extra income gained would be used as planned. It must be noted that the increased funding received by village co-operatives will largely be used to finance the park's routine operations, such as for evacuation, conservation and clean up patrols.

According to GRNP management, the entrance fee is set as payment for the facilities/infrastructure, instead of being targeted towards environmental services (such as enjoyment of the spectacular scenery, fresh water and air). According to the respondents, the entrance fees paid are perceived as compatible with the facilities/infrastructure provided by the park.

6.4.2.2. Hindunese religious ritual organisers - *Mulang Pakelem*

Mulang Pakelem is a yearly Hindu religious event that takes place inside the GRNP. Conservation contributions from this religious event come in the form of prayer and the blessing and spiritual cleansing of Rinjani's natural resources, such as the water source, flora and fauna. The participants in this event are required to act in a very specific manner, which cares for the integrity, conservation and physical cleanliness of the park. The ritual begins and ends with the cleaning up of the surrounding ritual/pilgrimage stops along the trekking trails leading to the Crater Lake. This clean up effort is funded through participants' contribution, as part of the collective fund required for implementing the ritual. GRNP rangers escort the procession, in order to enforce park laws and regulations during the event. Participants are exempt from the requirement of paying an entrance fee, since they are participants in a religious event, escort services, however, is paid to the GRNP management by the ritual organisers.

6.4.2.3. Other park users

Other park users, in this case, are largely Lombok's residents, who venture inside the park seeking Rinjani's medicinal and mystical facets. Their contribution to conservation is in the form of an entrance ticket payment and they must abide by the laws and regulations, set by the GRNP. However, there are still users who do not use the legal entrances to the park and therefore they bypass the entrance fee obligation. These illegal users, when caught by the GRNP rangers inside the park, are forced to leave immediately. The collection of an entrance fee on the spot is not encouraged to prevent any illegal collection of entrance fees.

All park users' contributions to conservation hardly go beyond the purchase of an entrance ticket. This significantly shows that proper use and management of entrance fees received by the authorities are crucial for the park's long-term conservation efforts.

6.4.3. Private sector suggestions concerning conservation

The travel agents stated that they could only give suggestions, being a part of the stakeholders who are interested in Rinjani conservation, but they thought the implementers should be the people who were part of the daily management operation: the GRNP management and the local people. However, in reality, the local people were hardly involved in the daily management operation of the park. Travel agents claimed that they welcomed dialogue initiated by the GRNP management and they expressed interest in providing input to the management, in order to manage the areas in a better way, from a business point of view.

Socialisation, at all levels of the society, could only be achieved by knowing and educating the public directly. For example, as suggested by one of the respondents, a radio campaign in Sasak language (local dialect) was used by private businesses to recruit local labourers for overseas construction and domestic services jobs. A similar radio campaign could also be used for

environmental education. In addition, with the direct support of the head of villages, it was proposed to develop an appropriate system of reporting back to the related village, when its members are caught littering inside the GRNP.

A most obvious impact, according to most of the respondents, would be the use of actions to set an example of appropriate conservation behaviour. Village trek organisers explained that, if a weekly clean up team patrolled the park, this would also inspire action from local users.

Some respondents also suggested that the GRNP management should develop separate dedicated trekking routes, one for tourism commercial trekkers and one for non-commercial trekkers; that is, the members of the surrounding villages (those whose livelihood options include fishing, timber and non-timber collection and raising cattle). The private sector proposed to take care of the conservation along the commercial route and also that the locals take care of the non-commercial route – it should be noted that this also means a separation between the rich (paying trekkers/customers) and the poor (local people 'illegally' using the park resources).

The discussion in the following section will shift from a conservation focus, as explored previously, to a community development focus. It will show the disjuncture between the private sector and community development interests, which also hindered much needed collaborative partnerships between the two spheres.

6.5. Disjuncture between private sector & community development interests

One contributing factor to the disjuncture between private sector actors and community development practitioners was the disparity of ideas between these two groups, relating to 'who or what' tourism should target for benefits. From the private sector's point of view, tourism profits are rightful incentives, which are mostly the reason for the establishment of the business itself. In

contrast, development practitioners, utilising ecotourism principles to develop Rinjani tourism, intended to bring maximum direct benefits to the local communities (see Adam, Story, & Dara, 2002; Brandon, 1996; Ceballos-Lascurain, 1996; Ngobese, 1994; Oliver, 2005; Ross & Wall, 2001; Sekartjakrarini & Legoh, 2004). These conflicting priorities resulted in a perceived incongruity between the pursuits of the private sector and the community's interests.

Furthermore, as commented by the head of GRNP management, who is the representative of the legal owner of the park (June 2007):

> *"National park users, especially the private sector, should base their usage on environment conservation principals. Businesses need to realise that when economic benefits are extracted from the usage of the park environmental assets, remuneration to the park should be automatically provided. This is the nature of conducting business within protected areas, where conservation deeds toward the sustainability of the ecosystem, are obligatory. This is the why the GRNP has been developed on ecotourism principles."*

The officially authorised park development tendency for linking tourism with conservation, instead of people's livelihoods, sparked further confusion in the effort to assimilate social common goals, to accommodate the interests of the private sector, the community and the national park management.

Not surprisingly, the researcher found various responses that highlighted conflicts of interest between the private sector and community development. It not only appeared that commercial business and social values were contradictory by nature but there was also a lack of common understanding between their points of view which resulted in avoidable barriers to meeting both parties' fundamental aspirations. Box 6.3 below highlights the key contributing factors relating to the reason why business owners were not keen to take a special interest in GRNP's social development.

Key reasons why business owners are not contributing to social development in GRNP:

1. Business is focused on the pursuit of profits. Social development is not economically cost effective.

2. Social values are not embedded within business operations: therefore, the business agenda is indifferent to the social agenda.

3. Social development is perceived as the responsibility of social organisations. Business does not have the expertise and resources to take on this responsibility.

4. Effective and appropriate social development efforts require significant operational funds and individual businesses are too small to contribute sufficiently and feasibly, except by providing employment and making local and philanthropic contributions. Lombok's tourism private sector players are generally small with limited competitive and expansion resources.

5. Selling ecotourism products and tapping into the social interest market, is considered high risk and high investment and yet it does not necessarily generate higher business incomes. Furthermore, GRNP is still in its early stage of tourism development: therefore, progress and product development innovations are limited. As such, business does not consider that venturing and taking on social values could play any significant contribution to its profitability and survival.

6. The entrance villages are not designed as park-supporting tourism destinations: therefore diverse village tourism products and services based on local potentials are non-existent.

7. Business survival is based on its ability to maintain its comparative advantages. Setting one business apart from the rest is the key to winning competition. There is no point becoming socially responsible if other businesses do the same.

8. There is no credible party showing noteworthy, directive and continuous efforts in the park's social development. Why should business be any different?

9. Lack of socially responsible customer pressure towards business reformation.

10. There are no local government regulations to obligate business to comply with socially responsible standards of practice. There is also no socially responsible agenda within the Indonesian tourism industry, to regulate business conduct.

11. Tourism benefits are mostly perceived by GoI as being the provider of foreign income, tax and direct employment. Tourism's larger potential for generating multiplier effects within the local economy (diversification potential) is commonly left neglected: therefore targeted capacity building in various other supporting sectors remains stagnant, e.g. agriculture, community farming and gardening, home industry and marine sectors.

Box 6.3 Key reasons why business owners are not contributing to social development in the GRNP
Source: Author, 2007

6.5.1. Business social responsibility

A common practice of business to demonstrate its social responsibility was through donations. The most common effect of this type of philanthropic behaviour were: (1) the creation of 'waiting on a handout' culture, instead of

self-sufficiency; (2) the inducement of social jealousy amongst the recipient community, due to unclear distribution and usage of the donation fund; and (3) discouraging current and prospective donors to provide long term and committed contributions.

The 'rule of thumb' for a business was to create a profit-making machine. Most trekking businesses were not doing well. Extra funds and human resources were rarely available for any dedicated corporate social responsibility activities. There were also no government policy or regulations to enforce the reformation of business conduct, towards a more socially responsible operation, through the harmonisation of economic, social and environmental outcomes. Business players were waiting for another external party, with proven business profitability records, to act as the initiator for any type of social value-based innovations.

Travel agents and individual trek organisers interpreted community-based tourism to mean the provision of local employment, for example, employment for mountain guides and porters. From the 7,000 people living in the Rinjani-adjacent village[10] of Senaru, 180 people have registered themselves as legal guides and porters. This is the largest group of villagers who derive a direct employment from tourism.

From the other 6820 people: 15 were trek organisers; about the same number were owners of the local inns; 10 or so were waterfall guides; and less than 10 were women guides. Thus, approximately 5% of the Senaru population received direct employment from tourism (Author, 2007). According to David et al. (p. 60) in their participatory evaluation of GRNPP – RTEP conducted in 2005, the number of beneficiaries, who have gained significant economic benefits from GRNP tourism, was 43 people, from both

[10] Village (Indonesian: *desa*) is the lowest level of government administration in Indonesia. A village is headed by a village chief (Indonesian: *kepala desa*), which is elected by popular vote. A village is divided non-administratively into local communities (hamlets, Indonesian: *dusun*) which manage certain number of households, each hamlet is headed by a hamlet chief (Indonesian: *kepala dusun).* Derived from various sources, including http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Village_%28Indonesia%29

Senaru (total population 6,900) and Sembalun Lawang (total population 8,500).

One of this research's limitations was that it did not delve into the adequacy, or otherwise, of a tourism income, that is, whether it provided sufficiently for porter or guide's household. However, in order to provide a rough picture of village conditions, the following is a snapshot of a Senaru porter's income, derived from a yearly trekking season.

When compared to the standard monthly minimum wage in West Nusa Tenggara Province (2007 Standard UMP in NTB – Rp. 645,000), porters annual involvement in Rinjani trekking activities (see Figure 6.2 below) only amounted roughly to 6.87% of the monthly legal minimum wage.

Year	Number of International Trekkers entering GRNP from Senaru Village	Number of trekking trips (calculation is based on the average porter requirement - 2 trekkers to 1 porter)	Daily porter service rate (Rp.)	Cummulative Income from an average 2 days work/treking trip (Rp.)	Individual Senaru porter average income per year	Monthly Individual Senaru porter income (income derived from trekking activities per season)
2001	1847	924	45000	Rp. 124.672.500	Rp. 692.625	Rp. 57.719
2002	1472	736	45000	Rp. 99.360.000	Rp. 552.000	Rp. 46.000
2003	783	392	45000	Rp. 52.852.500	Rp. 293.625	Rp. 24.469
2004	905	453	45000	Rp. 61.087.500	Rp. 339.375	Rp. 28.281
2005	1349	675	45000	Rp. 91.057.500	Rp. 505.875	Rp. 42.156
2006	1487	744	65000	Rp. 144.982.500	Rp. 805.458	Rp. 67.122

Figure 6.2 Senaru porter's income derived from trekking activities (2001 – 2006)
Source: Author, 2007

The work of porters was often arduous. Trekking loads were shouldered with a length of bamboo, balanced at both ends with goods (see Box 6.4 below).

Box 6.4 Rinjani porters and their trekking loads
Source: RTMB Documentation

Rinjani porters normally made three day and two night trekking trips up and down the mountain, sometimes barefoot or wearing simple plastic sandals (see Box 6.5 below). They were responsible for the following: carrying all the heavy trekking baggage; water collection during the trek; food preparation, cooking and cleaning; setting up the campsite; wood collection; and all other logistical tasks.

Box 6.5 Rinjani porter and his trekking loads
Source: RTMB Documentation

None of the businesses interpreted responsible community-based tourism in the way explained in Chapter 2. That is:

> *Responsible tourism aims to provide maximum benefits for the local people, in creating a self-sufficient community and/or the development of profitable mutual business partnership based on local potential - from the people, for the people, by the people* (Author - derived from various sources, 2007).

Therefore, field examples only demonstrate the private sector's real actions, through their provision of local employment (guides and porters) and some small efforts in the purchase of local produce (vegetables fruit and chickens). Any substantial example, relating to implementation of the Indonesian community-based tourism philosophy – "from the people for the people by the people" was not found in this research.

Although, there was one businessperson using the term "people/community tourism", there were also those who used the "everything's for sale" terminology, when conducting their daily operations. Only one travel agent,

from the 16 interviewed, included social concern in its company's documents. This one travel agent stated, "A Social Business based entity, prioritising social efforts, resulting in profitable business" (Perama Travel Club – Perama Swara Tours & Travel Land Sea Air Adventure). Another travel agent respondent provided his own definition of community tourism. That is:

> *"Pariwisata kerakyatan – community tourism, is when community members are those who are providing the tourism components to be pack, and resell by the private sector. Local communities should have a higher share of the business' profits. Business is considered a failure if the profit percentage for local people is less than 50%"*, (Travel agent respondent, June 2007).

6.5.2. Harmonising business and social pursuits

Throughout this research, the most common opinion stated amongst the business players was the accepted view that business endeavours required a special economical focus. Further, most respondents claimed that social and economic activities could not be undertaken simultaneously.

Planning and implementing social activities required special skills and dedicated management, in order to result in well-targeted, responsible and sustainable social outcomes. Business players, within their work capacity, could not be expected to play a social initiator role. Linking a business entity with social activities, organised by a third party with dubious accountability, would only jeopardise the company's integrity and negatively contribute to its business image, as perceived by its customers.

Due to business exclusivity, they were also not aware of the knowledge and the skills normally required of a non-government organisation, which specialised in community strengthening. On the other hand, non-government organisations, due to their own exclusivity, were not aware of the knowledge and skills required to run businesses. Thus, a bridge was not created between the two parties.

City businesses did not consider village level businesses as worthy business partners for mutual business endeavours and joint ventures. In addition, they

did not perceive their business operation as the engine for the local economy. Therefore, they were not taking a pro-active role in supporting the creation of a self-sufficient society, nor in the development of small businesses involving local people, which could support their main city businesses.

Village-based businesses were unsuccessful in convincing city businesses that it would be mutually beneficial to build shared ownership businesses. In addition, they did not perceive their business endeavours to be the engine of the village economy. Therefore, they were not taking a pro-active role in developing the village and the villagers' potential. The village-based businesses' ultimate goal is to achieve the same or higher success level as the city-based businesses.

Village-based businesses were generally not using any tourism market opportunities to widen their businesses, through embracing the local people's skills, knowledge of land and interests. As a result, there was no creation of any substantial, supportive new businesses accompany the main trekking business. The researcher only found one village entrepreneur (based on his love for the forest and mountain) who was diversifying his guiding services with his story telling abilities and interpreting the local culture and daily behaviours of the community for the visiting tourists (Armasih, mountain guide from Sembalun Lawang village).

Alternative village-based businesses, which could provide a year round source of income, unlike trekking, had not been considered. These alternatives include, agricultural based products, back yard/front yard gardening, small-scale fisheries, local medicinal plants planting and processing, herbs, handicrafts, flowers, fruits, folk stories, traditional massage/healing services and other cultural related activities, breeding/cultivation of park's endangered flora and fauna species and so forth.

Most village-based trek organisers were protected and fostered by the GRNP ecotourism project, without training on how to run a business and yet one city-based respondent argued that GRNP management needed to acknowledge its responsibility for creating unhealthy competition between city-based and village-based tourism players. In its efforts to encourage local involvement, it had created unviable high expectations amongst the locals, by introducing the idea that they could get easy money through tourism. This respondent judged that the project created an 'easy money' attitude, instead of creating a 'hard work/hard earn' mentality. The project was rewarding the unprofessional business conduct of the local tourism players.

Furthermore, this city respondent also provided an insight into one of the causes of jealousy between city and village guides. He explained that the village guides, particularly for women guided village panorama walks and youth waterfall guides, were receiving a higher income for just a few hours work, compared to the more educated city guide (with more language skills), who worked longer shifts and received a lower income.

The following section presents the respondents' various views, on how best to distribute tourism benefits to the wider community members.

6.5.3. Extending tourism benefits to the wider community members

There were limited efforts by the private sector to disperse tourism benefits to the wider community segment, particularly to those who were not currently involved in park related tourism activities.

As mentioned previously, most businesses were too small to allocate dedicated resources to create significant social contributions, related to the development of Rinjani-adjacent communities. Businesses rarely ventured beyond philanthropy, for example, providing business donations in response to natural disasters and distributing gifts and performing other related social roles, when requested by interested customers. It was also commonly

accepted amongst the private sector that concentrating and implementing a social agenda was more likely to be the role of government and related INGOs, NGOs and/or CBOs, not the private sector.

Some respondents explained that it was not feasible to expect customers to support a certain social agenda. Customers purchased a tourism package from a travel agent, expecting an all-in-service, which should include a travel agent's conduct being proper in a social/ethical aspect. This is particularly true if the related travel agent/tourism business had advertised 'social concern' as part of its marketing message. The customers would also expect the business to take the initiative and offer attractive/alternative ideas and to provide even more and better services and products, as part of its competitiveness.

Few business players felt they should contribute more to local development. These few claimed to have suggested to ASITA (the travel agent association in Lombok) that ASITA could coordinate a collection of a certain portion of each travel agent's profit. This collected fund could be used for the local people's education, health, housing and so forth. They felt a profit deduction was fair and a "return on investment" from the commercialisation of the areas (see further discussion in Chapter 7, recommendations section).

They believed that businesses should be required to show social responsibility and to share profit:

> *"In truth, we are selling the people and areas, therefore it is fair to give back part of the profit from the act of objectifying these people and the areas"*, (a travel agent respondent, June 2007).

They also believed that returning a partial business profit should be treated and accepted as a social obligation, in its own right. This was different from fulfilling the obligation to buy park tickets.

However, the above ideal view of a socially responsible business is still debated amongst business players. Any consensus on the most appropriate forms of exercising business social concerns is yet to be reached. Higher

priorities were given to matters related to a low level of Lombok tourism and low business profitability in general.

Similarly, interviews also showed that there were hardly any other issues discussed amongst village trek organisers, except those related to pricing and business operations. According to them, issues related to tourism products and services innovation, particularly the creation of village non-seasonal jobs, how to spread tourism benefits to the wider community and social concerns, were also rarely discussed.

The socially responsible business practice supporters, interviewed by the researcher, endorsed the strength of personal lobbying from concerned business owners. They claimed that appropriate government regulations could significantly increase the opportunities for businesses to demonstrate a real contribution towards community issues, within their operational areas.

On the contrary, some other respondents believed that there was too much emphasis on the expectation that the tourism business should provide direct local involvement and/or direct local employment. It should be realised that business survival was closely related to its ability to employ skilled staff, which was hard to find amongst local population. Both village-based business players and city-based travel agents could not involve people without tourism related skills. (For ideas beyond creating direct tourism employment links see Chapter 7 recommendations).

Local trek organisers claimed to demonstrate their contribution to the wider village community by providing a larger donation portion, as part of their personal contribution to the collected funds used for village social events/activities. This could be, for example, a contribution to a village's collective fund for weddings, funerals, building mosques and other public infrastructure development.

It is very difficult to include wider members of the community in employment opportunities, without proper diversification of development programmes. In

the current situation, tourism could only provide for a certain group of people, who possessed certain types of skills and knowledge. This group has the greatest chance to establish links and ensure direct involvement in tourism.

To explore the impact of tourism-related activities on a village economy, respondents' procurement activities and the need for village tourism development will be elaborated in the following section.

6.5.3.1. Procurement

The majority of private sector trekking food procurement is sourced from the city. Almost 80% is composed of processed foods and stores bought (it is claimed) in keeping with the international clientele's palates, from toast to cheese and creamed soup. *"For trekking breakfast we need to serve toast, pancakes, sandwiches and cheese for snacks. Those kinds of ingredients are available from Mataram supermarkets and they are cheaper there compared to village's stores,"* commented trek organisers. City-based travel agents claimed that there was a specific food quality and type needed to service their trekking customers. When the researcher enquired about the readiness of local fresh products, most respondents considered that the local supply was not yet up to standard, nor was there an acceptable availability.

Few local trek organisers interviewed show creativity in planning suitable trekking menus, based on local produce availability. The food industry was also undeveloped amongst the villagers. Although there were a few snack making groups established, who received help from the project, there was no shifting trend towards local entrepreneurs supplying the local trek organisers or the local inns.

Respondents claimed that even fruits and certain vegetables, such as potatoes, were hard to come by in the villages. Sembalun, a farming village, was not deemed to be at the ready stage or even at the planning stage of catering for tourists, particularly trekking tourists. The private sector is

generally unaware of local produce availability. Concerns were commonly expressed with relation to stock consistency, variety and availability. There were no local initiatives to promote local produce and the private sectors' interest and trust was not being built up.

Trekking equipment and food, including bottled water were normally packed in the city before being transported to the GRNP village entrance. It was claimed that it was not convenient to repack everything in the village, to include locally bought foods. Respondents also claimed that the local produce prices were marked-up unreasonably, due to the locals knowing that they were intended for tourist consumption. This claim is also confirmed by the local village trek organisers, who also appeared to experience the same 'tourist consumption' mark-up in prices.

Interestingly, however, village trek organisers claimed that they made special efforts to buying local, whenever possible, given the fact that they could buy on credit. This was an acceptable local business partnership, since, generally, the trek organisers keep a good credit record with the local stores. This type of partnership also ensures a social bond and support between the villagers and the village business owners.

The low level of tourist flows to GRNP also played a significant factor in discouraging the development of local initiatives. The Sembalun Co-operative's early experiences (to supplement its income from saving and loans services) in trying to market local agricultural products, demonstrated the following various complexities.

The most common envisioned problems were difficulties in:

1. Handling perishable goods, such as vegetables and fruits
2. Transport logistics
3. Coping with the low demand, in comparison with the higher cost needed to supply the demand
4. Supplying specific types of products in small quantities (e.g. various lettuces, western herbs, exotic vegetables etc.) required by tourism outlets, such as hotels and restaurants.

6.5.3.2. Village Tourism Development

Whilst serving as the entrance villages to GRNP, Senaru and Sembalun were yet to be developed as tourism destinations in their own rights. Respondents suggested that the local authority should start developing the villages as tourism objects. The village-based private sector could not shoulder the responsibility of playing an innovative role, in order to develop the potential of the surrounding hamlets. Nor could they independently develop that potential to support their businesses and village tourism in general, without the local authority's decisive involvement. With their small profit margin, the village-based private sector depended highly on the willingness of village administrators to include them in the village planning and development process, in order for their business innovative ideas to take ground.

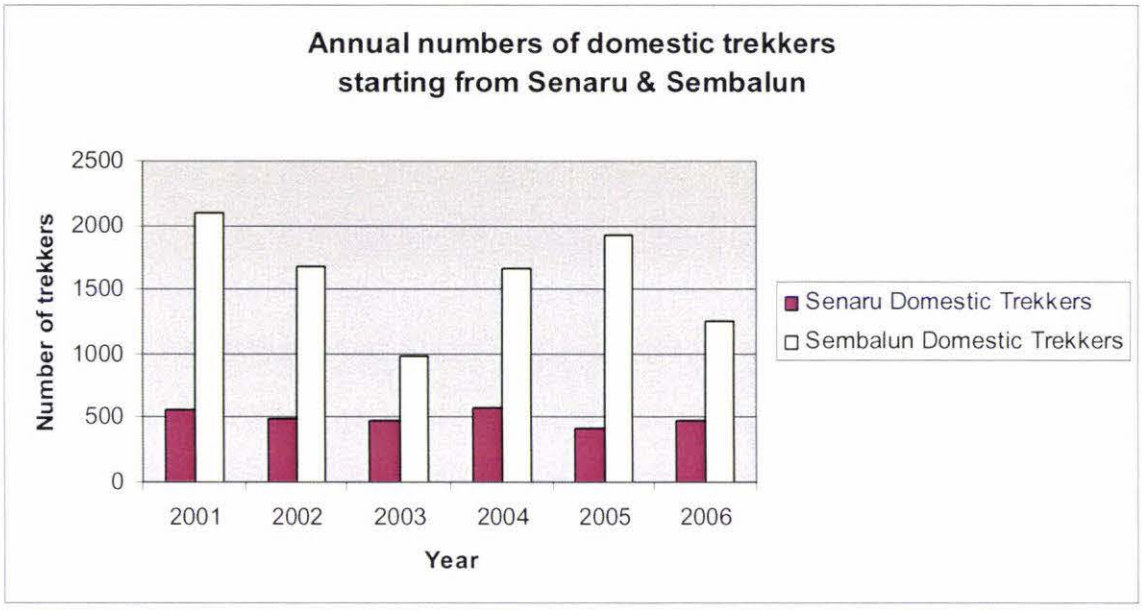
There were missing collaborative links between village management, the village private sector and community-based organisations (CBOs), such as co-operatives, youth groups and social and religious organisations.

Figure 6.3 below, in comparing the number of trekkers starting from Senaru or Sembalun entrances, did not seem to show any correlation between the number of trek organisers in each village and the number of trekkers. Senaru, in 2007 at the time this research was conducted, had 15 independent trek organisers, whilst Sembalun had none. Almost all the Sembalun Rinjani promotions were handled by RTMB and there was no Sembalun village trek organiser conducting independent promotions.

Year	Senaru		Sembalun	
	Domestic Trekkers	International Trekkers	Domestic Trekkers	International Trekkers
2001	566	1847	2090	653
2002	497	1472	1680	979
2003	474	783	984	1149
2004	574	905	1664	972
2005	425	1349	1926	1453
2006	478	1487	1257	1735

Figure 6.3 Annual numbers of total trekkers starting from Senaru & Sembalun
Source: 2001 – 2003 GRNP, 2004 – 2006 RTMB

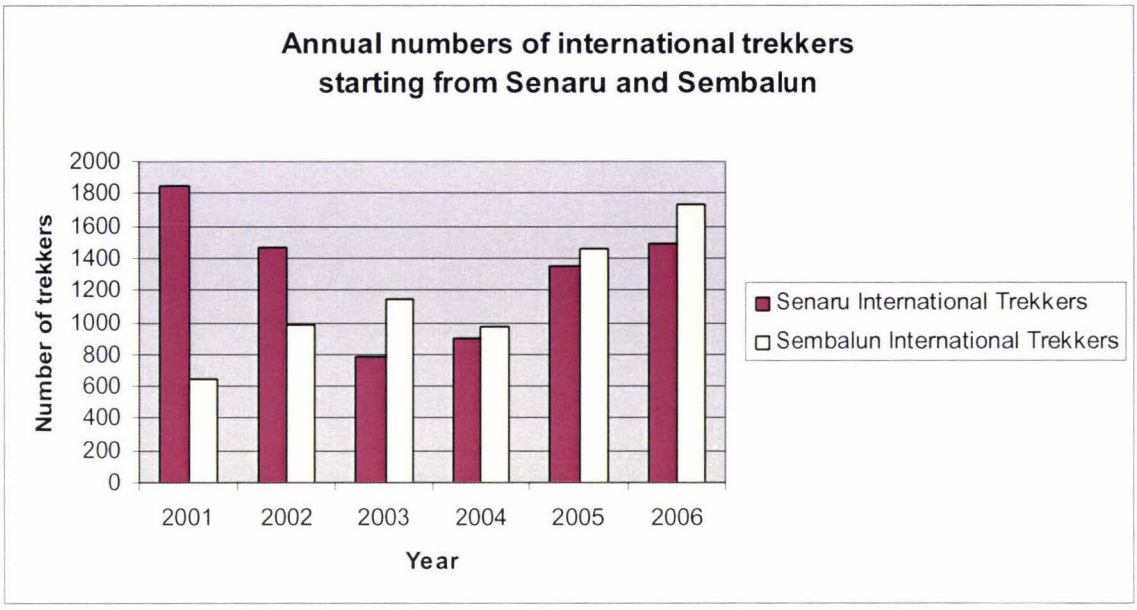
Certainly, when analysing the promotional materials advertising Rinjani, the mountain is the main destination, not the villages. The trekkers' choice, between Senaru and Sembalun, for their starting point was based on the level of challenge sought for the trekking trip and the time available to spend trekking and whether the Rinjani peak or Crater Lake was the prime focus of the trip. The steady domestic trekker trend from Sembalun confirmed this prime preference, since most domestic trekkers, venturing inside the national park, have the Crater Lake and its surrounding areas as their destination spots, not the peak of Rinjani (Graph 6.2 below).



Graph 6.2 Annual numbers of domestic trekkers starting from Senaru & Sembalun
Source: 2001 – 2003 GRNP, 2004 – 2006 RTMB

However, the researcher could not fully explain the differing trend between the 2001– 2002 and 2003 – 2006 periods, which in the first two years showed a higher number international trekkers visiting Senaru, compared to Sembalun (Graph 6.3 below). This might be due to data discrepancies, since the trekkers' data collection was still conducted manually by GRNP, RTC and RIC or there were other undetected reasons, beyond the scope of this research. In addition, it was also a common practice for the Senaru trek

organisers to arrange trekking journeys starting from Sembalun village, when requested by their customers.



Graph 6.3 Annual numbers of international trekkers starting from Senaru & Sembalun
Source: 2001 – 2003 GRNP, 2004 – 2006 RTMB

The higher number of trekkers preferring to venture up to Rinjani through Sembalun compared to Senaru, might be an interesting point to be analysed in the future, particularly in the correlation with the number of trek organisers operating in each village (if in the near future, both villages are developed into tourism objects in their own rights).

The previous sections have highlighted the disjuncture between private sector interests and community development and conservation concerns, which have provided the contextual setting on how complex it is to build harmonious relationships between business, environment and social aspects of tourism development in GRNP. The following section will explore relationship impediments between city and village-based Rinjani trekking organisers.

6.6. City and village-based Rinjani trekking organisers' partnership

Box 6.6 below, summarises the major partnership hindrances between the city-based (travel agents) and village-based (individual trek organisers and village community co-op) private sector.

Impediments to partnership between city and village-based trek organiser:

1. There is no difference between the behaviour of city-based and village-based businesses. In free market competition, business survival is the rule of thumb.
2. Disagreements relating to quality standard services aimed at various market segments. Village-based businesses are perceived as inferior by city-based travel agents. Interestingly, it is vice versa from village-based trek organisers' point of views.
3. Partnership is yet to be built, based on trust and mutual profitable business deals. Both parties are hardly making any investment to diversify Lombok tourism products and services: therefore, strength through collaborative efforts to build profitable partnership is yet to be measured.

Box 6.6 Impediments to partnership between city and village-based trek organisers
Source: Author, 2007

Rinjani appeals to the nature and adventure seeker segment within the tourism market and on average, this segment made up 2% to 30% of the travel agents' yearly business, compared to the village trek organisers, where Rinjani was commonly their only tourism product for the whole business year. An exception was the few who combined their services to include other destinations, both inside and outside Lombok. However, on average, village trek organisers were almost completely dependent on Rinjani for their tourism business survival and it was generally the only source of livelihood for the trek organisers.

> *"When the national park is closed for the rainy season, we hibernate and tighten our sarong (traditional cloth worn as bodice wrap-around)."* (Village trek organiser, June 2007).

According to the travel agents selling Rinjani trekking, they generally concentrate on packaging and marketing the package, whilst the actual package providers are the organised local people. In this case, Mataram

RTMB office, in partnership with village co-operatives, has acquired an international reputation, through the involvement of NZAID, as the park ecotourism developer. Travel agents demonstrated trust in their dealings with RTMB and yet they did not seem to have the same level of trust towards individual village-based trek organisers. Ironically, these individuals are actually the very same group of village entrepreneurs, behind the scenes and fostered by the project, who will make all the necessary trekking arrangement in the village for every trekking package that these travel agents have bought from RTMB Mataram office.

Interestingly, from the village interviews, the researcher discovered the history of relationships between some of the city-based travel agents and the independent trek organisers. Those few city-based organisations and individuals owed their humble beginnings to their early involvement with the village-based trek organisers. Having learned the required trekking skills and park knowledge, they then went on to start their own businesses, based in the city tourism areas including the three *Gilis* islands.

As mentioned previously, there are also travel agents who concentrate fully on promotion, marketing and organising the complete trekking package themselves, instead of buying a ready package from RTMB Mataram office. Their involvement with the locals is mostly in the hiring of local porters and/or guides. Some have established long-term business relationships with these local guides and porters. Hence, they were able to by-pass the village trek organisers, including RTMB/RTC/RIC, and they organised the complete trekking trip themselves. Competition and business survival were the main drivers in securing profitable business deals, which was true for both city and village-based tourism business players.

Business survival and competition, as mentioned earlier, are the main hindrances to any significant partnership between travel agents and village trek organisers. Most travel agents, who preferred to handle their own trekking trips, instead of collaborating with local trek organisers, complained

about the unacceptable level of service quality provided by the locals. By quality, travel agents refer to various aspects of the trekking trip, which include transportation; pre-trekking briefing and preparation; language skills; destination knowledge; people skills of the guide; various types of trekking equipment; food and water; safety and emergency procedure; and efforts towards customer retention.

Some travel agents argued that they have a different kind of clientele who are the executive segment of the market and therefore deluxe trekking services must be offered to these people. There was more willingness to buy a trekking package from village trek organisers if the clientele came from the budget segment, for example, backpackers.

However, the locals disputed the argument that their service was inferior and they claimed that most of the time their quality was superior to that of the travel agents. For the deluxe trekking package, for example, local trek organisers even included toilet tents, dining chairs and tables, pillows with the sleeping bags and tents and five course meals with daily menu choices.

Since most organised group trekking is part of an overall adventure package, combined with other adventure destinations in Indonesia and overseas, each organised group has its own tour leader from where the group originated. Upon arrival in a certain country, the group might add a destination country's tour guide and/or a tourist object's guide. In the case of Rinjani, if the organised group has already been given a Lombok tour guide upon arrival, the travel agent would have expected that the same guide would act as the mountain guide during the Rinjani trek. This was to save on operational costs, instead of hiring an additional local mountain guide, which of course would involve extra cost.

These city-based guides have the same opportunity to get a mountain guide license as any villagers. However, villagers, only licensed as mountain guides, were not qualified for non-mountain guiding. To gain this qualification they were required to pass another type of tourism guiding tests. Since the

village mountain guides generally have low income, they normally could not afford to learn and pass other guiding license requirements, unless, on some rare occasions, the travel agent recruited them as a permanent tourism guide working for the organisation's main operation.

The majority of village organisers claimed that, in general, city-based guides did not have the same mountain stamina as the locals. This then affected the quality of their service during trekking and it could even become a burden to the already overloaded porters. When this occurred, it became the porters' additional responsibility to lead the way, acting as the guide, caring for the guests and taking care of the guide, who was slowing down the rest of the group, due to his incompetence.

With quality as the basis of arguments, travel agents pointed out the lack of the village trek organisers' standard of service. The travel agents were demanding guarantees for service quality, trustworthiness, acceptable pricing and most of all, the opportunity to build up one-on-one personal trust. This trust is crucial, since accountability, particularly when complaints are received, is the basis for the travel agent's customer retention and for the safety of other current and future investments.

Travel agents suggested that these aspects of long-term planning and the hardships endured in starting-up and building a private business, were the experiences/qualities that they found lacking amongst the local trek organisers.

> *"A company is run with a higher scale of obligations toward its stakeholders, employees, laws and the general public. While this village individual has, only he and his immediate family members to be concern about. Rarely is it that they have to face the wider scale of obligations when facing bankruptcy."* (Travel agent respondent, June 2007).

Gradually, successful village trek organisers were conducting a more complex, tourism business operation. Not only were they in the process of

acquiring the same legal business status, this expansion also paved the way for them to provide wider tourism products and services beyond Rinjani, in a similar way to the city travel agents.

Competition and business survival between trek organisers at village level were as fierce as that amongst the city travel agents. Amongst 15 trek organisers in Senaru, for example, not all individual entrepreneurs were flourishing and the unlucky ones often worked together as 'sub' trek organisers for the successful ones. From a social responsibility aspect, there was no significant difference between the business conduct of those village or city-based private sector actors.

6.7. Summary

Since it is the main driver of park tourism, the private sector plays a significant role in determining the success of tourism efforts in any particular place. It is undeniable that GRNP is a major protected area in Lombok. The integrity of its ecosystem is essential to the survival of the island. However, it is also undeniable that its ecosystem is the source of livelihood for many of its residents. Ecotourism was designed to provide various benefits for these people, by the commercialisation of this protected area's resources. This chapter, having explored the roles of private sector in GRNP tourism, pointed out the disjuncture between the private sector, conservation and community development interests. Business survival was the key focus of all businesses, rather than cooperation.

The involvement of local communities in tourism activities creates business players within the communities. These community business players, together with the city-based private sector, have the potential to act as the motor for the tourism industry. As motors, both need to go along complimentary paths, in order to envision common goals and beneficial collaboration. If values, such as environmental and social responsibility are the expected result of any business operation, it is crucial to have a common understanding relating to potential conflicting interests.

Park tourism is based upon fierce competition, conducted by its many business players. Each player tries to secure his/her share from the existing small slice of park tourism, with limited incentives to cooperate in delivering conservation or community development benefits to local people.

The following chapter will present the major findings discovered through the field research and recommendations for improvement. A pro-poor tourism approach for the local government, GRNP and its private sector actors will form the concluding section of this research.

7. Conclusions and recommendations: Can the private sector play a stronger role in community development and conservation of GRNP?

7.1. Introduction

In Indonesia, poverty is so often associated with natural resources issues, concentration of power and rapid economic development, which serves to widen the gap between the 'haves' and the 'have nots'. Hence, linking tourism to efforts made to reduce poverty is surely a huge challenge.

Some international agencies and governments have been active in the planning and promotion of tourism for poverty alleviation. However, they have generally focused on macroeconomic growth, jobs, gross national product contributions, foreign exchange earnings and private sector investment (Roe, 2006). It is still not clear whether the tourism industry is really capable of reforming itself, by placing poverty at the centre of its development (Zhao & Ritchie, 2007). Nevertheless, pro-poor tourism (PPT), in theory, believes that the tourism industry is capable of reforming the private sector (see Deloitte & Touche, 1999; Goodwin et al., 1998; Kepe et al., 2001). It urges the development of private sector partnerships with local community members, to create businesses that are embedded within a social agenda (see Ashley et al., 2001; Cattarinich, 2001; Goodwin, 1998). It is also convinced that the private sector has the power to act as a social agent of change, within its operational areas (see Ashley, 2005; Ashley & Goodwin, 2007; Roe, 2006).

This research set out to explore the following question:

> *How can Lombok trekking organisers deliver more benefits to the conservation of Gunung Rinjani National Park (GRNP) and local community development?*

The research has shown that tourism business players, from both affluent and/or humble beginnings, are currently not considering social values when making business decisions. Combined with government reluctance to associate poverty alleviation with tourism, in Lombok, Gunung Rinjani National Park tourism is still a long way from delivering on its potential to improve the livelihoods of underprivileged people from the surrounding communities.

The Lombok private sector is lacking the necessary key ingredients for reforming itself (pressure of change, shared vision, capacity for change and a set of actionable first steps), which will be elaborated in this chapter. Following this discussion, recommendations will be made by focusing on how the private sector could contribute more to GRNP conservation and community development issues. The conclusion will underline some constraints experienced by the private sector actors, who are strongly influenced by the government, through its policies, regulations, public investment, expectations and actions, not only in tourism but also in other sectors.

7.2. GRNP tourism and the private sector

Lombok tourism private sector could not be expected to venture into social and environment investment voluntarily. Not only is their individual reserved capital too small, they also lack much-needed social and environmental expertise. Despite some good intentions shown by individuals within certain business organisations, this goodwill is not supported by the very nature of their organisation's system and operation. There are clearly conflicting business and development interests influencing the private sector actors associated with GRNP. However, this research does show some encouraging responses to the idea that they might, given the opportunity, provide wider tourism benefits, to the adjacent communities and Rinjani's conservation, therefore making a larger contribution to society, for the various reasons explained below.

Whilst there is a strong possibility that tourism could provide development benefits for the destination areas, the research findings show that, without specific, targeted, continuous planning and programmes, the tourism private sector's independent contribution to address social issues will remain meagre. These findings confirmed a similar study conducted recently by Spenceley and Goodwin (2007) in Kruger National Park, South Africa on private sector roles in poverty alleviation. The private sector's key ingredients for group action, according to Taylor et al. (1995), as mentioned in Chapter 4, include (1) pressure for change, (2) shared vision, (3) capacity for change and (4) a set of actionable first steps: all of which are missing in Lombok GRNP. The following section will elaborate upon these missing key ingredients.

7.2.1. Pressure for change

In Lombok, tourism has not contributed greatly to poverty reduction, for various reasons. As discussed previously, in Chapters 5 and 6, the concept of using tourism for poverty elimination is foreign to the tourism sector. Hence, there is no tourism industry pressure for change.

At a mini-workshop, conducted at the end of this research fieldwork, various key stakeholders from GRNP tourism were invited to a discussion and yet they failed to demonstrate any enthusiasm concerning the prioritisation of strategies to deal with poverty problems in Lombok (see Chapter 4). Businesses and government alike are more focussed on increasing tourism flows to Lombok. Hence, as usual, business and development are not travelling on the same path.

The willingness of the local economic players to enable tourism linkages is crucial. One of the reasons for leakage, as pointed out by Ashley and Roe (1998), is the capturing of financial benefits by a small elite group within the

community itself. Also, as pointed out by Scheyvens (1999), those people with the most power, education and language skills, or those who happen to live in the right place are the ones most likely to get new jobs, set up enterprises, make deals with outsiders, or control collective incomes earned by the community. Such factors lead to disparities in income or inequalities in its distribution and this can ultimately result in community disruption and conflict. Therefore, the meaningful participation of the local community is reserved for the few elite, who are able to feel empowered by tourism (Kothari, Pathak, Suryanarayanan, & Vania, 1997; Scheyvens, 1999).

This situation is clearly shown through the concentration of village-based business players (mostly migrants from various parts of Lombok) in Senaru and Sembalun, who do not include most of the Sasak indigenous population. The concentration of power is also revealed in the unbalanced relationship between city-based and village-based business players.

This lack of a pressure for change displayed by the private sector means that the vast tourism potential in Lombok remains undiscovered and development innovations, such as the delivery of more tourism benefits and increased involvement of the poorer sections of the community, are significantly hindered. Without a clear and shared vision, it is likely that an individual's daily goodwill will be rendered insignificant and he/she will tend to view the future with pessimism weighted down by seemingly endless development problems.

7.2.2. Shared vision

As explained in Chapter 6, the RTMB, in helping to shape GRNP's development, has focused on tourism for community development through ecotourism and community-based tourism. The interview data reveals perception differences between private business and the Board. Private businesses do not generally market Rinjani trekking as either a community-based tourism or ecotourism product, but simply as a nature product. This

lack of a shared vision makes it difficult to harmonise business and social interests amongst GRNP stakeholders.

However, without exception, all respondents agreed on the vision of shared responsibility amongst all levels of Lombok's population, in order to conserve the Rinjani ecosystem as a whole. It is difficult to see the implementation of this in practice. As observed during the research, each respondent, whilst admitting responsibility, could not provide any concrete examples of collaboration, with most respondents stressing instead what other stakeholders should be doing.

When GRNPP was introduced, it tried to encourage communal business actions, instead of fostering village-based individual entrepreneurial rivalry. GRNPP organised the local business players, in the hope that the strength of a group would help to put the wider community social concerns forward, as a common priority. Whether these efforts were successful or not, GRNPP helped to legalise and formalise village-based tourism business operations. In doing so, GRNPP developed an organised division of labour and created community-based enterprises.

However, up to the date when this research was conducted in 2007, the village perception was that GRNP tourism was not community-based at all. Village-based individual business players perceived their businesses as their own investment, whilst taking the investment funded by GRNPP as a matter of endowment. In their perception, to ask individual business players to come together to care for the common good, instead of their own business survival, is an unreasonable expectation, since most of these individuals have invested their own capital to build their trekking organiser business (see Chapter 6).

In order to capture the full potential of tourism goals, to mitigate poverty and to achieve environmental, economic and wider social goals, tourism needs to

be integrated into the overall plan and total development strategy of Indonesia as a tourist destination, particularly at the level of district and local planning (Boyle, 1993; Carbone, 2005; Lee, 1987; Tjokrowinoto, 2005). Up to 2007, when this fieldwork was conducted, GRNP still did not have a specific tourism business plan with adequate and specifically trained staff, dedicated to park tourism development, management, planning and daily implementation. It is also crucial not to single out tourism alone for development but it should be planned in conjunction with a region's broader development goals (Baud-Bovy, 1982; Damanik & Kusworo, 2005)

Confusion over the roles of various government agencies, in promoting tourism around GRNP, is clear in the following comments.

> *"Since decentralisation, we seemed to lose focus on our tourism vision and mission, and hence our direction. What the central government does is not necessarily synchronized with what we as the provincial government intend to do and vice versa. Now, things have gotten even worse, with all sub-districts legally allowed to develop their own tourism plans too. Do not ask me where we will all get our funds from though"* (Provincial level tourism agency representative; June 2007).

> *"The matter is complex. I would think that the provincial tourism department would have the highest authority and capability to lead all of us (Lombok's West, East and Central Districts), in planning a comprehensive tourism plan for Rinjani. It seems inappropriate, if at this level, we are the one proactively pushing the agenda"* (District level tourism agency representative; June 2007).

> *"We do not have a tourism plan. To develop one would mean overlapping with the tourism people's jobs (provincial and district tourism agencies). Besides, GRNP's strategic plan is already based on Indonesian forestry, protected areas, and national parks decrees, regulations and laws. These are the acceptable and legal guidelines for any tourism development within protected areas"* (GRNP representative; June 2007)

7.2.3. Capacity for change

This lack of a shared vision amongst the Rinjani stakeholders means that individual business owners, various government agencies, NGOs, CBOs and concerned community members have struggled to achieve any development on their own and they have been frustrated by the meagre outcomes so far. Therefore, the opportunities to rely on each other's strengths have been missed.

A number of tourism related training sessions have been conducted, in relation to park tourism in GRNP. However, these training sessions were not matched with any realistic possibility for the local community to participate directly, through deriving a source of stable employment from tourism. Therefore, unrealistic expectations about tourism benefits have risen amongst the local communities, which have intensified the level of local rivalry and jealousy. Hence, instead of relying on each other strengths, stakeholders are discouraged by the lack of their potential capacity for change.

For example, as shown by a study conducted by David et al. (2005), from the 600 participants within the local communities from Senaru, Sembalun and others villages, who participated in tourism training sessions only 53 people derived permanent income generation through tourism (1.2%). These sessions and the spreading of tourism information have not resulted in creating any awareness, amongst the mainstream tourism players and the national park staff, of the importance of sharing tourism benefits with the local communities. A similar scenario, experienced by porters and guides in Senaru, was previously highlighted in Chapter 6.

Tourism and non-tourism business development supports could best function in tandem. This would encourage local ownership and increased local control over tourism and non-tourism livelihood activities for well-defined targeted recipients. It would also manage the unrealistic expectation of tourism benefits, in relation to the fluctuation of visitor numbers in Lombok.

This lack of capacity for change is the result of an unclear and unshared vision amongst the stakeholders. The private sector, in particular, is weighting their decisions, based on the business cost and benefit analysis, whilst remaining unaware of opportunities they could find if they incorporated social and environmental considerations. Government agencies, NGOs and CBOs alike demonstrate tunnel vision, when trying to achieve their various

organisational goals. They are unaware of the huge benefit that incorporating business, social and environmental senses could create a sustainable local economy, which is much needed by the poor, in order to widen their livelihood opportunities. Independently, each stakeholder views their own weaknesses as being immense and hence they are discouraged. However, their capacity for change could have been improved significantly through collaborative efforts with other stakeholders, under a clear and shared vision.

7.2.4. Set of actionable first steps

Although independent GRNP stakeholders contribute towards GRNP tourism development, there lacks of a set of actionable steps agreed by all; particularly those to widen tourism benefits for Rinjani's adjacent communities.

The single most important factor that determines the level of local participation is the community's perception of income generating possibilities from tourism and this is true in community participation within GRNP tourism. This fact is directly linked with the need of individuals to ensure their daily survival. In GRNP, the tourism benefits are received by a small portion of community members and as a result, participation in and management of GRNP ecotourism initiatives are limited to just a few within the community.

Tourism and conservation awareness programmes, for various tourism players, tourists, government departments, non-government organisations and the wider Lombok communities will not result in the intended economic benefits if these awareness programmes do not have a direct link to ensure the local people's livelihood. These awareness development programmes do not automatically translate into viable commercial activities for the local communities. Therefore, these programmes will hardly result in a set of actionable steps agreed by all stakeholders.

RTMB is in the position to create an umbrella vision for the development of park tourism in Rinjani. This vision, if developed in conjunction with the local people's livelihood options, could ensure local participation and help in park management and conservation, as their involvements will then be based on a sense of practical livelihoods ownership.

7.3. Recommendations

The few people deriving direct benefits from GRNP tourism, private sector actors in particular, face numerous complications, as elaborated upon further in Chapter 5 and 6 of this thesis. Not only do these complications result in unsustainable Rinjani development, they have also amplified mistrust in the benefits of public-private sector partnerships. The development of GRNP tourism needs to start from an understanding of the way in which local people use the park in their daily lives. The majority, who use the park for their non-tourism livelihoods, may not realise the environmental consequences of their activities, nor see the feasible alternatives to shift their usage patterns.

The following recommendations are made, in order to precipitate urgent action from GRNP stakeholders to link tourism development and poverty alleviation efforts in Lombok and to encourage further studies in similar areas of tourism development.

7.3.1. The private sector and GRNP conservation

Individual actors working alone, including the private sector, government, NGOs, CBOs and a few members of the surrounding communities, cannot achieve Rinjani conservation. Significant results are best achieved through constructive collaboration.

Recommendations:

- It is crucial to re-familiarise the public with nature. The Rinjani ecosystem is the backbone of the island's survival and yet the general Lombok public is not made aware of this fact. A yearly clean up and maintenance programme aimed at the public, before reopening the national park after the rainy season, could generate awareness and public involvement, from various segments of the Lombok society. Re-familiarisation efforts could also include: education in nature knowledge and skills training in sustainable environmental practices, vocational training in conservation and the development of related employment opportunities for all levels of Lombok residents (see further ideas from Rogers & Aitchison, 1998; Rogers, Aitchison, & Lucas, 1998; Spiteri & Sanjay, 2006; The Mountain Institute, 2000; Utlwa, 2004).

- A clear tourism plan is required within the overall park management plan. It is envisioned that in order to contribute to conservation, the park management needs to be incorporated into the larger development planning of its surroundings. This could be implemented through collaborative actions between park management, various tourism players and provincial and district planning agencies, where clear roles and responsibilities for each party are defined and implemented. However, the initiative needs to start from the park authorities, particularly because Rinjani requires an ecosystem development approach. The complexity of taking up an initiator role means that the park authorities will benefit greatly from a set of enabling government policies, relevant capacity

building and resource allocation. In addition, partnerships with private sector actors could enable the transfer of appropriate business knowledge and skills, which are much needed in the development of a viable tourism plan (see further ideas and practical implementations from Arisetiarso & Pfueller, 2006; Eghenter, Wulandari, Hanif, & Setiyaningrum, 2006; Goodwin & Roe, 2001; Hamilton & McMillan, 2004; Spiteri & Sanjay, 2006; The Natural Resources Management/EPIQ Program, 1998).

- Correct spatial planning for GRNP might significantly contribute to the overall quality of Rinjani's ecosystem. This could include park usage and adjustments to the carrying capacity and a monitoring system in relation to quality, safety and maintenance of the park's infrastructure. Rest shelter areas, for example, need to provide the services needed for people to rest, cook, collect water, undertake emergency rescues and provide journey information and overnight emergency camp facilities when needed. All these facilities need to be designed with appropriate principles, based on Rinjani's ecosystem. Businesses could benefit very much from partnerships related to the development of a sustainable infrastructure for the park.

7.3.2. The private sector and GRNP community development

Lombok tourism planning, for GRNP in particular, is yet to focus on how to create as many links as possible between local resources skills and knowledge, in the development of its tourism products and services. Specific to park tourism, it is crucial to tackle issues related to seasonal tourism, since the seasonal income, from Rinjani trekking, is the only tourism product of the park. Faced with the intermittent tourism flows to Lombok, the challenge to distribute park tourism benefits to the wider communities is very difficult.

It is simply not enough for government to concentrate on engaging the private sector in promotional partnerships, such as attending overseas marketing and promotional events together, without engaging them further in a working partnership for the tourism management of the park. This strategy would not support the development of valuable tourism value chains and it bypasses the concerns of the adjacent communities' livelihood opportunities.

Income from the park entrance fees, although shared with local communities, is unlikely to address the community's development needs, especially as the largest portion of the shared income is allocated back as the community's contribution to the park routine management requirements (see Chapter 6). As such, financing conservation again takes precedence over social concerns in the partnership between the government and the people and hence it makes it harder to link park tourism beneficially with its wider development and efforts for poverty alleviation.

Recommendations:

- It is advisable for conservation managers to consider that it is part of their job to develop the surrounding communities, in particular, when managing a protected area located within a high-density population, such as GRNP and many other national parks throughout Indonesia. This certainly requires GoI's full commitment to the revision of the park manager's job

description and the development of an enabling policy framework and appropriate resource allocation. (See further ideas and practical implementations from Arisetiarso & Pfueller, 2006; Eghenter et al., 2006; Goodwin & Roe, 2001; Hamilton & McMillan, 2004; Macleod, 2001; Michelle & Lindsey, 2007; Molnar et al., 2004; Neidel, 2006; Robertson, 2005; Rugendyke & Son, 2005; Rutagarama & Martin, 2006; Sanjay, 2002; Spiteri & Sanjay, 2006; Sukandar, 1994; Susmianto, 1995; The Natural Resources Management/EPIQ Program, 1998; Trevor, 2006; West, Igoe, & Brockington, 2006; Wolmer & Ashley, 2003; Yaman, 1991).

- Instead of merely concentrating on creating direct tourism links, Lombok tourism planners are advised to focus on the capacity development needed to increase the multiplier effects of tourism, particularly in forestry, agriculture and the marine sector, such as community farming and home gardening. This could be especially beneficial, since most members of the park's adjacent communities depend heavily on forests and agriculture as their main source of livelihoods. Lombok tourism private sector could in turn benefit from the strengths and experiences of the private sector actors from these better-established sectors. Associated development problems may also be solved through this kind of approach. An example of this type of problem solving is the fact that GRNP is facing conservation problems, such as, seasonal fire outbreaks, which might be caused by illegal grassing inside GRNP. This could probably be solved by engaging cattle farmers in the development of various inventive businesses, based on combining local knowledge and skills with suitable modern innovations, such as establishing local dairy, meat processing plant and tannery.

- There is no substitute for the development of a uniting tourism policy, including the development of other related sectors' policies, in addressing poverty alleviation. This in turn should define and direct private sector involvement and the expected contributions in achieving targeted goals.

- GRNP and Lombok development planners could benefit a great deal from the practice of a value chain analysis. This analysis examines the impact of the value chain, from the point of view of the poor (for further ideas and practical implementations see Kaplinsky & Morris, 2002; Van Den Berg et al., n.d.).

- A set of supporting laws and regulations, to enable people at village level to determine the most suitable development path based on local potential, is central to the development of Rinjani and Lombok. One example of specific social targeting programmes is the establishment of links between tourism developments and the principles of OVOP - One Village One Product (Igusa, n.d.; Singawinata, 2006; Yoshimura, 2004). However, there must be a word of caution. OVOP strategies, when implemented in Indonesia (early 1990s – Back to Village), have shown some failures when answering the challenges of poverty alleviation (Rozaki, 2007). More recently in 2007, GoI is re-introducing OVOP. However, the old tendency to use OVOP as a tool for foreign exchange earning and to increase global exports (which if hampered by international trade laws, will dampen any initial local motivation) still takes precedent. Instead, GoI should be using it as a tool for poverty alleviation and strengthening the foundations of the community and if a global market develops then this becomes an added bonus.

➢ An understanding of how a local economy is functioning is a crucial step towards successful development planning. Not only do development planners need to know the correlation between macro and micro economic chains, private sector actors will also gain from recognising the impacts of their business operation, which go beyond tangible economic factors towards wider intangible social and environmental aspects.

- Exercises, such as plugging the leak of the local economy could help the identification of local strengths, weakness, opportunities and threats, which provide better targeting strategies, to the most

disadvantaged clusters of society (for further ideas and practical implementations see Sacks, 2002; Ward & Lewis, 2002).

- It is crucial to bridge the knowledge and skills gap between business and social agenda entities. Therefore, it is necessary to provide credibility for and focus on private sector social endeavours, by combining business with a dedicated social agenda, in collaboration with social organisations' operations - and vice versa, thus much needed expertise transfer could take place.

  - Mutual understanding partnerships between business and social entities might also provide feasible solutions for collaborative works and securing a long term and committed funding sources. For example, an NGO, instead of depending on and being dictated by its source of foreign funding, could work closely with local business partners to develop a range of commercial community-based enterprises in support of their partners' businesses and the re-establishment of urban-rural economic links (see further ideas from Harrison & Schipani, 2007; Heap, 2000; Heap et al., 2000).

  - An analysis of commercially viable Rinjani tourism products and services could be beneficial, in order to discover sufficient markets and thus ensure the forming of partnerships, instead of direct competition. This could guarantee the transfer of support and expertise, instead of 'hijacking' behaviour amongst business players. It could also create a 'foster parent[11]' relationship, rather then businesses competing head to head for a limited market opportunity.

- Operating independently, small village level businesses are not able to use tourism market opportunities, in order to widen their businesses, through embracing the local people's skills, knowledge, land and

[11] Foster parent, in this case, refers to the concept of adopting village-based trek organisers as travel agents'/tour operators' business and investment partners.

interests, beyond Rinjani trekking. Therefore, creating substantial businesses and supporting new businesses for trekking is the key to widening the GRNP tourism benefits.

- It is crucial to develop innovations, which will provide a year round source of income. For example, agricultural-based products, back yard/front yard gardening, small-scale farming, local medicinal plants cultivation and processing, herbs, handicrafts, flowers, fruits, folk stories, traditional massage/healing and other cultural-related activities. Members of the adjacent communities could also be involved in the breeding programmes of Rinjani's endangered native plants and animals, generating local income and providing much needed specimens for park conservation and public environmental education programmes.

- Product diversification, based on local potential, will increase tourism volumes within the surrounding areas of Rinjani, since these products and services appeal to the broader market and not just those people who are fit and active enough to climb Rinjani.

- Developing local potentials could also occur by creating investment in village-based businesses to support city-based businesses. Whilst creating employment opportunities with city folks is desirable, however, it would be better if the city businesses could see the value in outsourcing their various business needs from village-based enterprises.

➢ There is no substitute for integrating Rinjani tourism planning with the development of Indonesian tourism as a whole in addressing poverty alleviation.

- As mentioned previously, a series of valuable analysis such as: Appreciative Participatory Planning and Action (APPA) (The Mountain Institute, 2000); plugging the leaks; OVOP; sustainable livelihood analysis and value chain analysis, could be the most valuable tools

used to achieve Indonesian tourism goals. These goals include increasing community income; preserving tradition and nature; empowering local people; and hampering urbanisation (Ardika, 2005, 2006; Damanik & Kusworo, 2005). The GoI "Village Tourism" idea (see Chapter 2) is an excellent example of a government initiative to attract a domestic tourist market, instead of the fluctuating international market. If this idea is developed further, in relation to GRNP tourism, it could support the development of a 'nature-aware' lifestyle in Lombok (as mentioned in section 7.3.1 on re-familiarising the public with nature). This strategy to attract domestic tourist market might be better utilised to encourage the local people's involvement and to create meaningful participation. The familiarity of servicing domestic recreational and leisure needs, instead of foreigners' needs, might provide a range of more immediate and tangible tourism benefits to the adjacent communities.

- It is not only essential to increase community incomes but it is also necessary that each community take pride in what they have produced (tangible or intangible) and people achieve an independent living.

- This situation is closely linked to development of the local economy and the widening of livelihood opportunities for the local people, such as support for education, including vocational education and training, internship opportunities, opportunities to build creatively, and knowledge and skill-based training being made available.

- The results of any revitalisation of the local economy are the hampering of urbanisation and the prevention of investment leakages, such as the loss of trained and skilled local people to more developed areas.

7.4. Private sector as a social agent of change

GRNP business players, as partners for development practitioners, can be encouraged to support the development of tourism initiatives that benefit community development and conservation, insofar as they can be convinced of the profitability of such strategies and they are able to see the potential increase in market demand. However, the notion of PPT discourse, that the private sector has the ability to reform itself, is not grounded in the Lombok, Indonesia experience. At the time when this research was conducted, the GRNP private sector actors were not taking up the role of social change agents. Consequently, without a facilitating environment, nothing will change.

In order for PPT to shape mainstream tourism practices, there is a crucial need to combine the awareness of business players and the social-agenda-dedicated organisations. Harmonising the business and social agendas would significantly reduce social exploitation by businesses, which is widely argued as one of the downfalls of tourism intervention, in particular within marginal areas. However, drawing from experiences in Lombok, the readiness of social-agenda-dedicated organisations with tourism expertise, who are able to initiate social skills and knowledge transfer to businesses, is still very limited, hence, this makes it harder for PPT strategies to be properly implemented.

There is an urgent need for GoI to concentrate more on creating an enabling pro-poor policy environment for all aspects of development sectors, including tourism, to ensure that poverty alleviation is the central theme of any Indonesian development efforts. However, similar to the private sector, GoI also need further convincing of the benefits in linking tourism to the poverty alleviation efforts of the nation. Nevertheless, if GoI is in a facilitating role, the future might witness a situation where businesses will take further steps, beyond occasional charitable gestures, which so far have been insufficient.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 Question list

Trek organisers' questions list

1. How important is NP conservation to your business? Why?
2. How important is local community involvement and benefits to your business? Why?
3. How does your business operation contribute to NP conservation?
    a. Please explain with examples
    b. How successful are these contributions?
    c. How do you measure the impact of these contributions?
    d. What are the constraints?
4. How does your business operation contribute to local community development, especially the local enterprises and the disadvantage groups?
    a. Please explain with examples
    b. How successful are these contributions?
    c. How do you measure the impact of these contributions?
    d. What are the constraints?
5. Is your organization involved in management of the national park?
        1. In what way?
        2. How effective is this involvement to your business?
        3. What are the constraints?
6. Who do you think should be taking the responsibilities in providing and maintaining NP trekking facilities? Why? How?
7. Who do you think should be taking the responsibilities in maintaining NP natural resources? Why? How?
8. Do you think that national park tourism and management in general should benefit local community, especially the disadvantage groups? Why?
9. Do you educate your customers in respecting environment, local people especially adat and culture?
    a. If yes. How?
    b. How useful are these efforts in protecting the environment, local people especially adat and culture?
    c. If no. Why not?
10. What kind of collaborative partnership with other business players that you have done in GRNP conservation and community development concerns?
11. What are your suggestion for ideal business partnership concerning GRNP conservation and community development agenda?

Appendix 2 Information Sheet

Massey University
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Gunung Rinjani National Park –
the trek organisers' opinions, contributions, and constraints.
Lombok Tourism Private Sector's role and responsibility in community development and conservation in Lombok, Indonesia

INFORMATION SHEET

Researcher Introduction

My name is Paulina Japardy, a Master of Development Studies student from Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand. To complete my degree, I am conducting this research in Lombok, Indonesia focusing on whether trekking trips inside the Gunung Rinjani National Park (GRNP) contribute to community development and conservation. Fieldwork will be conducted from around 18 May to 1 July 2007, in Mataram (city), and in three Lombok districts, West, East, and Central.

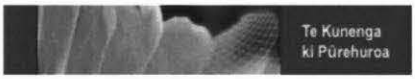
I will be collecting secondary data from various government agencies, in particular Gunung Rinjani National Park, Tourism, and Planning agencies, and private sector organisations.

Primary data respondents are various trek organisers, including Lombok travel agents, local (community-based) independent organisers, and pilgrimage organisers. Primary data will be collected through semi-structured interviews with trek organisers, focus groups discussions if respondents are willing, and a participatory workshop if the Rinjani Trek Management Board (RTMB) is willing to participate.

Participant involvement

Semi-structured interview:
Each interview will run approximately for 1 hour. I will start with introduction, follow by focus questions, participants are invited to elaborate on each topic. The interview will be recorded by note taking, and if permitted, tape recorder. At the end of each interview, respondents will be offered the chance to participate in a focus group discussion and participatory workshop.

Focus group discussion:
Discussion will run approximately 1 1/2 to 2 hours. I will be opening the discussion by presenting a summary of the interview data. Depending on the size of the group involved, respondents will be divided into smaller groups of 5 or 7 people. Each small group will have a representative who acts as moderator. Topics of discussion will be focused on the main interview summaries. Small group discussions will last 20 to 30 minutes, followed by a whole group discussion. Representative(s) of the whole group will be elected to participate in the participatory workshop.



Participatory workshop:
Presentation(s) will be brought forward from the focus group discussions. I will be acting as an observer and note taker.

Participant's Rights

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;*
- *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 audio tape to be turned off at any time during the interview.*

Project Contacts

For further information, I can be contacted through: Mobile : +64 211 054 068 (NZ) +64 819 17 32 57 57 (Indonesia – until 30 June 2007) Email [redacted] Address: [redacted]	My main supervisor is: Associate Professor **Regina Scheyvens** Head of Development Studies School of People, Environment and Planning Massey University [redacted] Palmerston North, New Zealand + 64 6 3505799 x2509 (phone) + 64 6 3505644 (fax)

Ethical Conduct

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 named above is 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 Sylvia Rumball, Assistant to the Vice-Chancellor (Ethics & Equity), telephone +64 6 350 5249, email humanethics@massey.ac.nz

Appendix 3 GRNP 2005 – 2009 Strategic Plan, ecotourism action plan

1. To develop management plan for the park tourism objects
2. To develop the list of park nature tourism potentials
3. Monitoring, and evaluating the activities of the management plan
4. To conduct seminar, and workshop on nature tourism laws, and regulations
5. To develop GRNP tourism database
6. To socialise interpretation programme guidelines for special interest nature tourism
7. To develop nature tourism network with related parties on the field
8. Monitoring, and evaluating the development of park nature tourism
9. To improve, and coordinate the management of park tourism objects
10. To supervise, and improve the park nature tourism business players
11. To improve park nature tourism players
12. To improve park nature tourism business
13. To develop, and strengthen park nature tourism supporting organisations
14. To socialise planning guidelines for park nature tourism development
15. To develop partnership with Lombok tourism promoters in order to promote park nature tourism
16. Monitoring, and evaluating the management of park nature tourism objects
17. To increase the state non-taxable income from park tourism objects
18. To socialise laws, and regulations on park entrance fee
19. Monitoring, and evaluation the execution of state non-taxable income collection
20. To develop park nature tourism management Standard Operational Procedure (SOP)
21. To socialise park nature tourism management Standard Operational Procedure (SOP)
22. Monitoring, and evaluating the execution of park nature tourism management Standard Operational Procedure (SOP)
23. To conduct workshops with conservation groups, nature lovers groups, and other supporting groups in order to develop conservation groups code of conducts, and conservation action plans
24. To improve the performance of conservation groups, nature lovers groups, and other supporting groups
25. To reward the conservation groups, nature lovers groups, and other supporting groups best conservation achievements
26. To develop park breeding infrastructures, and facilities
27. To develop park breeding guidelines, and plans
28. To socialise park breeding guidelines
29. To conduct seminars/workshops on breeding in conservation park
30. To socialise park hunting laws, and regulations
31. To distribute information on trade able, and non-trade able park wild flora, and fauna
32. To inventory, and identify park herbal plants
33. To conduct seminars/workshops on park herbal plants
34. To increase local community involvement in park herbal plants cultivation
35. To develop partnership, and collaboration to market community cultivated park herbal plants
36. Monitoring, and evaluating the maintenance of park wild flora, and fauna for enjoyment seekers

Appendix 4 Ringkasan Rekomendasi (Indonesian)

Rekomendasi untuk konservasi TNGR

Usaha konservasi Rinjani tidaklah mungkin dilakukan sendiri, hasil yang memuaskan hanya dapat tercapai dengan kerjasama.

- Membangun kembali hubungan manusia dengan alam. TNGR dapat dirancang sedimikian rupa sehingga menjadi pusat kegiatan sadar lingkungan di Lombok. Penting adanya pembentukan gaya hidup dekat dengan alam bagi seluruh masyarakat Lombok. Hal ini misalnya dapat dilakukan bagi seluruh lapisan masyarakat di Lombok dengan (1) program bersih Rinjani sekali setahun, (2) pendidikan tentang pengetahuan berbagai sumberdaya alam dan hubungannya dengan kehidupan di Lombok, (3) pelatihan ketrampilan dalam melakukan kegiatan – kegiatan ramah lingkungan, (4) pelatihan ketrampilan kerja ramah lingkungan dan (5) mengembangkan kesempatan kerja dimana ketrampilan ramah lingkungan ini dapat digunakan.

- Pentingnya perencanaan pariwisata bagi TNGR dan mengkaitkan rencana ini dengan rencana pembangunan Lombok, khususnya pembangunan daerah sekeliling TNGR. Sangatlah bermanfaat pula melibatkan para pelaku bisnis dalam perancangan rencana ini sehingga menghasilkan rencana yang didasari oleh pengetahuan dan ketrampilan bisnis pariwisata tepat guna.

- Pentingnya rencana ruang (*spatial planning*) tepat guna. Pelaku bisnis dapat diajak berkerjasama dalam merancang dan membangun infrastruktur ramah lingkungan bagi TNGR.

Rekomendasi untuk pengembangan masyarakat TNGR

Perencanaan pariwisata TNGR hendaknya dititikberatkan pada bagaimana caranya membangun daya kait antara sumberdaya, ketrampilan dan pengetahuan lokal dalam mengembangkan produk dan jasa pariwisata.

Sehubungan dengan trekking, penting adanya pengembangan produk dan jasa pariwisata TNGR yang tidak musiman dan tersedia sepanjang tahun, agar manfaat pariwisata dapat dirasakan oleh masyarakat luas. Kerjasama dengan pelaku bisnis tidak hanya cukup dengan kegiatan promo bersama tetapi sebaiknya melibatkan mereka dalam pengelolaan pariwisata TNGR secara keseluruhan. Pengembangan pariwisata TNGR hendaknya berpusat dari kebutuhan masyarakat sekitar kawasan untuk bekerja dan menghidupi keluarganya.

- Pentingnya manager konservasi menyadari bahwa pengembangan masyarakat sekitar kawasan konservasi merupakan bagian penting dalam pelaksanaan tugas managerialnya. Hal ini membutuhkan perubahan diskripsi kerja yang disetujui dan didukung oleh kebijaksanaan pemerintah.

- Pentingnya meningkatkan kapasitas masyarakat sekitar TNGR agar dapat mengembangkan dan terlibat dalam multiplier effects pariwisata, misalnya dengan sektor kehutanan, pertanian dan perairan. Pariwisata dapat menggunakan kekuatan dan pengalaman dari pelaku bisnis di sektor – sektor ini. Contoh, mungkin ternak liar masyarakat memicu masalah kebakaran hutan TNGR, mungkin dapat diatasi dengan pengembangan bisnis inovasi antara peternak dengan pebisnis; bisnis sapi perah, pakan dan pangan, pengolahan daging sapi atau mungkin pemprosesan kulit sapi menjadi berbagai produk komersial.

- Pentingnya kesatuan perencanaan kebijaksanaan pariwisata dengan kebijaksanaan sektor – sektor lainnya, yang didasari pada upaya pengentasan kemiskinan. Hal ini dapat memberikan arahan yang jelas kepada para pelaku bisnis agar dapat bermanfaat secara sosial, lingkungan dan ekonomi bagi masyarakat.

- Pentingnya mempelajari bagaimana ekonomi lokal beroperasi dan berkorelasi antara faktor ekonomi makro dan mikro dalam perencanaan pengembangan pariwisata. Penting bagi pelaku bisnis untuk mengetahui

secara jelas bagaimana dampak operasi bisnis mereka terhadap segi sosial dan lingkungan. Hal ini berguna dalam upaya mengidentifikasikan kekuatan, kelemahan, peluang, tantangan dan ancaman.

- Pentingnya kerjasama antara pelaku bisnis dan organisasi kemanusiaan/lingkungan agar terjadi penjembatanan pengetahuan dan ketrampilan antara kedua pihak.

- Bisnis tidak dapat berdiri sendiri – sendiri, khususnya bisnis kecil pedesaan. Pentingnya terjalin kerjasama dimana pelaku bisnis kota berinvestasi pada pelaku bisnis desa untuk meningkatkan keuntungan dan pendifersifikasian bisnisnya.

- Pentingnya pengembangan bisnis lain selain trekking. Misalnya pengembangan produk – produk pertanian, perikanan dan perkebunan, pemanfaatan halaman rumah, pengembangan dan pemprosesan tanaman obat lokal atau bumbu lokal, cinderamata, bunga, buah – buahan, cerita rakyat, kebiasaan lokal, pengobatan dan pijat tradisional dan kegiatan adat lainnya. Masyarakat kawasan dapat dilibatkan dalam pembibitan dan pengembangbiakan tanaman dan hewan langka TNGR sebagai sumber pendapatan, kebutuhan specimen para peneliti domestik dan internasional, pusat program pendidikan dan pengetahuan konservasi lingkungan bagi masyarakat luas, yang dapat pula dijadikan pusat rekreasi pegunungan.

- Pentingnya mengkaitkan perencanaan pariwisata Rinjani dengan pengembangan pariwisata Indonesia secara keseluruhan sebagai destinasi berdasarkan upaya pengentasan kemiskinan. Hal ini dapat menghidupkan dinamika ekonomi lokal, menghambat urbanisasi, mengurangi kebocoran investasi.