

Tourism in Wakatobi: Stakeholders' Perspectives on Participation

in the Wakatobi Marine National Park, Sulawesi, Indonesia



Thesis-report

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Nearly seven months ago I travelled to Sulawesi, Indonesia to conduct my first ever research related to a topic that, until then, I had only studied in theory. Writing this report has just been a part of a process; of meeting and connecting with people in a, to me, very different environment. This report therefore is the product of the help many people, and I would like to take this opportunity to thank everyone that has assisted with this process.

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Summary

English

The Wakatobi Marine National Park is a new touristic area, located in a remote and undeveloped part of Sulawesi, Indonesia. It is situated in the centre of the Coral Triangle, and is considered to be an underwater utopia for divers. The Wakatobi government has identified tourism as one of the two leading sectors, and wants to develop a sustainable form of tourism to support social and economic development and conservation objectives.

This study represents an attempt to assess how the process of participation in decision-making is experienced and perceived by all stakeholders in the development of tourism in Wakatobi. A stakeholder analysis was conducted that identified a variety of stakeholders in the tourism development process. This was followed by an assessment to determine the extent to which this process is participatory, the ways in which it is successful and not successful, and by whose definition. The results have identified several shortcomings in this process. The analysis is framed in relation to conservation, local livelihoods, and opportunities in tourism as identified by stakeholders.

Sidaway's framework for participation in decision-making has been used to analyse four criteria for participation in the development process: initiation, inclusiveness, information and influence. Results point out that although all respondents would like to see tourism develop in Wakatobi, not all of them share a positive attitude towards the development process. Tourism plans are largely initiated by the Wakatobi government, and not all stakeholders feel included in the planning process. In terms of information, the main shortcomings are related to insufficient human resources, which show in a lack of understanding of the tourism concept among local inhabitants. Finally, not all stakeholders are able to equally participate in and influence tourism planning and decision-making. Different sources of power play a central role in the development process. Governmental departments and National Park Authority are powerful in decision-making. The traditional view of authority that local inhabitants have seems to strengthen this position. Large-scale investors are usually the most economically powerful actors, and the Wakatobi tourism development context does not seem to be any different. The local customary law '*adat*' then, is a form of traditional power. *Adat* refer to local cultural norms, values and practices of ethnic groups in among others Indonesia. It includes local and traditional laws and conflict resolution systems by which society was regulated. This traditional form of power is very influential on local people's attitude and behaviour.

This study also looked into the role that the non-governmental organisation (NGO), *World Wide Fund for Nature* (WWF), has in the process of tourism development. WWF collaborates closely with a second NGO, *The Nature Conservancy* (TNC), in a Joint Programme partnership

and has provided technical management support to the National Park Authority since 2002. The WWF-TNC Joint Programme only recently included tourism in its focus and it seeks to develop a sustainable tourism framework for the national park and its inhabitants. It functions as a mediator between governmental departments and local inhabitants, and primarily focuses on community education and empowerment. The role that WWF-TNC has in this process could be extended by including empowerment in the form of community participation in their scope.

Key words: sustainable tourism development, stakeholder analysis, community participation, power, national park, marine protected area (MPA), Wakatobi, Indonesia.

Ringkasan di Bahasa Indonesia

Taman Nasional Wakatobi merupakan daerah tujuan wisata baru di Indonesia, wilayah ini terletak di kawasan yang tengah giat-giatnya membangun di salahsatu bagian kepulauan Sulawesi. Wakatobi menjadi semakin menarik karena posisinya yang berada di pusat kawasan segitiga terumbu karang dunia, dan menjadi incaran para penyelam dunia. Pemerintah Wakatobi menyadari tourism program sebagai salahsatu dari dua sektor yang akan mendukung kehidupan sosial dan ekonomi warga, serta mengkontribusikan peran penting terhadap tujuan utama konservasi.

Riset ini fokus pada proses berpartisipasi dan pengambilan keputusan dalam pengembangan tourism program yang dilakukan oleh parapihak di Wakatobi. Analisis parapihak dilakukan untuk mengidentifikasi keterlibatan parapihak dalam proses tersebut. Riset ini juga diikuti dengan penilaian terhadap tujuan-tujuan partisipasi itu sendiri, dan melihat sejauh mana gerakan tersebut menghasilkan kesuksesan maupun kegagalan. Hasil riset mengidentifikasi bahwa sejumlah persoalan terjadi dalam proses partisipasi tersebut. Analisis ini selanjutnya direlasikan dengan gerakan konservasi, kebutuhan warga lokal Wakatobi dan peluang dalam sektor tourism yang telah diidentifikasi oleh parapihak tersebut.

Kerangka kerja dalam gerakan partisipasi juga digunakan untuk menganalisis empat kriteria tersebut yakni inisiasi, keterlibatan, informasi dan pengaruh. Hasil analisis menunjukkan bahwa seluruh respondents menginginkan tourism berkembang di Wakatobi, respondent juga menunjukkan sikap-sikap positif terhadap proses pembangunan. Namun, dalam pandangan mereka, perencanaan tourism yang sepenuhnya dilakukan oleh Pemerintah Wakatobi tidak sepenuhnya melibatkan parapihak.

Dari sisi informasi, masalah yang muncul adalah hubungan antara ketersediaan sumberdaya manusia, dimana secara jelas terlihat bahwa ‘pemahaman’ terhadap konsep tourism itu sendiri tidak cukup jelas. Tidak semua parapihak memiliki peluang dan kekuasaan yang sama dalam mempengaruhi perencanaan dan pengambilan keputusan untuk program tourism. Perbedaan atas kekuasaan memberi pengaruh dalam seluruh proses ini. Pemerintah dan Pengelola Taman Nasional Wakatobi yang mengakses informasi boleh dikatakan memiliki kekuasaan yang besar dalam tiap pengambilan keputusan. Selanjutnya, kelompok local hanya memperkuat posisi ini. Investor dengan modal padat juga masuk dalam kategori yang memiliki kekuasaan dari sisi ekonomi. Kelompok adat sendiri merupakan kelompok yang berpengaruh, mereka memiliki komunitas, hukum adat dan sistem untuk menyelesaikan persoalan di antara mereka.

Studi ini juga secara khusus melihat hubungan antara Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat (LSM), WWF dalam pengembangan tourism di Wakatobi. WWF bekerja bersama dengan TNC dalam joint program sejak 2002. Dua lembaga ini secara khusus mendukung management nasional Park dan bekerja bersama pengelola kawasan taman nasional Wakatobi. LSM memfungsikan

dirinya sebagai mediator antara pemerintah dan warga setempat, dalam hal ini focus pada pengembangan komunitas di Wakatobi. Peran mereka selanjutnya adalah meningkatkan peran serta warga Wakatobi untuk berpartisipasi aktif dalam lingkup mereka.

Kata kunci: Pengembangan pariwisata berkelanjutan, analisis parapihak, partisipasi komunitas, kekuasaan, taman nasional, proteksi kawasan laut, Wakatobi, Indonesia.

Abbreviations

BTNW	Balai Taman Nasional Wakatobi (National Park Authority)
Bappeda	Badan Perencana Pembangunan Daerah (Regional Development Planning Agency)
CBO	Community-Based Organisation
COREMAP	Coral Reef Rehabilitation and Management Programme
DKP	Dinas Kelautan dan Perikanan (Marine and Fisheries Department)
DMO	Destination Management Organisation
DPL	Daerah Perlindungan Laut (Locally managed marine area)
FONEB	Forum Nelayan Binongko (Binongko fishermen community and Community Forum Group)
FORKANI	Forum Kaledupa Toudani (Kaledupa fishermen community and Community Forum Group)
KOMANANGI	Komunitas Nelayan Wangi-Wangi (Wangi-Wangi fishermen community and Community Forum Group)
KOMUNTO	Komunitas Nelayan Tomia (Tomia fishermen community and Community Forum Group)
LPSTK	Lembaga Pengelola Sumberdaya Terumbu Karang (Coral Reef Resource Management Institution)
MDK	Model Desa Konservasi (Conservation Village Model)
MPA	Marine Protected Area

Musrembang	Musyawarah, Perencanaan, Pengembangan (Formal planning and development meetings)
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
PKM	Penguatan Kapasitas Masyarakat (Community meetings for capacity building)
RENSTRA	Rencana Strategis Satuan Kerja Pembangunan Daerah (Strategic Plan for Sectoral Departments)
RIPPDA	Rencana Induk Pembangunan Daerah (Regional Development Master Plan)
RPJMD	Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Daerah (Mid-term Development Plan)
SA	Stakeholder Analysis
SPKP	Sentra Penyuluhan Kehutanan Pedesaan (Extension of National Park Authority)
TNC	The Nature Conservancy
TNW	Taman Nasional Wakatobi (Wakatobi National Park)
WDR	Wakatobi Dive Resort
WMNP	Wakatobi Marine National Park
WTC	Waha Tourism Community
WWF	World Wide Fund for Nature

Chapter 1: Introduction

This study takes place in Indonesia, an archipelago of approximately 17,500 islands. It belongs to one of the world's most densely populated countries with a population of around 238 million inhabitants (BPS Indonesia, 2012a). The country received over seven million foreign visitors in 2010 (BPS Indonesia, 2012b).

Indonesia is part of the Coral Triangle, which is recognised as an area of global ecological significance. The region has over 75% of all known coral species, over 30% of the world's coral reefs, over 3,000 species of fish and, the greatest extent of mangrove forests of any region. It is considered the centre of marine life abundance and diversity on the planet, and home to over 600 reef-building coral species. The Coral Triangle region has a population of 360 million people with estimates suggesting that a third of whom are directly dependent on marine resources – see [Figure 1](#) (TNC *et al.*, 2008).

This chapter first introduces the background of the study, including geographical description, the local population, the current status of tourism development in the national park, systems of governance, and tourism policy (1.1). The paragraphs following outline the problem statement (1.2), research objective (1.3) and research questions (1.4). The chapter concludes with describing the relevance of the study (1.5).

1.1. About the Wakatobi Marine National Park

1.1.1. National park and protected area

Ecological assessments have indicated the extensive and ongoing degradation of coral reef ecosystems around the world. This degradation is largely associated with human activity (Burke *et al.* in Clifton, 2003). In Southeast Asia the situation is particularly hazardous; 80% of the reefs are endangered by coastal development and fishing-related activities (Clifton, 2003). Identified human activities of concern include overexploitation of reef fisheries, coral mining and physical damage caused by anchors and ship grounding (Elliot *et al.*, 2001). In addition, there is the increasing threat of coastal tourism development.

In order to protect and recover coral reef ecosystems from overuse and destructive fishing practices, the Indonesian government has established several marine national parks (Clifton, 2003). One of these parks is 'Taman Nasional Wakatobi', also referred to as the '*Wakatobi Marine National Park*' (WMNP), located in Southeast Sulawesi. The park was established and officially recognised as a '*Marine Protected Area*' (MPA) in 1996. Satria *et al.* (2006:241) describe an MPA as "a distinct geographic area that has been designated to enhance the conservation of marine and coastal resources that is managed by an integrated plan". MPAs exist in many forms – closed areas, no-take reserves, multiple use – and they can have

different names (e.g. parks, reserves and sanctuaries) (Jentoft *et al.*, 2007). They typically attempt to protect and conserve the functioning and integrity of coastal and marine ecosystems and are used as a tool for preserving threatened species, habitats and biodiversity.

With nearly 3,4 million acres of islands and waters the WMNP is the second largest marine park in Indonesia (Pilgrim *et al.*, 2007). The support for the formation was based on the park's geographical location, in the centre of the Coral Triangle.



Figure 1. The Coral Triangle region
(source: WWF, 2011)

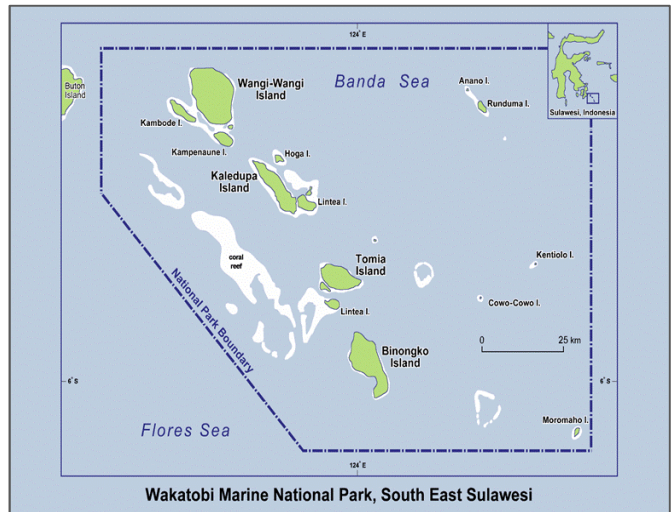


Figure 2. Wakatobi Marine National Park in Sulawesi, Indonesia
(source: Wisesa, 2010)

Wakatobi is an acronym for Wangi-Wangi, Kaledupa, Tomia and Binongko, representing the four major islands of the national park. In addition to the four large islands, there are sixteen smaller, uninhabited islands and atolls (Clifton, 2003) – see Figure 2.

1.1.2. Population

Two native ethnic groups inhabit the area of the Wakatobi Marine National Park. The Butonese ethnic group constitutes the large majority (over 90%) of the park's 100,000 inhabitants (Clifton, 2003; World Resources Institute, 2011). Their traditional way of life is land-based and revolves mainly around agricultural activities and life stock. The formerly nomadic Bajo people, also referred to as 'sea gypsies', are the ethnic minority. Before a government settlement initiative in the 1950's, the Bajo lived on houseboats and roamed the open seas around the region. Nowadays, they live in stilt houses over the sea – see Figure 3. Most Bajos are Muslims. However, they maintain many of the "cultural beliefs and social practices of their ancestors based on the sea and its inhabitants", and they remain disconnected from the land and the Butonese way of life (Pilgrim *et al.*, 2006). The main occupation is fishing, and most Bajo rely on the sale of fish and other marine products to support their families (Elliot *et al.*, 2001) – see Figure 4. As a result of limited economic and

social development, as well as their traditional relationship to the sea, the Bajo are more income-deprived and dependent upon local resources than Butonese communities (Pilgrim *et al.*, 2006).

Many communities in WMNP rely on marine resource extraction as a primary source of income. Important extraction activities include fishing, coral mining, and small-scale reef gleaning. Major contributors to coral reef damage include fishing with fertilizer bombs and cyanide, and the harvesting of giant clams (Elliott *et al.*, 2001). Coral mining is a traditional income-generating activity, particularly for women, but it is an environmentally damaging, and therefore illegal, activity within the MPA.



Figure 3. Stilt houses in Bajo village Sampela, Kaledupa
(source: personal collection)



Figure 4. Woman drying fish (source: personal collection)

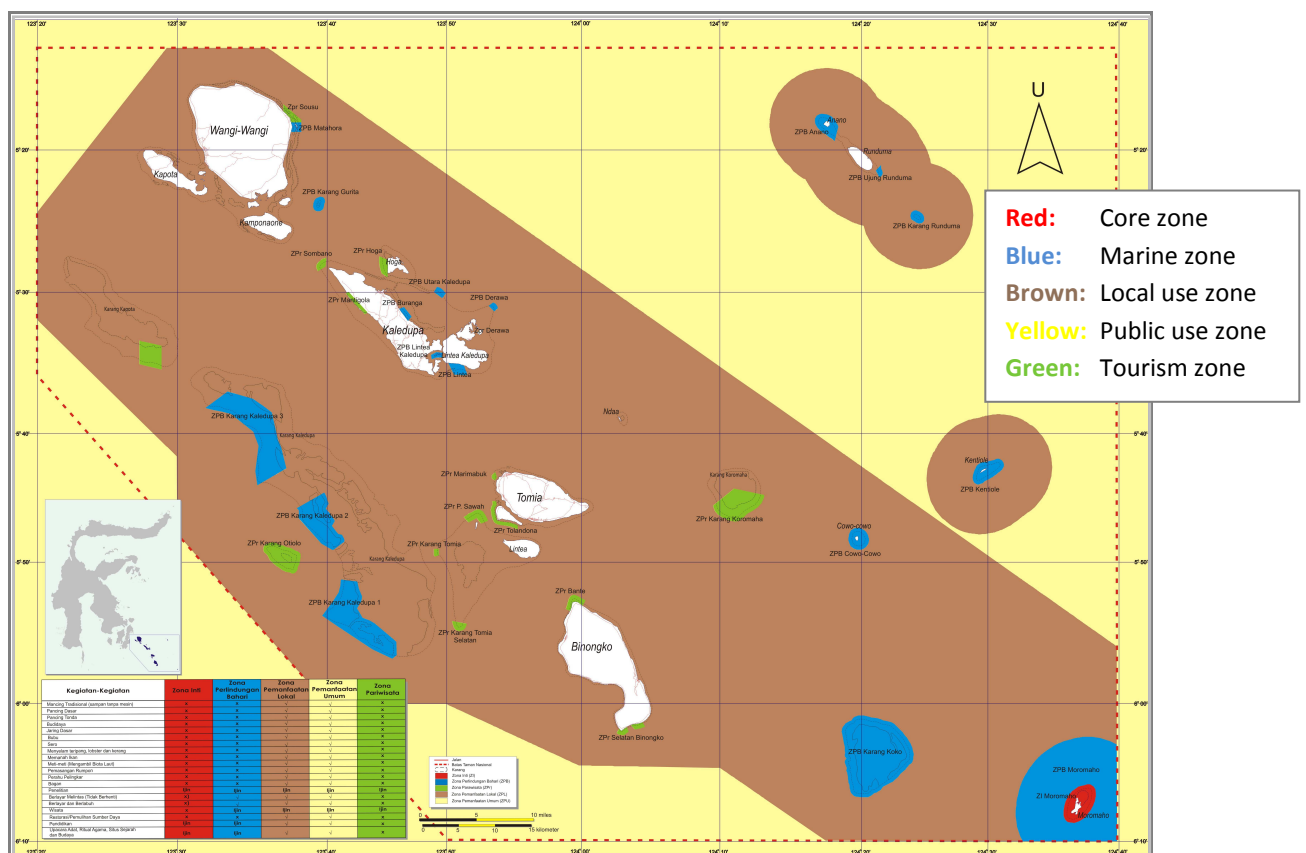
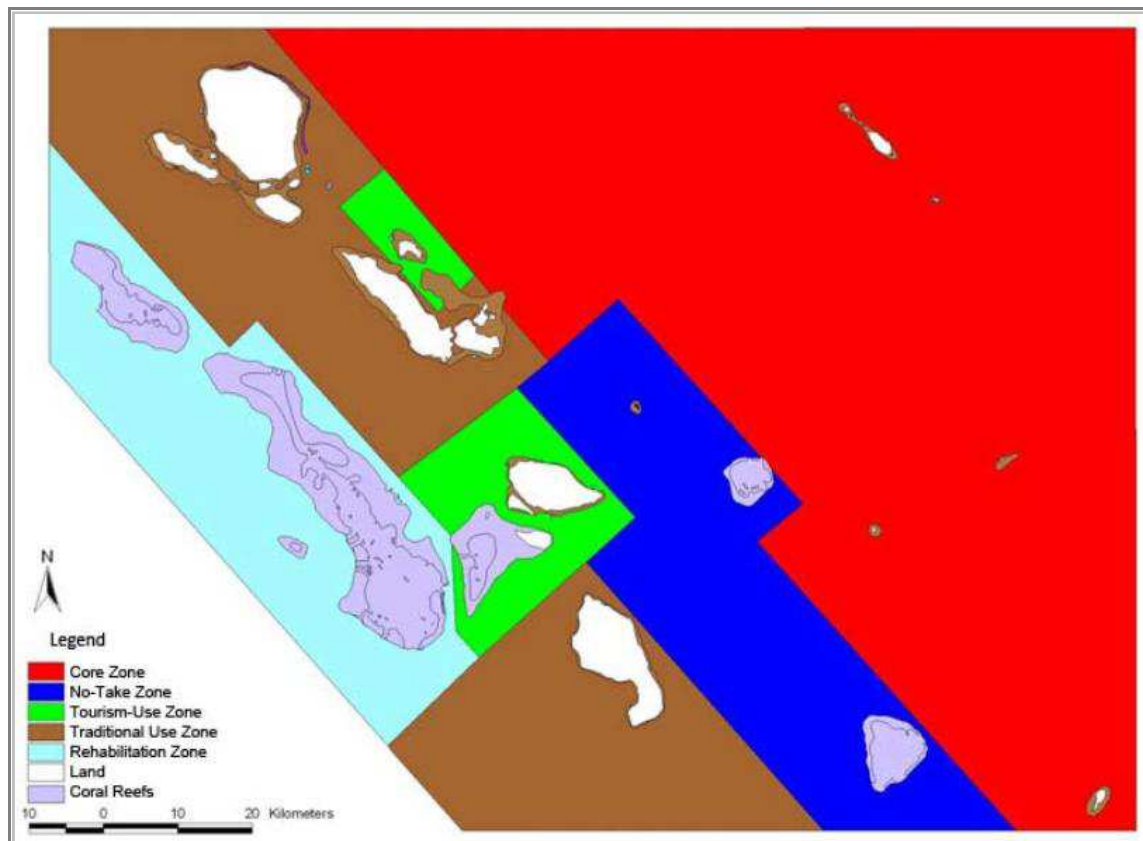
1.1.3. Tourism in WMNP

Wakatobi is a new touristic area with, currently, small-scale tourism only. Via the gateway towns of Kendari and Bau-Bau the park is accessible by boat, and since two years also by plane. Although existing tourism facilities are limited, there is growth in the number of accommodation providers and visitors. Accommodation in the form of resorts that focus on both national and international guests comprise the exclusive Wakatobi Dive Resort offering high-end accommodation located on Talandone Island, the Patuno Resort offering mid-range accommodation on Wangi-Wangi Island, and the Hoga Dive Resort offering backpacker accommodation on Hoga Island. Other accommodation options for visitors include several small hotels and home-stays. Apart from the resorts, there are also dive-centres that operate dive and snorkel trips. There are a few of restaurants in the park, including several '*rumah makan*', which are traditional Indonesian restaurants serving basic foods.

1.1.4. Governance

As the Wakatobi Marine National Park has a 100% overlap with the district area (Santiadji, WWF, 2011), there are two kinds of governance institutions in the national park. As part of the decentralization programme of the Indonesian government in 2003, the Wakatobi District was separated from the larger Buton Regency and became the Wakatobi Regency (Reef Resilience, 2012). The Wakatobi District Government has since had the independent authority to manage the district and is currently under leadership of Pak Ir. Hugua, the Head District or '*bupati*'. The second institution is the National Park Authority (Balai Taman Nasional Wakatobi, or BTNW) under the Indonesian Ministry of Forestry, who manage the park of Wakatobi. The head office of the National Park Authority is situated outside Wakatobi, in the town of Bau-Bau, and is under leadership of Pak Wahyu Rudianto.

The status of protected area often has implications for the distribution of access and income among user-groups (Jentoft *et al.*, 2007), and influences local people's ability to sustain themselves. With the establishment of the national park and protected area in 1996, WMNP was divided into several different zones, comprising a no-fishing area referred to as the 'core zone', the 'no-take zone', the 'tourism use zone', the 'traditional use zone', and the 'rehabilitation zone' – see [Figure 5](#). The rules, regulations, and maximum yield quotas associated with the introduced zoning system, created a situation in which conservation policies and regulations conflicted with the needs and interests of local people, as is often the case with the imposition of an MPA (Elliott *et al.*, 2001). Subsistence fishers were not intending to comply with restrictive regulations on their fishing areas, and the National Park Authority did not have sufficient resources to monitor restricted areas (Elliott *et al.*, 2001). Goodwin (2002:340) points out that "protected areas cannot co-exist in the long term with communities that are hostile to them". Local people are important stakeholders that need to receive conservation benefits in order for them to comply with use regulation. "If local people secure a sustainable income (a tangible economic benefit) from tourism to these protected areas, they will be less likely to exploit them in other less sustainable ways" (Goodwin, 2002). Since late 2002, NGO's have been providing the National Park Authority management support for revision of the zoning plans using local community input. A new zoning system was implemented in 2007, and comprises a 'core zone', 'marine protection zone', 'local use zone', 'public-use zone', and 'tourism zone' – see [Figure 6](#).



1.1.5. Tourism policy

The District Government identified the marine and tourism sectors as the two leading sectors and as economic resources for the development of Wakatobi. They formulated their mission *‘to achieve Wakatobi as the only real underwater paradise in the heart of the Coral Triangle’* (RIPPDA, 2010) and aims to develop Wakatobi as an *‘ecological tourist destination of the world’*, based on the principles of economic, social, and ecological sustainability (INDECON, TNC, WWF, 2011). They are focused on generating benefits for and including local communities in the development process, whilst taking into account the scale and characteristics of the islands (RENSTRA, 2011). The government currently funds three main programmes in an effort to engage the local community in collaborative resource management: marine conservation, sustainable fisheries and sustainable tourism programmes (Aminuddin, WWF, 2012). The big challenge they now face, however, is to build a sustainable tourism framework in which local inhabitants can and are eager to actively participate, that generates livelihood opportunities, and that contributes to conservation objectives.

The government has three policy documents that outline the desired directions of tourism development. *RIPPDA* is the Regional Development Master Plan for the Wakatobi district, prepared by the District Government. The *RPJMD* is the Mid-Term Development Plan, a five-year development plan prepared by the Regional Development Planning Agency (Bappeda). *RENSTRA* is the name of the policy document that each of the sub-departments prepare. This report specifically refers to the *RENSTRA* document of the Wakatobi Tourism Department.

The non-governmental organisations (NGOs), World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) and The Nature Conservancy (TNC), work in a joint partnership programme in collaboration with the National Park Authority, and have provided technical management support since late 2002. The partnership is aimed “to design WMNP in such a way that the park will continue to function as a solid foundation for livelihoods through enhanced fisheries and new employment opportunities such as tourism” (WWF-TNC, 2005:3).

1.2. Research scope

1.2.1. Problem statement

The WMNP has great potential for further tourism development because of its mix of small, tropical islands with beaches, abundance of pristine coral reefs and marine life, traditional local cultures and friendly inhabitants. Tourism is an industry with a potential to generate benefits for the area and its people, but at the same time is also notorious for its ability to disrupt, disturb, or do damage to natural habitats and local communities (Stronza and Gordillo, 2008). The challenge for local authorities and NGOs is to implement a sustainable

tourism framework for the park, in collaboration with its inhabitants. As this can only be achieved with the support and active involvement of local people, collaborative resource management and sustainable livelihoods are a main goal for the WWF-TNC Joint Programme (WWF Strategic Plan, 2009-2013).

Bramwell (in Lew *et al.*, 2004) critically notes that there are problems associated with shared decision-making in collaborative development planning. He points at barriers to involving all relevant parties and ensuring that their views are listened to and considered equally. This study approaches the relationship between participatory methods and stakeholders in tourism development both theoretically and empirically, in order to get a better understanding of different stakeholder's views on tourism development, the opportunities they identify, and the transparency and inclusiveness of the decision-making process.

1.2.2. Objective

It is often agreed that community involvement and participatory planning and decision-making processes “are essential to the conditions of sustainability and development in any ‘new’ tourism scheme” (Mowforth and Munt, 2009); they are more likely to lead to a successful tourism project. Collaborative management, community empowerment and sustainable livelihoods are main concerns for WWF in Wakatobi (WWF Strategic Plan, 2009-2013). WWF is still in the process of getting an understanding of the ways in and extent to which local people want to develop and be involved in tourism (Santiadji, WWF, 2011). This study therefore focuses on the participatory process of tourism development in Wakatobi. The objective of the research is to assess how the process of participation in decision-making is experienced and perceived by all stakeholders. A broad spectrum of stakeholders, their roles and interests will be identified to assess in what ways the participatory process is successful and not successful, and by whose definition. The focus in this assessment will be on tourism development in relation to conservation and local livelihoods, and the opportunities in tourism that stakeholders identify.

1.2.3. Research questions

The research questions that will be addressed in this study are formulated as follows:

1. What are the interests of, and what is the relationship between, the various stakeholders affecting or affected by tourism development in Wakatobi?
2. What are different stakeholders' views towards tourism in relation to conservation and livelihoods, and how do different stakeholders identify opportunities in tourism?

3. How are different stakeholders incorporated into the decision-making process and how do they perceive their role in this process?
4. What is the role of WWF in the process of tourism development in Wakatobi?

1.2.4. Relevance of study

According to Brown (2002:6) “experience has shown that traditional, top-down exclusionary approaches to protected areas [...] are often not effective in reaching conservation objectives”. There is a “growing recognition of the potential benefits of collaborative tourism planning that includes various industry segments, public sector agencies, and [...] other groups in civil society” (Bramwell in Lew *et al.*, 2004:542). Timothy (1999:371) points out that “places with carefully planned development are likely to experience the most success in terms of high tourist satisfaction level, positive economic benefits, and minimal negative impacts on the local social, economic, and physical environments”. However, there are also difficulties with shared decision-making. Challenges are related to involving all stakeholders and ensuring that their views are listened to and considered equally. Examining the concerns and policy preferences of a broad range of stakeholders can help partnerships in their decision-making about tourism. (Bramwell in Lew *et al.*, 2004)

“Stakeholder analysis is a powerful tool for understanding a system, and changes in it, by identifying key stakeholders and assessing their interests in that system”. This type of analysis has been developed “in response to the challenge of multiple interests and objectives, and particularly the search for efficient, equitable and sustainable development strategies”. (Grimble and Wellard, 1997:173)

By analysing the process of tourism development and the views of a broad range of stakeholders, and then bringing these together, the degree of transparency and inclusiveness in the development of a project become clear. Assessing the extent to which the process of participation in decision-making is perceived as fair in the eyes of all stakeholders enables potential problems to be detected and addressed. It provides valuable insights for improvement of this process, which can, in turn, contribute to the development of successful tourism policies and specific tourism projects.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

This chapter approaches several discussions that can help in understanding the tourism development process and the role that different stakeholders have in this process. Several contested concepts in tourism literature are discussed (2.1), as well as stakeholder analysis (2.2), participatory methods (2.3), the role of power in tourism (2.4), and the role of NGOs in development processes (2.5).

2.1. Contested concepts

Recently-formulated policy documents from the government outline that tourism development in Wakatobi should support conservation, be in collaboration with, and generate benefits for local communities. In the RIPPPDA document prepared by the Wakatobi District Government, references are made to ‘developing ecotourism’ and ‘involving all stakeholders.’ It concludes by stating that “tourism policy must pay attention to principles of sustainability and community empowerment” (RIPPPDA, 2010:42).

Although notions such as ‘community’, ‘sustainability’, and ‘ecotourism’ are popular in both academic tourism research as well as real life tourism policy and development projects, they are also contested concepts as different people have very different ideas of what they constitute.

2.1.1. Community

There are difficulties in understanding what encompasses the concept of *community*. According to Mann (in Mowforth, Charlton and Munt, 2008:67), a community means “a mutually supportive, geographically specific, social unit such as a village or tribe where people identify themselves as community members and where there is usually some form of communal decision-making”. Li (2007) points out that communities are heterogeneous, and divided by class, ethnicity, and gender. According to Mowforth, Charlton and Munt (2008:67) it is possible to define a community by scale, sector, interest, level of power, location, and many other features, however they point out that “it is a common and rarely questioned assumption that when we talk of a community we are talking of all its members, as if they are all of one mind, homogeneous and static”. Communities cannot be seen as one group. Some community groups may act out of self-interest rather than on behalf of the whole community (Blackstock, 2005). Therefore it is important to recognize that there are different voices and interests within communities. In this thesis, the concept of community is understood from the perspective of Cowlshaw and Hoggett (in Blackstock, 2005:42) as “heterogeneous, stratified and sites of power relations” that can “include a wide range of people with a wide range of opinions and perspectives” (Mowforth, Charlton and Munt, 2008:67).

2.1.2. Sustainability

Another contested concept in the development and tourism literatures is the notion of *sustainability*. Mowforth, Charlton and Munt (2008:20) point out that sustainability “is defined, interpreted and imagined differently between individuals, organisations and social groups”. It is also “socially and politically constructed as it reflects the interests and values of those involved, and it is a concept charged with power”. According to Holden (2008) the concept of sustainability includes physical, cultural, political and economic dimensions. He underlines that “the ambiguity of the concept of sustainability means that the political context, and especially the political values of those who have power in decision-making, will be influential in determining the interpretation of sustainable tourism” (2008:160). The critical question therefore remains: *sustainable for whom?* Mowforth and Munt (2009) discuss the concept of sustainability by means of an example of environmentalists and industrialists. For an environmentalist, the concept can be associated with protecting the natural environment, whereas an industrialist’s primary concern would be to protect and enhance shareholder interest. Mowforth and Munt (2009) present several criteria for sustainability that are often used in tourism: ecological, social, cultural and economic sustainability, and elements of education, aid to conservation, and participation of locals. In this thesis, sustainable development as the ‘parental paradigm’ of sustainable tourism, is understood to involve “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs”, as defined by the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) (Butcher, 2007:4). Sustainable tourism then, is “the development of tourism that meets the standard of sustainable development more broadly” (Butcher, 2007:5).

2.1.3. Ecotourism

There is no consensus about the meaning of *ecotourism* (Goodwin, Fennell and Dowling in Holden, 2008). Ecotourism is one of the so-called ‘*new forms of tourism*’ for which there is also no agreement on the definition. But according to Mowforth and Munt (2009:98) new forms of tourism “share, in varying degrees, a concern for ‘development’ and take account of the environmental, economic and socio-cultural impacts of tourism. They also share an expressed concern, again with varying levels of commitment, for participation and control to be assumed by ‘local people’ and the degree to which they engage and benefit the poor.” **Table 1** summarises often referred to new forms of tourism as cited in Mowforth and Munt (2009:99).

Type of tourism	Focus
Ecotourism	Focuses on the environment, with incidental benefits for local communities.
Community-based tourism	Seeks to increase people's involvement and ownership of tourism at the destination end. Generally initiated from and controlled by the local community.
Fair trade and ethical tourism	Seeks to create social, cultural and economic benefits for local people at the destination end and minimize leakages. Is ecologically sustainable and respects human rights. Key focus is on changing consumption patterns in the developed countries.
Pro-poor tourism	Focuses on poverty reduction by generating net benefits for the poor.

Table 1. New forms of tourism (source: Mowforth and Munt, 2009:99)

A widely accepted definition of ecotourism is that of The International Ecotourism Society (TIES): “responsible travel to natural areas that conserves the environment and improves the welfare of local people” (Holden, 2008; Honey, 2008). Honey (2008) has broadened the TIES definition into a multi-layered definition of ecotourism, which:

- Involves travel to nature destinations;
- Minimizes negative ecological impact;
- Builds environmental awareness;
- Provides direct financial benefits for conservation;
- Provides financial benefits and empowerment for local people;
- Respects local culture;
- Supports human rights and democratic movements.

2.2. Stakeholder analysis

The scope of development interests in the last thirty years has widened from mostly economic efficiency concerns to also include equality and environmental considerations. Grimble and Wellard (1997) outline there is a clear link between these ‘three E’s’ and different stakeholders with a variety of interests, concerns and priorities.

According to Bramwell (in Lew *et al.*, 2004:543) “various social science research approaches and techniques can be utilised to examine the concerns and policy preferences of various actors, and the resulting findings about these concerns and preferences can help partnerships in their decision-making about tourism”. Stakeholder analysis (SA) is one such approach and by Reed *et al.* (2009) has been defined as: “a process that: *i)* defines aspects of a social and natural phenomenon affected by a decision or action; *ii)* identifies individuals, groups and organisations who are affected by or can affect those parts of the phenomenon

(this may include nonhuman and non-living entities and future generations); and *iii*) prioritises these individuals and groups for involvement in the decision-making process”.

According to Grimble and Wellard (1997) SA is particularly relevant to situations or projects that involve multiple uses or users of natural resources – as is the case the in WMNP. Stakeholders by Grimble and Wellard (1997:175) are defined as “any group of people, organised or unorganised, who share a common interest or stake in a particular issue or system; they can be at any level or position in society, from global, national and regional concerns down to the level of household or intra-household, and be groups of any size or aggregation”. Sidaway (2005:xxi) defines stakeholders as “those who have (or might have) an interest in what happens, because they will be affected by it or may have some influence over it”.

Brugha and Varvasovszky (2000:239) state “the growing popularity of stakeholder analysis reflects an increasing recognition of how the characteristics of stakeholders influence decision-making processes”. Grimble and Wellard (1997:173) point out that stakeholder analysis is a powerful tool that “has been developed in response to the challenge of multiple interests and objectives, and particularly the search for efficient, equitable and sustainable development strategies”. It is an approach for understanding a system, and changes in it, by identifying key stakeholders and assessing their respective interests, behaviours and intentions in that system (Grimble and Wellard, 1997; Brugha and Varvasovszky, 2000). This information can then be used to develop management strategies, to facilitate the implementation of organisational objectives, or to understand the policy context and assess the feasibility of future policy directions” (Brugha and Varvasovszky, 2000:239).

Different approaches can be used for stakeholder analysis in collaborative planning processes. Medeiros de Araujo and Bramwell (1999) in their article ‘*Stakeholder assessment and collaborative tourism planning: the case of Brazil’s Costa Dourada Project*’ outline five different approaches to stakeholder assessment. The first involves examining whether stakeholders who become involved in participatory planning for a tourism project adequately represent the affected stakeholders. The second approach involves “passing information from assessments of relevant stakeholders to the stakeholders involved in collaborative planning arrangements in order to improve their understanding of the interests and viewpoints of other stakeholders” (Finn in Medeiros de Araujo and Bramwell, 1999:358). A third approach is “to identify stakeholders who are considered to have valuable and legitimate views, but that need to have their capacities raised” (p.359) in order to enable them to negotiate in participatory decision-making. A fourth approach that Medeiros de Araujo and Bramwell outline would be to ask different stakeholders who are affected by the tourism development project to identify other potentially important stakeholders, also referred to as the ‘*snowball method*’. Finally, stakeholders can be assessed by mapping the stakeholder network in order to identify their relationships.

The fifth approach to assess relevant stakeholders by identifying their relationships is a useful method for identifying power relations. According to Grimble and Wellard (1997) the most fundamental division between actors is between those who affect or determine a decision or action, and those that are affected by this decision or action. Medeiros de Araujo and Bramwell (1999) point out that stakeholders who are affected by a tourism development project can be assessed by using the opinions expressed by the stakeholders themselves. For this study a combination of the fourth and fifth approaches has been used in order to identify relevant stakeholders and to understand the way they are related.

2.3. Participatory planning in tourism development

2.3.1. Participatory methods and critiques

Participatory planning is an increasingly common term in development projects and is often referred to as “one of the critical components of success” (Pretty in Mowforth and Munt, 2009:225). Bramwell (in Lew *et al.*, 2004:541) points out that this trend is encouraged by sustainable development agendas such as Agenda 21, “that advocate participation in policy-making by local community groups that are directly affected by these policies”. Sidaway (2005:xxi) refers to participation as “a process during which individuals, groups and organisations are consulted about or have the opportunity to become actively involved in a project or programme activity”. According to Jamal and Getz (in Medeiros de Araujo and Bramwell, 1999:357), collaborative planning in a tourism context involves “a process of joint decision-making among autonomous, key stakeholders [...] to resolve planning problems [...] and/or to manage issues related to the planning and development”. Butcher (2007) notes that community participation can increase local communities’ control and ownership over a project, make them more self-sufficient, and empower them. In this thesis, participation is understood as “a process through which stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives, and the decisions and resources which affect them” as defined by the World Bank (Sidaway, 2005). Before continuing to discuss participatory development in further detail, it is useful to note that the terms participatory and collaborative have been used interchangeably in this study – they refer to the same concept.

According to Timothy (1999), participatory planning is key to sound tourism development planning. He argues, “tourism planning should involve host residents in a consultative role to identify locally-defined goals”. In addition, the tourism planning process should seek input from different stakeholders, involve local people in the benefits of tourism development, and educate community residents. Timothy (1999:387) argues that participation can be approached from two perspectives: “taking part in decision-making and enjoying the benefits of tourism”.

Medeiros de Araujo and Bramwell (1999:358) point out that “participation in tourism planning in destinations can be limited to collecting the opinions of stakeholders in order to provide fuller information for public sector planners”. Although this can provide valuable information for decision-making and planning processes, this is a mostly one-way process of consultation that does not comprise much direct dialogue between stakeholders and planners. Instead, they point out “stakeholders can also be consulted at several stages in the planning process so that it becomes an iterative, two-way planning process” (1999:358).

Critics question the collaborative character of (some) development projects claiming to have integrated participatory approaches. They underline that terminology such as bottom-up’, ‘collaborative planning’ and ‘involving local communities’ has become popular language of development agencies, and argue that some adopt this statement because it looks good on paper. As Pretty (in Mowforth and Munt, 2009:225) points out: “it is such a fashion that almost everyone says that participation is part of their work”.

An increasingly cited critique of collaborative projects is the lack of attention to power and inequality. Bramwell (in Lane, 2004:545) underlines that “while partnerships can help to widen participation, their unequal power relations need to be taken into account explicitly”. Mowforth and Munt point out that participatory development projects often “come from the perspective of the project planner” (2009:226), usually from developed countries. Timothy (1999), Butcher (2007), and Mowforth and Munt (2009) underline the necessity of considering local contexts and the frequent lack of a critical analysis of collaborative development projects. Participation is a powerful discourse and has “the potential for an unjustified exercise of power” (Cooke and Kothari in Mowforth and Munt, 2009:226).

In his paper, *‘Participatory planning: a view of tourism in Indonesia’*, Timothy (1999) elaborates on constraints encountered during a tourism planning assessment in the Yogyakarta region in Indonesia. Some groups within the community were not interested in participating in tourism planning for several reasons: 1) in Javanese cultural and political traditions many local people believe decision-making should be done by an appointed group of people with authority; 2) the low socio-economic status of many residents led them to be “merely concerned with making ends meet”; 3) “the relative newness of the tourism industry led to inadequate local expertise on the part of government planners”; and 4) there was a lack of understanding about tourism by many community members (p.383-386).

Bramwell and Sidaway present ways within stakeholder analysis to understand and evaluate factors that affect the development of tourism projects in local communities. Bramwell (in Lew *et al.*, 2004) considers three strategies for stakeholder participation that could increase inclusiveness and participation: 1) making collaborative relations more inclusive; 2) assisting parties that are not engaged in partnerships to build their own institutional capacities and

self-confidence; and 3) consulting and considering views of stakeholders that are not engaged in partnerships.

Sidaway and Van der Voet (in Sidaway, 2005:118) suggest “environmental regulation [...] requires a high degree of public acceptance if it is to be successfully implemented”. When regulations are imposed on people, they are unlikely to accept and comply with them. Only when stakeholder groups fully understand problems, and are involved in the development process, can policy regulation be effective (Sidaway, 2005). Creighton and Sidaway (in Sidaway, 2005:118) argue that in order for public policy decisions to be accepted as fair and legitimate by stakeholder groups, direct representation and openness of decision-making are crucial. These are key elements of participatory decision-making. Sidaway introduces a framework for assessing participation in decision-making, in which he considers these key elements. The next section discusses this framework, which forms the basis for evaluating the participatory process of tourism development in WMNP, in further detail.

2.3.2. Sidaway’s framework for assessing participation in decision-making

According to Sidaway (2005) the process of decision-making hinges on the four criteria of ‘initiation’, ‘inclusiveness’, ‘information’, and ‘influence’. The *initiation* criterion raises the question of “who controls the agenda and implies that all participants have a say in the content of the agenda and the way in which it is discussed” (p.70). *Inclusiveness* refers to openness of the process and representation, and questions whether all relevant interests are incorporated to achieve a satisfactory outcome. *Information* entails the equal access to information, including the gathering, analysing, interpretation and presentation of information. Finally, *influence* questions whether the ‘deliberations have genuine influence over the final decision’ and seeks to identify elements of power. Sidaway’s framework can be used to assess the effectiveness of decision-making and gives insight in whether the process is seen as fair and legitimate in the eyes of all stakeholders.

Sidaway (2005) points at the distinction between consultation and public involvement in development processes. In his opinion, public involvement typically refers to collective decision-making, whilst consultation is understood to be no more than the distribution of information, which is usually aimed at placating the public. He then describes three kinds of participatory processes. A non-participatory process is one with no public consultation or involvement. In a semi-participatory process “policy is developed within an organisation without reference to the public, and it is only when a number of options have been eliminated and a preferred proposal agreed that this is subject to consultation” (p.121). A fully open participatory process enables interest groups to be involved at each planning stage.

In order to assess the participatory process and to get further insight in the views of different stakeholders towards tourism development, four stakeholder assessment criteria are formulated: 'consultation', 'conservation', 'community-livelihoods', and 'opportunities in tourism'. *Consultation* covers the four criteria as formulated by Sidaway (2005). The *conservation* criterion sheds light on stakeholders' views towards tourism in relation to conservation of marine resources. The community-livelihoods criterion aims to get an understanding of stakeholder's views of how tourism influences livelihoods. Finally, *opportunities* aims to identify opportunities in tourism development, as formulated by different stakeholders. This criterion can be linked to community-livelihoods as opportunities in tourism can lead to improvements of local people's livelihoods. It is, however, formulated as a separate criterion because it is within the main focus of this study.

2.4. Power in tourism

2.4.1. The concept of power

In recent years the concept of power has received increasing attention in academic tourism research, and a growing number of researchers are using this concept to critically approach tourism development studies. The concept of power is approached and defined in different ways by a variety of researchers.

According to Cheong and Miller (2000:372) "there is power everywhere in tourism". Development projects are characterised by the existence of different interests, and therefore imply the existence of a variety of power relationships. Mowforth and Munt (2009) state that a critical understanding of relationships of power are at the heart of tourism development enquiry. It is therefore necessary that the politics of tourism development are fully integrated into the analyses of a range of situations. Power and power relations play a central role in any tourism development project, as individuals and groups with different values, ideas, interests and levels of influence compete to produce tourism spaces that are in line with their particular values and interests. According to Sofield (2003:8) "power is about who gets what, where, how, and why, and the politics of development are also about who gets what, where, how and why". Reed (1999) adapted West's (in Reed, 1997:567) definition of power as "the ability to impose one's will or advance one's own interest".

Sidaway (2005:196) points out "the distribution and control of resources between multiple and often competing interests, is central to environmental conflicts, and the allocation process is important to the interest groups because it confers power". Grimble and Wellard (1997:176) note that "the most fundamental division between stakeholders is likely to be between those who *affect* (determine) a decision or action, and those *affected* by this decision or action (whether positively or negatively)".

There are different ways of conceptualising power, including a Foucauldian way. Foucault (in Cheong and Miller, 2000) offers a critical approach towards the concept of power. Although this study does not adopt a Foucauldian approach, it is briefly outlined in the next section.

According to Hartsock, Foucault's approach is interesting, but also "made it very difficult to locate domination". He was stimulated to study how power was "ubiquitous and central in institutions" (p.374). A Foucauldian view of power in a tourism context includes several features, of which the most relevant to this study are: 1) Instead of viewing the concept of power as a dominant group exercising power over another, Foucault views power as a "complex strategical situation, consisting of multiple and mobile field of force relations that are never completely stable" (p.374-375). 2) In Foucault's view power and knowledge cannot be considered without one another. 3) Power and power relations are everywhere. 4) Power is in a network of relationships, rather than "tied to a particular individual or entity". This notion also challenges the idea of 'dominators and the ones dominated'. Instead, Foucault's view aims "to identify the targets and agents that structure the differentiated positions of individuals in a localized system or institution. The target is the subordinate actor in power relationship and exists in relation to the agents" (p.376).

This study understands power as Lukes conceptualised, as: "all forms of successful control by A over B – that is, of A securing B's compliance" (Hall and Jenkins in Lew *et al.*, 2004:533). Hall and Jenkins (in Lew *et al.*, 2004:532) discuss Lukes' typology of power and related concepts in order to try to explain their meaning and relation – see [Table 2](#).

Concept	Meaning
Authority	B complies because he recognizes that A's command is reasonable in terms of his own values, either because its content is legitimate and reasonable or because it has been arrived at through a legitimate and reasonable procedure.
Coercion	Exists where A secures B's compliance by the threat of deprivation where there is a conflict over values or course of action between A and B.
Force	A achieves his objectives in the face of B's non-compliance.
Influence	Exists where A, without resorting to either a tacit or overt threat of severe deprivation, causes B to change his course of action.
Manipulation	Is an 'aspect' or sub-concept of force (and distinct from coercion, power, influence, and authority) since here compliance is forthcoming in the absence of recognition on the compiler's part either of the source or the exact nature of demand upon him.
Power	All forms of successful control by A over B – that is, of A securing B's compliance.

Table 2. Typology of power and related concepts (source: Hall and Jenkins in Lew *et al.*, 2004:533)

2.4.2. The 'Power Jigsaw' and the role of power in development planning

Mowforth and Munt (2009) argue that constructing a 'geography of power' is necessary to understand tourism development in developing countries. They introduce the notion of a 'Power Jigsaw', which emphasizes three inter-related types of power: 'ideology', 'discourse' and 'hegemony'. *Ideology* "is about the way relationships of power are inexorably interwoven in the production and representation of meaning which serves the interests of a particular social group" (p.49). It refers to the different interests that are implicated in the uneven and unequal development of tourism. *Discourses* are perceptions that are translated into debates. Foucault (in Mowforth and Munt, 2009) suggests that discourse expresses how 'facts' can be conveyed in different ways and how the language used to convey these facts can interfere with our ability to decide what is true and what is false. Words as a discourse provide the conditions, practice, rules and regulations on thought. 'Development' and 'sustainability' for instance, are powerful discourses, as are participatory planning and community-based development. *Hegemony* at last, refers to "the ability of dominant classes to convince the majority of subordinate classes to adopt certain political, cultural or moral values" (p.51). Hegemony is about 'the power of persuasion'. Ideology is therefore differentiated from hegemony. Discourse however, is an essential element of hegemony. In this study, these three inter-related concepts – ideology, discourse, and power – will be used to analyse the social relationships involved in tourism development and decision-making.

Paragraph 2.1.1 discussed the concept of community and pointed out that most communities not only consist of a wide range of people with different views and opinions, but also with different interests and needs, which can reveal different relations of power (Mowforth, Charlton and Munt, 2008). "It is through these differences views, opinions, interests and needs that 'local elites' are formed, and it is through these that power is exercised differentially and preferentially, leading to the bestowing of favours, resources and benefits on to selected members or sub-groups of the community" (p.67). Krippendorf (in Mowforth and Munt, 2009:249) noted that "some locals do, unquestionably, make a nice profit out of tourism, but they are usually a very small minority belonging to the propertied classes". Elitism does not necessarily refer to the economic profiting from tourism, but can also refer to decision-making. As Mowforth and Munt (2009:249) point out: "local district councils may develop an elitism of influence and decision-making without necessarily benefiting financially from it".

With her book *'The Will to Improve'* Li (2007:1) draws attention to the gap between "what is attempted and what is accomplished" in development planning in a Central Sulawesi context. Li defines government purpose and limitations to get insight in social control and inequalities in power, which offers useful insights into power and participation in an Indonesian development context. Li argues that attempts to improve people's livelihoods while reconciling conservation, capitalism and social justice is not possible due to "the lack

of attention to political economic structures, and the absence of villagers' participation in decision-making" (Sabogal, 2009:80).

Li examines the power relations embedded in government actions that seem, in a first impression, to respect local context and aim to include local people in decision-making. She argues that academic and professional development theory and activities, which are focused on improving livelihoods of those in less powerful positions, "rarely correspond to people's realities, heterogeneity, needs and wants" (Sabogal, 2009:80). Li also points out that villagers are not necessarily interested in total structural change, but instead want to "negotiate their right to [...] a decent way of life (with work, land and income) as established in their relationship with the dominant group through an implicit social contract that tacitly mediates and expresses the needs of both social groups" (Sabogal, 2009:79). According to Li most of the villagers "seek more involvement with the state apparatus, not less – so long as the terms of that involvement are advantageous" (Li, 2009: 280).

By making use of the stakeholder analysis and Sidaway's framework for assessing participation in decision-making this study aims to get a better understanding of the role that power relations play in the participatory process of tourism development in Wakatobi.

Chapter 3: Methodology

This chapter outlines the research methodology and discusses the method of data collection (3.1), data analysis (3.2), and research challenges and limitations (3.3). This research has an exploratory and empirical character, and is entirely qualitative of nature. Both '*emic*' as well as '*etic*' data has been collected, aiming at gaining insider's as well as outsider's information.

3.1. Data collection

3.1.1. Study site

The field study took place from December 2011 to February 2012 and was conducted in the Wakatobi Marine National Park, on the main islands of Wangi-Wangi, Kaledupa, and Tomia, and the smaller islands of Kapota and Hoga. One interview was conducted in Kendari, which is situated on the mainland of Sulawesi.

3.1.2. Sample and method of data collection

The stakeholder analysis has been used as method to select the research sample. Initial stakeholders were identified during the literature study and additional stakeholders were identified at time of data collection in the field.

An extensive literature review covering academic literature as well as field reports and policy documents forms the base of the research. During the field research a total of twenty-nine in-depth interviews were conducted with a variety of stakeholders in tourism. '*Snowball sampling*' was used to identify respondents. Snowballing is a method for identifying new actors and potential respondents based on the views of other stakeholders. According to Medeiros de Araujo and Bramwell (1999) this is a useful method at the local level. Boeije (2010) points out that it is useful 'when studying sensitive topics or when target groups are difficult to reach', which in some situations has been the case during this research. In addition, WWF-TNC colleagues and my translator helped in pointing out potentially interesting respondents. Table 3 provides an overview of the identified and interviewed stakeholders including the roles of the respondents.

Stakeholder group:	Stakeholder:	Interview with:
Governmental departments	District Government also Wakatobi Regency (Pemerintah Daerah Kabupaten Wakatobi)	- Head of District
	Regional Development Planning Agency (Bappeda)	- Head of Department
	Tourism Department (Dinas Pariwisata)	- Head of Department - Head of Tourism Product and Business (marketing section)
	Fisheries and Marine Department (Dinas Kelautan dan Perikanan, or DKP)	- Head of Department
COREMAP	COREMAP	- Manager COREMAP Wakatobi - Critical Coral Reef Information and Training Centre Coordinator
National Park Authority	National Park Authority (Balai Taman Nasional Wakatobi, or BTNW)	- Head of National Park Wangi-Wangi (section 1) - National Park Outreach Officer - National Park Ranger
	SPKP (extension of National Park Authority)	- Leader
NGO's	World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF)	- Programme Leader Wakatobi - Marine Conservation Outreach and Awareness Officer
	The Nature Conservancy (TNC)	- Outreach Coordinator
	WWF-TNC Joint Programme	- Facilitator (and KOMUNTO board member)
	Sintesa	- Manager Sintesa Wakatobi
Tourism-related profit sector (investors, tour-operators, accommodation providers)	Patuno Resort	- General Manager
	Wakatobi Bajo Resort	- Manager and owner
	Mawadah Dive Centre	- Operational Manager
Research institute and volunteer tourism operator	Operation Wallacea	- Government Liaison Coordinator
Community Forum Groups	FORKANI	- Member
	KOMUNTO	- Board member - Research and Development Section
	FONEB	- Community Facilitator
Community level organisations and individuals	Waha Tourism Community	- Manager
	Forkom Kabali (organisation for local custom)	- Leader
	Sanggar Natural (centre for arts and culture)	- Leader
	Bajo KNI Art (souvenir shop)	- Owner
	Head of village 'Nelayan Bakti'	- Head of village

Table 3. Overview of respondents

First, a topic list was developed which divided the research questions in several topics. This list formed the base for the semi-structured interview-guide that was used as a tool during interviews. This guide consisted of two sections with twelve to sixteen questions in total, and six to eight questions per section. The first section covered stakeholders' views towards tourism development while the second section specifically focused on the participatory process. Based on the general template a more focused interview guide was prepared prior to each interview. Two pilot interviews were conducted, after which the interview guide was reviewed and revised where needed. In addition to taking notes, a recorder was used during most interviews. The length of the interviews ranged between one and two hours, with a majority taking no longer than one and a half hours. A total of nine interviews were conducted in English, twenty interviews were conducted in Indonesian by means of a translator. During most interviews the same translator – a local English student from Wanci – assisted with translating work. Other translators that assisted include a member of the WWF-TNC Outreach Team and an English teacher from Wanci.

A variety of local documents was reviewed as an additional data source. These included (strategic) development policy and planning documents, research and evaluation reports, and statistical data from BPS Wakatobi. And finally, additional data was gathered by means of indirect participant observation when joining the WWF-TNC Outreach Team during several fieldtrips, by taking part in local cultural activities, and by living with a local Wakatobi family during the length of the research. The shared office of the WWF-TNC Joint Programme in Wanci functions as a central base where members of Community Forum Groups and community-based organisations from different islands, but also COREMAP and other NGO's regularly visit for meetings, and has provided valuable moments for indirect observations.

3.2. Data analysis

To avoid issues of interpretation, the majority of the interviews were recorded. The recordings were then transcribed '*ad verbatim*', meaning that every interview was typed out word-for-word. In the case of translated interviews, the translations were transcribed literally. Each interview transcript has been analysed by means of '*open coding*'. Strauss and Corbin (in Boeije, 2010:96) describe this as "the process of breaking down, examining, comparing, conceptualising and categorising data". The open coding method enables the data to be divided in several fragments that can be compared to each other and grouped into themes that cover the same subject. These then can be labelled with a code. By means of the open coding process significant themes can be filtered out. This enabled the identification of several main discourses. First, the interview transcripts were divided into four main topics that matched the four research questions. Then, each of these four main topics were coded, which resulted in the following codes: stakeholder interest, conservation,

livelihoods, concerns, opportunities, collaboration and involvement, influence, lack of human resources, lack of understanding, powerful stakeholders, culture and custom, role WWF.

3.3. Challenges and limitations

3.3.1. Challenges

I faced several challenges during the field research period. The biggest challenge was related to cultural (and perhaps rural) differences in timing and appointments, which compared to (my) western understanding, required some getting used to. An extra dimension to this challenge was added by the geographically remote location of the WMNP that required a lot of air and boat travel. Many of the stakeholders that I wished to interview travelled regularly, either within the national park, or in other parts of Indonesia. Altogether, in order for me to conduct an interview with a stakeholder, not only did it require this person to be in the area at the 'appointed' time, but it often also required a translator to be available. This has been a major challenge, and unfortunately resulted in considerable time loss and the need to reschedule appointments.

Another challenge that I came across is related to interview locations. Many houses and offices in Wakatobi are noisy, especially those situated in the villages. Most of the rooms where the interviews took place did not block outside noise – such as motors, boat engines, children shouting, and chickens – and did not always offer suitable circumstances for interviewing.

A third challenge involved the data collection on other islands than Wangi-Wangi Island. The challenge involved travel between islands in combination with sometimes stormy weather conditions, limited boat transport between islands (only once a day), and poor tourist information related to places to stay overnight.

The last challenge is related to language. My Indonesian skills are limited, and the English skills of many Wakatobi people are also limited or non-existent. In terms of communicating, to make appointments for interviews over the phone or in person, this was challenging.

3.3.2. Limitations

The major limitations of this study are related to language. Using a translator to assist with the research meant some loss of data and problems with interpretation. As it is virtually impossible to provide the exact translation word-by-word, the translator in most cases provided summaries of respondents' answers. This undoubtedly led to a loss of data. Another issue is related to interpretation. Prior to working together with a translator the

necessity of providing translations that are as literal as possible in order to prevent issues with (incorrect) interpretations was discussed. But in summarising respondents' answers, interpretation on the translator's behalf was, to some extent, unavoidable.

During most interviews an English student from Wanci assisted with the translating work. He was still studying the English language, and although his English skills were certainly sufficient, they were not always perfect. On a few occasions we re-listened some of the interview recordings in order to improve translation quality.

Another limitation of the study is that some stakeholders have not been interviewed. I attempted but did not succeed in arranging an interview with a representative of the 'Wakatobi Dive Resort' (WDR), which is considered to be among the world's top dive resorts and plays an important role in Wakatobi tourism. It was established by Swiss entrepreneur(s) and was already active in Wakatobi prior to the establishment of the national park in 1996. Additional actors in tourism that could have contributed to the study are 'INDECON', dive centres on other islands than Wangi-Wangi, and some governmental departments. INDECON is a non-profit organisation involved in consultancy (research) projects focused on developing and promoting ecotourism in Indonesia (INDECON, 2012). Governmental departments that play a role in tourism development as identified in the Regional Development Master Plan (RIPPPDA) are: the Department of Spatial Planning (Dinas Tata Ruang), the Department of Public Works and Transportation (Dinas PU dan Perhubungan), and the Department of Education (Dinas Pendidikan).

For this study no individual community members were interviewed. All respondents at the community level belong to (community) groups or initiatives, or have a significant role in their community. This can be considered as a limitation because these individuals are often either the more powerful, or those that dare to speak up. Members of the majority of the community that are not in this position remain unreachable and are not included in the study.

Chapter 4: Research Findings

This chapter outlines the results of the research and addresses the four research questions. Paragraph 4.1 outlines the stakeholder analysis, followed by different stakeholders' views towards tourism (4.2), the opinions related to the participatory process of tourism development (4.3), and a description of WWF's role in this process (4.4).

4.1. Stakeholder analysis

According to Grimble and Wellard (1997) the purpose of stakeholder analysis is to function as “methodology for better understanding environmental and development problems and interactions through comparative analysis of different perspectives and interests of stakeholders at various levels”. This paragraph presents the stakeholder analysis undertaken in the WMNP and gives insight in the different stakeholders' interests and agendas, and the way various stakeholders are related. Two stakeholder assessment approaches by Madeiros de Araujo and Bramwell (1999), will help address the first research question: *‘What are the interests of and what is the relationship between the various stakeholders (affecting or affected by tourism development) in Wakatobi?’*

4.1.1. Stakeholder identification

A range of stakeholders are involved in tourism development in Wakatobi. Before going into further detail about their interests and the way they are organised, first will be discussed how they were identified as stakeholder in tourism development.

The following stakeholders were selected at the time of the initial literature review: District Government, Regional Planning and Development Agency (Bappeda), National Park Authority, WWF, TNC, Operation Wallacea, and four Community Forum Groups. As also outlined in Paragraph 3.1.2 further stakeholders have then been identified by means of ‘snowballing’. According to Madeiros de Araujo and Bramwell (1999:359) this is a useful method for “identifying relevant stakeholders based on the views of other stakeholders”, and they describe it as their fourth approach for stakeholder assessment. Stakeholders that were selected this way are the Tourism Department, DKP, COREMAP, Sintesa, Patuno Resort, Bajo Resort, Mawadah Dive Centre, Waha Tourism Community, Forkom Kabali, and the Head of village. Sanggar Natural and Bajo KNI Art Shop were selected by suggestion of my translator. Paragraph 4.1.3 outlines a description of each stakeholder.

4.1.2. Stakeholder groups, interests and relations

In order to assess stakeholders, they have been placed on a map to identify their key relationships. Paragraph 4.1.3 provides a description of each stakeholder which helps explain the way stakeholders are organised and related.

Grimble and Wellard (1997) point out that stakeholders can be divided in actors that *affect* or determine decisions or actions, and actors that are *affected by* decisions or actions. Figure 7 shows this division in a Wakatobi tourism context. Stakeholders positioned on the left affect the way tourism develops by their decisions or actions. Stakeholders positioned on the right involve actors that are mostly affected by the actions or decisions of actors to their left. Actors in the middle affect tourism development by for example employing people from local communities. But they are also affected by actions or decisions from the left. For example: the government's decision and action to build an airport improves accessibility of the region, which in turn affects accommodation providers' visitor numbers.

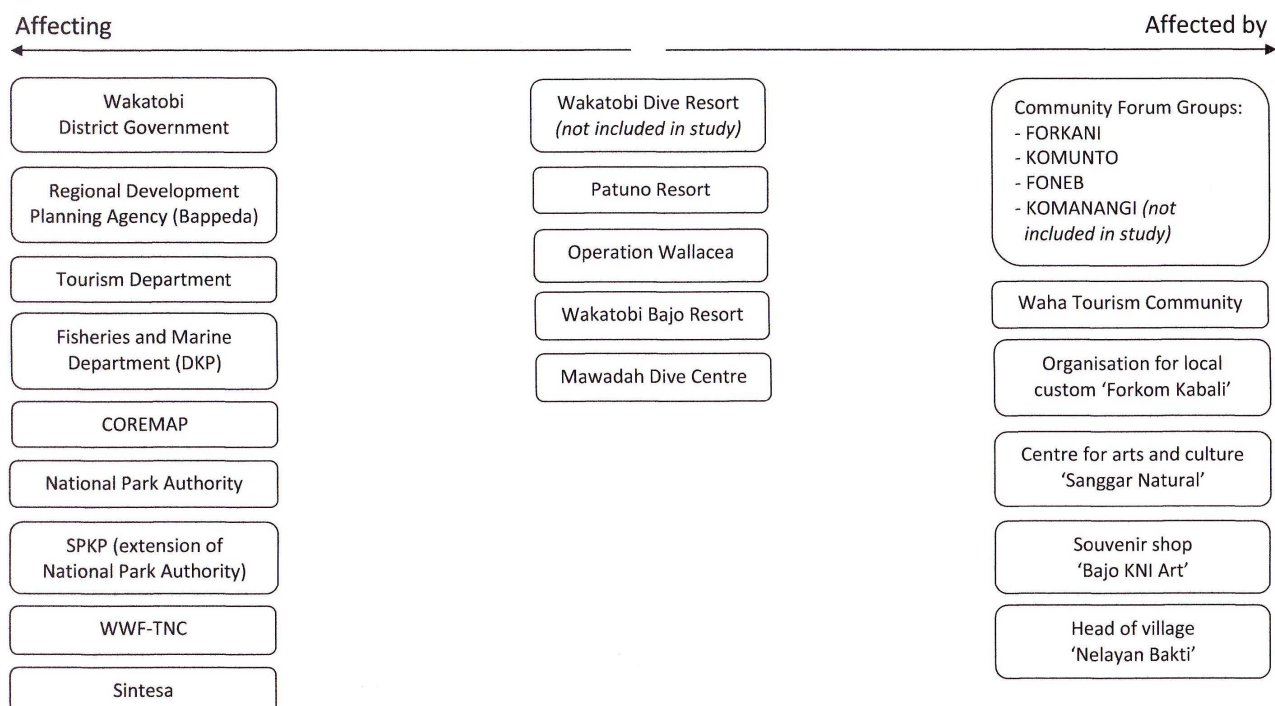


Figure 7. Stakeholders affecting or affected by tourism

Another way to divide stakeholders comprises the fifth approach by Madeiros de Araujo and Bramwell (1999), as outlined in Paragraph 2.2, which is to assess relevant stakeholders by placing them on a map according to their relationships. The first way to divide actors is by organising them in terms of political power, referring to power to influence decision-making. Figure 8 presents a stakeholder map in which this division is shown, with the most powerful occupying the central area of the map.

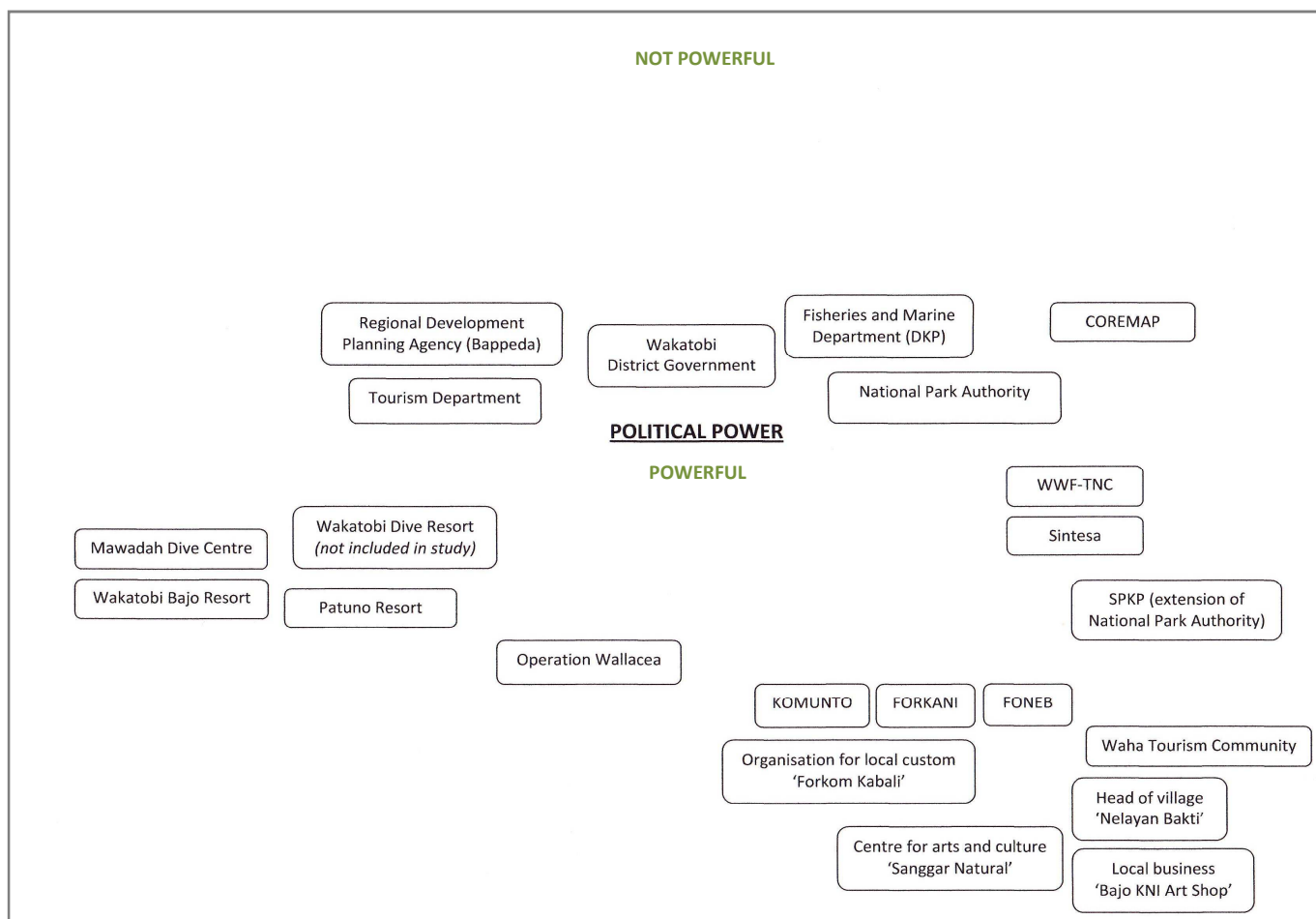


Figure 8. Stakeholders divided by political power

Figure 9 shows a map in which stakeholders are divided by their traditional power, again with the centre of the map representing the most powerful. Several stakeholders during interviews explained that in Indonesia, local authorities such as governmental departments are traditionally viewed as powerful. In addition, respondents pointed out that the local custom and traditional leaders are very powerful. Local inhabitants are much influenced by the customary laws and their leaders. In this map the local leaders, the village head and the organisation for local custom, are close to the centre of the map, representing traditionally powerful stakeholders. But due to the traditional perception of authority, the governmental departments and National Park Authority are also close to the centre of the map. The topic of traditional power will be discussed in further detail in Paragraph 4.3.5.

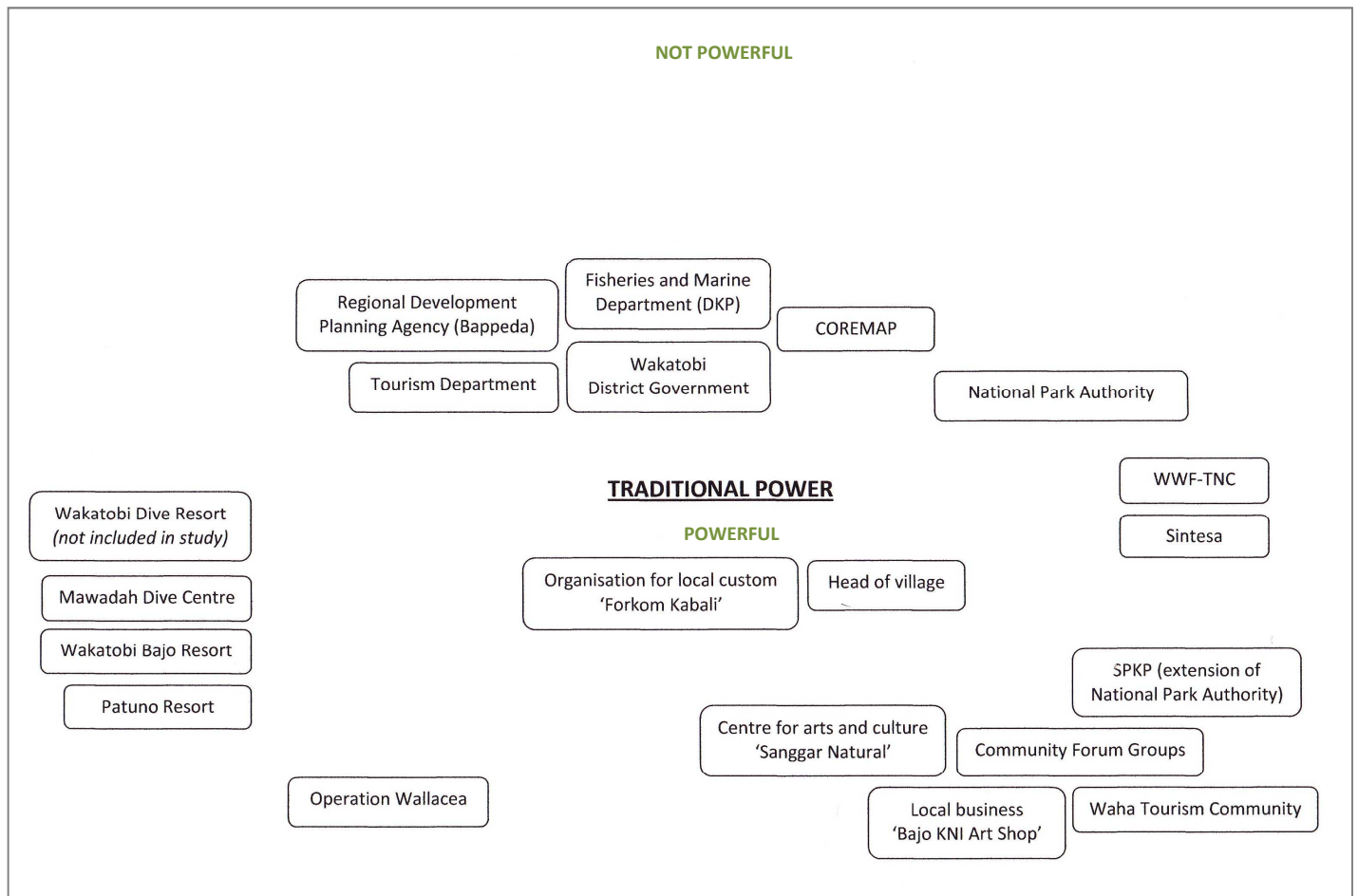


Figure 9. Stakeholders divided by traditional power

It is possible to categorise the stakeholders in groups. This division in stakeholder groups is based on the type of stakeholder (e.g. governmental, profit, NGO, etc.), common interests, and their mutual relationship. When looking at the various stakeholder maps, certain ‘clusters’ of stakeholders become apparent. The most fundamental distinction in stakeholder groups that becomes visible is between the governmental departments and National Park Authority, the for-profit sector, NGO’s, and stakeholders at the community level. Based on the views that stakeholders have of each other, a further division in stakeholder groups can be made resulting in a final categorisation of stakeholder groups.

The first group consists of the governmental departments: the District Government, Regional Planning and Development Agency (Bappeda), Tourism Department, and Marine and Fisheries Department (DKP). COREMAP is a programme by DKP and is therefore considered among governmental departments. COREMAP is, however, on a different level as governmental departments and when a reference is made of governmental departments that includes COREMAP, this is referred to specifically in this report. The second group is the National Park Authority and its extension. The NGO’s comprise the third group, and the fourth covers the tourism-related profit sector including investors, accommodation

providers and tour-operators. This group does not include small community-level business, which of course are also profit focused, rather involves the bigger profit businesses. The fifth group is the research institute Operation Wallacea. The sixth group is the Community Forum Groups and the seventh and final group consists of other organisations and individuals at the community level. An overview of the stakeholder groups and their main interests is presented in Table 4.

Stakeholder groups	Interest
1. Governmental departments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Develop Wakatobi as 'the only real underwater paradise in the Coral Triangle' (mission) - Two leading sectors: sustainable fisheries/marine and (eco)tourism - Healthy reefs for local users and tourism - Tourism development as economic growth
COREMAP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Healthy reefs (reef rehabilitation) - Alternative livelihoods
2. National Park Authority (and extension)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Natural resources conservation
3. NGO's	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Natural resources conservation - Empowerment of local communities - Livelihood improvement
4. Tourism-related profit sector (accommodation providers, tour-operators, investors)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Profit - Tourists - Beautiful reefs for tourists
5. Research institute and volunteer tourism operator	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Reef related research - Research tourism; providing academics with the opportunity to conduct reef related research.
6. Community Forum Groups	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Stop destructive fishing practices / natural resources conservation - Access to resources - Maintain local culture and custom - Benefit from tourism
7. Community level (small businesses and individuals)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Maintain local culture and custom - Benefit from tourism for livelihood improvement - Profit (in the case of small businesses)

Table 4. Stakeholder groups and their interests

4.1.3. Description of stakeholders

This paragraph provides an outline of the individual stakeholders within their stakeholder groups and describes each stakeholder in further detail. The governmental departments including COREMAP are outlined first, followed by the National Park Authority, the NGO's, the profit sector, Operation Wallacea, and stakeholders at the community level.

1. Governmental Departments

As part of the decentralization programme of the Indonesian government in 2003, the Wakatobi District was separated from the larger Buton Regency and became the Wakatobi Regency. Since then the regency has had the independent authority to manage the area, executed by the Wakatobi District Government. (Reef Resilience, 2012) However, “the boundaries of the Wakatobi District align closely with those of the Wakatobi Marine National Park” (Reef Resilience, 2012) which also has its own authority. This is the National Park Authority, operating under the Ministry of Forestry.

Wakatobi District Government (Pemerintah Daerah Kabupaten Wakatobi)

The Wakatobi District Government (also referred to as the Wakatobi Regency) consists of the Head of District ‘Bupati’ and administrative staff, and functions as an umbrella for all sectoral governmental departments in Wakatobi. The administrative area includes Wakatobi’s eight sub-districts with in total hundred villages (District Government, 2012a). The District Government has identified the marine and tourism sectors as the districts’ leading sectors and formulated the mission to *‘achieve Wakatobi as the only real underwater paradise in the centre of the Coral Triangle’*. Marine and cultural tourism have been identified as the tourism industry with the most potential (RIPPDA, 2010). The District Government aims to develop tourism based on the principles of ecotourism, which they in the Regional Development Master Plan (RIPPDA) outline as:

- Focus on natural areas;
- Attention to ecological and environmental sustainability;
- Contribute to conservation of natural and cultural heritage;
- Contribute to local communities (benefiting local livelihoods whilst respecting cultural values);
- Meet expectations of consumers;
- Responsible and truthful marketing.

Development strategies described in the RIPPDA are:

- To develop eight principles of ecotourism as development umbrella;
- To build partnerships between partners in tourism;
- Diversification of tourism attractions, including product development of local cultural arts;
- To develop linkages between sectors and regions;
- To encourage bilateral and multilateral cooperation both within and outside the country.

Regional Development Planning Agency (Bappeda)

Bappeda (Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Daerah) is the Regional Development Planning Agency. This institution’s main functions are to prepare and execute regional planning projects for Wakatobi, such as technical policy planning, coordinating local development

planning activities and the development and execution of tasks in the field of regional development planning (Armitage and Tam, 2007). Bappeda together with the District Government prepares the Mid-Term Development Plan, a five year planning also referred to as the 'RPJMD'. This plan outlines the region's development priorities for a period of five years. Formulated priorities are the development of the educational infrastructure, tourism sector, and optimisation of fisheries resources, marine farming and environmental services. According to Bappeda, all stakeholders – from government officials to the communities of Wakatobi – should work together to achieve this planning. The direction for the coming years is to achieve the mission of the underwater paradise and use the underwater potential as economic source.

Bappeda works with various development indicators such as the human development index and economic growth targets. They have ten grand strategies in order to optimise the leading sectors: 1) capacity building; 2) integrated coastal management; 3) integrated waste management; 4) population management; 5) tourism; 6) fisheries; 7) infrastructure; 8) conservation; 9) water management; and 10) biodiversity management. The department collaborates among others with the District Government, the Tourism Department, the Fisheries and Marine Department, Department of Agriculture, the Environmental Department, and with the WWF-TNC partnership to achieve the vision and mission.

Tourism Department (Dinas Pariwisata)

The Wakatobi Tourism Department has three main divisions: a promotion board, a cultural board and a destination development board. Each division applies their activities based on the vision and mission of the District Government to develop Wakatobi as the only real underwater paradise. The vision of the Tourism Department is '*ecological tourist destination of the world*'. The Tourism Department prepared a strategic tourism plan, also referred to as 'RENSTRA'. The document outlines tourism strategies and programmes with the aim to achieve objectives defined in the government's Mid-term Development Plan.

Fisheries and Marine Department (DKP)

The main activities of the Fisheries and Marine Department are related to the implementation of coral reef rehabilitation and conservation, resource monitoring, supervision of marine activities, coastal community empowerment, and strengthening marine tourism businesses. DKP's vision is to achieve Wakatobi as the biological resources of the world oceans (District Government, 2012b). As the scuba-diving market has been identified as the highest tourism potential in the national park, DKP has an important role in tourism development.

COREMAP

COREMAP is an abbreviation of '*Coral Reef Rehabilitation and Management Programme*'. It is a programme initiated by the Indonesian government with the objectives to protect, rehabilitate, and achieve sustainable use of the Indonesian coral reefs and their associated ecosystems that, in turn, improve the livelihoods of coastal communities. COREMAP has around sixteen reef habilitation sites throughout Indonesia. The programme is divided in three phases: 1) the '*Initiation Phase*' from 1998 to 2004, aiming to establish a national coral reef system framework; 2) the '*Acceleration Phase*' from 2004 to 2009, to create viable reef management systems in priority sites; and 3) the current phase of '*Institutionalisation*' from 2010 to 2015, which aims to establish viable reef management systems that are operational, decentralized, and institutionalized. (COREMAP, 2012) Within the programme there are five units, they are all programmes for community implementation to stakeholders: 1) public awareness unit; 2) critical reef rehabilitation management programme; 3) monitoring, control and surveillance; 4) community-based management; and 5) public awareness.

The Wakatobi Marine National Park is one of COREMAP's sites. COREMAP Wakatobi aims at reef ecosystem preservation, improvement of people awareness and behaviour related to reefs and fishing practices, empowering people, and improving the livelihoods of coastal communities, for example by alternative livelihood strategies (COREMAP, 2012).

COREMAP plays an important role in tourism through the development of tourism communities. A tourism community refers to an existing village that has been prepared for tourism by inhabitants (e.g. there are home-stays, snorkelling gear rental, etc). A tourism community is initiated by and provides benefits for the local community. There are no investors involved, village inhabitants are the organisers. COREMAP has sixty-three village programmes. Most of these villages now have an information centre for the local people, with reef-related data and information about COREMAP. Every village has a locally managed marine area '*Daerah Perlindungan Laut*' (DPL) and because of this DPL has been identified as tourism potential. COREMAP provides trainings focused on alternative livelihoods, for example on how to become a dive or snorkelling-guide or a tour-guide. The Waha Tourism Community is one of the sixty-three village programmes and will be further discussed in later in this paragraph.

2. National Park Authority

Operating under the Indonesian Ministry of Forestry, the National Park Authority is regulated from the city of Bau-Bau, part of the Buton Regency. Although the National Park Authority is also a governmental stakeholder, it is considered different to governmental departments outlined in this paragraph and therefore discussed in a separate paragraph.

National Park Authority (BTNW)

The National Park Authority (also referred to as 'Balai Taman Nasional Wakatobi', or BTNW), under the Ministry of Forestry, is the government body with the legal and judicial right to manage the national park in collaboration with the Southeast Sulawesi Provincial Government and the Wakatobi District Government (Wisesa, 2010; TNC *et al.*, 2008). The National Park Authority has three functions: patrolling, conservation, and socialisation. These functions are also formulated as '3P': '*Pengamanan*' (security), '*Pengawetan*' (conservation), and '*Pemantulan*' (reflection). The institution is divided in three sections; Wangi-Wangi district or section 1, Kaledupa district or section 2, and the Tomia/Binongko district or section 3. The National Park Authority consists of a leader, three heads of sections (one per section), three outreach staff (one person per section), and forty rangers, ten to twelve per island.

In 2008 the National Park Authority joined the partnership programme of NGOs WWF and TNC (WWF, 2012). The partnership's objective is to support the National Park Authority and the Wakatobi District Government with planning and management of the national park, and to increase the capacity of human resources in these institutions. A more detailed description of the partnership's activities is outlined later in this paragraph.

SPKP

The SPKP, or 'Sentra Penyuluhan Kehutanan Pedesaan' literally means 'Rural Forestry Extension Centres'. It is an extension of the National Park Authority consisting of a group of facilitators. Their role is communication with local inhabitants, community empowerment, and duties delegated by the National Park Authority. SPKP has five offices throughout Wakatobi; one in Wangi-Wangi district (on Kapota Island), two in Kaledupa, one in Tomia and one in Binongko.

SPKP is involved with a conservation villages project referred to as '*Model Desa Konservasi*' (MDK) in Kapota Island. The purpose of MDK is to increase public participation, improve public awareness to support major objectives of Wakatobi conservation acts, and to generate economic benefits from tourism activities for the community members. The role of SPKP is to prepare these villages as cultural village tourism objects, in participation with its inhabitants.

3. NGO's

WWF Indonesia

WWF Indonesia is a NGO that "strives to save the diversity of species by promoting sustainable conservation that can give continued social and economic benefits to local communities" (WWF, 2012c). WWF also focuses on restoring damaged ecosystems and mitigating various threats such as climate change and toxic chemicals, and collaborates with various stakeholders to try to reach these goals. (WWF, 2012c)

TNC Indonesia

The Nature Conservancy is a NGO from the United States that partners with governments, local people and businesses at all levels to assist with ensuring effective management of forest and marine environments. Through increased awareness, capacity and community engagement TNC aims to help sustainable economies by and for the communities that depend on them. (TNC, 2012)

WWF-TNC (and BTNW) Joint Programme

With two authorities in charge of managing the national park there was a need for management support which the WWF and TNC have provided since 2002 (Reef Resilience, 2012; WWF, 2012). Both NGO's collaborate in a partnership named 'WWF-TNC Joint Programme' to assist the National Park Authority with zoning, and to improve and implement management strategies based on scientific data and local socio-economic realities. The partnership aims to achieve the park's conservation and sustainable resources use objectives (Reef Resilience, 2012; WWF, 2012). This includes the development of a collaborative management structure, short and long term financing plans, alternative livelihoods, and management modules such as outreach and awareness, monitoring, surveillance and park zoning (WWF, 2011). In 2008 the National Park Authority (BTNW) joined this partnership programme (WWF, 2012).

Initially, the WWF-TNC Joint Programme mainly focused on the revision of the park zonation and reducing destructive fishing practices such as fish bombing and the use of cyanide. The zoning system that was introduced with the establishment of the national park was problematic because it was developed in Jakarta, without much consideration of local Wakatobi users. During the revision process, local users were asked to give input on park planning and management. In 2007 the new zoning system was finalised and enacted by the Forest Protection and Nature Conservation (PHKA) and the Wakatobi District (Reef Resilience, 2012).

Apart from natural resources conservation, community empowerment and improvement of local livelihoods are a main focus of the Joint Programme. As a result, tourism has become part of the partnership's scope in 2010. The WWF-TNC Joint Programme in the last two years has initiated a series of training workshops for local people to develop their understanding of tourism and its potential, to improve their capacity to deal with the tourism plan of the District Government, and to encourage participation in tourism development (Santiadji, WWF, 2011). The partnership's focus is to involve communities in management and concentrates on building a legal park management foundation in order to ensure socially sustainable conservation actions (WWF-TNC, 2005). The Outreach Team consists of local contract staff from around Wakatobi (Wisasa, 2010) and is in charge of coordinating these community outreach projects. Outreach projects are one of the main approaches used by

the partnership to try to work towards the government's mission of sustainable fisheries and ecotourism.

The partnership programme is currently in the second phase, which is running until 2013. WWF and TNC provide the National Park Authority with support in patrolling and capacity building (in for example socialisation and survey results). The ultimate goal is that all projects that the Joint Programme work on will be transferred to and continued by national park staff. Resource-use monitoring, turtle-nesting surveys and some other projects have already been transferred to the National Park Authority.

The WWF-TNC are collaborating with a consulting agency INDECON to explore the tourism potential and strategy. In 2010 INDECON finalised a report '*Identifikasi Potensi Wakatobi*' in which an identification of potential tourist attractions in WMNP is outlined together with the views of communities on the main Wakatobi islands (INDECON, 2010).

Sintesa

Sintesa is the 'Foundation for Development of Rural Potential'. It is an Indonesian NGO active in the field of community empowerment, and has a variety of projects in southeast Sulawesi. Programmes are mostly focused on poverty reduction and encourage poor community members with improving their economic and social livelihoods. Sintesa's six main focus areas are: 1) income generating activities including micro-financing; 2) development and access to clean water and sanitation; 3) improvement of community health status; 4) integrated environmental and agricultural management; 5) humanitarian assistance; and 6) institutional capacity building through research, training, and publication. (Directorate Peace-building Indonesia, 2012; Hartaty, Sintesa, 2012) Sintesa is active on the four main islands of Wakatobi. Their main focus in the region is micro-finance, but they also work on a water and sanitation programme.

Sintesa is involved in tourism through some of its projects. These projects mostly focus on facilitating trainings for local community members. One of their income generating activities Sintesa is currently working on is a programme focused on developing home-stays in Waha. The idea of this project is that local people in the Waha village prepare their house for (foreign) visitors to stay at, targeting visitors that are interested in experiencing the local culture. Sintesa's role is to guide and train those local community members that are interested in participating. This project is in planning, but has not yet been finalised.

Another of their tourism related projects is focused on the recycling and re-using of plastic waste. The souvenir shop 'Bajo KNI Art', described in [Paragraph 4.1.5](#), is a result of this project. This shop sells handicrafts that are made from recycled waste.

4. Tourism-related for-profit sector

This sector comprises investors and commercial businesses that are involved with tourism such as accommodation providers and tour-operators.

Patuno Resort

The Patuno Resort Wakatobi is located on Wangi-Wangi Island and was established late 2009. The resort, which is under western management (Patuno Resort, 2011), is owned by three shareholders, one of which is the District Head's family, and aims to offer mid-range accommodation targeting the scuba-diving market. Patuno offers dive packages and has certified dive-masters and a marine-biologist on-site. Since the local government started promoting the Wakatobi region on Indonesian TV, Patuno Resort also has quite a big Indonesian market. Several TV-channels have been shooting for TV programmes, all facilitated and approached by the local government. This resulted in Wakatobi becoming quite well known among Indonesians, and many middle class Indonesians now visit the resort. The Patuno Resort aims at both these markets not only by offering dive packages, but also snorkelling trips, dolphin-watching tours, try-dives, and cultural island-tours. The resort employs around seventy, mostly local, staff.

Wakatobi Bajo Resort

The Wakatobi Bajo Resort was established in May 2010 and is built in traditional Bajo style and located in a Bajo community on Wangi-Wangi Island. The resort has a restaurant, a meeting room and offers basic accommodation. There are currently four rooms, which they are planning to extend to eight in the near future. They welcome both national and international guests, but at the moment receive more domestic guests. It is an independently owned resort, that aims to make a profit, but it also aims to operate in line of the local government's vision focused on tourism and marine. The owner/manager of the resort employs five (local) people.

Mawadah Dive Centre

The Mawadah Dive Centre is based in the main town of Wanci, on Wangi-Wangi Island. Mawadah is an abbreviation of 'magnet Wakatobi dahsyat', which means magnet of terrific Wakatobi. The centre offers guided dive and snorkel trips, certified dive courses and dive equipment rental. According to their brochure they also offer dolphin watching and cultural village tours.

5. Research institute and tour-operator 'Operation Wallacea'

Operation Wallacea is a UK-based research volunteer tourism operator that operates biological and conservation management research programmes in eleven countries worldwide (Clifton and Benson, 2006; Operation Wallacea, 2012a). In the Wakatobi Marine National Park, Operation Wallacea is based on Hoga Island and has been operating a dive and marine research centre since 1996. Operation Wallacea organises and operates

volunteering research trips for university students conducting their undergraduate and master level field study projects. Every year Operation Wallacea sends up to 300 mostly UK-students to Hoga Island to conduct research and to experience life abroad, for which the students pay a fee. These projects are largely designed to meet longer-term conservation objectives in the marine national park. (Clifton and Benson, 2006) Their site on Hoga Island is in use during several months a year, mostly around June, July and August. During the rest of the year there are only local watch-keepers on-site.

6. Community Forum Groups

On all four main islands of Wakatobi there is a Community Forum Group. These groups represent a large part of the fishermen community, and are considered important stakeholders because traditionally many local inhabitants in the area are fishermen. The Community Forum Groups are community-based organisations (CBO's) that arrange meetings with village representatives and other community members to discuss their common problems and collaborate to deal with these problems. The four Community Forum Groups in Wakatobi are:

- FORKANI on Kaledupa;
- KOMUNTO on Tomia;
- FONEB on Binongko;
- KOMANANGI on Wangi-Wangi (not included in this study).

An organisation is considered a community-based organisation when it is run by people living in a community, when those involved are eager to learn about sustainable development projects. A CBO can also be established by a local NGO. There are forty-eight CBO's in Wakatobi, of which FORKANI and KOMUNTO are the biggest (Aminuddin, WWF, 2012).

FORKANI

FORKANI (Forum Kaledupa Toudani) was initiated in 2002 by local fishermen to help protect natural resources in Kaledupa in response to concerns about the decline in the number of their reef fish. Their role is to understand and voice the wishes, needs and opinions of local people, and to educate them about conservation and policy. They have representatives in each main village in Kaledupa, consisting of nearly twenty groups of fishers in twenty-five villages. FORKANI 'manages the Kaledupa element of the World Bank COREMAP programme for sustainable fisheries in Eastern Indonesia'. (Jakarta Post, 2011; Operation Wallacea 2012b)

FORKANI was already established before the WWF-TNC partnership started their support in the area. The other three forum groups were established afterwards based on a template similar to that of FORKANI's (Wisesa, 2010).

KOMUNTO

KOMUNTO (Komunitas Nelayan Tomia) is the Tomia fishermen community, composed of representatives from fishermen groups from Tomia Island. This community-based organisation works “to encourage the sovereign management of natural resources to improve the wellbeing of its members” (Equator Initiative, 2012a). KOMUNTO was developed to address the communities’ shared concerns related to foreign commercial fishing, the use of destructive fishing methods, and the local government’s lack of clarity on natural resources management in Wakatobi. Representatives are active to encourage Tomia inhabitants to identify issues such as decreasing catch sizes, coral reef bleaching, access capital for local development projects, financial challenges, instability in fish prices, lack of interest shown by the local government/poor local government regulation. (Equator Initiative, 2012a/b; WWF, 2012b)

In 2010 KOMUNTO was “awarded with the United Nations Equator Prize in recognition of its outstanding community efforts to reduce poverty through the conservation of biodiversity” (WWF, 2012b).

FONEB

FONEB (Forum Nelayan Binongko) is the Binongko fishermen community, established in 2005. Similar to the activities of FORKANI and KOMUNTO, FONEB also organises fishery communities in villages on the island to discuss their common issues.

7. Community-level organisations and community leaders

The stakeholders outlined in this paragraph are a selection of many. The Waha Tourism Community is the result of one of COREMAP’s programmes, as described earlier in this chapter, and by COREMAP considered a success story in relation to tourism. The other four community stakeholders are individuals that are either active in a community group or business owner. All are influenced by tourism development.

Waha Tourism Community

The WTC is a community-based organisation established under the COREMAP programme in 2007. It is the realisation of one of the main goals of *‘Lembaga Pengelola Sumberdaya Terumbu Karang’* (LPSTK), which is the Coral Reef Resource Management Institution that focuses on managing the reefs and increasing people’s economic situation.

Forkom Kabali

Forkom Kabali is a community-based organisation for the local custom *‘adat’*, and is based in Liya, on Wangi-Wangi Island. Forkom Kabali stands for *‘Forum Kcommunity Keluarga Besar Liya’*, which literally means the *‘community forum for the big family of Liya’*. Their main activities are focused on cultural rituals and dance, but they are also involved with, for example, the renovation of *‘Benteng Liya’*, the fortress in the village. Forkom Kabali is

concerned with maintaining cultural traditions for the young generation, but understands the opportunity potential of tourism and the benefits it can bring to their community.

Sanggar Natural

Sanggar Natural is a (Wangi-Wangi Island-based) centre for arts and culture, established in 2007. The aim and motivation of Sanggar Natural is to maintain the local culture and indigenous values of the local people; through dance, games and folklore of the people. The centre wants to maintain these cultural values for the next generation, but also look at the potential of being the centre of tourism by performing to visitors. They currently perform for governmental gatherings and the Patuno Resort. The centre consists of a leader, secretary and financial management and consists of four divisions: dance, music, modelling and theater. Sanggar Natural has approximately fifty members.

Head of village

This is an individual person and the leader of the Nelayan Bakti village in Wangi-Wangi Island. The head of village in his role is responsible for the village's administration and for discussing this with the village council 'Lembaga Musyawarah Desa'. To become head of village one must be elected and receive enough votes. The head of village will be in this role for a period of six years, which then can be extended with a second period of six years when new elections are won. The head of village is also a member of the 'Lembaga Ketahanan Masyarakat Desa' which is the village community resilience council that is responsible for implementing social and economic projects in the area.

Bajo KNI Art Shop

Bajo KNI Art is a small family-run souvenir shop based in Mola Selatan, among the Bajo community of Wangi-Wangi Island. It was established in 2004, when Wakatobi became an independent regency. The shop sells handicrafts that are hand-made on-site, using recycled materials such as plastic wrappings, coconuts and leaves. The shop targets at selling to Wakatobi visitors. The shop-owner is also the leader of a Bajonese cultural dance group named 'Sanggar Tari'.

4.2. Stakeholders' views towards tourism development

This paragraph addresses the second research question: *'What are different stakeholders' views towards tourism in relation to conservation and livelihoods, and how do different stakeholders identify opportunities in tourism?'*

4.2.1. What type of tourism to develop?

All twenty-nine respondents would like to see tourism develop in Wakatobi. The main focus of the governmental departments, also supported by other stakeholders that were interviewed, is *ecotourism*.

The National Park Authority would like to see tourism in which local communities are able to participate without having to give up their cultures. "Growing in a natural way; new buildings should be built in the local style." This view is supported by the NGOs that argue that "all tourism activity should consider the environment and should be based on a model that collaborates with the local people." At the community level many people are interested in being involved in tourism as long as it provides benefits for them. "I want to be involved when the tourism initiative supports the livelihoods of the people" (KOMUNTO).

What exactly is understood by 'ecotourism' differs among stakeholders. Some understand it as tourism that supports conservation; others mention tourism that is community-based or from which local people benefit and that improves their livelihoods. Because of this varying understanding, which also exists within the governmental departments that are involved in the planning of tourism, a certain lack of clarity exists related to the exact direction of tourism development.

The Tourism Department for instance, wants to develop "small-scale tourism, not modern buildings", yet at the same time says to "dream of Wakatobi being like 24-hour service, bars on the street, and shopping". A Coordinator at COREMAP, which focuses on coral reef rehabilitation and developing alternative livelihoods, would "like to see Wakatobi like Bali". In the last two decades Bali has grown to a mass tourism destination with visitor statistics of 2,8 million in 2011 (BPS, 2012).

4.2.2. Opportunities in tourism

Stakeholders have pointed at a range of opportunities in, and benefits of tourism development. The Wakatobi government has identified the park's intangible resources - the underwater scenery and marine life, and the traditional cultures - as an important development potential. Instead of using resources physically (catching and selling fish), the focus is on adding value to resources in order to create income for the community (Bappeda). The government is therefore developing 'five S' for tourism: *sea, site* (referring to

the roughly hundred dive-sites), *sand*, *social culture*, and *sun*. Benefits and opportunities in tourism that governmental departments identify are related to economic development, education for environmental awareness, cultural development and culture conservation. In addition, tourism can also stimulate entrepreneurship. According to the COREMAP Coordinator, Wakatobi has eight marketing potentials: fish-spawning aggregation sites, dolphin and whale migration, sea-birds, fish, turtles, beach, sea-grass and mangroves. He points out that all of these can generate income, but that its success depends on how it is organised.

The majority of the interviewed stakeholders specifically mention that tourism should support conservation and that it should be balanced with the environment. Most stakeholders believe that conservation is an important tool for managing the natural resources, and they agree that without conservation their resources will be depleted. As the National Park Authority points out, “people should be able to use the resources for their livelihoods, but resources shouldn’t be exhausted”. Another benefit of conservation that was mentioned by WWF and FORKANI is that the zoning system as conservation tool keeps out foreign fishermen from local use zones. Although most respondents understand the purpose of conservation, at the community level there are stakeholders that feel they do not (directly) benefit from conservation.

Many stakeholders believe that tourism and conservation support each other. Conservation is important to tourism because tourism, and particularly dive tourism, requires a healthy and beautiful (marine) environment. As the Patuno Resort points out “the more they conserve it, over the long term more people will visit, and that will provide the income to tourism, rather than people not coming because it has been destroyed and there is no fish and no income”. According to Sanggar Natural “conservation will maintain a good fish stock so the productivity and income of people can increase. Another benefit is that conservation helps maintain healthy reefs and therefore tourism can be a success.”

But many stakeholders also believe that tourism supports conservation. The often-stated line of thinking behind this is that tourism activity decreases illegal and destructive fishing practices. Many fishermen are aware of their illegal methods and are not comfortable doing this in front of others. The WWF Programme Manager believes that “tourism activity will decrease the environmental pressures”. Also the Patuno Resort expects the tourism related positives to outweigh the negatives. “I don’t see any threats to conservation, I think it can only help conservation as long as the people coming in do have an awareness about conservation” (Patuno Resort). According to both stakeholders education is crucial to conserve and maintain a sustainable tourism environment. Dive centres and tour-operators need to take responsibility by providing explanation about the marine environment and conservation – for example during briefings prior to dives.

Most stakeholders agree that conservation and tourism offer opportunities for livelihood improvements. Tourism can enable economic growth and create alternative livelihood opportunities. According to Sintesa “conservation keeps our environment clean and then many people come to visit. This means a higher income for the people, because tourism creates jobs.” The Head of village points out that “people that used to dive for fish can change their profession by becoming a dive guide”. Other examples are tourism businesses like tour-guiding, or a fishermen using his boat for tourism business (WWF-TNC Facilitator), cultural attractions (National Park Authority) such as traditional dance and clothing (WWF, Outreach), or making handicrafts or provide in transportation services such as ‘ojek’ (a motor taxi) and car rental (Tourism Department). The Patuno Resort employs around seventy people locally that would otherwise work in a different sector. A community or individual community members can also start tourism businesses such as hotels, home-stays and restaurants (FONEB). Sanggar Natural sees opportunities in cultural exchange programmes for students, where ‘our culture will be introduced in other countries’.

Types of tourism development that stakeholders are interested in seeing develop are: underwater tourism such as diving and snorkelling, cultural tourism such as tourism villages including local foods and handicrafts, but also a few more resorts (Sintesa) for more competition (Patuno Resort), and improved infrastructure. ‘I am a skillful diver (traditional Bajo diver), so I would like to provide dive gear and organise dive tours, as long as it is beneficial’ (Head of village).

4.2.3. Concerns for tourism development

All of the respondents have expressed concerns related to tourism development. Various stakeholders pointed at the effects of increasing visitor numbers such as environmental degradation related to tourists and divers touching or standing on coral, and an increase in waste production as a result of increasing tourism (National Park Authority, WWF, Sintesa, Operation Wallacea, Mawadah Dive Centre). Most of these stakeholders believe however, that these environmental problems can be prevented with education to both local inhabitants as well as visitors. Some stakeholders also expressed their concerns for the development of mass tourism and losing control with large visitor numbers (National Park Authority, Operation Wallacea).

A concern that was mentioned many times and that exists among all stakeholder groups and at different levels of the community, is related to the loss of local cultures. “My concern is the mix of western and eastern cultures” (Bajo Resort). Wakatobi people welcome different cultures, as long as visitors respect their culture. However, many stakeholders fear that the young generation will start following foreign cultures when the numbers of foreign (western) visitors increase – for example by changing to (inappropriate) dress and the consumption of

alcohol. They are afraid of losing their traditional culture. “Traditional events and rituals, maybe it will be lost some time in the future” (Tourism Department).

Although the cultural concerns are shared among the different stakeholder groups, they approach it very differently. The governmental departments for instance, believe that “with leadership we can overcome these concerns” (District Government). Bappeda, COREMAP and Sanggar Natural point out those cultural concerns are related to the understanding about culture, and through education this problem can be overcome.

Another concern that many stakeholders expressed is related to the lack of understanding about tourism. Many native Wakatobi inhabitants have never set foot outside the national park to visit other parts of Sulawesi or Indonesia. Because of the currently small numbers of and limited contact with visitors to the area, a lot of local people simply do not know yet what the tourism concept involves. The Head of village said: “I actually don’t really understand about tourism, but it has something to do with beautiful in the sea”. This statement clearly shows that among inhabitants it is not clear what tourism is, and what it can mean for their future. Stakeholders at all levels of the community expressed their doubts related to the societal readiness of local people in Wakatobi (Bajo KNI Art, Forkom Kabali, KOMUNTO, COREMAP, TNC). Common responses point out local inhabitants first need to get the opportunity to increase their understanding about tourism. They need (more) explanation, about the tourism concept; about the purpose, opportunities, and concerns, in order for them to be able to participate in this development. “The government tries hard to improve tourism, but the local communities still lack the understanding about what it involves. Sometimes they are difficult to government; the government provides the fund but the local communities don’t understand” (Forkom Kabali).

***“I actually don’t really understand about tourism,
but it has something to do with beautiful in the sea”***
(Head of village)

In addition to a lack of understanding, there is also a lack of human resources. This has been mentioned as a concern by several stakeholders (COREMAP, WWF, Operation Wallacea, Patuno Resort). As discussed in [Paragraph 1.1.4](#), Wakatobi was separated from the Buton Regency in 2003. This means that Wakatobi has a relatively young government that faces the challenge of inexperienced staff. Several respondents point out a number of governmental staff lack the educational background or work experience to match their jobs (COREMAP, Tourism Department, WWF, TNC). Some stakeholders point to ineffective project implementation as a concern. They mention that although the project planning is good, the implementation is not, as there is often no follow-up. The Patuno Resort points out that

“there is a lot of talking but no action”. In addition, the work ethic among some of the government staff and National Park Authority is not always good.

Not only governmental departments face problems related to human resources. The same problem is also recognised, for example, by tour-operators and accommodation providers. In addition to being a relatively undeveloped rural area, Wakatobi is also very remote, a place where people have been able to live their traditional lives without much influence from outside. As most local inhabitants are unfamiliar with tourism, they lack the knowledge and skills to work in the industry, such as English or skills for making handicrafts (WWF, Forkom Kabali). “Most people have never seen a hotel, or how one should work, so it’s quite a challenge for us to train them up” (Patuno Resort). It is very difficult to find local workers that have computer or English skills, so they often need to be hired from outside Wakatobi. Educating local people takes a long time, particularly when it comes to English language skills. But finding skilled staff from abroad is also challenging as they are usually not interested in working and living in remote rural areas such as Wakatobi, when they also have the opportunity to go to Jakarta for a career.

Several stakeholders have pointed at concerns related to the relationship between the government and investors on one side, and local people on the other (WWF, TNC, Operation Wallacea, FORKANI, FONEB). In order to develop Wakatobi investors are needed, but various stakeholders point at problems they foresee related to losing control over land and resources and tourism (revenue) only benefiting certain (small) groups. The Tourism Department explains that investors are welcome, but it should be balanced with the environment. According to the TNC Outreach Coordinator there will be a social disturbance between the government and the people because the majority of the people in the communities do not gain tourism benefit: “tourism is the result of conservation, because the communities also protect the land. But in the future, when communities think they help protecting and conservation, but don’t get anything from this effort, they won’t continue doing this any longer.” Operation Wallacea points out that “when people realise that tourism activity can bring much money, they don’t think about other things anymore, just about how to get money faster. Maybe one day there will be a big investor that makes a contract with the locals that will change everything. I don’t want that.”

“The local government is focused on development of tourism with investors and big capital. That is a problem because the local communities don’t get a chance.” (FONEB)

WWF points at the need of community and company levels to work together in order to develop tourism further. A similar message was given by several other stakeholders: (better)

collaboration between government and the people is needed. According to the National Park Authority, Operation Wallacea and the Waha Tourism Community tourism can only be successful when these stakeholder groups support each other and work together. As the Waha Tourism Community points out “I see opportunities in tourism, but it depends on the collaboration and support of every stakeholder of the government”.

4.2.4. Views towards existing tourism developments

The District Government is putting a lot of effort in promoting the region both nationally as well as internationally. In recent years there has been an increase in tourism developments such as accommodation providers and also in numbers of visitors, as was outlined in – see [Paragraph 1.1.3](#). The governmental departments are quite positive towards both this increase as well as the existing tourism developments in the park, and they are optimistic for the future. “I feel the development of Wakatobi to be good, there is an increase in tourism every year” (DKP).

Most stakeholders view the promotion as positive but at the same time some point at certain important shortcomings in relation to this promotion and existing tourism developments. The tourism facilities still need a lot of development and improvement (Tourism Department, Sintesa, COREMAP). There have been some good improvements in recent years. Now that the District Government has invested in building an airport on Wangi-Wangi, the region is more accessible for both inhabitants and visitors. The Patuno and Bajo resorts, and a couple of hotels, were built in the last two years. But other than a few tourism developments, at this point there is very little supporting tourism infrastructure. There is nowhere for tourists to go to in the evening and tourist information is limited and difficult to find. Both Sintesa and COREMAP point at (possible) disappointment of current (foreign) visitors to the park, as a result of lacking tourism infrastructure and education of local inhabitants. They also link this to the way Wakatobi is being promoted. As COREMAP points out “if you promote tourism in your region then this region must really be able to serve the visitor”.

Despite these developments many people in the local communities do not get benefit from tourism (National Park Authority, FORKANI, KOMUNTO, FONEB, Head of village). The larger tourism projects such as Operation Wallacea, the Wakatobi Dive Resort and the Patuno Resort provide some opportunities to local communities. They work together with them, but the effect is not for the whole community, only in the local area they operate in. Operation Wallacea only operates a few months a year, and therefore is only beneficial for a few months a year. The National Park Authority explains that “discussions with the local communities have pointed out that the impact of tourism for them is very small; most people don’t feel they get benefit”.

Many stakeholders also point at the need to collaborate (more) with communities in developing tourism. At the moment this is not happening enough. Stakeholders (National Park Authority, COREMAP, Waha Tourism Community, SPKP) agree that communities do not participate much in tourism development. They would like to see locally managed tourism projects. According to COREMAP the implementation of tourism projects as outlined in the RIPPPDA document is not going well. “The implementation to the people is not reached yet”. Also the Waha Tourism Community points out that “the support of the government to the local community is little; people are not aware about tourism but the government doesn’t give feedback to the community”.

“Participation of the community is not really seen at the moment”
(National Park Authority)

4.3. Participatory process of tourism development

This paragraph addresses the third research question: *‘How are different stakeholders incorporated into the decision-making process and how do they perceive their role in this process?’* It presents an assessment of the tourism development process in WMNP and examines the level of participation of the various stakeholders in this process. This assessment is approached via Sidaway’s framework for assessing participation in decision-making and addresses the elements of initiation (4.3.1), inclusiveness (4.3.2), information (4.3.3), and influence (4.3.4). The paragraph concludes by discussing the role that power has in the Wakatobi tourism development process (4.3.5).

4.3.1. Initiation

The initiation criterion aims to address the questions: *Who controls the agenda?* and *Who implies that all participants have a say in both the content of the agenda and the way in which it is discussed?*

The District Government is responsible for managing the Wakatobi district, an area that has a hundred percent overlap with the WMNP. They are facing the challenging task of complying with conservation objectives as a result of the national park status on the one hand, and the need to utilise natural resources in order to sustain regional economic growth on the other hand (INDECON, TNC, WWF, USAID, 2010). The District Government identified tourism as one of the two leading sectors to realise these goals. They aim at intangible, non-extractive resource usage and formulated the vision to achieve Wakatobi as ‘a real underwater paradise’. This focus is confirmed in both the Development Master Plan (RIPPPDA) as well as the five-yearly Mid-term Development Plan (RPJMD).

The government is actively promoting the WMNP nationally and internationally. The region is among others being promoted on national TV, and at time of data collection at least two documentaries about Wakatobi were being recorded. One of which was for 'RCTI', a large Indonesian television network. The Patuno Resort is represented at international dive exhibitions in America, Europe and elsewhere, in which the resort actively promotes the region to divers from around the world. According to the Patuno Resort "the government is supporting us with that, with money as well, they may be paying for the booth at the exhibition".

The government is initiating tourism development in Wakatobi. They prepare policy documents and promote the national park to attract visitors. The strategic tourism plan RENSTRA (2011) states that the Tourism Department has the role of regulator and facilitator in tourism. Governmental stakeholders invite other stakeholders to meetings they organise, and they seem to be the ones that control the agenda. The Tourism Department points out "we invite hotel owners, restaurant owners, local participants to discuss their opinion about our programme, the tourism programme". Stakeholders that are invited to meetings can give their opinion about the content of the plans the government prepared. "There are sometimes meetings where they invite you to come along, but there is no continuity, no follow-up meeting and then it's all kind of gone and another meeting a couple of months later about a different issue" (Patuno Resort).

There are several governmental programmes that have integrated tourism in their scope, or concentrate on tourism specifically. As discussed in [Paragraph 4.1.1](#) the COREMAP programme, apart from coral reef rehabilitation, also focuses on alternative livelihoods and supports the development of tourism communities.

Because tourism in Indonesia is a fast growing sector, the Indonesian Ministry of Culture and Tourism has recently initiated a programme called 'Destination Management Organisation' (DMO). In Wakatobi the DMO programme has not been implemented yet, it is still in the planning phase (Sugiyanta, WWF, 2012; DMO Indonesia, 2012). This programme is concerned with implementing and managing tourism development projects based on community involvement (in planning, operations, and monitoring). DMO "involves public and private stakeholders to operate in a partnership model in terms of representation and funding" (UNWTO/DMO Indonesia, 2011). The motivation for DMO is that "sustainable tourism can be a key driver for economic and social development as long as it is delivered by effective structures and through effective strategies, bringing together the resources of all the relevant partners: public, private and voluntary" (UNWTO/DMO Indonesia, 2011). DMO in Indonesia targets fifteen areas for the period 2010 to 2014, one of which is the WMNP.

Data show that the government is the initiator of tourism development. They identified tourism as one of the leading sectors, prepare tourism policy, and actively promote the region. The National Park Authority and NGOs support tourism in the national park and attempt to increase the understanding of tourism and its potential at the community level. The NGO's work as community mediators; through community outreach projects they aim to increase local people's ability to deal with the tourism plan from the government.

4.3.2. Inclusiveness

The criterion of inclusiveness evaluates the openness of the process, whether stakeholder interests are represented equally and at all levels, and their degree of involvement. The central question to ask here is: *Who is part of the process and who is not, and why? If a stakeholder is included, how?*

The Development Master Plan (RIPPDA, 2010:10) points out that "in order to promote tourism, the involvement of all stakeholders is very important". The document identifies the following stakeholders in tourism: government, employer's organisations, professional organisations, and 'the public', under which is understood 'the mass' including NGO's. The RIPPDA outlines that the main governmental departments involved in tourism are the National Park Authority, Tourism Department, Bappeda, DKP, Department of Public Works and Transportation, and Education Department. The policy document furthermore states that industry (employers) are involved through the Chamber of Commerce. NGO stakeholders in tourism are WWF, TNC, Sintesa and Cinta Karang. The RIPPDA points out that community involvement in tourism is shown by the participation of these NGO's.

In Wakatobi the main strategy for involving the public in development processes is through '*musrembang*'. This is an abbreviation for '*musyawarah, perencanaan, pengembangan*', which translates to 'meetings', 'planning', and 'development'. These meetings are in an Indonesian context and meaning, and are held at different levels – from community to government – in order to build a bottom-up development-planning approach. Musrembang is a formal procedure, and for mid-term and annual planning it is a mandatory planning and decision-making mechanism. (Aminuddin, WWF, 2012)

"It is in people's own power to be rich or poor" (District Government)

The way in which the District Government tries to include stakeholders in the process of tourism development is through leadership. The District Government takes a supporting role and tries to encourage and facilitate the people. The District Head explains that the leadership is focused on changing the mindset of people, and this is the way the District

Government tries to influence stakeholders to be involved in tourism. “The main actors are the local people, the government is just supporting” (District Government).

The Tourism Department organises meetings in which stakeholders gather to discuss topics related to the development of tourism. Every year there is a socialisation programme, in which the government divisions “meet with the society and socialise about the development programme.” During these meetings the problems, needs and wishes of the communities are discussed. Stakeholders get invited to these meetings by the government. “The report of that becomes input for the government, that’s the discussion and sharing of this” (Tourism Department). The role of Bappeda is to provide the guidelines which are related to destination management and promotion strategy.

The reasons or way in which stakeholders are or feel included differs. Respondents from the private sector, to some extent, feel included because the government invites them to (some) meetings to discuss tourism plans. “Sometimes the Mawadah Dive Centre is invited to attend a meeting with the government” (Mawadah Dive Centre). The Patuno Resort explains that “they are trying to include stakeholders in that process, at least in terms of inviting us to meetings to discuss things, but then there is not much follow-up after meetings”.

The NGOs WWF and TNC are included in the process, but are more critical. They get invited for meetings, but they point out this is only to give input, nothing more than that. “The Tourism Department always invites us in activity and we always give input” (WWF). Respondents at the community level, such as Sanggar Natural and the Bajo KNI Art Shop feel included because they get invited to perform and exhibit at events that are organised by the government, but does this mean they are being included in the process of decision-making?

Despite efforts of governmental departments to invite stakeholders for meetings and gatherings, not all stakeholders feel included in the process of tourism development. Although Sintesa and the Tourism Department work together for their home-stay project, they do not feel included in the tourism development process. The government does not yet ask Sintesa for ideas or suggestions.

“Sometimes we invite all stakeholders” (Tourism Department)

At the community level there are several stakeholders that do not feel included in the tourism development process as initiated by the government. The reason for this is the lack of collaboration between government and communities, also referred to in [Paragraph 4.2.4](#). “I am included in tourism by managing the WTC, but I don’t feel involved by government collaboration, I just work from my own initiative” (Waha Tourism Community). Also

COREMAP points out that “there is no collaboration with the people and the people don’t feel that the event belongs to them. It’s very difficult when the concepts come from the government top-down, the best concepts come from the people.” Forkom Kabali notes that the government is a big support in conservation and tourism development, but also points out that the problem maintains the lack of collaboration with the people. “They don’t really involve the local people, they just use WWF and TNC and some others to do this” (Forkom Kabali).

4.3.3. Information

According to Sidaway (2005:71) “withholding information cannot be used as a source of power”. He points at the necessity of equal access to all relevant information. Therefore, the key question to address in this paragraph is formulated as: *Is relevant information freely available to all parties?*

Paragraph 4.3.2 discussed the musrembang process that the government facilitates to present development plans, and for which representatives of the public are invited to give their opinion about these developments. These meetings are a governmental means of sharing information to the public.

As discussed in Paragraph 4.2.3 many local people in Wakatobi lack the understanding about the tourism concept. Some may not be aware of its existence, and others are simply not familiar with the concept and purpose of leisure time and tourism. Part of the reason they are excluded from the process is because they do not get (sufficient) information. For people to understand this concept so that they have the choice and ability to participate in it, they need to be educated. The problem around the lack of understanding and education can be directly linked to another problem, also discussed in Paragraph 4.2.3, related to human resources and inexperienced staff. Many workers lack the experience, skills and education, including the Wakatobi government employees that have only commenced their work with the establishment of the Wakatobi Regency in 2003. COREMAP points out that “the planning concepts of Wakatobi are good, but the implementation is not good. Because they depend on the human resources of other stakeholders, and these human resources are not good.”

Both issues related to the understanding about tourism and human resources explain each other’s shortcoming. A lack of initiative and work ethic has also been mentioned as shortcoming in information and communication. “Often it is more about wearing a uniform and taking a wage, rather than actually doing a proper job” (Patuno Resort). Figure 10 presents just an example of how the lack of human resources and initiative translates to poor information and communication – in this case to the much wanted visitors. The government is putting a lot of effort and funding in promoting Wakatobi and trying to attract visitors to the region, yet tourist information is scarce, and if available it is not easily

accessible. There is little tourist information available at the Wakatobi gate-way towns and airports of Bau-Bau and Kendari. Upon arrival in Wakatobi there is no information available at the airport. The recently opened tourist information centre is situated in the main town of Wanci, on the other side of the island, with nothing referring to its existence. Not to mention that many tourists by-pass the Wanci in order to continue their journey to their resorts.

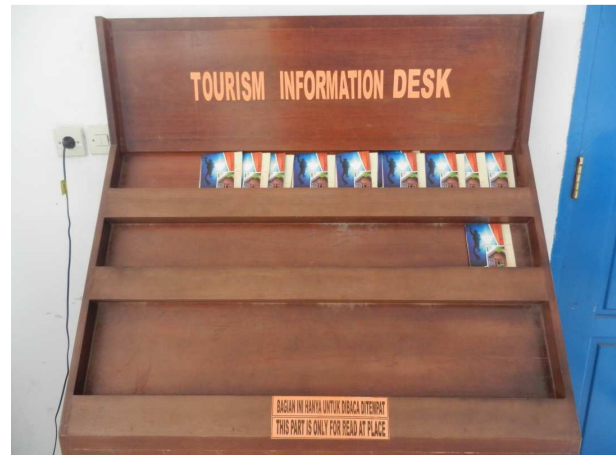


Figure 10. Tourism information stand at Wangi-Wangi airport
(source: personal collection)

The Waha Tourism Community as one of COREMAP's sixty-three village programmes is a more successful example of distributing information and communicating with local community members. Data from the locally managed marine area (DPL) is displayed at the office of the Waha Tourism Community in the village – see Figure 11.

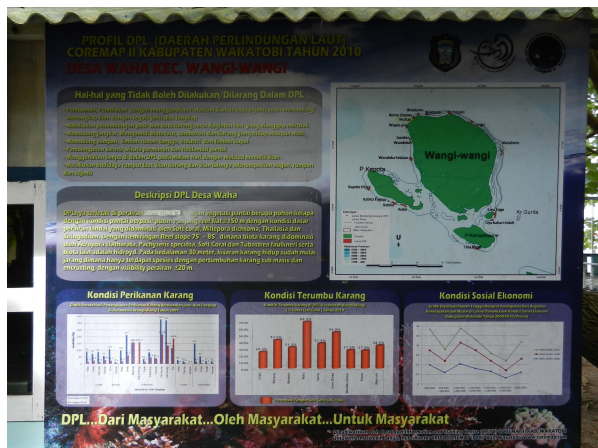


Figure 11. COREMAP's coral reef information centre at the Waha Tourism Community
(source: personal collection)



Figure 12. During an awareness training in Kaledupa, facilitated by the WWF-TNC Outreach Team
(source: personal collection)

Trainings facilitated by NGO's and COREMAP play an important role in providing information to the communities and educating community members. Currently, most trainings facilitated by the NGO's focus on best fishing practices. However, trainings increasingly focus on

livelihood improvement related to tourism – such as teaching skills in English language – in order to improve people’s chance to be involved in tourism – see [Figure 12](#). These trainings empower communities in terms of their ability to participate in for example developing tourism businesses, or alternative livelihoods. However, they do not really contribute to local people’s ability to be part of tourism decision-making processes.

In Wakatobi certain institutions have better access to information than others. Governmental departments for instance, hold information related to development planning and policy for which they are responsible. The level to which other stakeholders can access this information varies. The *musrembang* process enables invited representatives to get informed, but it does not provide this opportunity for each individual community member. Representatives of governmental stakeholders, and also of the Patuno Resort, visit international dive exhibitions. This gives them with access to certain information. COREMAP, Operation Wallacea, and NGO’s gather information based on data from monitoring and reef research. Operation Wallacea provides a yearly LIPI-report presenting the results of that year’s research (LIPI is a research body in Indonesia). In Wakatobi there are several institutions that are on top of information, and this information is shared and accessible to the wider public only to a certain extent.

Governmental departments including COREMAP, National Park Authority, NGO’s, Operation Wallacea, and Patuno Resort are the stakeholders that have access to information. Different sources of information include scientific data (for example LIPI-reports by Operation Wallacea or monitoring data collected by WWF-TNC), information gathered during (international) meetings or conferences in which they can participate in debates. Because these stakeholders have access to this information, they have knowledge that other stakeholders not have, or at least have to a lesser extent. Stakeholders at the community level depend on these stakeholders to share information.

4.3.4. Influence

Sidaway (2005:71) points out that when a powerful institution – in the case of Wakatobi the government – initiates a process, “there must be a clear commitment to entering into a collaborative process at the highest level if negotiations are not to be abortive”. The level of influence that stakeholders can exercise in the process should be equal. The question to be addressed in this paragraph can be formulated as: *Do collaborative meetings have genuine influence over the final decision?*

As also discussed in [Paragraph 4.3.2](#) the main strategy for involving the public in development processes is through ‘*musrembang*’. Governmental departments refer to the *musrembang* meetings as an effective means to involve the public in development planning

and decision-making (District Government, Bappeda, WWF). Through this structure representatives of the public can share their view towards development plans.

‘PKM’ is a structure for stakeholders at the community level to discuss ideas and issues. PKM stands for ‘Penguatan Kapasitas Masyarakat’ and literally translates to ‘community capacity building’. PKM are village level meetings that aim to strengthen the civil society through meetings organised by either the village leader or a (local) NGO. These meetings are only an effective means to have ideas discussed at a higher level (governmental rather than village level), when they are attended by people that are involved with politics – for example a member of a political party.

***“We can give suggestions, but not decision-making,
the government does this” (Sintesa)***

According to the Tourism Department every government division has a monthly discussion with (representatives of) local communities during which they are able to give suggestions related to development plans. “The report of that becomes an input for the government, that’s the discussion and sharing this” (Tourism Department). Respondents point out that although governmental departments to a certain extent involve other parties by inviting them to meetings, they are not able to influence decision-making related to development plans much.

The heads of departments can go directly to the Head District Government to discuss proposals. They present their reports to the District Government to evaluate. “I am very influential in decision-making in the area of marine and fisheries, and that directly relates to tourism. In my function as head of DKP the policy depends on me” (DKP).

According to the National Park Authority their vision “is in line with that of the government, and as long as this is in line with the government, we can influence decision-making of the government.” COREMAP can contribute to the RPJMD, the five-yearly Mid-term Development Plan, but cannot really influence decision-making. “Policy is the duty of the head of the government. COREMAP works under DKP, decision-making I cannot influence” (COREMAP).

The NGOs have connections and a good relation with the governmental departments. They get invited for meetings to give their opinion about development plans. They do, however, not feel they can really influence decision-making. TNC points out “we just get invited for meetings and asked for our opinion. The government ask for data but they write the product

by themselves. They only ask for input, but that's it. For the action, no." Sintesa experiences the decision-making process in the same way as WWF and TNC.

Research institute Operation Wallacea is positive: "I think we are able to influence decision-making, because if there are tourism-related issues we get a call or an invitation to attend a discussion with the head of the Tourism Department, sometimes with the head of DKP." According to the Bajo Resort, the local government gives business-makers the chance to give suggestions when they have a meeting. The Patuno Resort does not believe they are able to influence decision-making much and points out that the meetings are usually in the form of discussions, actual decision-making does not happen.

FORKANI and KOMUNTO Community Forum Groups feel they can influence decision-making to some extent. KOMUNTO points out: "I feel I can influence decision-making in tourism plans on a local scale". Their argumentation however, points at giving suggestions, rather than them being able to have their ideas considered at a level they actually influence decisions. This is also what other stakeholders at the community level point at. The majority of them feel they do not have a strong enough voice to influence decision-making at all. FONEB explains that it is "very difficult to influence, because I prepare from village I am not considered an important stakeholder. I don't have a strong voice to '*melarang*'" – which means to ban or forbid. When Forkom Kabali is asked whether they are able to influence decision-making in tourism plans, the answer is: "absolutely not". Other than not having a powerful enough position to influence decision-making, one stakeholder also mentions to lack the courage to speak with the government (Bajo KNI Art Shop).

The government in a way does try to involve stakeholders in the process of tourism development. A variety of stakeholders is invited to meetings and is able to share their ideas or give suggestions. The actual decision-making however is left to the governmental departments; they hold the power to determine decisions.

4.3.5. Balance of power

The central question addressed in this paragraph is formulated as follows: *What are the different forms of power and how are they balanced?* The balance of power is framed in the way respondents look at power. By means of Mowforth and Munt's 'Power Jigsaw' the different views of stakeholders are analysed. The *ideology* element of the jigsaw refers to the way in which different interests are implicated in the uneven and unequal development of tourism. Ideology is closely related to *discourse*, that is explained in terms of different sources of power. *Hegemony* then discusses the ability of dominant stakeholders to convince the subordinate classes to adopt certain values.

All stakeholders wish the ability to participate in tourism, and various stakeholders point at the need for more equality in the distribution of power. A variety of stakeholders in a development process automatically leads to a variety of interests. Table 4 in Paragraph 4.1.2 presented an overview of stakeholder groups and their interests. This table is also useful for explaining different ideologies that exist in the WMNP. The ideology and actions of the Wakatobi government are related to achieving Wakatobi as an underwater paradise. At the moment the views of the government and local communities differ, as the government is focused on intangible resources for economic growth (for example developing tourism), whereas a large part of the local inhabitants is more concerned with tangible resources (for example fish for selling and consumption). The National Park Authority mainly concentrates on biodiversity conservation and patrolling, NGO's are focused on conservation and improving local livelihoods, the tourism-related profit sector is mostly concerned with generating profit. So there are multiple needs and interests, but the question remains whether these interests are considered equally.

Several discourses related to power can be identified when looking at tourism development in WMNP. The first is related to political power. In the perception of the respondents, certain stakeholders are dominant in tourism. Of all twenty-nine stakeholders, eleven referred to the District Government as the institution with the most power in tourism development, and another seven stakeholders specifically referred to the Head of Regency as the most powerful (Tourism Department, Bappeda, DKP, COREMAP, National Park Authority, WWF, TNC, Sintesa, Bajo Resort, FONEB, Forkom Kabali). The Tourism Department was identified as powerful by nine stakeholders, Bappeda by five, and DKP by two. Four stakeholders see the Community Forum Groups as powerful, three stakeholders feel the local communities have power. None of the parties that identify stakeholders at the community level powerful in tourism development, are governmental stakeholders. One reason stakeholders see the District Government and Tourism Department as the most powerful actors in tourism development is related to their role to develop tourism policy. Another reason is related to the traditional perception of authority among park inhabitants. "Policy is the duty of the head of the government" (COREMAP). As WWF points out: "the problem in Indonesia is that the most important is the head of department, that's the problem".

Another discourse is related to economic power. The private sector including investors, accommodation providers and transportation providers were considered powerful by seven stakeholders (Tourism Department, Bappeda, DKP, TNC, SPKP, Bajo Resort). "Improvements are needed. At the moment, only the people with financial capital, investors such as the Wakatobi Dive Resort and Patuno Resort – benefit from investment. I need the local people to be involved and get benefit from tourism too" (WWF-TNC). Some stakeholders mention government staff owning tourism businesses, and point at certain interests in tourism development. "The owner of the resort or dive-place is also the high official of the

government, so some of these people use the government to run their tourism business through the government. Only a few people benefit from tourism” (TNC). The SPKP explains that first, investors coming to Wakatobi had to get permission from the people, but nowadays people have to get permission from the investor. “This is called ‘*penonton*’ (spectator), it means that a foreign person visits your country and develops what is yours, and you are not able to do anything about this” (SPKP).

A third discourse is the traditional power, comprising the local customary law called ‘*adat*’ which has a strong influence on the local Wakatobi people. Adat refer to the local cultural norms, values and practices of ethnic groups in among others Indonesia. It includes local and traditional laws and conflict resolution systems by which society was regulated. This is a traditional position that people have based on which they have an influence on the whole process (Li, 2007). Many villages in Wakatobi have an organisation for local custom. The head of the Tourism Department points out that “also in my village we have a leader of an ethnic group, they are very influential. ‘*Tokoh adat*’ (traditional leaders), they organise the local people in their area, and these groups have a very strong influence because people in Wakatobi really listen to their leaders”. According to a WWF-TNC Facilitator “there are many local customs, and they are related to the values that exist among the people, it is culturally embedded. Adat influences the behaviour of people.” “The most influential is the local custom, because this influences people” (Waha Tourism Community). “The local custom is very influential” (Head of village).

“The most influential is obviously the Head Regent, he makes most decisions and anything that happens is if he wants it to happen” (Patuno Resort)

As final element of the jigsaw, hegemony is about the power of persuasion of dominant stakeholders to convince subordinate stakeholders of certain political, cultural or moral values. The Wakatobi government and National Park Authority in collaboration with the NGO’s can be considered dominant stakeholders in terms of hegemony. These stakeholders are concerned with sustainable development and conservation in the park. The government’s mission is to achieve Wakatobi as the only real underwater paradise in the Coral Triangle. These objectives, however, are strongly influenced by the dominant stakeholders’ views. They have access to information and therefore possess the knowledge to follow and understand global debates around sustainability, conservation and development. Dominant stakeholders such as the Wakatobi government and the National Park Authority hold the power to translate their interpretation of these debates into policy. As also discussed in [Paragraph 2.1.2](#) sustainability is a highly contested concept as different people have different ideas of what it constitutes. Through decisions and actions of dominant stakeholders in the WMNP, they project their view towards this concept onto

subordinate stakeholders such as those at the community level that generally lack the access to information. This means conservation action and policy is shaped by what dominant stakeholders believe is sustainable. The same can be said of the notions of development and ecotourism, other such contested concepts. Dominant stakeholders are concerned with ‘sustainable development’ of ‘ecotourism’ in order to increase economic and social benefit. Their interpretation of these concepts shapes development policy and plans.

4.4. Role of WWF in tourism development

WWF wants to build a sustainable tourism framework for the national park and its inhabitants. But only recently tourism has become part of their scope. The final research question that will be addressed in this paragraph is: *‘What is the role of WWF in the process of tourism development in Wakatobi?’*

4.4.1. Individual role WWF

The majority of the stakeholders are not aware of individual roles within the partnership programme, and consider WWF and TNC as one team that operates to achieve common goals. Apart from organisational differences in management (such as salary and holiday leave), the partnership fully functions as one team that collaborates and shares objectives. This is also confirmed by the WWF Programme Manager and TNC Outreach Coordinator. The other WWF-TNC respondents however, do point at different roles within the partnership. According to one, the WWF focuses on community capacity building and TNC on research and monitoring. According to the other, WWF focuses on fisheries and tourism and TNC on outreach and monitoring.

In the context of the Wakatobi Marine National Park they are not viewed as separate NGO’s. The Outreach Team for instance is made up of both WWF as well as TNC staff. The WWF and TNC in Wakatobi form one team that share their objectives, experience, and office. As outlined in [Paragraph 4.1.1](#) their common goal is to provide management support to the National Park Authority in order to achieve objectives related to conservation, sustainable resources use and improving local livelihoods.

4.4.2. Role of the Joint Programme as perceived by other stakeholders

This paragraph zooms in on the tasks of the Joint Programme as they are perceived by other stakeholders in tourism. Support in community education, human resources, and conservation, have been mentioned as the main roles of the WWF-TNC partnership. Other roles are support in networking and promotion, and to a lesser extent support in funding, planning, decision-making, and identifying new tourism objects.

According to the majority of stakeholders, one of the main roles of the Joint Programme is in the realm of community education and empowerment. This was referred to by terms such as ‘community awareness’, ‘education’, ‘socialisation’, ‘capacity building’, ‘empowering of people’, and ‘alternative livelihoods’ (District Government, Tourism Department, Bappeda, DKP, COREMAP, National Park Authority, Sintesa, WTC, KOMUNTO, FORKANI, Bajo KNI Art Shop). When considering these terms, a distinction can be made between: 1) *providing information* about relevant topics – in the form of one-way communication – on the one hand, or 2) *facilitating trainings*; requiring interaction or a level of participation of the group that is being trained – on the other hand – see [Figure 13](#). According to respondents, the partnership’s role is to educate communities about conservation, and they argue that this is important for both conservation as well as tourism. The WWF-TNC Joint Programme educate people about the tourism concept; “how to be companions with the tourists” (Bappeda), and encourage communities to improve or continue their conservation activities. As the Tourism Department points out, the Joint Programme’s “main duty is how to make people understand that the coral must be kept, because if our coral is good, we can get many benefits from that”.



Figure 13. Discussing in groups (left), and women listening to a presentation (right) – both during ‘Best management practice’ trainings facilitated by the WWF-TNC Outreach Team (source: personal collection)

According to COREMAP, the National Park Authority, SPKP and the Patuno Resort, the role of the WWF-TNC Joint Programme’s is to support the human resources of both the government as well as the National Park Authority. The Joint Programme have good human resources (Tourism Department, DKP, Operation Wallacea). They support in surveillance in the WMNP, are active to monitor the park and have important data about status of marine wildlife and ecology (National Park Authority, Tourism Department, COREMAP, TNC, Operation Wallacea, FORKANI, Forkom Kabali).

Respondents point at the partnership's role to support conservation (National Park Authority, SPKP, Sintesa, Operation Wallacea, Bajo Resort, Mawadah Dive Centre, Sanggar Natural). They support conservation through surveillance and monitoring, but for a large part also through increasing the environmental awareness within communities.

The Joint Programme have a good network and connections, worldwide and with partners (Bappeda, COREMAP, National Park Authority). This is good for promoting the region, and can help attracting more visitors to Wakatobi. Bappeda notes that Wakatobi is in the process of being declared as Indonesia's eighth biosphere reserve next year. This status is important for promoting Wakatobi and for tourism. DKP points out that the NGO's have good access; they support the government by providing information and promotion, but they are also able to speak to many local people throughout the national park. According to the National Park Authority "their role in terms of tourism is capacity building of the communities and to promote Wakatobi in other countries. Their role in terms of conservation is to support the National Park Authority with surveillance, community patrolling and support the system of the national park".

Other roles of the WWF-TNC Joint Programme that respondents to a lesser extent referred to are the influencing of government decisions (Operation Wallacea, Sanggar Natural), assist in project planning (District Government, COREMAP), funding (DKP, COREMAP), and identifying potential tourism attractions (Tourism Department, COREMAP)

The work of the Joint Programme is perceived as positive in Wakatobi and is supported by many people, including most stakeholders. Many point at their close relation with the people and explain the partnership is good at that. "They have a good people goal" (Bajo KNI Art Shop). The funding for the current project ends in 2014. The goal is that all projects are transferred to the National Park Authority, but according to some stakeholders the support of WWF-TNC Joint Programme is still much needed. They claim it is too early for them to phase out in 2014 (Tourism Department, Patuno Resort). The Patuno Resort explains that the partnership is trying to "let the park rangers take over, but it's not working because they are not there yet. Maybe they take longer than other people to learn." According to the Head District, the Joint Programme "have an excellent function, and if the WWF can stay here, I can support this".

Of all respondents, the Patuno Resort is more critical towards the role of the partnership programme. "I would like to see them doing more", referring to action by WWF-TNC in terms of going out on boats catching fishermen using illegal methods in order to show national park staff how this is done.

Some stakeholders are not sure about the role of Joint Programme in tourism (National Park Authority Ranger, Sintesa, Head of village). "I don't understand about the partnership, and I

don't know about the function. It has something to do with creating a beautiful ocean, sometimes in collaboration with the Tourism department" (Head of village).

4.4.3. Role of the Joint Programme in tourism development

As discussed in [Paragraph 4.1.3](#) tourism has become part of the partnership's focus in 2010. A main role of WWF-TNC is to make sure that community and government work together; they have a mediating role. WWF-TNC has built a trusting relationship with many local inhabitants and are in the position to communicate their concerns, wishes and needs with the government. On the other hand, they also function to communicate government policy and other relevant information to inhabitants. One of the main messages is to provide explanation about fishing practices in order to protect coral reefs – which is important for conservation and for tourism. The WWF-TNC Joint Programme supports tourism projects by improving the capacity and skills of communities. They provide funding for, and facilitate community trainings, in order to increase the understanding about tourism. Trainings are focused on for example teaching local communities how they can identify interesting tourist attractions or sites in their area, and on improving English language skills by teaching English at schools – see [Figure 14](#). The partnership assists the government with providing information in order to support the development of ecotourism in Wakatobi.



Figure 14. Project 'teaching English' in Kapota, facilitated by the WWF-TNC Outreach Team (source: personal collection)

The Joint Programme also supports tourism projects by inviting external agencies. They currently hire INDECON, a non-profit consultancy agency focused on ecotourism development in Indonesia. INDECON assists the partnership with the identification of tourism attractions in the WMNP that could be potentially interesting to be further developed for tourism.

The partnership recently got involved with Destination Management Organisation, discussed in [Paragraph 4.3.1](#). The DMO programme in Wakatobi at this moment is still in the planning phase. As the objective of DMO is similar to that of the Joint Programme, WWF-TNC are discussing with DMO consultants how they might collaborate and agreed to invite each other to participate in relevant meetings.

WWF-TNC would like to know how to build a sustainable tourism framework for the park and its people. Since they only recently started to focus on tourism, it is important to consider their role in this process. The partnership's role in tourism is to mediate between governmental departments and communities. Their current role is mainly related to providing information and education. Question to be considered is: should the partnership extend its focus and play a bigger role in tourism? If so, what should be their role in that process?

Chapter 5: Discussion and Conclusion

This study has attempted to assess different stakeholders' perspectives towards tourism development in Wakatobi. In addition it assessed how the process of participation in decision-making is experienced and perceived by stakeholders, in order to evaluate in what ways this process is successful and not successful, and by whose definition. The analysis specifically focused on tourism development in relation to conservation and local livelihoods, and the opportunities in tourism that stakeholders identified.

5.1. Discussion

The theoretical context that underpins this study is largely based on Sidaway's framework for participation in decision-making, by which the participatory process of tourism development in Wakatobi was analysed. This framework represents a western theory and approach, which was used to assess a development project in a non-western country – Indonesia. It is important to reconsider to what extent western oriented theories can be applied to a non-western context: Do western ideas of participation fit in an Indonesian reality? I discussed what Sidaway suggests are criteria for a successful participatory process: initiation, inclusiveness, information, and influence. I attempt to understand the planning and decision-making process and can discuss all four criteria to a certain extent. But I found that it is not so easy to make firm statements about the level of participation, as in Wakatobi this involves a range of local (in)formal structures.

Some challenges to participatory planning in Wakatobi are related to the local customary law '*adat*' and the traditional view of authority that exists among local inhabitants. Timothy (1999) identified similar challenges, and points out that they are very influential on the way collaborative development projects take shape. He stresses that it is important for "planners to consider local conditions and refrain from imposing only foreign ideologies on traditional societies" (p.388). I will further discuss these findings in the conclusion.

A shortcoming of this study is in line with the debate around the heterogeneity of communities, but also has to do with the level of understanding that local people have of the tourism concept. Because many of the park's inhabitants are not aware of what tourism involves, they do not have an opinion about this. This makes it very difficult to include views of individual community members (that are not organised in community groups or initiatives).

To remain with the topic of representation of interests, I like to make reference to Li's (2007) book '*The Will to Improve*'. Li discusses an attempt of TNC in Central Sulawesi to implement a new strategy framed within the concepts of 'community', 'partnership' and 'conservation'

that was to pay attention to inhabitants' opinions. This approach proved unsuccessful due to the inadequate representation of local concerns in decision-making. Li's study underlines the need to recognise that a community is not a heterogeneous group, but rather consists of a variety of people with different interests and needs. The context of Li's study is similar to that of Wakatobi. Not only does it involve a Sulawesi context, both entail a conservation project in a national park, with different stakeholders that attempt to develop a participatory planning model with local people.

Timothy's and Li's studies are just a couple of examples that outline the challenges related to setting up successful collaborative development projects in a developing country such as Indonesia. Despite these challenges I have not only attempted to approach the analysis critically in order to answer the four research questions, I also formulated several recommendations that stakeholders in tourism could take into account with their effort to develop a sustainable and participatory tourism framework. These will be discussed in the next paragraphs.

5.2. Conclusion

The **first research question** aimed to help understand the interests of, and the relationship between the various stakeholders affecting or affected by tourism development in Wakatobi.

A stakeholder analysis identified a variety of stakeholders in tourism that, based on their interests, could be divided in seven groups. The stakeholder maps in [Figures 6, 7, and 8](#) show 'clusters' of stakeholders. The governmental departments including COREMAP aim to develop Wakatobi as 'the only real underwater paradise in the Coral Triangle' and have identified tourism as one of the leading sectors. They are concerned with healthy reefs for inhabitants and visitors, and want to develop tourism to increase economic growth. COREMAP focuses on reef rehabilitation and developing alternative livelihoods. The National Park Authority is mostly concerned with natural resources conservation. NGOs operating in Wakatobi not only focus on conservation, but also on community empowerment and livelihood improvement. The tourism-related for-profit sector comprises among others accommodation providers, tour-operators and investors. This group is mostly focused on generating profits and maintaining healthy reefs for visitors. Operation Wallacea is concerned with coral reef research and related research tourism. The Community Forum Groups advocate sustainable fishing practices, and are concerned with local access to marine resources, maintaining their culture and custom, and gaining benefit from tourism. The last group comprises community level individuals and small businesses, whose main interests are to maintain their culture, and to benefit from tourism for livelihood improvement.

In terms of power they can be divided in several ways. The stakeholder maps show this division based on stakeholders that affect or are affected by tourism development, their political power, and their traditional power. The most important relationships between stakeholder groups are: 1) the governmental departments and tourism-related for-profit sector. The profit sector offers opportunities for investment money. The government needs these investors as they are important for development and economic growth; 2) National Park Authority and NGO's collaborate in the Joint Programme partnership and aim to achieve conservation objectives; 3) NGO's, Community Forum Groups, and other community level stakeholders. NGO's provide community trainings and have a close relationship with local inhabitants.

The **second research question** aimed to understand different stakeholders' views towards tourism in relation to conservation and livelihoods, and how different stakeholders identify opportunities in tourism.

The results point at a lack of clarity related to the type of tourism that is to be developed in the national park. Even within governmental departments respondents do not share the same views. Many stakeholders refer to '*ecotourism*' as the desired direction of tourism development. What exactly is understood by this concept is not agreed upon as respondents have different ideas of this concept. Some refer to tourism that supports conservation, or that is community-based, other stakeholders note they would like to see tourism 'like in Bali', which is one of Indonesia's most popular mass tourism destinations. There is no consensus about the meaning of ecotourism. Researchers and practitioners have varying ideas of what it constitutes, and tourism literature does not provide a clear understanding of this concept.

Another finding that the analysis brings forward is related to the assumption that tourism and conservation support each other. Although many respondents do have environmental concerns such as divers breaking the coral and an increase in waste production, the majority seems to believe that the positives of tourism outweigh the negatives. Beautiful underwater scenery is an obvious requirement for successful dive tourism, therefore the assumption that conservation is supportive towards tourism seems plausible. Many respondents also believe that tourism contributes to conservation. Tourism activity will decrease destructive fishing practices, as fishermen will not perform illegal activities in the presence of others, it is argued. Many tourism scholars however, point at the destructive power of tourism as it competes for the use of scarce resources. They underline that development plans and activities require a high level of attention and effective management in order for tourism and conservation to complement each other. The results of this study show that the existing tourism developments in Wakatobi only have a small impact on most people's livelihoods. Another concern of respondents is related to the loss of culture. Many of them believe that an increase in tourism will influence the local Wakatobi culture and tradition. They fear that

teenagers and youngsters will be influenced by visitors, and increasingly adopt their foreign ways of dress and behaviour, which then ultimately could lead to a total loss of traditional Wakatobi cultures.

The majority of the respondents can identify opportunities in tourism, most of which are related to tourism businesses involved with marine tourism, such as diving and snorkelling. Respondents also point at service related businesses in hospitality and transport sectors, and cultural products such as dance performances and the making of handicrafts, that offer livelihood opportunities when tourism grows.

The **third research question** is concerned with the way different stakeholders are incorporated into the decision-making process, and how they perceive their role in this process.

Results identified that all stakeholders wish the ability to participate in tourism. The assessment in the WMNP showed that governmental departments are the initiators of tourism development. They prepare policy documents and promote the national park in order to attract visitors. Several policy documents capture the government's plans in tourism development: the Regional Development Master Plan (RIPPDA), the Mid-term Development Plan (RPJMD), and the Tourism Department's Strategic Plan (RENSTRA).

Through '*musrembang*' the Wakatobi government aims to involve the public in the process of policy development. Governmental departments invite stakeholder representatives to attend these meetings, in which they can give their opinion about development plans. Several stakeholders, mostly at the community level, do not feel included in the process of tourism development. They explain there is too little collaboration between the government and inhabitants. A concern is that there will be a growing gap or clash between the government and local people. The realisation that government and people need to work together in order to develop a successful and sustainable tourism industry is definitely there, but it does not happen (enough) yet.

The first issue related to information involves insufficient human resources. This can be viewed in two ways; a lack of workers that have suitable education and experience at National Park Authority and governmental levels, and a lack of skills and understanding among local inhabitants that enables them to be effectively involved in the tourism sector. After his assessment of the participatory tourism planning in Yogyakarta in Java, Timothy (1999:386) points out that "the relative newness of the tourism industry itself [...] led to inadequate local expertise on the part of government planners". This is also the case in the WMNP. A lack of human resources translates to insufficient information to relevant stakeholders, and is part of the reason that many inhabitants do not know what tourism is.

They lack the understanding of the tourism concept, and are left behind in the tourism development and decision-making process.

Representatives of stakeholders can influence the tourism planning process during musrembang meetings. Here they can give their opinion about and provide input for development plans. The fact that what some stakeholders say becomes 'input' for what other stakeholders decide, points at the existence of unequal power relations. Despite efforts of governmental departments to include other stakeholders (to a certain extent) in the development process, or at least in meetings, not all stakeholders feel involved. In addition, not all stakeholders have equal ability to influence the decision-making process for tourism policy and planning, and different power relations can be identified.

Various sources of power influence tourism planning in Wakatobi: political, economical, and traditional power. Political power refers to the power that an individual or group has to influence a decision-making process. The government is perceived by the majority of stakeholders as the most powerful institution in tourism policy and decision-making. This view however, is also influenced by Wakatobi inhabitants' perception of authority. Many people in Indonesia traditionally accept that control rests in the hands of those individuals or institutions that have been appointed the authority. The results of this study also point out that some tourism plans and decisions are made by, and are based on specific economic interests of, those parties that hold the economic power. The local customary law '*adat*' is a traditional source of power, which is very influential on local people's attitude and behaviour.

To conclude with answering the third research question, the results of this study show that the tourism development process in Wakatobi is not fully participatory. Although the initiators, the Wakatobi government and National Park Authority, do seem to want to involve all stakeholders in this process, not all stakeholders feel that they actually are. At the moment not all representatives of stakeholder groups get invited for all meetings. What seems to be lacking is a clear structure in which representatives of all stakeholder groups regularly come together to discuss development plans.

The **final research question** focused on the role of WWF in the process of tourism development in Wakatobi. WWF and TNC in Wakatobi collaborate in a joint partnership programme that work in one team and aim to achieve common goals. The majority of the stakeholders consider them as one NGO. As their activities are fully integrated I will continue to discuss their combined role, instead of just that of WWF.

WWF-TNC are concerned with building a sustainable tourism framework for the park and its people. Tourism has only recently become part of their focus. Their current role is to mediate between government and communities, and is mostly related to community

education. The question to be considered is whether the partnership should extend its focus to a bigger role in tourism. And if so, what should be their role in this process? Considering the lack of understanding about the tourism concept among local inhabitants in Wakatobi, it is important that the partnership continues to focus on community education. It is not only much needed, but also essential for all stakeholders to be able to participate in the development process equally. WWF-TNC currently focuses on community empowerment by improving their ability to develop alternative livelihoods, or establish and participate in tourism business. They could consider to also focus on increasing local people's ability to participate in this process. I will further discuss this in the next paragraph.

5.3. Recommendations

This research has attempted to understand different stakeholders' views towards the process of tourism development. During the analysis several challenges have been identified. Based on these results I formulated some suggesting notes that could be considered to help improve this process, and to achieve its desired participatory character. Finally, I also included some more general notes that are not only based on results of this study, but also on things I have seen and experienced during my stay in Wakatobi.

- Define the desired type of tourism

In order to successfully develop a sustainable and participatory tourism project, it is crucial to determine and have a clear vision of the type of tourism that is to be developed. Stakeholders need to communally discuss which forms of tourism they are interested in developing in Wakatobi. If this is to be ecotourism, then they need to define what is understood by this term, and what is not.

- Develop equal decision-making structure

The results of this study point out that in the process of participation some stakeholders are able to influence decision-making more than others. A clear meeting structure in which representatives of all stakeholder groups can participate in both planning and decision-making could be developed. This meeting structure should be held regularly, be accessible by all stakeholder representatives, and be transparent (allows information to be open, and easy to understand and access).

- Continue and extend community education projects

In Wakatobi there is a shared vision for tourism development, which is laid down in several (policy) documents. It seems however, that this vision only exists on paper, it is not a shared vision in reality. There are many people that are not aware of the tourism concept; they do not have a vision. Further community education projects are required. This is a first crucial step in increasing local people's understanding, and

in providing the opportunity for inhabitants to be involved in the tourism development process. Without education they cannot participate.

- WWF-TNC: extend focus to community involvement in development planning

At the moment WWF-TNC focuses on community empowerment by improving their ability to develop alternative livelihoods, or establish and participate in tourism business. Since the tourism development and decision-making process at the moment is not fully participatory, the Joint Programme could also consider focusing on community empowerment by improving their ability to influence tourism planning and decision-making processes. WWF-TNC could extend its involvement and focus more on increasing local people's ability to participate in this process. The WWF-TNC Joint Programme could try to discuss this topic with governmental departments. Based on the results of this study and according to tourism policy documents, the Wakatobi government is an advocate of community participation, and should be open towards discussing how to improve this process.

- Be cautious with assuming tourism benefits

A few respondents in interviews mentioned that local people would automatically get benefit from tourism. Although the results of this study have not provided enough 'proof' to cement this statement, I did sense that some stakeholders do follow this line of thinking. Therefore I think it is relevant to underline that many tourism projects in the past have failed due to similar assumptions. It should not be assumed that tourism revenue will automatically 'trickle down' to local inhabitants. In order for local people to gain economic and social benefit from tourism projects, effective tourism management is required. In a similar line of thinking, it is important for development planners to maintain critical, and not think too lightly about the destructive capacities of tourism. Developing a sustainable form of tourism does not necessarily lead to a scenario in which tourism supports conservation. Tourism requires careful management and planning in order for it to contribute to conservation objectives.

- Diversification of tourism product

Current tourism development planning seems to mostly focus on marine tourism, or more specifically, on diving and snorkelling. I believe however, that it is worth considering to broaden this development scope and to also develop other, not marine-related, tourism activities. The current offer in Wakatobi is not sufficient to satisfy a non-diving partner or family member. Therefore I think that Wakatobi may be missing out on visitors that are keen to visit and willing to travel to Wakatobi. Simply because they are travelling with others for which activity and entertainment is lacking. For this reason these travellers go to other regions in Sulawesi, such as the Togian Islands or Bunaken, that do offer these possibilities and are easier to access.

On a similar note, opportunities that stakeholders (from all stakeholder groups) identify are quite obvious; related to diving, opening a restaurant, or selling handicrafts. None of the respondents point at more specific ideas. The focus on 'intangible' resources could involve much more than merely experiencing the underwater scenery. Other tourism products and activities that are linked to the diver's interest can be created. The traditional hand-made Bajo diving goggles are a beautiful example of a potentially much wanted souvenir among divers, and local fishermen that are willing to do so could share their marine knowledge, and tell about their culture and way of live as additional source of income.

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