



Faculty of Sports, Tourism and Social Work

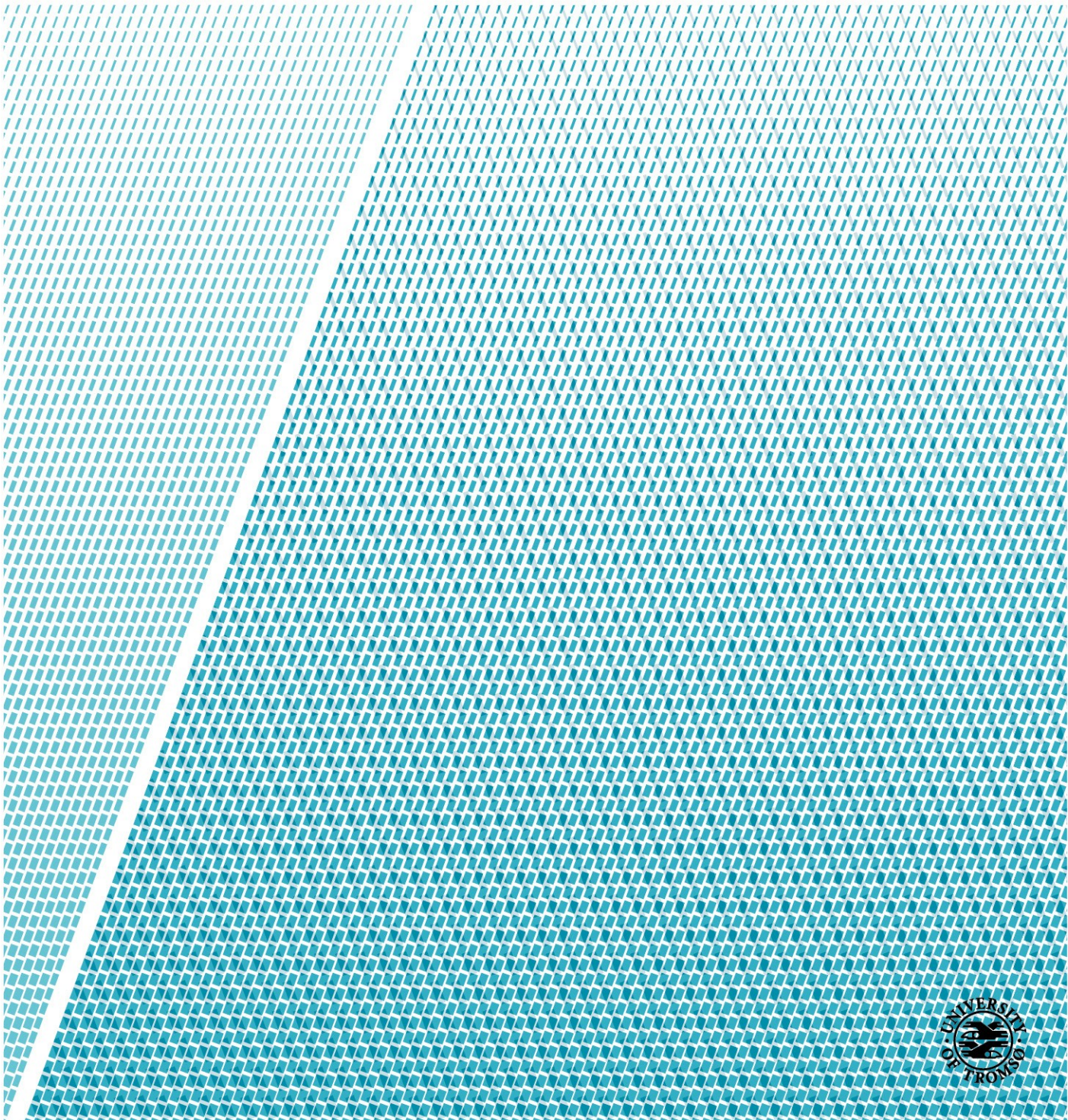
# The impact of stakeholder relations on the sustainability of tourism development

*An Indonesian case study*

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*Master's thesis in Tourism Studies, November 2017*





## **Abstract**

Following the publication of the Brundtland Commission's *Our Common Future Report*, the concept of sustainable tourism development became highly influential internationally. Yet, despite the concept being frequently discussed, what exactly it embodies has not been conclusively defined. What is generally agreed upon is, that in order for tourism to fulfill its positive potential, it must be meticulously managed and that the successful involvement of stakeholders in a destination plays a key role in this process (Gunn & Var, 2002).

This thesis sets out to illustrate on the example of the destination Tanjung Puting National Park in Kalimantan, Indonesia, how the vagueness of the concept "sustainable tourism development" impacts the involvement of stakeholders and how these dynamics in turn influence the overall sustainability of touristic development in the destination. It comes to the conclusion that a lack of competent leadership in the developmental process results in an unbalanced power distribution between the stakeholders. As a result, not all stakeholders can equally contribute to the process, thereby effectively preventing a holistically sustainable touristic development. The solution proposed is the build-up of an efficient leadership-instance and the promotion of the 'five vital elements' of stakeholder involvement named by Nicodemus (2004) and Susskind and Cruikshank (2001).

Keywords: Sustainability, sustainable tourism development, stakeholder theory, stakeholder management



## **Acknowledgements**

First and foremost I would like to thank my supervisor, Prof. Stein R. Mathisen, for his continuous support. Thank you for always finding time in your busy schedule to provide me with answers, advise and feedback.

Secondly, I want to thank Mr. and Mrs. Noakes – without you none of this would have been possible. Thank you for all your great ideas, your enthusiasm and all the knowledge you put at my disposal. I sincerely hope this was not my last project with you!

Also my family and my parents especially deserve a not at this point. Thank you for encouraging all my plans and always being my home-base, no matter where I am in the world.

And last, but not least a great thanks to all my class mates that became my friends over the years. It might have been possible to do all this without you, but it would have been way less fun. Thank you for these years and I hope we will not lose each other!



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## **List of abbreviations**

ASITA: Association of Indonesian Tours and Travel Agencies

DMO: Destination marketing organization

FNPF: Friends of the National Park Forest

MoF: Ministry of Forestry

MoU: Memorandum of understanding

NGO: Non-governmental organization

OFI: Orangutan Foundation International

REL: Rimba Ecolodge

TPNP: Tanjung Puting National Park



# **1. Introduction: The positive potential of tourism**

The archipelagic island country of Indonesia in South-East Asia is one of the five most ecologically diverse places on this planet. It stretches from 6° N to 11° S and 95° to 141° E, sheltering over 90 different types of ecosystems in an area of 1,919,440 km<sup>2</sup>, of which 66 % are forest areas or aquatic ecosystems. Here live 17% of the world's bird species, 16% of the reptile and amphibian species and 12% of the world's mammal species ("Statistics for Indonesia | The REDD Desk," 2013). Many of these ecosystems provide life-supporting services for the whole planet, probably the best known example for this being the country's vast rainforests, often poetically referred to as 'the green lungs of the planet'. In these forests, more than 14 billions of biomass store an estimated 3.5 billion tons of carbon ("Statistics for Indonesia | The REDD Desk," 2013), making the country highly relevant in the face of climate change.

Unfortunately, we do not take good care of this ecologic jewel. In 2011, the country was home to 722 endangered species, placing it on rank three globally and it is estimated that the country loses 1.17 million hectares of forest and 20-30% of its biodiversity each year ("Statistics for Indonesia | The REDD Desk," 2013). To prevent this runaway loss of habitat and biodiversity, the nation upholds 228 strict nature reserves, 70 wildlife sanctuaries and 42 national parks (Damayanti, 2008). Yet a lack of funds and general support often leave these only weakly protected and they fall victim to illegal logging, poaching or forest destruction.

Here, tourism has the capacity to greatly improve the situation. As one of the biggest industries worldwide, it has the capacity to relocate resources directly to where they are needed most as well as generate worldwide attention to Indonesia's problems. Wildlife tourism in parks and sanctuaries could generate revenues that could be used to improve their security and help educate the surrounding communities on the value of the reserves. But tourism is also a dangerous thing, it has, as Byrd (2007, p. 6) opined, the capacity to "destroy the very resource [...] that are the foundation of tourism in a community". In this case, it would include the danger of further harming Indonesia's fragile nature – the exact opposite of what tourism set out to do. Should tourism be successful in fulfilling its positive and helpful potential, it must be meticulously planned and sustainably managed and one key to this is the support of the host community and successful involvement of stakeholders (Gunn and Var, 2002).

Yet, as simple as it sounds, this statement of Gunn & Var raises several questions. Firstly, what does the term ‘sustainably managed’ exactly signify? The concept of ‘sustainable’ is little defined and offers a wide array of possible interpretations. A closer look at these interpretations through a discourse analysis and a positioning of the one used as the basis for this thesis therefore constitutes the second chapter. This is a necessary step, as a solid understanding of the challenges posed by the vagueness of the concept is a fundamental requirement to understanding its impact on the developmental process in the case study destination. This problem is one of the major issues this thesis is concerned with.

Secondly, what are ‘stakeholders’ and what makes their involvement in a planning process “successful”? This thesis uses the concept of a destination as formulated by Brynhild Granås (2014), based off of the work of Doreen Massey (1994, 2005, 2007) to set a framework for understanding the term ‘stakeholder’ in chapter 3. Subsequently, the discussion of the term and the indicators of “successful” stakeholder involvement can be found in chapter 4.

The methodology chapter elaborates how all these theoretical considerations have shaped the research design, thereby connecting the first theoretical section with the case study. The case study in itself sets out to find one possible answer to the research question set as ‘How is the overall sustainability of tourism development within a destination influenced by the relationships of the stakeholder groups within it?’

## **2. Examining the concepts ‘sustainability’, ‘sustainable development’ and ‘sustainable tourism development’**

Before anything can be said about sustainable tourism development in the location of the case studies presented in this thesis, one must carefully define the terms ‘sustainable tourism development’ and ‘destination’. Both concepts are fuzzy, even though they have been discussed extensively over the last decades (R. Butler, 1999; Hunter, 1997; Saarinen, 2006; Viken & Granås, 2014).

Part of the problem of defining these concepts depends on who is constructing the definitions and what purpose or objective the constructed or chosen definition will support. Understanding what these concepts represent includes gaining an understanding of the power relations that define them. As So-Min Cheong and Marc Miler (2000) put it: “there is power everywhere in tourism” (p. 372). “Discourse analysis deals with power relations. Its aim is to detect which actors, narratives, and ideologies

dominate an academic or public field.” (Viken, 2014, p. 22). Subsequently, discourse analysis was used to determine understandings of both concepts before deciding on a working definitions to use in this thesis.

## **2.1 The concept of ‘sustainable tourism development’**

To gain an understanding on the concept of ‘sustainable tourism development’, we first need to understand its constituents, the ideas of ‘sustainable tourism’ and ‘sustainable development’.

### **2.1.1 The interdisciplinary concept ‘sustainable development’**

During the last decades, the term ‘sustainable development’ has become more and more commonly used in our society. With the growing importance of the concept it has become a buzzword that can be found in all kinds of contexts and mediums. It is discussed in academic papers and every-day media, taught in school and used in marketing and advertisement. Yet, even though – or maybe because of – its widespread use, its concrete meaning is still vague (R. Butler, 1999, Daly, 1990, Hardy, Beeton, & Pearson, 2002, Saarinen, 2006, Sharpley, 2000).

Splitting the term into its two parts assists in meaning making. ‘Development’ means “[a] specified state of growth or advancement” (“development - definition of development in English | Oxford Dictionaries,” n.d.). ‘Sustainable’ is defined as “[a]ble to be maintained at a certain rate or level” (“sustainable - definition of sustainable in English | Oxford Dictionaries,” n.d.). Based on this, one would expect the term ‘sustainable development’ to be defined along the lines of ‘a specified state of growth or advancement that is able to be maintained at a certain rate or level’, but instead the definition is set as “Economic development that is conducted without depletion of natural resources” (“sustainable development - definition of sustainable development in English | Oxford Dictionaries,” n.d.). Therein, the term involves a statement as to which kind of resources can be maintained at a certain rate, which is not intimated in the original definition of ‘sustainable’. And, in this lies the major question discourse revolves around – which resources need to be handled sustainably for a development to be sustainable, and who holds the power to appoint them?

The first time the general public was introduced to the concept of ‘sustainable development’, was in the Brundtland Commission report, *Our Common Future* (World Commission on Environment and

Development, WCED, 1987). The commission was formed in 1983, following the so called *Stockholm Conference* (United Nations Conference on the Human Environment) held in 1972. At this conference, the UN addressed international environmental issues for the first time (“UN Conference on the Human Environment. Sustainable Development Knowledge Platform,” n.d.). It also “promoted the concept of eco-development, whereby cultural, social and ecological goals were integrated with development” (Hardy et al., 2002, p. 476). In *Our Common Future*, the WCED urgently warned the United Nations about the dire situation of our natural environment and of a future of “ever increasing environmental decay, poverty, and hardship in an ever more polluted world among ever decreasing resources” (“Our Common Future: Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development - our-common-future.pdf,” n.d., paragraph 3). To avoid such a future, the commission called for “[...] a new era of economic growth, one that must be based on policies that sustain and expand the environmental resource base” (ibid.). The WCED’s definition of sustainable development as “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (“Our Common Future: Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development - our-common-future.pdf,” n.d., paragraph 27) not only highlighted social and community aspects, but also emphasized a strong environmentally-oriented context. The report claimed that in the long run, social and economical advancement is not achievable, if the environment is destroyed by such progress (“Sustainable development - concept and action,” n.d.).

The concept ‘sustainable development’ was internationally well received, in both academic and economic circles. This was partly due to the fact that in the late 1970s ecologic, socio-economic and cultural problems were on the rise. Also, the concept did not prohibit economic growth, instead the concept promoted it as a way to enhance our future, as long as it was done in a sustainable manner (Hardy et al., 2002; Hunter, 1997). Indeed, it was what Hardy et al. (2002) called “a convergence between economic development and environmentalism” (p. 475).

This statement highlights one of the main critiques associated with the newly constructed concept – that the public debate and the implementation of the concept were generally too focused on the economic and ecologic aspects. Additionally, it disregarded community and cultural aspects as presented in the *Our Common Future* Report (R. Butler, 1999; Farrell, 1999; Hardy et al., 2002; Hunter, 1997; Twining-Ward, 1999). This was judged as problematic, because “ [...] this ‘pick-and-mix’ approach not only trivialises STD as a superficial greening operation, but defies one of the key principles of sustainable development, an integrated approach to issues facing both people and nature”

(Twining-Ward, 1999, p. 188). The overly environmentally-oriented development of a region runs the risk of neglecting the needs of social stakeholders (Hardy et al., 2002). The reason for this disregard of social aspects was said to stem from the fact that the environmental movement has existed long before the Stockholm Conference or the Brundtland Commission report, and was supported and promoted “aggressively” (Twining-Ward, 1999, p. 189) as an important aspect of the concept of ‘sustainable development’ by governmental agencies and NGOs ( Farrell, 1999; Twining-Ward, 1999).

A second point of critique was the theoretical formulation of the concept. It was criticized for being so vague, it could be interpreted to fit nearly any world view (R. Butler, 1999; Hardy et al., 2002, Hunter, 1997). This led to a heated public debate about the nature of its interpretation and what should be included in it. Hunter (1997, p. 825) summarizes the issues discussed and these are presented in Table 1 below:

**Table 1. Major Issues in Interpreting Sustainable Development**

- The role of economic growth in promoting human well-being
- The impact and importance of human population growth
- The effective existence of environmental limits to growth
- The substitutability of natural resources (capital) with human-made capital created through economic growth and technical innovation
- The differential interpretation of the criticality of various components of the natural resource base and, therefore, the potential for substitution
- The ability of technologies (including management methods such as environmental impact assessment and environmental auditing) to decouple economic growth and unwanted environmental side-effects
- The meaning of the value attributed to the natural world and the rights of non-human species, sentient or otherwise
- The degree to which a system (ecosystem) perspective should be adopted and the importance of maintaining the functional integrity of ecosystems

Out of this discourse, four positions on the topic of sustainable development emerged ranging from anthropocentric and utilitarian to ecocentric and bioethical. One of the industries that was quick to accept and integrated the concept of ‘sustainable development’ into its store of theories and managerial strategies was the tourism industry, because it promised a much sought-after solution to one of the industry’s major problems.

### **2.1.2 The concept of sustainable development in tourism**

The paradigm of sustainable tourism development is rooted in the evolution of tourism as a market and as a scientific sector after World War II (Jafari, 2003; Weaver, 2006). Jafar Jafari's 'platform model'



(Jafari, 2003; Jafari, 2001) offers a comprehensive framework to trace the concept's development in tourism praxis and research, sectioning it into four platforms. "The writings of the last few decades, expressed mostly through individual opinions and research findings, can be aggregated into four groups, each with a distinctive position as a consolidated platform on tourism." (Jafari, 2003, p. 7). These four positions did build on, but not replace each other over the course of their development.

The first platform to develop after World War II, was the 'advocacy' platform. It highlighted the positive effect of tourism development, both economic, such as creating jobs or revenue, and non-economical, such as exchange of cultures or preservation of natural and man-made environments. After WWII, this point of view of tourism was propagated since many European countries were starting to look for ways to rebuild their damaged economies. In the sixties, this platform gained rapid popularity all over the globe. It was a time "when many newly independent countries suddenly began to flex their economic muscles" (Jafari, 2003, p. 9) and wanted their share of this developing market sector. During the sixties, the writings of the advocacy platform concentrated on highlighting the economic benefits of tourism – arguments that are still in use today – resulting in a worldwide tourism development boom (Jafari, 2003).

As the 'advocacy' mindset gained importance during the sixties, an academic counter perspective started to form - the 'cautionary' platform. The relationship between the supporters of the two platforms was tense, leading to strong positional debates, in which "[a] fruitful dialogue or discourse between them [was] the exception, not the norm" (Jafari, 2003, p. 8). The supporters of the 'cautionary' platform countered claims made by the 'advocacy' supporters about the benefits of tourism development, in both economical, social and natural aspects, and highlighted problematic impacts associated with them. During the 1960s, this gave rise to the concept of a touristic 'carrying capacity' as a way of handling and preventing these negative impacts (T. Jamal & Robinson, 2009; Saarinen, 2006). The concept was adapted from livestock and wildlife management studies (Pigram & Jenkins, 2006; Saarinen, 2006; Wall, 1982), where carrying capacity was defined as "[t]he maximum number of individuals (people or animals) that can be supported by a particular [e]cosystem (or area) [...] without degrading it." (Park & Allaby, 2013, p. 69). When transferred to tourism studies, carrying capacity denotes "the maximum number of people who can use a site without any unacceptable alteration in the physical environment and without any unacceptable decline in the quality of the experience gained by tourists" (Saarinen, 2006, p. 1125, after Mathieson & Wall, 1982). Yet, it became quickly obvious that

this concept was flawed in both theory and its practical implementations, and therefore the concept of sustainable tourism took its place in both research and praxis during the 1980s (Saarinen, 2006). Nonetheless, many of the demerits of the carrying capacity concept have been criticized as being still present and reprehended in the sustainable tourism concept.

This development was part of Jafar Jafari's third platform, the 'adaptancy' platform. The supporters of this platform advocated "[...] those forms of tourism which are responsive to the host community and their socio-cultural, man-made [sic] and natural environments, and at the same time provide tourists with new choices and rewarding experiences" (Jafari, 2003, p. 8). These types of tourism are considered to be less harmful and therefore preferable to the much more destructive mass tourism. As this is theoretically true, the practical realization of these 'soft', 'alternative' or 'sustainable' forms of tourism is problematic, seeing as their methods are as yet ill equipped to handle the sheer volume of global tourism (Jafari, 2003).

During the late eighties to nineties, the fourth platform developed (Weaver, 2006) out of four major realizations that spread across all platforms:

First was a general recognition by all, independent from position, that tourism is a giant global industry, that it caters to millions of tourists daily, and that both tourism and tourists are here to stay. Second, any development, tourism or not, generates both desirable changes and unwanted consequences, and it is the relationship between the costs and benefits that should matter. Third, the general foci of the Advocacy and Cautionary Platforms on tourism impacts and of the Adaptancy Platform on forms of development represent only partial treatment of tourism. Fourth, therefore, by studying tourism as a whole, its underlying structures and functions can be brought to light, and the resulting knowledge would foster the development of theoretical constructs and practical applications. (Jafari, 2003, p. 9)

Jafari (2003) called this fourth platform the 'knowledge-based' platform. This platform does not try to prove or disprove the positions of the 'advocacy' or 'adaptancy' platforms, but is mainly concerned with the scientification of the field of tourism research, as in conducting structural research on its foundation, functions and context as well as identifying a basic definition of this field. "Tourism is the study of man [sic] away from his [sic] usual habitat, of the touristic apparatus and networks, and of the ordinary (home) and (the) nonordinary (touristic) worlds and their dialectic relationship (Jafari, 1987, p. 158). David Weaver (2006) concludes that the 'knowledge-based' platform represents an "[...]

holistic, systematic approach that utilizes rigorous scientific methods to compile the knowledge needed to properly assess and manage the tourism sector” (Weaver, 2006, p. 9). One could say that the ‘knowledge-based’ platform is concerned with creating a theoretical platform for the phenomenon tourism, whereas the other three platforms are more focused on practical aspects.

This development of the tourism sector shows quite clearly the reason the tourism industry was so eager to integrate to concept of ‘sustainable development’. The ‘advocacy’ platform focuses on the possible positive effects to be gained from tourism development, the ‘cautionary’ platform warns against its negative ramification. The ‘adaptancy’ platform searched for a way to consolidate the former two as well as to find a way to achieve benefits while evading negative impacts, that is, a way to sustainably develop tourism. The prevailing answer to this problem at the time of the emergence of the ‘adaptancy’ platform was the idea of a ‘carrying capacity’ in touristic destinations as a means to prevent negative ramifications. When it proved insufficient, the ‘sustainable development’ concept promised a more holistic solution. A solution that also allowed for further growth of the sector and a pick-and-mix approach (Twining-Ward, 1999) that made it seemingly adaptable for every business. Yet, as shown in the previous section, ‘sustainable development’ in itself is criticized for being a fuzzy idea and conceptually fragmented, which devaluated its practical use. The concept of ‘sustainable tourism development’ quickly encountered similar issues (Bramwell, Van Der Straaten, Prat, & Richards, 1996; R. Butler, 1999; 2004, Hardy et al., 2002; Jafari, 2003; Liu, 2003; Saarinen, 2006). The discussion and definition of the concept ‘sustainable tourism development’ is therefore still not concluded today and remains part of the work of the ‘knowledge-based’ platform.

This discourse is not any less extensive and heated than the debate about the parental concept of ‘sustainable development’. Already in 1996, Harrison labeled it a ‘muddy pool’ in regard to the multitude of different perceptions of the concept that were presented and contended. Sustainable development in tourism represented a “form of ideology, a political catch phrase and, depending on the context in which it is being used, a concept, philosophy, a process or a product” (Butler, 1999, p. 10). And again, the core problem of the discussion lay in the definition of what exactly made sustainable tourism ‘sustainable’. At least four answers to this problem were possible, economic sustainability, ecologic sustainability, the long-term viability of tourism as an industry, or tourism acting as an agent for sustainable development in a region (Coccosis, 1996). Bramwell et al. (1996) examined the practical aspects of such disunity in relation to the concept in their book *Tourism Management:*

*Principles and Practice*. They described seven dimensions of sustainability in tourism management: economic, environmental, social, cultural, governmental and managerial and pointed out, that in return, decision makers within the particular dimensions based their actions and decisions on different interpretations of the concept. They concluded that this was the key to the widespread success of the concept. Hunter (1997) intimated similarly with regard to the concept of ‘sustainable development’ in general. Bramwell et al. concluded ‘sustainable tourism’ is not a unified concept and each of its interpretations is inherently bound to certain values, which are crucial to understanding the concept’s dynamics in general.

### **2.1.3 The practical application of the concept ‘sustainable tourism development’**

Even a short summarization of the discourse related to ‘sustainable tourism development’ such as given above, reveals the concept as being far from unified and definite. But what does this conceptual fragmentation mean for practical application? Is it possible to formulate universally valid guidelines on how to develop all kinds of tourism all over the world in a way that maximizes beneficial output while at the same time keeping its negative impacts to a minimum?

The current stand in discourse about sustainable tourism development is that it is impossible to find a general solution to the conflict between the development of mass-tourism promoted by the ‘advocacy’ platform and the small-scale, ‘sustainable’ tourism demanded by the supporters of the ‘adaptancy’ platform. Instead individual decisions regarding which mode of tourism best suits a specific destination should be made. Such decisions should be based on “[...] a sound scientific analysis of its characteristics and the subsequent implementation of appropriate planning and management strategies” (Weaver, 2006, p. 9). This ground rule sounds reasonable and realizable enough, but again leaves us with the core question: Who is it that does the analysis and gets to decide on which mode of tourism, and consequently, which planning and management strategies are ‘appropriate’?

Jakko Saarinen (2006) uses this question and its answers to structure discourse about sustainability in tourism into three traditions. Similar approaches have been applied before, for example in Coccossis (1996) work. But whereas authors such as Coccossis (1996) at least partly concentrated on which resources must be protected against negative impacts (e.g. ecological, economical or social resources) for tourism development to be considered sustainable, Saarinen emphasized that resources should be the defining factor for consideration of sustainability. Saarinen based his differentiation between three

traditions of sustainability in tourism because each tradition is regarded as a limitation for touristic growth.

Firstly he names the ‘resource-based tradition’ as the earliest and most commonly accepted way of defining sustainability in tourism. In this tradition, the intensity of change in physical, social or cultural resources induced by touristic development defines the sustainability of said development.

The second tradition Saarinen names, is the ‘activity-based’ tradition. It is “more industrially oriented than the resource-based tradition, [...] focusing more on the needs of tourism as an economic activity.” (Saarinen, 2006, p. 1128), and corresponds to what Coccossis (1996) described as the long-term viability of tourism as an industry. This tradition regards touristic development as cyclical in nature, an idea that is explicated in Butler’s tourism area cycle of evolution (1980). Here, the development of a tourism destination runs through several stages, before it reaches the final one, ‘stagnation’. This means, the growth of tourism has a natural limit, determined in Butler’s model by its carrying capacity. And even though the concept of ‘carrying capacity’ is based in a ‘resource-based tradition’, the resources are not the limiting factor for *all* touristic development, but only for this *specific kind* of touristic activity. The destination as a whole can reset the developmental cycle by changing its tourism product. In short, “[...] the limit of growth in the evolution model is not primarily based on the capacity of the destination and its (“original”) resources for absorbing tourism, but on the industry (activity) and its capacity” (Saarinen, 2006, p. 1228). The definition of sustainability in the ‘activity-based tradition’ therefore involves a ‘relativist approach’ (ibid., p. 1129), evaluating not the status of touristic growth at any single point of time (which might currently be limited by certain resources), but the overall capacity for further touristic growth (e.g. through a change of touristic activities and therefore in needed resources). Tourism is therefore considered sustainable, as long as it can sustain itself as an industry in a certain area.

Understandably, there is a gap between the idea of sustainability in the ‘resource-based tradition’ and the ‘activity-based tradition’, which can lead to negative consequences such as depleted an/or destroyed resources. Therefore, Saarinen (2006) names the ‘community-based tradition’ as the third tradition. This tradition sets the willingness of the host community to tolerate touristic development and any negative impacts it might bring as the growth-limiting factor for a touristic area. It follows a ‘participatory approach’ (Saarinen, 2006, p. 1130) in defining sustainability, meaning that:

sustainability is [...] defined through a negotiation process. As a social construct [it] refers to the maximum levels of the known or perceived impacts of tourism that are permissible in a certain time-space context before the negative impacts are considered to be too disturbing from the perspectives of specific social, cultural, political, or economic actors who possess sufficient power over the chosen indicators and criteria.” (ibid.)

All three traditions and their perspectives of sustainability in tourism entail distinct sets of benefits and disadvantages. And even more importantly, if applied to practical cases of tourism development, they will each lead to a distinct outcome (Saarinen, 2006). This thesis will base its discussion and analysis of sustainable tourism development in an Indonesian destination within the theoretical framework of the community-based tradition. This means this thesis recognizes that “[...] the concept of sustainable tourism is not objective, related to knowledge and laden with power issues.” (Saarinen, 2006, p. 1130/1131). This thesis therefore investigates two major fields of research, firstly on the relations between the stakeholders in the destination and secondly on the role power and knowledge plays in sustainable tourism development.

Focus points in the field of power-relations are firstly research on who currently wields the power of making decisions regarding the definition of ‘sustainability’ in the location and touristic development in general. Furthermore, the paper investigates how closely other stakeholders agree with these definitions and decisions. It also investigates how much accordance or disparity between these perceptions influences the de facto sustainability of the touristic development and its impact on the ecological, economical and social resources in the region. Following the work of Michaela Hall (1994) and Raoul Bianchi (2004), this thesis furthermore recognizes the importance of the government system for touristic development in a destination with respect to the setting of developmental goals and limits of acceptable impact on resources, monitoring the observance of these limits and managing power-issues both locally and globally. The influence of Indonesia’s system of governance for national parks and their resources on the touristic development was therefore another focus point of investigation.

In regard to the role of knowledge in sustainable tourism development, the research followed the focus points proposed in the work of Saarinen (2006) and centered on “education, training and capacity building” (p. 1131).

Utilizing a community-based approach in analyzing the sustainable development of a touristic destination makes it unavoidable to firstly set a working definition of what a ‘destination’ is and, which actors should be involved, or by de facto are involved in decision-making processes. Yet the concept of

a ‘touristic destination’ is no less vague than the concept of ‘sustainable tourism development’ and no less dominated by power issues. This thesis will therefore conduct a second discourse analysis, this time of the concept of a ‘touristic destination’, before moving on to the discussion of the case study.

### **3. Examining the concept ‘destination’**

The concept of ‘destination’ has always been a very central idea in tourism studies (Framke, 2002, Viken, 2014). Cooper et al. (1993, p. 7) even named it as the *raison d’être* of tourism. Yet despite its continued importance for touristic sciences throughout the decades, the definition of the concept is still rather vague (Framke, 2002; Granås, 2014; Viken, 2014; Viken & Granås, 2014). It can be understood as a specific “geographical region, political jurisdiction, or major attraction, which seeks to provide visitors with a range of satisfying to memorable visitations experiences“ (Bornhorst, Brent Ritchie, & Sheehan, 2010, p. 572). It can also be more generally defined as “a narrative [...], as an empirical relationship, as a marketing object, as a place where tourism happens” (Framke, 2002, p. 93). Scientists from a multitude of disciplines, including sociology, human geography, social anthropology and political sciences constructed “a complex web of alternative, parallel and overlapping suggestions for how to define and approach tourism destinations with regard to research” (Viken & Granås, 2014, p. 1). The discourse is in fact so complex and tangled that it evoked the question, whether or not it was meaningful to work with the concept in the first place (Framke, 2002) and whether or not it should furthermore be used as a basis of research (Viken & Granås, 2014). But, as Granås (2014) points out, “a conceptual definition of ‘the destination’ is logically required if ‘destination’ or ‘destination development’ are to be assessed as the object of study and thus provide conceptual direction for research.” (p. 79). For a text about sustainable tourism destination development, such a conceptual definition is therefore indispensable.

A possible explanation for the multitude of definitions is, that the term, ‘destination’, associates with a very comprehensive concept that includes more than just the idea of a geographical region, an economic entity, or a momentary stage in a developmental process, and consequently demands for a holistic interpretation (Framke, 2002). Yet, even though the concept ‘destination’ is holistic, is a geographic dimension is always implicit, though its borders might be unclear or contested (Granås,

2014). Granås (ibid.) suggested therefore “verbalizing the term ‘destination’ and subordinating it to place, providing an integrative perspective capable of doing justice to the empirical integratedness of for example the discrete and strategic aspects of tourism development, i.e. the practices of tourists as well as strategic development actors within tourism.” (ibid., p. 80).

Granås (2014) builds her conceptual definition of the ‘destination’ on the place theory of Doreen Massey (D. Massey, 2007, 1994, 2005), which regards ‘place’ as socially negotiated and space is therefore “relational, dynamic and material” (Granås, 2014, p. 79), and “attempt[s] to formulate concepts of space and place in terms of social relations (Massey, 1994, p. 2). Space is relational and dynamic, because “is not something abstract and geometrical, as we usually tend to think. Instead, it should be seen as an aspect of the social, i.e. as an aspect of relations in which people, institutions and material surroundings are a part.” (Granås, 2014, p. 84). This means that for Massey, space is not completely immaterial, but the ‘material surroundings’ play a part in its construction and therefore in the performance of a place.

Thus, a destination, even though it is arguably a touristic place, is not *solely* a touristic place, even though the categorization of a place after one of its possible identities is a frequently observed practice in the social sciences. A destination is a place, of which tourism is part, but which is also performed as a variety of other places, for example by the local community as a home or by local businesses as an economic market. These places exist within the same space, bound to the social processes that happen in it. This plurality of places that are produced simultaneously is an important point to highlight, because it shows that reducing a place to a touristic ‘destination’ – or any place to a single one of its dimensions – automatically involves an expression of power (Granås, 2014). One social process is elevated over all others that happen simultaneously, and how its agents perceive the place-identity and hence produce the place dominates all other productions. It is important to clarify that this does not necessarily mean the *de facto* displacement of all other place-productions by a single one; it can just as well only concern the theoretical preference of one place-identity over others in an approach to analyze that place. Yet, it is of course possible that exactly such a practical replacement is pursued by the agents of one place-production to promote their perception of the place-identity over a rivaling one, for example to claim resources needed for the place-production.

The process of the touristic dimension dominating the perception of a place is called the process of destinization. One should note that the entities that produce a place do not need to materially *be* in the



location, as long as they influence the social processes happening in it. Global agents can therefore have an influence on the destination process in remote areas. So can – and do – for example US-based NGOs and international companies have an influence on the touristic development of Indonesian national parks.

Granås (2014) concludes that “[t]o interpret place and understand it is to see all the relational processes that meet up in a place at a particular moment.” (p. 86). To understand how to develop a place as a destination, we must therefore first investigate which social agents, such as “people, institutions, companies or organizations” (ibid.) influence the social processes in the place and what place-identity they perform through them. We must furthermore understand how these relational processes influence each other and the power-relations between them, to assess how they might help or hinder the development of a place as a destination. Granås (2014) compares the perception of power in this aspect of Massey’s theory to the one formulated in the work of Michel Foucault, who states that power is not necessary “fraudulent” (Foucault, 1982, p. 786), but also a force of production. “We must cease once and for all to describe the effects of power in negative terms: it ‘excludes’, it ‘represses’, it ‘censors’, it ‘abstracts’, it ‘masks’, it ‘conceals’. In fact power produces; it produces reality[...]”. Here, the term ‘power’ is not to be understood solely as the ability to make decisions, but in Foucault’s sense of the word also as knowledge and the ability to shape a discourse.

These theoretical considerations must then be translated into a practical approach to analyze a touristic destination and its developmental progress. In practical approaches, all definitions of ‘destination’ can be sorted into two major categories based on the perspectives they take on tourism. Traditionally, the field of tourism research was dominated by business economists, which based their approaches in the understanding of tourism as an industry (Framke, 2002, Higgins-Desbiolles, 2006, Viken, 2014), considering matters like “profit, market, industrialization, standardization and growth” (Viken, 2014, p. 22). Opposing this is the understanding of tourism as a social force in tourism research handled by social scientists, concerned with issues like “governing, community, social needs, social concerns, and welfare” (ibid.).

This thesis chose an approach that aimed to consolidate the two categories, as is demanded by a propagated holistic approach to the concept of sustainability and a community-based approach to its analysis. It takes the standpoint of a destination being a network of stakeholders and their interests, which is a frequently adopted approach in the field of tourism studies (e.g. Bærenholdt, 2004;

Beaumont & Dredge, 2010; Briassoulis, 2002; Byrd, 2007; Dredge, 2006; Pavlovich, 2003; Robson & Robson, 1996; Sautter & Leisen, 1999; Scott, Cooper, & Baggio, 2008; Tinsley & Lynch, 2001). It combines the industrial aspect of tourism with the social aspects of network theory. Specifically, the industrial aspect is represented by approaches that define a destination as an 'industrial district' that focuses on firms and "importantly rather than the individual firm it is the community of firms and the relationships between them which is of primary concern." (Mottiar & Ryan, 2007, p. 64). With regard to the social aspects of network theory, networking is defined as "cultural patterns of behaviour whose functions serve a mix of exchange, communication and social purposes" (Leiper, 2008, p. 18). Such an approach leaves room for stakeholders, who are not directly tourism-related, thereby including the above discussed aspect of a destination as a simultaneously touristic and non-touristic space.

Tazim Jamal and Donald Getz (1995) summarize the approach as following:

The destination domain is thus characterized by an "open-system" of interdependent, multiple stakeholders, where the actions of one stakeholder impact on the rest of the actors in the community. Furthermore, no single organization or individual can exert direct control over the destination's development process. (p. 193)

Following this logic, the success of sustainable tourism development is dependent on stakeholder relations within a destination (Gunn & Var, 2002). To fully understand how stakeholder relations are organized, a short review of stakeholder theory is necessary.

## **4. Stakeholder theory**

One of the most basic definitions of the term 'stakeholder' stems from R. Edward Freeman. "A stakeholder in an organization is (by definition) any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of the organization's objectives." (Freeman, 1984, p. 46). Later, Donaldson and Preston (1995) added that a legitimate interest in the organization is a requirement for recognition as a stakeholder. A touristic stakeholder would therefore be any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the touristic development of a destination and has an interest in said development.

Furthermore, Donaldson & Preston (1995) identified three aspects of stakeholder theory: the descriptive/empiric aspect, the instrumental aspect and the normative aspect. The descriptive empiric aspect describes the past, present and future state of the organization and can be used to examine its

single elements. In tourism, this might be stakeholders in a destination, their relationships, but also the history of the touristic development and how it influenced the present. The instrumental aspect highlights the connections between actions in stakeholder management and the resulting outcomes. In tourism, this might be the appearance of a new competitor in a sector and the subsequent re-distribution of market shares. The normative aspect is what Byrd (2007) describes as “the fundamental core of the stakeholder theory” (p. 7) and is “used to interpret the function of the corporation, including the identification of moral or philosophical guidelines for the operation and management of corporations” (Donaldson & Preston, 1995, p. 71). The normative aspect dictates that all stakeholders and their interests are to be viewed “as an end in itself, and not as means to some other end” (ibid., p. 73), and should therefore be involved in the determination of the direction the company – or in this case the destination and its development (Byrd, 2007; Donaldson & Preston, 1995). It is the responsibility of the managers of the organization to actively try and hear and understand the interests of each stakeholder group, otherwise stakeholders with less power to make themselves heard might get lost in the process (Sautter & Leisen, 1999). “Under this philosophy, the entire purpose of the [organization] becomes the co-ordination of stakeholder interests” (ibid., p. 314).

These three aspects are parts of one thing, describing the status of one organization, allowing for predictions about the effect of its actions and giving the organization its normative scope of action. De Lopez (2001) summarizes the interplay between the three aspects thus: “stakeholder management essentially consists of understanding and predicting the behavior and actions of stakeholders and devising strategies to ethically and effectively deal with them” (p. 74). For this process to be a success, it is vitally important that all stakeholder interests are not only recognized, but also comprehended in all their facets, even though not all stakeholders need to be involved equally in decision-making processes (Donaldson & Preston, 1995). The omission of the interest of even one primary stakeholder can prevent the success of the process as a whole (Clarkson, 1995).

Yet, this is not the only requirement for successful stakeholder involvement. It is only part of what Nicodemus (2004) and Susskind and Cruikshank (2001) identify as five vital elements: fairness, knowledge, wisdom, stability and effectiveness. ‘Fairness’, the necessity of involvement of all as discussed above, describes the need for all stakeholders to be included and perceive the decision-making process as legitimate (Susskind & Cruikshank, 2001). ‘Knowledge’ calls for the same level of comprehension of the issues at hand for all stakeholders, so that they all have the ability to make an

informed decision, which results in a long-term feeling of ‘fairness’ (Nicodemus, 2004). A lack of understanding in a stakeholder must be equalized through education. If a common level has been reached, the decisions can be made on the basis of shared ‘wisdom’, which is connected to the instrumental aspect of stakeholder management and describes the ability to make informed decisions aimed towards long-term goals. ‘Stability’ demands that once a decision has been reached it is upheld, but not beyond a reasonable level of flexibility or sensibleness (Susskind & Cruikshank, 2001). And lastly, Susskind & Cruikshank point out that even if all other elements are given, a decision-making process needs to have the quality of ‘effectiveness’. If it is too resources-consuming, stakeholders might lose interest in being part of decision-making, or the decision itself may not be viable making a decision impossible to implement.

#### **4.1 Stakeholder involvement in sustainable tourism development**

Over nearly three decades, tourism scientists have been recommending a broader integration of all stakeholders in the planning process of touristic development (Byrd, 2007; De Lopez, 2001; Gunn & Var, 2002; Hunt, 1991; T. B. Jamal & Getz, 1995; Keogh, 1990; Long, 1991; Marsh & Henshall, 1987; Sautter & Leisen, 1999; Tosun, 2001). Byrd (2007) points out that the field is split into two ways of thinking, one more business oriented, calling for a stakeholder inclusion model based on their respective power and influence in a destination. The other one is coined by the normative aspect of stakeholder theory summarized by Sautter & Leisen (1999) as involvement not associated with individual stakeholders’ power-levels but rather predicated on a collaborative idea of stakeholder involvement. This collaborative approach is the base for community-based tourism development and is defined by Jamal & Getz (1995) as “tourism planning of an inter-organizational, community tourism domain to resolve planning problems of the domain and /or to manage issues related to the planning and development of the domain” (p. 188). In this instance, managing tourism development should aim to educate and enable all stakeholders to achieve the goal of equalizing their influence and power-levels (Tosun, 2001).

The need for stakeholder involvement is especially high in tourism development in a destination that has the goal of sustainable development. It reconsolidates the different aspects of sustainability, enables every stakeholder to participate in “sustainable development” discourses, equalizes stakeholder influence on decision-making processes and promotes their willingness to subscribe to the overall goal

– even though some aspects of the decisions made might prevent them obtaining all of their individual developmental goals.

The following case study of the Kumai region in central Kalimantan and its main attraction the Tanjung Puting National Park, will be used to exemplify the negative consequences that follow a failure to implement community-based tourism development and involvement of all stakeholders as well as how the former two influence the overall sustainability of the tourism development at a destination.

Considering the literature discussed above, there are several points regarding such case study research requiring attention in order to gain insight into the nature of stakeholder relations and their influence on the overall sustainability of touristic development at a destination. Firstly, as demonstrated in chapter 2, sustainability is a vague concept. So to achieve sustainable touristic development, the decision on how sustainability should look is not a given, but must be decided individually for every case. How the concept of sustainability in a case study is defined, what challenges the concept of sustainability faces and who plays which part in making decisions is therefore an important point of case study research. A second point of interest is to determine what challenges the concept of sustainability at a destination faces. Here it is important to look at the underlying foundations on how the governmental system and decision making structures influences a destination.

Secondly, who should be involved in this decision-making process. As Granås (2014) pointed out in chapter 3, just because this study is concerned with the sustainability of touristic development, we cannot disregard non-tourism related groups within a destination, or even outside of it, as long as a stakeholder has an influence on or is influenced by the development. The second focal point of my research was therefore to identify who is a stakeholder, based on who is influenced by the touristic development of the region or who influences it, and how much they are included in the decision-making process.

The third focal point on the research was how these stakeholders interact with and thereby influence each other and how these conflicts or cooperations impact the sustainability of touristic development at a destination.

Considering the literature discussed above, there are several points for the research in the case study locations to focus upon, in order to gain a true insight into the nature of the stakeholder relations and their influence on the overall sustainability of the touristic development in the destination.

Firstly, as shown in chapter 2, sustainability is a vague concept. So to reach sustainability in the touristic development, the decision on how the sustainability should look like is not a given, but must be decided individually for every case. How the concept of sustainability in this case study is defined, what challenges the concept of sustainability faces at the moment and who plays which part in making this decision is therefore an important point of research. A second point of interest was to find out what challenges the concept of sustainability in the destination faces at the moment. Here it was also of interest to take a look at the deeper laying foundations on how the governmental system and decision making structures influences the destination.

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## **5. Methodology**

### **5.1 Theoretical considerations for the research design**

This case study employed a qualitative research design based on the theoretical framework of a ‘Grounded Theory’ approach. Stakeholder data was gathered through semi-structured interviews with stakeholder representatives. A comprehensive list of informants, the stakeholder group to which they belong, and their level of engagement can be found in Appendix I. The interview guides are located in Appendix II.

For the initial choice between qualitative and quantitative methods, several considerations played a part. Firstly, the research was exploratory in nature, secondly, the research did not take its starting point

in a pre-deduced assumption and lastly, the research object was intangible and quite subjective in nature. In regard to these factors, a qualitative approach was deemed more fitting, because it enables a more intense engagement of interviewees as well as achieving an in-depth understanding of their view on the research object/their relationship to the other stakeholders. Qualitative methods also offer a more flexible approach, enabling the researcher to follow the flow of information and give interviewees the lead (“Qualitative Validity,” n.d.). This interview practice is highly suited for exploratory research, since it enables the interviewee to depict their personal impression of the research object and thereby allows the researcher to access data, which was previously unknown to him or her. The latter is more difficult to access through targeted, quantitative questions (Trotter, 2012). This was also taken into consideration with regard to the sample size of the study. Quantitative research designs mostly employ a fixed sample size, whereas a qualitative research design is more flexible and able to modify its sample size in regard to the amount, quality and nature of the collected data. Such flexibility and modification is required in studies where insider knowledge is obtained; and wherein new theories form constantly during data collection processes and inform further interview processes. All in all, it can be said that “quantitative approaches are not suitable for detecting relationships, or influencing relations” (Viken, 2014, p. 26).

The Grounded Theory approach was chosen as a theoretical foundation, because this “general method of comparative analysis “ (Glaser & Strauss, 1973; p. 1) is well-suited for research that strives to generate new theories on the basis of gathered data. Here, forming theories and validating them are not two consecutive steps, but continuously happen alongside each other (Glaser & Strauss, 1973). Newly collected data is analyzed for potential concepts, which are then put into relation with each other and possibly connected to theories. These theories are then integrated into further research processes and checked against the next set of data, and are subsequently modified according to newly emergent concepts (Bernard, 2006). This provides the advantage of a constantly improved theory that was shaped in accordance to the reality of the gathered data, and will “[...] provid[e] us with relevant predictions, explanations, interpretations and applications.” (Glaser & Strauss, 1973, p. 1). This approach calls therefore for data gathering methods that are flexibly adaptable to the newly refined theories that must be ‘tested’. In this case, the method of choice was semi-structured interviewing with the use of interview guides.

As a first step towards understanding stakeholder relations in the researched destination, it was necessary to determine which “people, institutions, companies or organizations” (Granås, 2014) to include. The selection of stakeholder groups was based on the definition of Freeman (1984) and Donaldson & Preston (1995) presented in chapter 3. Selection was a continual process throughout the entire phase of data gathering. Once selected, representatives of these stakeholder groups were then interviewed regarding their self-understanding of the destination and their relations to the stakeholders, to ‘understand how these relational processes influence each other and the power-relations between them, to assess how they might help or hinder the development of the place as a destination’ (chapter 2). Directly after each interview, the data was sorted and analyzed in accordance with the ‘Grounded Theory’ approach described above.

The first phase of the research was the development of a theoretical understanding of the complex topic of sustainability, destination and stakeholder theory, and how these factors influence each other. The data gathered in this step was collected through a literature research and formulated in the preceding theory chapters. This laid the foundation for the second step, the data gathering for the case study.

In preparation for the actual fieldwork, information about the study location was collected via Internet research, literature review and with the help of Ecolodges Indonesia board members, who possess detailed knowledge of the organizational structures of the destination. This was necessary to gain a basic understanding about the dynamics and influential groups within the destination, the problems it faces, and what to consider in the research design. With this data, a first group of stakeholders at the destination were identified, and – according to their motivation for interactions with other stakeholders – categorized into economic, ecologic or social stakeholders, in line with the understanding of sustainability as utilized in this thesis. Yet, this was only a first draft of the stakeholder network, as the researcher, I was actively looking to be referred to other stakeholder groups from my interviewees, which were unknown to me as an outsider.

The main fields of interest in the organizational structures of the destinations were identified and preliminary interview guides for the single stakeholder groups developed. More specific interview guides were developed shortly before the start of the interviews and were updated in accordance to what data had been collected previously. This made collection of data on one topic from multiple stakeholder perspectives possible, while still being flexible to adjust and react to new information. Due



to the exploratory nature of my research, the interview guides were not followed meticulously, but worked through in a natural conversation style. Such a style does not hinder the interviewee to associate freely and make connections in a way that is logical for them. During the participant observation manual field notes were kept.

## **5.2 Challenges in the data gathering process**

My inability to neither speak nor understand Indonesian languages made the use of a translator in some interviews necessary. In those interviews, it was ensured that the translator was a known and trusted acquaintance of the interviewee, to encourage the interviewee to open up and speak freely. In cases where the translator was not picked in consultation with the interviewee, the choice was communicated to the interviewee prior to the session. This was done early enough for the interviewee to decline and pick a translator for themselves. The research process was further complicated through two factors, firstly the partly sensitive nature of the topics discussed, and secondly, Indonesian cultural dynamics.

The collection of precarious data concerning sensitive topics such as bribery, poaching or the flow of financial resources made a completely anonymous data collection necessary. Therefore, only the stakeholder agency the informant belonged to and their general level of employment (e.g. office worker, management, guide) were recorded, to allow for an accurate assessment of the data collected from them. This was communicated to all interviewees before the start of the interview as a trust building measure.

The same reasons made it necessary to limit the recording of the data during the interviews to manual notes, to warrant the anonymity of the interviewee. To compensate for this lack of recordings, the written notes were kept as detailed as possible as an aid to memory, using a well-kept code of abbreviations and symbols to make fast notation possible. This was assisted by the necessity of employing a translator, as translation caused pauses in the flow of the information. After an interview, the notes were directly transcribed into electronic format and drawing on my memory fleshed out with additional information.

To comprehend the cultural difficulties that this research faced, one has to understand how important hierarchy and harmony is for the structure of Indonesian social life. A person should never “lose face”, especially those of higher rank. Losing face can also be a passive process, for example, through the defamatory statement of a person of lower status about his superior. In addition to that is directness often seen as disturbing the social harmony and generally shied away from (“Country Comparison,” n.d.; “How to Act Indonesian - Cultural Habits,” n.d.).

These dynamics constrained the interviewees in directly addressing problems both with other stakeholders and within their own stakeholder group. This hindrance was increased in difficulty through the strong interconnectedness of the stakeholder groups within the destination. Many members of one stakeholder group are or had been members of another one. To counteract this, the interviews were in majority held one-on-one with a representative from a specific stakeholder group. The only exception to this, was the interview with Informant group #9. Here a group interview was held, to offer all interested members of the local community a forum to speak and allow for data collection from an adequately sized sample group.

Unfortunately the research was unable to gather data in direct interviews from two stakeholder groups. Both the TPNP administration, as their own stakeholder group and as the official representative of the “silent stakeholder” TPNP, and the locally present palm oil companies of the SINAR MAS Group were unwilling to meet after being informed about the aim of this study. This lack of direct data gathering was substituted to gathering data about these stakeholder groups from all other interview partners and cross-referencing their statements to gain a general insight. This is why the two stakeholders ‘palm oil companies’ and ‘TPNP’ have been summarized in the dedicated sections 6.2.1 and 6.2.2.

A second hindrance was the relationship between the researcher and the interviewees. As a researcher, I am and was a young, white girl, rather wealthy for the standards of the case study region and from a very privileged background with a high educational standard. The interviewees were mostly middle-aged men with low to no educational background (except the representatives of the international NGOs in management level) and less financial resources. In a society where age differences play a big role in determining your social status and where gender roles are still less challenged than in the western world, this made my social rank and position towards my interviewees an unusual one. Education and wealth, especially in connection with my skin colour, made my ranking

higher, whereas my age and gender would have spoken of a lower status. I was therefore clearly recognized as an outsider and as one that did not fit in the given way society was structured. I was therefore often met with shyness – especially since the interviews were often a special occasion for workers that were not used to being asked their opinion about superiors and problems outside of their immediate work-space. As a researcher, I was treated as an honored guest. Many interviewees were eager to please me for the sake of hospitality – including never disagreeing with me and trying to tell me what I might want to hear. This potentially could have served to bias the data collected and made countermeasures necessary.

To assure the interviewees of the value and validity of their own opinion and give them the confidence to utter it, the interview questions were constructed using a reflective listening technique (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006; Emmons & Rollnick, 2001; Rautalinko & Lisper, 2003). This technique employs a two-part question structure, where the first part of a question is a *reflection* of the last answer, using the participants' own words to validate their statement, and the second part is the *extension* prompting the interviewee to provide more information. Claire (Oelrichs, 2014, p. 26), who employed the technique successfully in a very similar case study, summarizes the benefits of this technique as following: “This technique ensure[s] that the interviewer remained interested, but not interesting, while the words of the participants remained the focus of importance [...] giving value to their words and encouraging them to contribute, while allowing them to reconsider and validate (or not) the various beliefs they had held to be true.”

This chapter explained the considerations before and the challenges during the research process as well as presented techniques used to reconcile them in a proactive manner for scientific qualitative data collection. The result of this research in all its steps and the discussion of the data collected in regard to the theory presented in chapters 2, 3 and 4 will be the topic of the next chapter.

## **6. Case study: Touristic development in the Tanjung Puting National Park and the Kumai province in Central Kalimantan, Indonesia**

### **6.1. Preface: Governing of national parks in Indonesia**

Many of the issues described in the case study in this chapter have their root in the way the Indonesian national parks are established and governed. To fully understand how the governing system and the general relationship between the people of Indonesia and the central government impacts the development of national park destinations, it is therefore necessary to have a closer look at these relations and the power dynamics within them. To provide this insight is the purpose of this preface.

The administration of forests and natural resources, as well as the establishment and management of protected areas in Indonesia, is a complicated process. The administrative system is structured in several tiers, which are so complex that it is often hard to apply the system to practical cases. The following chapter will give a short overview of the administrative structures for forest and protected area administration, the processes necessary to declare the first to be the latter and how the complexity of these structures can lead to problems in practical cases.

#### **6.1.1 The legal foundations**

The 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia states “The land, the waters and the natural riches contained therein shall be controlled by the State and exploited to the greatest benefit of the people.” (Article 33, § 3). Such governmental control was chiefly established through two Acts that regulate the management and administration of forest resources. Firstly in 1990, through the Law of the Republic of Indonesia No. 5, government became responsible for conservation of living resources and their ecosystems (commonly called the Conservation Act); and, secondly in 1999, through the Law of the Republic of Indonesia No. 41 of 1999 on forestry (commonly called the Forestry Act). The administration is overseen by the Ministry of Forestry (MoF) that also regulates connected issues, such as the decentralization of certain administrative tasks in forestry to local governmental agencies (Government Regulation No. 62, 1998).

The Forestry Act concerns the zoning/categorization of Indonesian forests, whereas the Conservation Act is mainly concerned with the classification of nature conservation areas (Damayanti,

2008). The Forestry Act categorized forest areas after two features. Firstly, whether the forest is in state possession (*hutan negara*) or privately owned (*hutan rakyat*, also called right forest *hutan hak*). And secondly, which function the area has. Possible functions are conservation, protection or production. Conservation forest (*hutan konservasi*) includes nature reserve forest (*kawasan hutan suaka alam*), nature conservation forest (*kawasan hutan pelestarian alam*) and hunting parks (*taman buru*).

Protection forest (*hutan lindung*) is defined as areas that protect life support systems, such as preventing floods or controlling erosion.

Production forest (*hutan produksi*) is categorized into fixed, limited or convertible production forest by the MoF, based on the utilization allowed within its bounds. Convertible production forest (*hutan produksi yang dapat dikonversi*) is the least protected forest area and can be de-allocated to non-forestry purposes such as transmigration projects or industries such as mining (Damayanti, 2008).

These functions are determined by the MoF for both private- and state-owned forests and “utilisation of titled forest having the protection and conservation functions may [only] be conducted as long as it does not disrupt such functions” (Forestry Act, Article 36).

In the Conservation Act, conservation areas are categorized into firstly sanctuary reserves (*kawasan suaka alam*), including strict nature reserves (*cagar alam*) and wildlife sanctuaries (*suaka margasatwa*). The second category is nature conservation areas (*kawasan pelestarian alam*), including National parks (*taman nasional*), grand forest parks (*taman hutan raya*), nature recreation parks (*taman rekreasi alam*) (Damayanti, 2008).

Another function of the Conservation Act is the regulation of national parks through a zoning system, dividing the park into, *inter alia*, core zones or utilization zones that are under different levels of protection. The core zones of a national park are, for example, not open to the public, whereas the utilization zones are open to tourism. Generally, activities that are inconsistent with the permitted utilization in their zones or “considered modifying the natural integrity of the Core Zone [...], include [sic!] to diminish or to degrade, the function and area of the Core Zone, as well as introduce exotic species of plants and animals” (Conservation Act, article 33, §2) are illegal. The determination of zones and permitted utilizations is undertaken via the national park management plan, which is part of the national park management and is therefore a task of the local government (Damayanti, 2008). The government can grant concession right for utilization development to public agencies, but can also “when clearly necessary for the purposes of maintaining or rehabilitating [sic!] natural resource and their

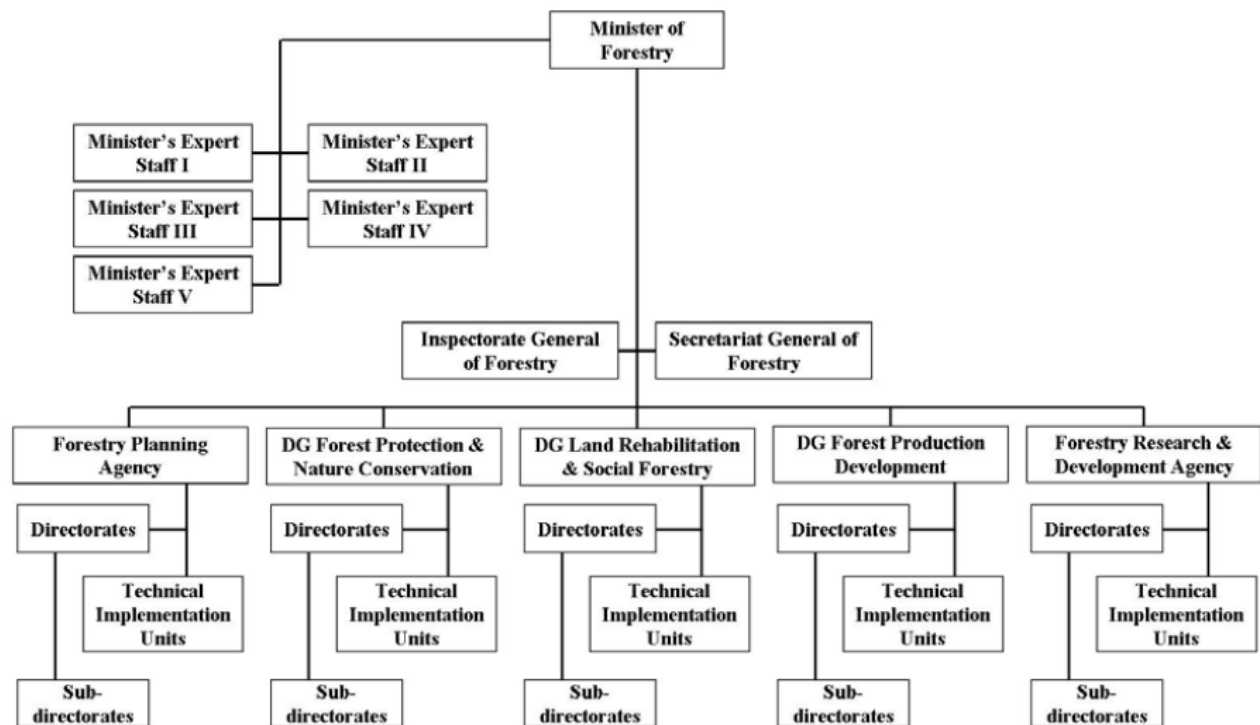
ecosystem, [...] halt utilization activities and shut off [the] National Park.” (Conservation Act, Article 35)

To safeguard protected areas such as national parks against “threats and disturbances that originated from outside as well as from inside, which may change the areas physically and or functionally” (Damayanti, 2008, p. 41), the Republic of Indonesia categorized peripheral areas of a protected area as buffer zones (after the concept proposed by MacKinnon *et al.* 1986/1993). As stated in the Government Regulation No.68 (1998), the MoF, in agreement with the area’s governor and owner(s), can declare areas as buffer zones, but the management of said areas lies with the owner of the land.

Stated in the Government Regulation No. 68 (1998) is the need for the local government to promote activities that increase the effectiveness of the buffer zones and make the local communities independent of the resources within the protected area. Such buffer zone development programs are often training packages (e.g. tour guide training, touristic souvenir production, farming of medicinal plants) and livestock distribution (Damayanti, 2008).

### **6.1.2 The administrative system**

All national forests are under the control of the MoF and its five directorate generals (*direktorat jenderal*). The generals and their staff share the main administrative tasks between them, aided in the field by their technical implementation units (*unit pelaksana teknis*).



Organization chart of Ministry of Forestry of the Republic of Indonesia

Source: (Damayanti, 2008, p. 45)

For the case study presented herein, it is interesting to note that even though the Directorate General of Forest Protection and Nature Conservation (*Direktorat Jenderal Perlindungan Hutan dan Konservasi Alam*) is the one in charge of managing protected forest areas, the Directorate General of Forestry Production Development (*Direktorat Jenderal Bina Produksi Kehutanan*) is the one in charge of granting licenses for utilization of forest areas (Damayanti, 2008), which includes the establishment of palm oil plantations. National parks are directly managed by the National Park Offices (*Balai Taman Nasional*) a technical implementation unit under the Directorate General of Forest Protection and Nature Conservation. The leader of the national park office is the national park head, who is appointed by the central government, not by the local authorities in the area of the national park (Damayanti, 2008).

### 6.1.2 The flow of financial resources in the national park system

That national parks are directly responsible to the MoF and therefore under central governance also influences the flow of financial resources in the national park system. Since in Indonesia the forests are

public goods and conservation of natural resources is regarded as a public service, all funding for such activities comes from the central government (Widyaningrum, 1012). In a reverse conclusion, the Indonesian government argues that all funds needed for the operations of a national parks are carried by the government, and all income from the parks (e.g. from entry fees) are therefore to be handed over to the MoF and the central government (Hollenbach, 2005; Widyaningrum, 1012).

Yet, the governmental budget allocation system is inclined to hinder a smooth administration process for the national park offices, especially in regard to the budget allocation system. In most cases, the government does not approve the budget plan presented by the national park office right away, since the allocated budget is composed of two components, a direct budget (*rupia murni*) and non-tax revenue budget (*pendapatan non pajak*). The direct budget is allocated by the national treasury and is therefore predictable in size and accessible throughout the whole financial year. The non-tax revenue component on the other hand, is allocated depending on the transfer of all non-tax revenues (e.g. the entry fees of national parks) from the MoF to the central government. This entails that this part of the budget is hardly predictable both in size and when in the fiscal year it will be made available to the national parks. Resulting from these uncertainties regarding the available budget, national park offices either spend less overall, since they are not planning for the full extend of the budget, or the quality of their work output is diminished, since they have to hastily distribute the non-tax revenue budget once it has been placed at their disposal (Widyaningrum, 1012).

### **6.1.3 The impact of the Indonesian decentralization politics on the country's protected areas**

The direct control of the central government organ MoF over the protected areas stands in contrast to the otherwise decentralized government in Indonesia. After the fall of Suharto and the New Order Regime in 1998, the Indonesian public and local governments regionally called for a shift of power from the center to the particular regions of the country. As a reason for this, Allan J. Hollenbach (2005) names the deep suspicion of centralized governance after 30 years of authoritarian rule, producing the “overwhelming desire to reduce the power of the center and increase autonomy in the regions” (p. 80). That being said, John F. McCarthy (2004) goes even further, naming a “heritage of bitterness toward Jakarta and the Javanese dominated bureaucracy, and the way that centralized decision making had enabled politico-business interests with influence in Jakarta to become rich while local communities had been deprived of land and livelihood opportunities.” (p. 1202). These calls for decentralization



were answered quickly, through the passage of two laws in 1999, firstly Law 22/1999 on Regional Governance and secondly law 25/1999 on the Fiscal Balance between the Central Government and the Regions. The management of natural resources was divided between the district, provincial and central government. According to Hollenbach, this led to the development of “perverse incentives [...] in the management of natural resources that have heavily impacted the integrity of the protected areas system” (Hollenbach, 2005, p. 80). One of these incentives, the ‘generation of local revenue’ resulted in limited local level benefit. This occurred despite the fact that decentralization shifted large parts of governance responsibilities to local levels. In the main, the latter were not prepared to handle these, and/or lacked the knowledge and ability to shoulder them. Yet, aspects from which they could have benefited, such as the capacity to raise revenues, was retained by the central government, the exception being the exploitation of natural resources (Hollenbach, 2005). On the other hand, many local governments measured the success of decentralization with regard to their ability to support their areas autonomously (Resosudarmo, 2004). This led to what Moira Moeliono and Edy Purwanto (2008) described as “’euforia otonomi’, where district governments raced to exploit their natural resources to increase local revenue, and local people claimed and re-claimed rights over large areas of land” (p. 3), making logging and other utilization of forest resources the main source of income for many districts (Siagian & Komarudin, 2008).

Yet, conservation areas, such as national parks, remained under central government control, leaving the local level authorities with control over operational decisions only (McCarthy, 2004). This renders conservation areas to enclaves of disdained central governance in the otherwise autonomous governance of the local authorities and makes the discourse about conservation in protected areas into a discourse about power and control (Moeliono & Purwanto, 2008). This is aided by the lack of legal clarity of Indonesian laws regarding forestry. In 1967, under the New Order Regime, the Basic Forestry Law placed nearly all power in the hands of the central government, except for the right to hand out small-scale logging concessions. In 1999, when Law 22 was passed, it seemingly opened the possibility of transferring more power to the local government levels, yet its formulation was so nebulous that a multitude of interpretations were possible. Additionally, in 1999, Law 41 was passed as a new forestry law, which was meant to replace the New Order Regime’s Basic Forestry Law. This law, however, did not mention any transfer of power from the central to the local levels at all; thus, giving the MoF, on the one hand, the possibility to base their adherence to power on a legal structure. The local

governments, on the other hand, could base their seizure of certain rights and powers on Law 22, a likewise existing legal structure. In 2000, to put an end to this situation, the Indonesian government passed the Government Regulation No.52, albeit this regulation only specified the powers and responsibilities of the central and provincial governments. Subsequently, it only vaguely entailed that district governments are responsible for everything that is not mentioned (Resosudarmo, 2004). Many district governments, therefore, feel that they have been stuck with many responsibilities without gaining any powers. As a consequence, district governments view the ‘interference’ of the central government through the MoF and the national parks as a breach of district government territory.

Conservation areas also happen to be enclaves filled with natural resources that are beyond the reach of said authorities and not open to public utilization, which again plays into the “heritage of bitterness” mentioned by McCarthy. The often-poor local communities perceive high value assets within the national parks as controlled by the central government, even though they feel that they have rightful claims to these resources, which their ancestors have utilized for generations. This is especially true for communities that originally had their settlements within the boundaries of a national park and were displaced in the process of its establishment. This is one of the central conflicts between the local communities and the central government that has grave consequences for the health of national parks all over the country (Hollenbach, 2005; McCarthy, 2004; Moeliono & Purwanto, 2008; Resosudarmo, 2004; Siagian & Komarudin, 2008; also shown in this case study). It is a conflict that could be mitigated by buffer zone development programs and general touristic development of regions surrounding national parks. Countervailing such mitigation is the fact that not even the revenue generated directly by the national parks stays with the local authorities or is in any way beneficial to the local communities. Instead, as shown in section 5.1.2, national park revenues are handed over to the MoF/central government. For Hollenbach (2005), this “[...] increases the perception of communities that the [protected area] is purely an artificial construct imposed by and beneficial to the center. Clearly such a perception will engender little desire to preserve the [protected area’s] resources” (p. 81) – in many cases it even inspires acts of revenge against the government and its construct, the national park.

In regard to Indonesian tourism destinations set around national parks, several dynamics based on the influence of Indonesia’s national park governing system become apparent. Firstly, the governing system is so complex that it becomes inefficient and hinders the development of the park. The

coordination between the different instances consumes time and the different departments can potentially even counteract each other's efforts – as seen in the case of one department trying to fulfill their task of protecting reservation areas, while another can grant licenses that have the exact opposite effect. This is especially true for the budget allocation system, which has a setup so convoluted, that it has the opposite of its intended effect and prevents the national parks from reaching their full developmental potential.

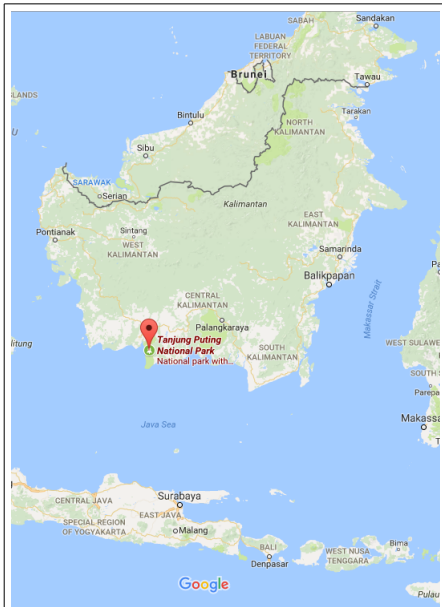
Secondly, the central government is an important stakeholder in the case study destination, but not a helpful one. It is hindering the development of the destination through extracting financial resources without substituting them for any other capital be it knowledge, leadership or developmental aid.

And thirdly, the central government is a non-native stakeholder that has historically been distrusted and disliked by the native stakeholder groups, which in turn impacts the latter's opinion about the central government's development strategies – for example, the administration of national parks. This can have quite harmful consequences for the parks, as their weak protection and fragility makes them an easy target for acts of revenge by native stakeholder groups.

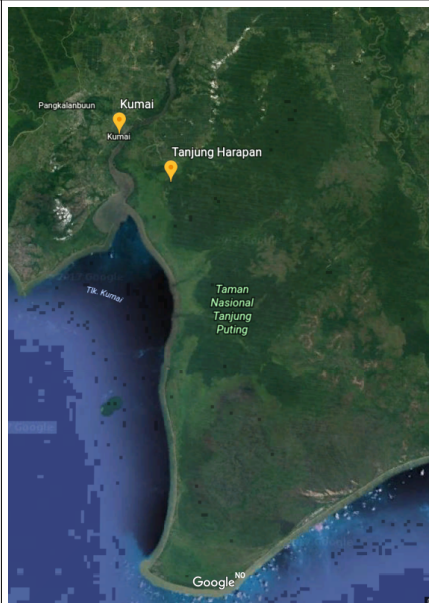
How such dynamics play and how much of a practical impact such dynamics have on touristic development of a region will be discussed in case study of the TPNP below.

The case study will start out with giving a short introduction to the study location, followed by a description of the two 'silent' stakeholders that the researcher was unable to interview directly. Following this, the actively interviewed stakeholders and their role in the destination are described, as well as the conflict between them. The discussion of these stakeholder relations and their impact on the sustainability of tourism development in the destination in regard to the theory presented in chapters 1, 2 and 3 will then conclude the case study.

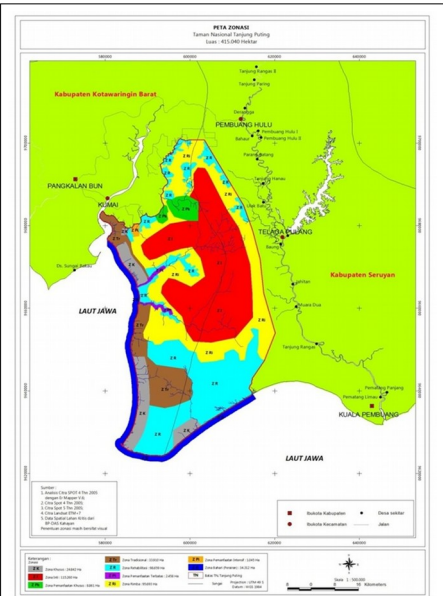
## 6.2 Case study location: Tanjung Puting National Park, East Lampung district, Sumatra



Location of the TPNP in Indonesia (“Location of the TPNP in Indonesia,” 2017)



Location of the case study (“Case study location,” 2017)



Zoning map of the TPNP (“Tourism Information Centre Tanjung Puting National Park,” 2012)

The Tanjung Puting National Park, TPNP, is the largest remainder of the extensive coastal tropical rainforest that once covered nearly the whole of southern Borneo. It was declared a game reserve by the Dutch colonial powers in 1935 and recategorized several times, until it became a national park in 1982. Even though it has been a conservation area for a long time, the TPNP has a “checkered history of weak protection” (“Tanjung Puting National Park | Orangutan Foundation International,” n.d.). The early declaration of its protection was connected to the incredible richness of the biodiversity that was and partly still is to be found in the great variety of lowland habitats enclosed in the peat and heat forests. The TPNP is home to a wide variety of species, the best known being the orangutans. Through the conservation and research efforts of Dr. Biruté Galdikas and her team at Camp Leaky, the orangutans and their fight for survival became famous throughout the world. A fame that is the foundation for the touristic success of the area, but this is not the only way the TPNP benefits the surrounding communities.

Aside from its remarkable biological attributes, Tanjung Puting is highly important for the well-being of the surrounding local human population. The wetlands provide vital ecological services such as flood control, [...] natural biological filtration system, and seasonal nurseries for fish which are the major source of local animal protein. [...] In addition, local people benefit from a great variety of forest products (“Tanjung Puting National Park | Orangutan Foundation International,” n.d.).

Tourism in the region started in the 1990s and is nearly exclusively focused on the orangutan wildlife tourism. Its development is best demonstrated by the number of house boats that ply the Sekonyer river to bring visitors to the TPNP. Starting in 1992, there were four tourism boats with four guides, only two of them local. The low number was due to the fact that tourism was a completely foreign concept to the poor, local population – so foreign, in fact, that their only term for such visitors was ‘Canadians’, since these were the main guests visiting Camp Leaky (Informant #8). By 2005, the people of Kumai had come to understand the potential of tourism, which led to a boom in the industry. In 2017, there is a minimum of 75 boats on the river with four people working on each, plus countless local guides and cooks offering their services in and around the TPNP (Informant #3). The workers have organized themselves into associations such as the Boating, Guiding or Chef Association, which are open for everybody. As a consequence, for example, a major percentage of the Chef Association are women (Informant #8).

The touristic boom was motivated by several factors. Firstly, work in tourism compared to work at mining sites or oil palm plantations is rather easy on the body and offers a good payoff. The second advantage of the job is contact with other nationalities and interactions with people from around the globe. This second factor offers people the opportunity to learn things they would not be able to learn through any part of the Indonesian educational system. Moreover, tourism, in turn, enables local stakeholders to present themselves, their lives and their culture. All local stakeholders, who were interviewed (Informant #3; Informant #4, English; Informant #8; Informant group #9) noted that this was as a very important motivation to work in tourism.

In the TPNP and the surrounding region, the influence of global stakeholders on the sustainable development of the region is highly visible. Tourism is only the fourth largest market in the national park region, behind palm oil on rank one, followed by mining and bird nest farming for the Chinese delicacy market. These industries are highly globalized, so only a little of the economic power lies

within the local community itself. The residents mostly occupy lower-ranking working jobs in farming/mining businesses, without holding any real decisive power for themselves. These industries also have a catastrophic impact on the health of the TPNP. In particular, the palm oil industry is disturbing the delicate balance of a tropical rainforest ecosystem. Mining and tourism also contribute to the degradation of the national park ecosystem.

### **6.2.1 Palm oil companies and their influence on TPNP**

According to official records, oil palm farming has taken place in the area for 25 years, however, the NGO FNPF suggest illegal plantations had started at least 30 years ago (Informant #6). Plantations owned by the companies of the Sinar Mas Group enclose the national park on three sides (the fourth being a beach). Three of them are in the buffer zones around the national park. The ministry of forestation allowed these first three concessions to use land in the buffer zone and to drain the peat underground via a channel. It is considered common knowledge that these concessions were obtained via bribery (Informant #1). Even though the government no longer hands out permits to turn government owned land into plantations, the oil companies buy land from the local communities or even simply expand their fields illegally. This is aided by the unclear state of the park and buffer zone boundaries as well as the lack of enforcement of such boundaries by the national park management and/or the government (Informant #5, Informant #6). The plantations not only disturb the ecosystem of the surrounding forest, they destroy the orangutans' habitat. The plantations are also dangerous for the orangutans that come close or enter them to raid the fruit. The workers having little information about conservation and why it is important, kill the orangutans for it. The plantations are also generally very bad for the environment. Before the palms can be planted, the peat layer over the soil (5-12 m) has to be burned off. Otherwise, the roots cannot reach the soil. It is possible that a forest fire in 2015 was ignited by such burnings. The palms also contribute to fire danger. The plants are unable to hold much water in their root system and absorb approximately 15 liters of water per day. This drains the peat around the plantation and leaves the ground vulnerable to fires (Informant #5).

The fields have to be dug up every 25 years, then the used top soil is mixed with fresh layers underneath it. To aid with growth, the companies use fertilizer, which drains with the water from the plantation into the river system. Palm oil plantations permanently ruin the land for other plants, because they leave the soil depleted and unable to hold moisture. Oil palms also leave deep and wide root systems that choke other plants trying to grow on them, rendering the land unusable for decades to

come. In comparison to this, burned forest areas will regenerate in 9-10 years (if they are not disturbed), since the charcoal is a good fertilizer (Informant #6).

The plantations are heavily fertilized, and their wastewater is channeled unfiltered into the waterway system around the park. As a result, the waterway gets overly fertilized and water plants grow too fast. This is a problem, because the waterways are the main transport route for people and goods, and the plants either block their way or get sucked into the cooling system of the boat motors and break them. Especially problematic are the water hyacinths, which are a foreign species in the habitat. They were introduced into the waterway system to clean the water following a large leakage of wastewater from a palm oil company into the river system. And indeed, the pollution was absorbed enough to prevent it from spreading downstream to the bay. However, the ecosystem of the Sekonyer river was greatly affected. Fish were “acting like they were drunk” (Informant #1) and could be plucked out of the water by hand (Informant #2; Informant #3). Locals then ate these fish and even though no direct health consequences were observed, people are afraid they will manifest over the next 5-10 years (Informant #3).

To the local communities, the palm oil plantations are highly valuable, firstly because they are the single biggest employer in the area (Informant #1, Informant #3). And secondly, because the companies that run the plantations are always willing to buy land that is worthless to the communities, but can be made into plantations, where, in turn, more people find work (Informant #3).

The touristic development of TPNP region could be a way out of this destructive circle, and is therefore pursued by many stakeholders in the region – as well as counteracted by others. Yet it should be noted, that at this point in time, touristic development is not undertaken very sustainably and it takes a toll on the park as well.

### **6.2.2 The general health of TPNP**

During the research phase, it was not possible to obtain official, explicit and up-to-date data on the overall health status of the TPNP. According to officials, the reason for this was a shortage of human resources, which prevents a thorough health-check of the whole national park area (Informant #1; Informant #5). The rangers of OIF visually check the health of the park and especially the orangutans, as do other stakeholders (e.g. the FNPF NGO). These groups observe and monitor several indicators regarding the health of the national park. The stakeholders themselves choose the indicators. While the

Ministry of Forestry surveys the park's health status through field staff reports, but as yet has not defined or disclosed a set of indicators to be monitored based on that data.

The orangutan population is monitored mainly through the feeding stations set up inside the TPNP. Here, mainly semi-wild (re-introduced) apes partake in the daily feedings. Wild orangutans infrequently join them. The number of apes varies with the quantity of alternative other food sources in the national park, but the overall development in the rehabilitated/semi-wild population is positive. All mature females at the stations are with child, because of their 3-4 year birth cycle. This is extraordinary, since the birth cycle of the wild females is twice as long, a factor pushing the species towards extinction (Informant #2).

One of the biggest dangers to the health of the national park is the frequent wildfires destroying large tracts of it on a regular basis. During a fire in 2006, half of the national park burnt down, killing off all the reforestation sites of the FNPF NGO (Informant #1). The most recent fire in 2015 destroyed a quarter of the park's area. It was hard to control, because it happened in the dry season and the fire spread easily, which made fire-breaks (areas with no trees to prevent fire spread) ineffective. The peat layer also caught fire, due to drainage by the palm oil industry (Informant #1). Further, the fire fighters were poorly equipped, since the access road to the area on fire was very thin and surrounded by swamp land, which made the quick transport of gear impossible. The main efforts were therefore water bombing from helicopters, which is ineffective against peat burning, and firefighters with water jets, shooting water directly into the peat. Yet, the fire raged for nearly two weeks and only two days of rain managed to extinguish it.

Even though only one orangutan died in the flames, the fire had harsh effects on other orangutans, such as smoke poisoning and the destruction of ca 121 000 ha orangutan habitat. This is expected to have long-term impacts on the orangutan population. There is no survey to show the detailed effect on the population, but Bornean orangutans were recently recategorized from endangered to critically endangered (Bell, 2016). The lack of habitat is getting so severe that a group of orangutans that were to be released into the wild in 2015 remain in the rehabilitation camp, because the Ministry of Forestry could not assign them a territory in the national park (Informant #5).



Other risk to the park's health is poaching and illegal logging and mining. Poaching has decreased nearly 90% since the Palm oil companies started expanding and the locals found other means of earning a living (Informant #4). Yet it is still happening; especially songbird poaching of the green leave bird. Some people even regard this type of poaching as a hobby. The poachers also litter the national park with plastic that is eaten by both terrestrial and aquatic animals, and even cigarette butts, which pose a great wildfire risk. Illegal loggers and miners pose the same problems (Informant #4; Informant #3).

Lastly, tourism and tourists also diminish the health of the TPNP. Currently, there are 14-16 tourist boats per day arriving at the feeding sites (Informant #3). These boats, together with the speed boats of the locals, create noise that stress the aquatic animals, enough to drive the native crocodiles out of the tourism plied waterways (Informant #4). Their stern waves also harm the nature on the river banks, snapping lily pads or even ripping them loose, resulting in the pads floating in the middle of the river. Here they form islands that hinder traffic (Informant #3). The boats also pollute the river by dumping their grey water, including human and chemical waste, unfiltered into the waterway system. Out of the 100 house boats that regularly ship the main arm of the Sekonyer river, only 2 have a mobile septic tank (Informant #1). This pollution and over-fertilization allows the robust water hyacinths to flourish, while more sensitive native species are pushed out of the habitat (Informant #2). Together with the mercury released into the river by illegal mining operations and the waste water of the palm oil plantations, pollution in the Sekonyer river has reached a level that is deadly to the small fish farms of the local communities kept in its side arms (Informant #4). This has been alarming enough that the national park administration has recently sent in a water sample for analysis (Informant #2; Informant #3; Informant #4). At the time of writing this thesis, no results of this analysis were made public.

It is not only the tourism boats, but also the tourists themselves, who harm the flora and fauna of the TPNP. They do so firstly through their sheer numbers at the feeding stations. The presence of a big crowd during feeding times makes the orangutans, especially the mothers with child, nervous (Informant #2, Informant #3, Informant #4, Informant #6). Secondly, the tourists harm through their behaviour inside the park and at the feeding stations. Here, it is important to differentiate between Indonesian and foreign tourists. International guests are usually better educated concerning the correct behaviour in a national park and while watching wildlife. On the other hand, Indonesian tourists are

usually less knowledgeable and therefore more prone to harmful behaviour (Informant #1; Informant #4, Informant #6; Informant #7). This includes loud talking/yelling at the feeding stations, harming nature near paths and stations and especially littering (Informant #3, Informant #4). I encountered an example of such behaviour during participant observation at Camp Leaky feeding station on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of April 2017.

During the feeding over 60 people were present, mostly members of the local police forces and district officials. They were talking loudly, which irritated the orangutans and the mothers showed clear signs of distress. One mother started chirping (a warning noise) at the people and throwing branches down onto them. The crowd reacted to this by getting even louder, whistling, hollering, and pointing at the animal, which enraged her even more. This kept on going for ca 20 min, until it escalated in the mother ripping of the top of a dead tree and throwing it down on the group, which then left. Two members of the park staff were present, but did not intervene, silently clearing up the litter left by the group. When I later asked my guide about why they did not try to control the group, he explained that the staff would not dare to tell the police and officials what to do (Informant #1). After the Indonesian group left, three white tourist groups remained and quietly watched the animals. Approximately 10 min later the next group arrived, also international and exhibited quiet behavior. In an attempt to manage such situations while staying within the social restrictions of the Indonesian social system, 'Please be quite' signs are now routinely installed at all feeding sites (Informant #1).

The excessive visitor numbers have a dramatic influence on the behavior of the orangutans, which are losing their natural shyness and start approaching visitors aggressively. This has been accelerated by the misbehavior of guests and guides that offer food to the animals outside of the feeding station routines in order to lure the orangutans closer for picture opportunities and even try to pet the animals (Informant #5). Orangutans now come down to the jetties and beg for food, going so far as to climb into the tourist boats and attacking people, if they do not get fed (Informant #3). Attacks and biting have become more frequent over the last years, being now at an average of five bites per year (Informant #4).

The NGOs OIF and FNPF, together with some of the TPNP staff rangers are fighting for a restriction of visitor numbers, modeled on visitor regulations in effect in the Komodo National Park on Pulau Komodo (IND) and the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) guidelines. This includes a restriction of overall visitor numbers to the national park, as well as a limit to visitors at one feeding site (Informant #4, Informant #5, Informant #6). In addition to that, the FNFP calls for a

complete ban of visitors for 2 months each year, to give the stressed flora and fauna a chance to regenerate. This call is backed by many members of OIF as well. Additionally, the OIF wishes to strengthen the regulations keeping visitors and animals apart and implement regular health checks for the animals, to prevent spread of strongyloides worms between apes and humans.

In sections 6.2.1 and 6.2.2 it becomes already quite obvious that the sustainability is not a major concern for any development in the case study region, with tourism being no exception to this rule. The palm oil plantations of the Sinar Mas Group companies are seriously hurting the fragile ecosystem of the TPNP and the surrounding waterways and with it the human population in the area. Unfortunately, these companies are the biggest employer in the destination and one of the major holders of power and are therefore meeting little to no resistance. Here would be exactly the point where, as described in the introduction, communal and holistically sustainably developed tourism could unfold this positive potential. It could offer an alternative way of earning a living for the rural communities, empower the population, awaken their interest for the TPNP and educate them about the correct ways to interact with it. Sustainable tourism would also supply the TPNP administration and the NGOs with resources like money and international attention to help their work, while not harming the park any further through the touristic activities. Unfortunately, only part of this potential is realized in this case. The root of this developmental failure can be found in the interaction of the stakeholders, which will be discussed in detail in the following sections.

### **6.3 Interviewed stakeholders in the destination**

As described in the methods chapter, a first and most important step to the data gathering process was the identification of stakeholders in the destination. Hereby the theory summarized in chapter 3 acted as a guideline.

In order to be able to identify the stakeholders in the destination, it was first necessary to define how this case study defines a destination. Here, the concept of a touristic ‘destination’ was not understood as and inflexibly defined geographic location or political jurisdiction, but following Granås’ (2014) approach based on the work of Massey (1994) that subordinates the concept to the concept of ‘place’. Here a destination is consequently understood as “an aspect of the social, i.e. as an aspect of relations in which people, institutions and material surroundings are a part” (Granås, 2014, p. 84).

In this case study, the 'destination' is therefore regarded as a network of social relations connecting to the dynamic of touristic development. The stakeholders that were included in the data gathering process were therefore chosen for their involvement in the social network, in accordance with the definitions of the term 'stakeholder' by Freeman (1984) and Donaldson & Preston (1995) presented in chapter 4. Involvement is here to be understood as actively influencing and passively being influenced by the network.

In the following sections, the inter stakeholders in the TPNP destination are named and their role in the network system is described shortly. Relating to the three aspects of sustainability, as described in chapter 1, the stakeholders are sorted into economic/touristic, ecologic and social stakeholders, according to the main area of interest in their definition of the "sustainability" of the destination's touristic development. The purpose of this is to give a basic understanding about the actors and their relationships with each other, to render a deeper understanding about the root of their conflicts possible.

### **6.3.1 Ecological stakeholders**

#### **6.3.1.1 National park administration/rangers**

Like all national park offices, the TPNP administration is structured under the Ministry of Forestry and the members of the administration are appointed and employed by the central government. The area of the national park is sectioned into 3 districts, each lead by a district head, who is responsible for the implementation of governmental regulations, the coordination of the national park staff and cooperation with the NGOs in their district. Cooperation with the NGOs has been mostly smooth, but the quality and effectiveness of their work is dependent on the attitude of the district head towards them. All revenues of the park are handed over to the Ministry of Forestry and in return the park receives funding to finance its operation. The funding, however, is not ample enough to allow for a sufficient number of rangers and guards to effectively manage and protect the park (Informant #4).

The aim of the national park rangers is to uphold the health and safety of the national park flora and fauna. The rangers see illegal mining operations, poachers and the forest fires caused by them as the biggest threats to the park. It is noticeable that the rangers do not feel a part of one big operational structure in the national park. There is a strong dissociation from the administrative staff appointed by the central government, which is seen as foreign to the practical situation of the national park. Informant #4 stated, that for him, as for most of his colleagues, the reason for working as a ranger was

his passion for the TPNP nature and the wish to preserve it for future generations. Financial interest was secondary. A ranger's salary is lower than that of a palm oil worker. Rangers rate the work of the administration as 'okay', but wish for more interest and stronger involvement in the actual daily operations of the park, such as forest fire prevention (Informant #4). A positive example of such involvement was a recent common operation of park rangers and military forces, that successfully shut down the biggest illegal mining operation and the arrest of several illegal loggers. The rangers feel more closely connected to the work of the NGOs, because they share the same enthusiasm for the protection and preservation of the national park flora and fauna (Informant #4).

## **6.3.2 Social stakeholders**

### **6.3.2.1 Local communities**

For the purpose of illustrating the influence of power relations and expressions of power on the sustainability of the TPNP destination, this thesis will separately discuss the data collected from the community of Tanjung Harapan village and the group interview with participants from several other communities within the Kumai district, now living in the city of Kumai. This is due to the fact that the village of Tanjung Harapan was originally located on the south-east bank of the Sekonyer river and was relocated to the north-west bank by the central government in 1977 when the Tanjung Puting Wildlife Reserve was expanded in preparation for candidature for national park status (Susilo, 1997; "Tourism Information Centre Tanjung Puting National Park," 2012, Informant #1). This expression of power had and still has an impact on the Tanjung Harapan community and its relation to the national park, which is lacking in the relationship of other communities and will therefore be discussed as an individual conflict.

## **6.3.3 Ecological/Social stakeholders NGOs**

### **6.3.3.1 Orangutan Foundation International (OFI)**

The OFI is an international nonprofit NGO, committed to the conservation of wild orangutans and the rainforests in which they live. The organization was founded in 1986 by the orangutan research group lead by Dr. Biruté Galdikas, who were stationed in Camp Leaky in the TPNP ("About OFI," n.d.). More recently, they signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with the TPNP administration that states their main tasks as preservation of habitat and the orangutans inside and

outside of the park as well as rehabilitation and reintroduction of orangutans into the wild (Informant #5). In practice, this means that their rangers monitor the orangutan population and feed and care for the semi-wild/reintroduced animals (Informant #2).

The OFI also work together with other stakeholders, to further the touristic development of the region, as they believe tourism will play a key role in the protection of the TPNP. Such cooperation includes the provision of training material for guides, the building of trekking trails and staffing the orangutan information center. They also support the pursuit of alternative economies to palm oil farming, such as banana farming; by feeding the orangutans exclusively locally farmed fruit (Informant #5).

Concrete developmental goals for the next 5-10 years are the reintroduction of all orangutans that are now waiting for a territory, putting an end to orangutan pet trade, reducing conflict between humans and orangutans, and raising the safety of TPNP. To achieve this, they work together with palm oil companies such as the Sinar Mas Group.

### **6.3.3.2 Friends of the National Park Foundation (FNPF)**

The FNPF is an Indonesian non-profit NGO founded in 1997, dedicated to the preservation of Indonesian national parks, their wildlife and its habitat and the local communities surrounding them. Their work is funded through donations, without any government subsidies. The NGO relies heavily on volunteer work (“Friends Of The National Parks Foundation - Who we are,” n.d.). Some administrative members get paid for their work, but financial interests are not the main motivation for their members – love and concern for the national park nature is. In the beginning, the FNPF worked together with the OFI in conserving the orangutans of TPNP. At the time of writing this thesis, the FNPF focus on reforestation projects, as their funding is low. In their active MoU with the TPNP administration, they are responsible for six active reforestation sites within the TPNP and its buffer zones.

In order to protect the national park, they also further the touristic development of the region in order to provide alternative income sources to palm oil, illegal logging, mining and/or poaching. To do so, they specialize in educational tourism in the national park, showing not only the wildlife, but also the dangers that are posed by palm oil and mining companies to the park. Within the next five years,

their goals are reducing fire risk, thorough planning, rehearsing firefighting strategies and getting more active in the education of the local children to change their mindset towards the park. For the FNPF, the sustainability of the region's development is linked to the protection of the park and its flora and fauna. If this happens, development is automatically sustainable (Informant #6).

### **6.3.3.3 OGreen**

OGreen is a young, Indonesian NGO formed by people from Kumai who are interested in the touristic development of the region. Most of its members are also members in other associations, such as the boating/guiding/cooking associations. This NGO funds its work through donations and relies on volunteer work. OGreen understands itself as an organization, that provides open education in both tourism and English skills to everybody who wants to learn. They also want to be a home to the different tourism associations in Kumai and a forum for information exchange between them. Their second goal is to protect the park and nature, so they try to buy land from the villages in the buffer zone, so that the palm oil companies cannot get it. They also mobilize volunteer fire fighters from the public, when the park is burning.

There are no clearly defined 5-year goals, as the NGO is only a semi-professional organization, without any full-time staff. The general goal is to grow and advertise its existence to the public, because the organization is convinced that in order to develop the destination sustainably, everybody in it must be involved in the development and learn about the park and the benefits it offers through tourism (Informant #8).

## **6.3.4 Touristic stakeholders**

### **6.3.4.1 DMO Tanjung Puting/Swisscontact**

The DMO for the Kumai region was formed and funded by the Indonesian Ministry for Tourism. In 2017, it was only partially active. The most prominent output of the organization between 2014 and 2016 was the re-branding of the destination, in cooperation with Swisscontact. The latter is an international development cooperation, working together with Indonesia to further the touristic development of the country on a national level (Swisscontact, n.d.). Swisscontact claims that the re-branding was done by their organization, while the DMO had been inactive and DMO representatives

were not attending meetings. Swisscontact are doubtful if the re-branding activities were a success, since the destination is not very widely known and no rise in visitor numbers have been achieved (Informant #7).

The other tasks of Swisscontact include general tourism development, including service training, destination branding/marketing, work-flow optimization in the destination and development of alternatives forms of tourism to wildlife tourism that currently dominates the market. For them, the development of other attractions than the TPNP is critical to the sustainable development of the region, seeing as the park is already over capacity (Informant #7).

#### **6.3.4.2 Boating, Guiding and Chef Associations**

The Boating, Guiding and Chef Associations are the self-governing bodies of all people involved on the touristic river travel connected to the TPNP. The Boating association represents all houseboat captains and crew, the guiding association all tourist guides and the chef association represents all cooks working on the houseboats. The three associations are tightly interwoven, with members of one regularly being members of the other associations. Usually, people start working as a cook or a crew and learn skills like boating or English that make a rise in ranks to better paid positions such as guide or captain possible (Informant #8).

#### **6.3.4.3 Association of Indonesian Tours and Travel Agencies (ASITA), Kumai region**

ASITA is a consortium of Indonesian business actors in the tourism and travel sector. The association have five main functions, representing their members' interest, developing their members' skills, collecting and spreading relevant information and maintaining a code of business ethics ("ASITA – Association of Indonesian Tours and Travel Agencies," n.d.). Their office in Kumai is responsible for the tourism activities connected to the TPNP and management sees it therefore as a branch-specific goal to use touristic development as a tool to protect the wildlife and the park (Informant #3).

#### **6.3.4.4 Rimba Ecolodge (REL)**

The Rimba Ecolodge is part of the Ecolodges Indonesia, a chain of hotels placed near several Indonesian national parks. The lodge's mission is to see tourism as a tool to aid nature conservation and



to empower the local people. REL tries to archive this by reinvesting a percentage of its revenue in conservation projects, hiring locals as staff and holding public English lessons in the lodge. It also makes a point of reeducating poachers to become guides, and to profit from their local/wildlife knowledge, as well as protect the park. The lodge also promotes the local culture, by visiting a traditional spa/steam bath with their guests and selling/using traditional plant weaving products, or inviting guests to learn to weave for themselves. It is not the goal of the lodge to end all palm oil farming, but to stop it from expanding and bring balance to the region and thereby create a sustainable coexistence.

REL's developmental goal for the next five years is to grow the tourism market so much that it becomes at least the second largest sector in the region. As a consequence, the expansion of the palm oil plantations would be curtailed. In this destination, REL holds a special place, as this organization combines 100% local staff with the touristic and other knowledge of an international company. Several board members have advanced academic knowledge in the field of sustainable tourism development.

As it becomes quite clear from these stakeholder descriptions, their relationships with each other are not free from conflicts. The following section will point out these conflicts in detail and prepare the subsequent discussion of the gathered data.

## **6.4 Conflicts between the stakeholders**

### **6.4.1 Conflicting definitions of sustainability in the destination**

In the stakeholder presentations above, it is obvious that not every group in the destination shares the same definition of 'sustainability' and 'sustainable tourism development'. Unsurprisingly, the weighting of the three aspects of sustainability, economic, ecologic and social, in stakeholder definitions of the concept follows the role they play as a stakeholder in the destination. So are the ecological stakeholders such as the international NGOs very taken with the ecological aspect of sustainability, which manifests itself in the wish to protect the park even though economic and therefore social repercussions must be expected?

On the other hand, park administration seems mostly interested in the economic side of tourism in the TPNP and shows itself therefore unwilling to take steps that might harm the financial benefit they

reap from tourism to the park – even though this kind of tourism can not be considered ecologically sustainable.

These two stakeholder groups strongly follow the school of thought present in what Saarinen (2006) described as the ‘resource-based tradition’ of sustainable tourism development. Here, the stakeholders connect the potential of touristic development solely to one resource, the TPNP. The third kind of stakeholders, the social ones such as the NGO OGreen and the local communities are therefore more oriented towards the ‘activity-based tradition’. For them, the economic and the resulting social aspects of sustainability play a role, since their livelihood is directly impacted by touristic development. They are therefore most interested in keeping up the flow of tourism itself, not in which kind of tourism it is. They agree readily with the necessity of protecting the park and are willing to accept the closure, but only if the income of resources is not diminished by it. It should also be noted that the sought after resources are not only financial in nature, but also social, such as contact with other nations and the chance to represent their culture. Community integrated touristic stakeholders such as ASITA and the REL also share this view.

#### **6.4.2 NGOs against administration**

One of the most influential conflicts in the relationship between the TPNP administration and the other stakeholders, of which many share the view of the TPNP rangers on the work of the administration. The OIF rangers, who work alongside the national park founded rangers, rate the cooperation between the OIF and the administration as workable, the administration provides the infrastructure and feeding stations, and the NGO pays for personnel and feed. Yet, they also wish for more practical involvement (Informant #2) and more passion for the park and motivation for its upkeep by administrative staff (Informant #5). At this point, Informant #5 made a point to differentiate between the rangers and the administrative staff, only criticizing the latter, which indicates the same dissociation between the two groups as stated by Informant #4.

The local OIF operations leadership state that cooperation is fairly smooth. This is because the OIF funds and performs many tasks that should normally be done by the governmental agencies and park administration. These tasks include the upkeep of 200 rangers and guards, reforestation activities and the rehabilitation, as well as reintroduction and feeding of the semi-wild orangutan population. Despite the government gaining much through the involvement of NGOs, they still have administrative hurdles for the work of NGOs in place. Even though a MoU has been signed, the OIF can only get a working

license for three years at a time, making planning for longer time frames nearly impossible. The direct cooperation with the TPNP administration consists mostly of them not putting down administrative hurdles for the work of OIF. In the main, however, they are unresponsive to the suggestions of the NGOs. Projects such as the release of the rehabilitated group of orangutans in 2012 have been stalled by government's unwillingness to make the search for a territory a priority. Also heavily criticized is their refusal to implement the urgently needed restriction of visitor numbers (Informant #2, Informant #5). At the utmost, occasionally, the administration delegates two or three rangers to collective projects with the NGOs that relate to part of their responsibilities (e.g. control of river plant growth). The previously mentioned military/national park operation against the illegal miners was noted as unusually positive (Informant #5).

All in all, the OIF views the work of the national park administration as ineffective. They call for stricter law enforcement, especially in regard to the demarcation of the buffer zones around the park, regular patrols and fire fighting/fire prevention (Informant #5). The flow of finances into the national park administrative system is also regarded as dubious, and the administration should sort it out and direct more of their resources towards keeping a sufficient number of guards and rangers (Informant #2, Informant #5).

The local association of travel agents also regards the work of the TPNP administration as insufficient, since they are not practically involved in running the park and keep everything understaffed, except for the ticket booths at the entrances (Informant #3). This statement again points towards the perception that the administration inappropriately makes their operational decisions based on financial, instead of preservationist reasoning. Informant #3 especially points out the lack of reforestation efforts by park administration, which are urgently needed to battle habitat loss, as these projects are completely run and financed by NGOs.

Most of the reforestation projects are under the management of the FNPF NGO. This organization as well criticizes the national park administration for the way they manage the park. FNPF finds the administration ill equipped to handle daily operations such as regular patrols or prevention of forest fires. The cooperation between the NGO and the park rangers is mostly good, since many rangers are motivated by the wish to preserve the park. There is a noticeable difference between them and those, who chose a ranger position solely to earn money. The same goes for the administrative staff. The

overall cooperation between the NGO and the administrative body is mixed. FNPF as well as OIF faces the problem of having to reapply every three years for a new license for operations. This is especially hindering for their work, since three years is a very short time frame to plan for the growth of trees. In years when their funding is too low, it is even impossible for the NGO to obtain a license, even though their work takes the responsibility away from park administration, which is then not acted upon in those years (Informant #6). As an example of how little the park administration is involved in the reforestation endeavors, Informant #6 gives the example of their last effort shortly after the forest fire in 2015. In the MoU between FNPF and the TPNP, a basic regulation towards which trees can be planted in the TPNP is the exclusion of non-native trees. Yet after the fire, the administration contributed only seedlings from non-native trees to the reforestation projects, which is illegal as stated in the Conservation Act discussed in section 5.1.1. Noteworthy is, that after the recent inauguration of a new national park head, the motivation of the administration seems to have changed for the better. Informant # 18 mentions the cooperation between rangers and military against the illegal mining and more frequent patrols as examples of reasons for such positive change.

The REL management sees the root of most of the problems in TPNP in the way the park administration is formed. As employees of the state, its members are appointed after seniority, not due to the fact that they are qualified or even motivated for these jobs. This leads to a lack of knowledge and enthusiasm in the administrative body that has practical consequences for the daily operations of the park. This system has traditions in Indonesia and its adherents regard their jobs solely as steps in their careers and a source of money (Informant #1). Informant #1 states that in cooperation with the national park staff both in rangers and administration, there is a noticeable difference between working with the younger or the older generation. The older generation is raised in the traditional system, whereas the younger generation was raised with international influences and tends to be motivated by the wish to preserve the park and its flora and fauna. One of the gravest consequences of this along with the lack of adequate funding is the lack of regular patrols that could prevent poaching and forest fires. Informant #1 also named the still existing practice of bribery in the national park administration as a hindrance to the development of the park – even though this problem has become less pressing since the election of President Joko Widodo. Informant #1 also pointed out, that not only the park administration itself but also all central government efforts to help the park are uncoordinated and therefore ineffective. So has the central government funded the development of a DMO Tanjung Puting

and even contracted the international consultation agency Swisscontact to help with the touristic development of the Kumai region, yet to little avail.

### **6.4.3 Local communities against government**

Two conflicts are summarized under this topic, one concerning solely the village of Tanjung Harapan and the other one being of a more general nature. The village of Tanjung Harapan is a small rural community on the northwest bank of the Sekonyer river. It was originally located on the opposite bank, within the boundaries of what is now the TPNP national park, on the other side of the Sekonyer river, where it existed for at least several generations (Informant #1). In the beginning, the inhabitants mostly lived off the forest, specializing in nature skills like hunting, fishing or knowledge of plants. During this time, they felt quite connected to the forest in which they lived and “lived in harmony with nature” (Informant #8). When the New Order Regime started to develop the exploitation of Indonesia’s natural resources, mining and logging enterprises started up in the area and became an employer for the people of the village.

In 1977, during the process of claiming the TPNP area as a national park, the village was forced to move to the other side of the river, where they were assigned a new village area, even though the people protested this with several demonstrations. Within the village population, this involuntary relocation lead to resentment towards the Indonesian. They lost access to those parts of the forest that were most fruitful and yielding for hunting and subsequently lost huge parts of their livelihood. To make up for this, the inhabitants then tried to farm rice on the new area they were assigned, but the soil was not suited for it and the project was abandoned. Mining and logging activities were left as the main providers of income and these operations were also drastically restricted in the newly formed national park.

Thus the relocation catapulted the village in a bad economic situation and the inhabitants were forced to break the law with poaching and illegal resource exaction to survive. These activities were quite lucrative and very quickly grew popular. This popularity replaced the respect the people of Tanjung Harapan had for the nature of the forest. To prevent such foreseeable consequences, the Indonesian law stipulated the payment of compensation to communities relocated in the process of national park declarations. At the time of writing this thesis, only 1% of the community of Tanjung Harapan has received such compensation (Informant #8).

The disregard for the land they were given and the dire economical situation of the village were also the reasons that the village community were quick to sell their land (which is partly located in the buffer zone around TPNP) to the palm oil companies, when they started up their business. OGreen, who has members from Tanjung Harapan is therefore active in buying all unsold land, to prevent the establishment of further palm oil plantations (Informant #8). In return, companies of the Sinar Mas Group invested into this sympathetic relationship, e.g. by installing solar-powered streetlights.

In 2017, the village is in cooperation with REL, which is located close by and thus involved in several touristic activities. REL is developing their tourism related skill sets, both within their own operation (such as chefs, service staff, guides) and in the village itself (such as training in providing experiences, presenting cultural entertainment and souvenir production). These efforts are met with great enthusiasm, not only because of the generated income, but also because of the contact with the REL guests. This enthusiasm also expands to the nature surrounding the village and the national park, eliciting interest in it and the will to protect it (Informant #8).

Not included in this positive change of attitude is the government and its park representative, the TPNP administration. The government is still seen as not caring, because it still does not share the income generated by the park with the people, who feel they have a right to such sharing. The government also does not try to involve the villagers in any other way, such as offering guide or language training or any other contribution to the villagers' education (Informant group #9).

Here, the effects of the Indonesian national park governing system discussed in sections 6.1.1 to 6.1.3 become visible. An autonomous government in an otherwise self-regulating environment uses its power to claim resources that the local communities feel they have traditionally had a claim on and are dependent on. Indeed, the community feels that “the [protected area] is purely an artificial construct imposed by and beneficial to the center” (Hollenbach, 2005, p. 81). This situation is made even worse by the fact that the promised compensation in form of money and buffer-zone development programs, to which this community is legally entitled, still has not been made a priority. All this leads to McCarthy's “heritage of bitterness” towards the government and the national park in the community.

#### **6.4.4 OGreen/ASITA/Associations against NGOs because of park closing**

The aforementioned call for closing the TPNP off to visitors for two months a year is also a source of conflict. The international NGOs agree on the necessity of its immediate implementation, which is

undeniable given the health status of the park, but the local NGO OGreen, together with ASITA and the Boating, Guiding and Chef Associations protest against it. For them, a visitor stop of two months in the destination's main attraction represents a drastic loss of income that cannot be compensated. They feel overlooked by the international organizations and that their needs have been neglected in favor of the TPNP – again. They also fear that when the income of tourism decreases, alternative forms of moneymaking, such as logging, poaching and mining might increase again (Informant #8, Informant group #9).

OGreen and the associations proposed the development of secondary attractions before the plans for a TPNP restitution period are implemented. Such attractions would thereby be able to generate alternate tourism income during restitution phases. This would also have several other benefits. People would be staying longer in Kumai, giving the locals more chance to interact with them, try their English and present their culture. These things were rated very highly as the perks of touristic development (Informant group #9). People would also spend more money in Kumai, boosting the tourism sector and related benefits such as increased income, involvement of locals and as a result increased interest/care for the nature and the TPNP. Secondary attraction development would also complement the called-for visitor restriction perfectly, as it would give tour operators a possibility to create longer programs that offer a bigger window for their guests to be able to gain access to the park (Informant #3). OGreen, ASITA and the associations are looking to the DMO and Swisscontact for help with such touristic development, but this relationship is also dominated by conflicts.

#### **6.4.5 OGreen/ASITA/Associations against DMO**

In the other stakeholder-organizations, the work of Swisscontact is not regarded as useful, and the DMO is seen as completely inactive (Informant #3, Informant #6, Informant #8, Informant group #9). ASITA remarked that they do most of their work. Swisscontact “just copied our destination” (Informant #3), meaning they just took the pre-existing organizational system and wrote their name under it. In new projects the DMO only takes initiative in the last stages to finalize the process.

FNPF points out, that the training programs provided by Swisscontact for the local community were little to not effective at all, since they were one-time with no follow-ups (Informant #6).

The members of the Boating, Guiding and Chef associations, as well as the members of OGreen share this view. They criticize that the courses offered were too short to create any long-term learning effects, even though the people were highly motivated to learn. Another point of criticism is the topics

that were taught in the courses. For example, the DMO ran a workshop on travel-writing for blogs, whereas Swisscontact started on a level of touristic skills comparable to Jakarta- or Bali-standard, which is currently not available in Kumai. Also the re-branding activities of the two organizations are at best regarded as highly ineffective, if the members have even heard of such a thing.

What would be useful, would be more basic and strategic knowledge, for example, how to build and optimize an eco-tourism destination network, not just decide over the heads of the locals. They should also offer a forum for the different stakeholders to share information and promote cooperation between them (Informant #8, Informant group #9). It is even feared that the work of Swisscontact could have an overall negative effect on the touristic development. Since their work does not yield any positive effects, the government might regard their investment as lost and the destination as impossible to develop profitably for tourism. Already now there are voices in parliament arguing against tourism and are pro palm oil because they get bribed by the palm oil lobby (Informant #8). Yet, Swisscontact and the DMO are not the only ones that are criticized for a lack of knowledge sharing and integration of the local community in touristic development of the region.

#### **6.4.6 OGreen/ASITA/Associations against NGOs and TPNP administration**

The local people generally feel like they are not involved in the touristic processes in the area, other than as service providers (Informant #8). The national park administration does not further their efforts to gain a foothold in the touristic sector either. For example, there are no national park guide trainings, only a certification exam. Even though people might teach the needed skills to themselves, the exam is exclusively open for people who graduated school, something that only few people in Kumai did – and those usually are not the ones needing work the most (Informant #8).

The international NGOs do not provide them with information about their proceedings or keep them up-to-date on the status of the TPNP flora and fauna, as they do between each other. This is irritating, since the local stakeholders perceive themselves as important as the international organizations (Informant #8). Although it is to be noted, that the communication between the other stakeholders is not as good as they perceive it to be.



### **6.4.7 General conflict between stakeholders**

When asked about the biggest hindrance for the sustainable touristic development of the destination, every single stakeholder interviewed named the lack of communication between the individual organizations. The management of REL reported the lack of communication as a problem especially between the international and local organizations (Informant #1). The OIF referred to the lack of communication and effective, structured cooperation between stakeholders (Informant #5). The FNPF criticized the lack of communication and the way the stakeholders work together, which is more competitive than collaborative. A similar note came from the TPNP ranger staff, complaining about the lack of communication in general, but also especially during the last forest fire, the ‘ego’ of the single stakeholders was in the way of effective procedures, since not every NGO was willing to participate as part of a collective and separated their efforts both practically and in the presentation to the public from the work of the others. For Informant #4, this is a direct consequence of the main problem within the destination, the distrust and missing communication between the stakeholders. ASITA also sees the lack of communication and trust between the stakeholders as the destination’s biggest problem and therefore perceives it as part of their tasks to share information between them (Informant #3). Swisscontact recognized this problem as well, but does not list it as part of their tasks to do something about it (Informant #7).

## **7. Discussion**

In the material presented above, we can clearly see that the conflicting definitions of ‘sustainability’ presented in 6.4.1 are the core conflict within the TPNP destination. Here, the different understandings of the term ‘sustainability’ held by the stakeholders and how much they value the single aspects of the concept are clashing against each other. When comparing the situation in the TPNP destination to Jaffari’s (2001, 2003) platform model, it becomes visible that the destination is still in the early stages of touristic development. Within it there is still a conflict between what could be described as supporters of the “advocacy” and “cautionary” platform, without the solutions offered by the “adaptancy” platform being put into action. Even less consideration is paid to the idea of the “knowledge-based” platform, seeing as there is little to no exchange of knowledge between the

stakeholders, even less so the attempt to “[...] compile the knowledge needed to properly assess and manage the tourism sector” (Weaver, 2006, p.9).

The material also demonstrates that none of the stakeholder groups at the present time are actively trying to develop tourism ‘sustainably’ while understanding the term as Twining-Ward (1999, p. 188) did, as “an integrated approach to issues facing both nature and people”. The single stakeholders are more engaged in furthering their own main interest. It is to be noted though that this is most likely not due to sinister intent, but simply because the definition of the concept for this specific case lacks the ‘participatory approach’ and negotiation process Saarinen (2006) called for. There is no common forum, where every stakeholder could present their understanding and represent their values with equal voice and power, so that a balanced general decision could be made. Since the decisive power lies with only a few select stakeholders, as a logical result their main interests will become a priority. As Bramwell et al. (1996) pointed out, decision makers will necessarily base their actions on their understanding of the concept ‘sustainability’.

In this case as well as in many others, political power, money and knowledge, in this case embodied by the government and its organs, the companies of the Sinar Mas Group and the international NGOs, dominates the social power of the population, which leads to a neglect of the social aspects in the destination’s direction of ‘sustainability’ in the touristic development. This shows that one of the oldest points of critique of the concept, cited in chapter 1, has after decades of discourse and implementation of the concept still not been resolved.

Indeed, this absence of sustainability in the development of the region has its roots in several far-reaching mistakes in the planning of sustainable tourism development and stakeholder management in the destination. Most of these were connected to one of the destination’s major issues: the absence of competent and engaged leadership in the touristic development process, even though there were several entities with the potential to offer such leadership. First such entities include the DMO and Swisscontact, which were the intended organizations tasked with this by the central government. The local government or the national park administration as a main beneficiary of the sustainable touristic development also might be suited to this role. The reason why there was nevertheless a vacuum of leadership can be found in the absence of two main factors, knowledge and engagement.

Swisscontact obviously is an outsider in the stakeholder system and ill-informed about the actual needs of the destination. Its methods were more suited for destinations in an advanced stage of touristic

development. This was evident in its attempts to open up new markets through branding, even though the destination did not possess the capacity to deal with them. It was also evident in its lack of teaching advanced tourism skills such as travel blog writing. Swisscontact seemed to have insufficient knowledge about the need for basic training and capacity building in the TPNP destination. This is something that is understandable for an outsider, but just points to a fundamental lack of organizations in the destination understanding these dynamics and being able to relay this knowledge to newcomers.

One could expect the local government to be this institution and see its task as keeping up-to-date with the development of the destination as a whole . But as described in 6.1.3, most of Indonesia's local governments are overtaxed with the burden of responsibilities shifted to them by the central government. Responsibilities for which their resources, including finances, manpower and the educational background of a majority of its members are not suited.

And lastly, in theory, the administration of the TPNP would also have the ability to take a leadership role. As an organ of the central government with a direct connection to the resources of Jakarta, this institution would potentially be able to gain access to a basic understanding of the workings of the destination – at least enough to instruct Swisscontact about its shortcomings. Several factors should motivate them to take such a role in absence of any other such instance. Firstly, that they are directly responsible for the stakeholder suffering most under the current way of tourism management – the TPNP. The situation of the ecosystem is getting critical, with extreme habitat loss, behavioral changes in the fauna and the general degradation of environmental health in and around the park reaching a level that is physically dangerous to the population surrounding it. And secondly, the TPNP is the stakeholder with the potentially biggest benefit from touristic development. Whereas the local community might substitute earnings from tourism with earnings from oil palm farming, the TPNP is unable to substitute the earnings from tourism coupled with the general rise in protection resulting from active engagement of the local population in its care for something else. But unfortunately as presented in chapter 6, the working motivation of the TPNP administration is not connected to the park as a natural resource worth protecting. Instead its motivation is connected to financial or status factors.

This absence of leadership has grave impacts for the process of stakeholder management and therefore sustainability of touristic development processes of a destination in general. As discussed in chapter 4, there needs to be an entity that actively works towards ensuring every stakeholder has a

voice in the decision-making process, or the more powerless ones will be omitted (Sautter & Leisen, 1999). The devastating consequences of this dynamic can be seen in several examples in this case study, for example in the debate about the park closure or the engagement of Swisscontact. And indeed, just as Clarkson (1995) predicted, this omission had the potential to prevent the success of the process as a whole. It also means, that there is no entity to guarantee all the other requirements for the success of stakeholder cooperation mentioned in chapter 4. To gain a detailed understanding of what this means for stakeholder cooperation in the destination, the five vital elements of successful stakeholder cooperation named by Nicodemus (2004) and Susskind & Cruikshank (2001) will now be examined in regard to their presence and role in the destination's stakeholder network.

The first element to be discussed is 'knowledge'. One can generally say that there were five stakeholder groups that were endowed with more than a basic knowledge foundation regarding their role in the stakeholder network and touristic development in general. These were OFI, FNPF, Swisscontact/DMO, the palm oil companies and ASITA. Two others, REL and the TPNP administration each showed a basic understanding about the development process of the destination, whereas the local community and NGO OGreen demonstrated a low level of knowledge. It can therefore be said, that most knowledge about tourism and how to develop it came from outside the region. Within the destination, the flow of information between the stakeholder groups was overly stagnant. The palm oil companies communicated solely with each other, OFI, FNPF and the TPNP staff exchanged information regarding the upkeep of the national park, whereas Swisscontact/the DMO failed in their role as distributor of knowledge to the local organizations. These patterns had several consequences.

Firstly, the different stakeholders were not on one level of understanding the issues the destination faces, neither in in-depth knowledge, nor regarding the nature of the issues. OIF, FNPF and the TPNP staff may have been knowledgeable about the ecological problems, but failed to see their impacts on touristic development, whereas with ASITA, for example, it was the other way around. This led to a very fractured approach to a solution to said issues, which can quite obviously counter holistic, sustainable problem-solving. Secondly, due to a lack of effective transmission of touristic knowledge through Swisscontact/the DMO to the touristic service workers of the local community, the overall speed of the development is greatly reduced. This does not only concern the advanced fields, such as English skills, but also a basic understanding of how to behave in contact with foreign guests. Thirdly, the lack of transmission of knowledge to the local community leaves this stakeholder group with

resentment towards the others. They perceive themselves as one of the major stakeholders in the destination, yet they are not recognized as such, nor involved in any of the networking.

As a consequence, this lack of knowledge-sharing in the destination demonstrates a complete absence of ‘wisdom’. The stakeholders are not on the same level, nor are they all part of the decision-making process. Subsequently, it is impossible – and not even attempted – to make informed and generally beneficial long-term decisions. This does not only concern the sustainability of the touristic development of the destination, but the single aspects of sustainability in themselves, too. An example for this can be found in the wrongful allocation of non-native tree seedlings by the TPNP administration for the reforestation projects – something a simple exchange of information about the long-term goals of this project with FNPF could have prevented. Another, even more striking case demonstrating the lack of ‘wisdom’ is the engagement of the DMO. Here it became obvious that even a well-meant and seemingly intelligent decision such as the hiring of a renown source of specialized knowledge could not function without working on a level that reaches all stakeholders. As discussed above, due to the overly specialized knowledge of the company, secondary steps in the destination development process became a priority, whereas the needed foundations of knowledge and capacity building were neglected. Indeed, this could have been prevented if the decision about the goals of Swisscontact’s involvement had been made using input from all stakeholders. Then, it would have been possible to communicate that firstly it would not be beneficial to attract more visitors at this time. And secondly, it could have discussed what structures needed to be developed to make such sustainable tourism management possible. With regard to the aforementioned lack of knowledgeable leadership, this would have been an extremely necessary step. The result of this neglect of stakeholder discourse is a waste of resources and, as mentioned in section 6.4.5, a potential danger to the destination's touristic development as a whole. As in this case, the lack of wisdom often leads to a waste of resources, since decisions once made, frequently need to be modified and corrected.

The resulting instability is the complete opposite of the third vital element: ‘stability’. Not much of this element could be found in the destination. Its lack spans from the brevity of the tourism training programs over the shortness of the MoUs granted by the TPNP administration to the overall insecurity about the future of tourism at the destination. The latter caused by the possible closing of the national park for months on end. In all cases, it leads to an inability to plan for more than a few steps ahead,

which would be harmful to any development and crippling to an ambitious process such as holistic, sustainable development.

The way the first four elements are handled seriously decreases the overall presence of the fourth element, 'efficiency'. Firstly, the lack of informed long-term decision making and the resulting instability of the decisions not only lead to inefficient use of resources, as demonstrated in the examples mentioned in the paragraphs that discussed the other elements. It also prevented planned re-use, such as recycling the litter in the national park, filtration of grey water on the houseboats or even re-using learning material and course plans for touristic education.

Secondly, inefficiency in the use of resources and bad planning made the implementation of solutions to issues faced by the destination in some cases nigh impossible. An example of this is the development of other attractions beside the TPNP. With regard to the urgency of the need for a restitution phase for the TPNP, many alternatives require an investment of resources such as time and person-power that make them unviable. Similarly, guided city tours, especially along the food market seem a perfect solution. But these entail a need for several other things, a general education for the community on how to behave towards a foreigner, a health check for the eating establishments, a number of guides educated in the history of town and region, to only name a few. To achieve this, a few years of education and constant development would be necessary, which would not be possible, either in regard to time, knowledge, or finances.

And thirdly, the decisions or developmental processes of one stakeholder are not necessarily understood or recognized as valid by all other stakeholders. As a consequence, the latter counteracts the former, which makes efforts highly inefficient. An example for this can be found in the littering and disturbing behavior of the locals in the TPNP, born not from ill will, but only from a lack of knowledge. A more intentional thwarting of developmental goals was the bribery of the palm oil industry to gain access to supposedly protected areas, which directly counteracts the efforts of OIF and FNPF. All in all, it can be said that the general lack of efficiency was a great hindrance for all development in the region, regardless of whether it is supposed to be sustainable or not.

The last element to be discussed is 'fairness'. This element relates to the need for all stakeholders to be involved, should they perceive the decision-making process as legitimate. This is the most problematic element in this case study, because of the total lack of a normative aspect to stakeholder

management in the destination. Stakeholders such as the community of Tanjung Harapan have decidedly been used as “the means to an other end”, not an “end in itself” (Donaldson & Preston, 1995, p. 71). And such treatment of other stakeholders by the central government is a general issue. This was discussed in section 6.1.3, and has led to the aforementioned ‘heritage of bitterness’ - the feeling of the local community they have been treated highly unfairly.

Also, not only were all stakeholders not involved equally in the decision-making process, a majority of them were completely left out of the process and their needs ignored – the complete opposite to what Clarkson (1995) states as a requirement for successful stakeholder involvement. This creates conflicts that center around power discrepancies that reduce the feeling of being treated fairly. Here, the term ‘power’ is not to be understood solely as the ability to make policies or other decisions – or to buy them as the Sinar Mas Group does – but in the Foucauldian sense of the word as knowledge and the ability to shape a discourse. Examples for the first two kinds of ‘power’ are quite obvious, for example the capacity of the Indonesian government to relocate a whole community and drive them to the brink of economic ruin. Or the ability of the Sinar Mas Group to buy their way into protected areas or hinder the development of a potentially dangerous alternative industry through bribery.

The third definition of ‘power’, on the other hand, requires a closer look. The issue of the closing of the TPNP to tourism in order to warrant the ecosystem a restitution period can be used to illustrate it. As already mentioned in section 6.4.1, none of the interviewed stakeholders doubts the necessity of such a measure, but their way of thinking about it is closely related to their definition of sustainability. This conflict showcases the difference in power between the single stakeholder groups. The discussions about the nature of touristic development and subsequently sustainability were mainly held between three of the stakeholders, the TPNP administration, OFI and FNPF. The majority of stakeholders impacted was left out of the process. Yet, due to OFI’s and FNPF’s standings as international organizations, their connections to the park administration, their knowledge of procedures and their general ability to invest resources in the shaping of the discussion to their behalf, these groups were decidedly the more influential ones. This status was reinforced, by the flow of information between the stakeholders. As mentioned under ‘knowledge’, nearly all related information was mainly circulated between the stakeholders with power of knowledge and resources, and the stakeholders with decisive power. The local community having little power was kept out of the loop. This runs counter to Tosun’s (2001) perspective of managing development of a destination, specifically, to educate and enable all stakeholders to equalize their influence and power-level.

What is not taken into consideration enough by those stakeholders in this case is that the local communities are far from powerless and able to have an impact on all aspects of sustainability. Obviously their decisions to illegally and harmfully exploit the park's resources as revenge for perceived injustices, or their need to sell worthless land to oil companies has a grave impact on the TPNP and therefore on the ecologic side of the sustainability of destination's development. And this in turn has the potential to heavily impact the economic future of park tourism, should its health deteriorate so far that it becomes unappealing to tourists. Here, indeed, the statement of Clarkson (1995, p. 14) is fulfilled, that: "[t]he omission of the interest of even one primary stakeholder can prevent the success of the process as a whole".

The discussion of the five elements highlighted the weak points of stakeholder cooperation in the destination. These ongoing conflicts and the lack of efforts to reconcile them lead to resentment between the stakeholders. This was especially demonstrated with regard to those who are at the perceived lower end of the power scale. This gravely damaged the willingness of stakeholders to work together and to subscribe to a common plan of action or goal. The latter is a fundamental requirement for full cooperation. Section 6.4.7 reported how acutely aware each of the stakeholder groups was of this issue as well as how far the consequences of such unwillingness can reach. For example, it can be seen in the reduced effectiveness of the fire-fighting efforts resulting from the 'ego' of the NGOs. Here, even though the extinguishing of the wildfire was a common goal, it was never collectively agreed upon and nominated as such. Subsequently, fire-fighting was therefore pursued in fragmented ways and , not in unity.

Yet this is not a new problem. Historically, stakeholder relations have been damaged by a misuse of power. The most prominent example being the Indonesian government and the TPNP administration. These institutions harmed their relations with the biggest stakeholder in the destination, the community, through forceful relocation and selective prioritizing of stakeholder needs and views in their decision-making processes. Indirectly, the nature of their national park governing system seeds distrust in the other stakeholders as well, as it is perceived as unresponsive to outside impulses, egoistically motivated and outright fraudulent. This makes any effective cooperation between the main holders of power over the touristic development in the destination nearly impossible and even indirectly affects the relationships between other stakeholder groups. An example of this can be found in the sale of land to the palm oil companies, which was motivated by resentment and disappointment in the government and



which heavily impacts the work of the NGOs OIF and FPF. Positive reinforcement of this dynamic by the palm oil companies through investments in the village community showed that a positive stakeholder relationship was valued higher than a 'greater good'.

To resolve this problem, a strong managing institution must initiate a collective exchange of information; facilitate open discourse about future steps; and the overall vision of the development. General equalization of stakeholders and their values by the policy-making power are a necessity. Many of these points could be fulfilled by the DMO taking on the function as a common forum and equalizing agent in the destination. This is suggested since the government funds its operations and the DMO is therefore neutral as it is not in direct competition for paying guests, as other stakeholders might be. As reported above, such operational development is highly desired by the stakeholders.

But to truly find a sustainable solution to the destination's many conflicts and issues, a general shift in stakeholders' perspectives is necessary. It is the same shift that has been taking place in the field of stakeholder theory over the last decades (Byrd, 2007). The more powerful stakeholders need to realize, that an approach of allowing/encouraging involvement based on stakeholder groups' power levels will not lead to sustainable results (De Lopez, 2001). This approach must be substituted with collaborative thinking, where the stakeholders are invited and actively become involved, disregarding their current power level (Bramwell et al., 1996; T. B. Jamal & Getz, 1995; Yuksel, Bramwell, & Yuksel, 1999). Only this approach "can avoid the costs of resolving conflicts in the long term, it is more politically legitimate, and it can build on the store of knowledge and capacities of the stakeholders" (Yuksel, Bramwell, & Yuksel, 1999, p. 351).

## **8. Conclusion**

The case study of TPNP and the Kumai region showcase how important good stakeholder relationships and active stakeholder involvement in destination management and the planning processes are to facilitating sustainable tourism development. In the study destination, we see that an absence of such stakeholder cooperation leads to problems on several levels. At the most basic level, we find that the stakeholders do not share a common agreement about which resources need to be conserved for the development to be sustainable. This leads to power conflicts emanating from those at

a higher level, since the more powerful stakeholder groups try to impose their understanding of sustainability on the perceived weaker stakeholder groups. These stakeholders in return react with resentment and use the power they hold, both intentionally and unintentionally, to hinder the efforts of the more powerful stakeholders to develop the destination.

This dynamic is allowed to continue, due to the absence of an arbitrator for instance who could take a leadership role in the process of touristic development. Such an instance would be necessary to facilitate and raise all of the stakeholders to the same power level in the long-term, and in the short-term to compensate for differences in power by ensuring every stakeholder is given a voice in the planning process.

The failure of stakeholder cooperation at the destination can be seen in the absence of the five vital elements that are required for successful stakeholder collaboration (Nicodemus, 2004; Susskind & Cruikshank, 2001): knowledge, wisdom, stability, efficiency, and fairness. The stakeholders do not pool their knowledge and this circumvents the making of wise, long-term decisions. Due to this, decisions in the destinations need to be revoked frequently and this adds a general instability to planning processes. This, in turn, leads to wasted resources and low levels of efficiency in any development. In addition to this, efficiency is also reduced through the favoring of certain stakeholders in the planning process, which is unfair to others. This lack of fairness greatly reduces the quality of stakeholder relations as well as the will to sacrifice part of a stakeholder group's own developmental goals in favor of the pursuit of a common aim.

These dynamics have a grave impact on all three aspects of the sustainability of touristic development. Ecologically, it is disastrous, since poor planning and lack of knowledge lead to tourists inflicting harm on the already rather fragile ecosystem of the TPNP – the exact opposite of what was the original goal of tourism development for the destination. Economically, the touristic development does presently supply financial resources for the destination, but they are not distributed equally, due to the power conflicts between the stakeholders. Additionally, to be economically sustainable, the development would need to have a secure future, which is not guaranteed due to the decline of the park's health status. The social aspect of the touristic development is in this case study the nearest to the ideal of 'sustainable', seeing as tourism creates both active and passive social benefits. The incoming tourists are welcomed by the local population, because they offer a channel of exchange with the rest of the world, that is highly valued by the otherwise very isolated community. In interactions

with tourists they can both passively consume the output of this connection and actively communicate their input such as personal views or culture. It must be noted though, that these interactions can potentially become dangerous to social values for example if the population felt an overwhelming influx of tourists degrades their culture to a cliché. Here, careful planning of any further development in collaboration with social stakeholders is necessary in order to guarantee the social ‘sustainability’ of tourism in the destination.

It can be generally said that the stakeholders of the TPNP region need to recognize that in a destination network, everything is connected to everything, just as all aspects of sustainability are connected to the others. For true sustainable touristic development to be possible, a holistic point of view must be taken on both sustainability and the involvement of the stakeholders in the destination. It would therefore be necessary to firstly create a strong leadership instance that equalizes the power distribution between the stakeholder groups and ensures that the implementation of the five vital elements of stakeholder involvement is emphasized in the further stakeholder management process.

As a basic approach to reaching these goals of tourism development in the TPNP destination, the concept of ‘community based tourism’ could be a viable. This concept regards community involvement as essential for establishing sustainable tourism practices and rejects an overly growth-oriented approach to tourism development (Viken, Granås, & Ioannides, 2014). It also brings up the question about how much influence global stakeholders should be given in the developmental process, which is highly relevant in regard to the companies of the Sinar Mas Group and their impact on the health of TPNP. Yet, tourism itself is one of the hyper-globalizing industries of our time, with the potential to both protect and destroy the resources it utilizes. It seems therefore questionable, whether or not tourism can exist without handing a certain amount of influence to global stakeholders. Thus, the discussion should rather focus on how to manage stakeholders in a way that benefits both them and the overall sustainability of the destinations development. Globalization in itself is not inherently a bad thing, only one that needs to be carefully planned and managed – just as tourism.

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## **Appendix I: List of informants**

Informant #1	Member of REL management, active tour guide in the TPNP
Informant #2	TPNP Ranger in the OFI founded team
Informant #3	Member of ASITA Kumai management
Informant #4	TPNP ranger in the government-funded team, volunteer firefighter
Informant #5	Member of OFI management
Informant #6	Member of FNPF management
Informant #7	Field staff Swisscontact
Informant #8	Head of Kumai Boating Association, member of Kumai Guiding Association, founder of OGreen
Informant group #9	Open group interview with the community of Kumai

## **Appendix II: Interview guides**

Please note that the below-mentioned interview guides were not inflexible and strictly adhered to. They were rather pre-collected topics of interest that were used as a supporting framework for the interviews, to ensure no important topics were forgotten. The interviews themselves were allowed to follow an organic flow of conversation, due to the reasons named in the methodology chapter.

These interview guides are therefore not an exhaustive report of all questions asked or answers given.

### **Informant #1: Member of REL management, active tour guide in the TPNP** Interview I in English, 03.03.2017

#### Topic I: Basic stakeholder understanding

1. What is the mission statement of REL and its role in this destinations network?
2. What are REL's developmental goals for the years to come?
3. What would be sustainable development for REL?

#### Topic II: Data gathering about the two 'silent' stakeholders TPNP and palm oil companies

4. Can you tell me a little bit about the health of the TPNP and the surrounding region?
5. How would you characterize the connection between the local communities and the TPNP?
6. What negative impacts do illegal activities such as poaching have on the TPNP?
7. Are there any other institutions that have a negative impact on TPNP?
8. Could you describe the role of the palm oil companies and the impact of their plantations on the destination?

#### Topic III: Stakeholder relations

9. How would you rate the work of the TPNP administration?
10. What are other stakeholders in the destination?
11. What can you tell me about them, their work, their role in the destination and the impact they are having on the other stakeholders?

12. How would you rate the cooperation between the stakeholders?
13. What would you say are the reasons for the level of cooperation you described?
14. Is there a difference in cooperation between the international stakeholders and the local stakeholders?

#### Topic IV: Special field of interest – touristic development

15. Can you give me an overview of the status of touristic development in the destination?
16. How would you rate the work of the DMO/Swisscontact?
17. What should they do that they are not currently doing or how could they improve their work?
18. What would you say is the biggest hindrance for the touristic development of the region?
19. Where would be most potential for improvement?
20. Would you say tourism is helpful or harmful for the destination?
21. If you could change one thing in the destination, what would it be and why?

#### Interview II in English, 04.03.2017

1. What was your motivation to start working in tourism?
2. What would you say is the biggest tourism attraction in the destination?
3. Are there other attractions?
4. From your experience, would you say there is a difference in behavior between international and Indonesian guests in the park?
5. Does the REL try to lessen the impact it has through tourism on the TPNP?

### **Informant #2: TPNP Ranger in the OFI founded team**

#### Interview in Bahasa Indonesia, 04.03.2017

#### Topic I: Basic stakeholder understanding

1. What is your mission statement of and your role in this destinations network?
2. What is a goal that you and your colleagues plan to reach in the next few years?

3. What would be sustainable development for you?

Topic II: Data gathering about the two 'silent' stakeholders TPNP and palm oil companies

4. Can you tell me about the health of the TPNP and the surrounding region?
5. How would you characterize the connection between the local communities and the TPNP?
6. What negative impacts do illegal activities such as poaching have on the TPNP?
7. Are there any other institutions that have a negative impact on TPNP?
8. Could you describe the role of the palm oil companies and the impact of their plantations on the destination?
9. What can you tell me about the work of the NGOs in and for the TPNP?
10. From your experience, would you say there is a difference in behavior between international and Indonesian guests in the park?

Topic III: Stakeholder relations

11. How would you rate the work of the TPNP administration?
12. What should they do that they are not currently doing or how could they improve their work?
13. What are other stakeholders in the destination?
14. What can you tell me about them, their work, their role in the destination and the impact they are having on the other stakeholders?
15. How would you rate the cooperation between the stakeholders?
16. What would you say are the reasons for the level of cooperation you described?
17. Is there a difference in cooperation between the international stakeholders and the local stakeholders?
18. What would you say is the biggest hindrance for the touristic development of the region?
19. If you could change one thing in the destination, what would it be and why?

**Informant #3: Member of ASITA Kumai management**

Interview in English, 07.03.2017



### Topic I: Basic stakeholder understanding

1. What is the mission statement of ASITA in Kumai and its role in this destinations network?
2. What are ASITA's developmental goals for the years to come?
3. What would be sustainable development from ASITA's point of view?

### Topic II: Data gathering about the two 'silent' stakeholders TPNP and palm oil companies

4. Can you tell me a little bit about the health of the TPNP and the surrounding region?
5. How would you characterize the connection between the local communities and the TPNP?
6. What negative impacts do illegal activities such as poaching have on the TPNP?
7. Are there any other institutions that have a negative impact on TPNP?

### Topic III: Stakeholder relations

8. How would you rate the work of the TPNP administration?
9. What should they do that they are not currently doing or how could they improve their work?
10. What are other stakeholders in the destination?
11. What can you tell me about them, their work, their role in the destination and the impact they are having on the other stakeholders?
12. How would you rate the cooperation between the stakeholders?
13. What would you say are the reasons for the level of cooperation you described?
14. Is there a difference in cooperation between the international stakeholders and the local stakeholders?

### Topic IV: Special field of interest – touristic development

15. Can you give me an overview of the status of touristic development in the destination?
16. How would you rate the work of the DMO/Swisscontact?
17. What should they do that they are not currently doing or how could they improve their work?
18. What would you say is the biggest hindrance for the touristic development of the region?
19. Where would be most potential for improvement?
20. Would you say tourism is helpful or harmful for the destination?
21. If you could change one thing in the destination, what would it be and why?

## **Informant #4: TPNP ranger in the government-funded team, volunteer firefighter**

Interview in English, 08.03.2017

### Topic I: Basic stakeholder understanding

1. What is your mission statement of and your role in this destinations network?
2. What is a goal that you and your colleagues plan to reach in the next few years?
3. What would be sustainable development for you?

### Topic II: Data gathering about the two 'silent' stakeholders TPNP and palm oil companies

4. Can you tell me about the health of the TPNP and the surrounding region?
5. How would you characterize the connection between the local communities and the TPNP?
6. What negative impacts do illegal activities such as poaching have on the TPNP?
7. Can you tell me about the wildfires in the TPNP?
8. Are there any other institutions that have a negative impact on TPNP?
9. Could you describe the role of the palm oil companies and the impact of their plantations on the destination?
10. What can you tell me about the work of the NGOs in and for the TPNP?
11. From your experience, would you say there is a difference in behavior between international and Indonesian guests in the park?

### Topic III: Stakeholder relations

12. How would you rate the work of the TPNP administration?
13. What should they do that they are not currently doing or how could they improve their work?
14. What are other stakeholders in the destination?
15. What can you tell me about them, their work, their role in the destination and the impact they are having on the other stakeholders?
16. How would you rate the cooperation between the stakeholders?
17. What would you say are the reasons for the level of cooperation you described?

18. Is there a difference in cooperation between the international stakeholders and the local stakeholders?
19. What would you say is the biggest hindrance for the touristic development of the region?
20. If you could change one thing in the destination, what would it be and why?

## **Informant #5: Member of OFI management**

Interview in English, 08.03.2017

### Topic I: Basic stakeholder understanding

1. What is the mission statement of OFI and its role in this destinations network?
2. What are OFI's developmental goals for the years to come?
3. What would be sustainable development from OFI's point of view?

### Topic II: Data gathering about the two 'silent' stakeholders TPNP and palm oil companies

4. Can you tell me about the health of the TPNP and the surrounding region?
5. How would you characterize the connection between the local communities and the TPNP?
6. What negative impacts do illegal activities such as poaching have on the TPNP?
7. Can you tell me about the wildfires in the TPNP?
8. Are there any other institutions that have a negative impact on TPNP?
9. Could you describe the role of the palm oil companies and the impact of their plantations on the destination?
10. What can you tell me about the work of the other NGOs in and for the TPNP?
11. From your experience, would you say there is a difference in behavior between international and Indonesian guests in the park?
12. What would you describe as the thing most dangerous to the health of the TPNP?
13. Would you say tourism is helpful or harmful for the TPNP?

### Topic III: Stakeholder relations

14. How would you rate the work of the TPNP administration?

15. What should they do that they are not currently doing or how could they improve their work?
16. What are other stakeholders in the destination?
17. What can you tell me about them, their work, their role in the destination and the impact they are having on the other stakeholders?
18. How would you rate the cooperation between the stakeholders?
19. What would you say are the reasons for the level of cooperation you described?
20. Is there a difference in cooperation between the international stakeholders and the local stakeholders?
21. What would you say is the biggest hindrance for the touristic development of the region?
22. If you could change one thing in the destination, what would it be and why?

## **Informant #6: Member of FNPF management**

Interview in English, 09.03.2017

### Topic I: Basic stakeholder understanding

1. What is the mission statement of FNPF and its role in this destinations network?
2. What are FNPF's developmental goals for the years to come?
3. What would be sustainable development from FNPF's point of view?

### Topic II: Data gathering about the two 'silent' stakeholders TPNP and palm oil companies

4. Can you tell me about the health of the TPNP and the surrounding region?
5. How would you characterize the connection between the local communities and the TPNP?
6. What negative impacts do illegal activities such as poaching have on the TPNP?
7. Can you tell me about the wildfires in the TPNP?
8. Are there any other institutions that have a negative impact on TPNP?
9. Could you describe the role of the palm oil companies and the impact of their plantations on the destination?
10. What can you tell me about the work of the other NGOs in and for the TPNP?

11. From your experience, would you say there is a difference in behavior between international and Indonesian guests in the park?
12. What would you describe as the thing most dangerous to the health of the TPNP?
13. Would you say tourism is helpful or harmful for the TPNP?

#### Topic III: Stakeholder relations

14. How would you rate the work of the TPNP administration?
15. What should they do that they are not currently doing or how could they improve their work?
16. What are other stakeholders in the destination?
17. What can you tell me about them, their work, their role in the destination and the impact they are having on the other stakeholders?
18. How would you rate the cooperation between the stakeholders?
19. What would you say are the reasons for the level of cooperation you described?
20. Is there a difference in cooperation between the international stakeholders and the local stakeholders?
21. What would you say is the biggest hindrance for the touristic development of the region?
22. If you could change one thing in the destination, what would it be and why?

### **Informant #7: Field staff Swisscontact**

Interview in English, 09.03.2017

#### Topic I: Basic stakeholder understanding

1. What is the mission statement of Swisscontact in Kumai and its role in this destinations network?
2. What are Swisscontact's developmental goals for the years to come?
3. What would be sustainable development from Swisscontact's point of view?

#### Topic II: Data gathering about the two 'silent' stakeholders TPNP and palm oil companies

4. Can you tell me a little bit about the health of the TPNP and the surrounding region?

5. How would you characterize the connection between the local communities and the TPNP?
6. What negative impacts do illegal activities such as poaching have on the TPNP?
7. Are there any other institutions that have a negative impact on TPNP?

#### Topic III: Stakeholder relations

8. How would you rate the work of the TPNP administration?
9. What should they do that they are not currently doing or how could they improve their work?
10. What are other stakeholders in the destination?
11. What can you tell me about them, their work, their role in the destination and the impact they are having on the other stakeholders?
12. From an outsider perspective, how would you rate the cooperation between the stakeholders?
13. What would you say are the reasons for the level of cooperation you described?
14. Is there a difference in cooperation between the international stakeholders and the local stakeholders?

#### Topic IV: Special field of interest – touristic development

15. Can you give me an overview of the status of touristic development in the destination?
16. How would you rate the cooperation with the DMO and government?
17. Would you say the developmental project in this destination is going according to plan?
18. Is it successful?
19. In hindsight, what should have been done differently?
20. What would you say is the biggest hindrance for the touristic development of the region?
21. Where would be most potential for improvement?
22. Would you say tourism is helpful or harmful for the destination?
23. If you could change one thing in the destination, what would it be and why?

### **Informant #8: Head of Kumai Boating Association, member of Kumai Guiding Association, founder of OGreen**

Interview in English, 10.03.2017

### Topic I: Basic stakeholder understanding

1. What is the mission statement of OGreen in Kumai and its role in this destinations network?
2. What are OGreen's developmental goals for the years to come?
3. What would be sustainable development from OGreen's point of view?
4. Can you describe the different touristic associations in Kumai and their mission statements for me?
5. What are their developmental goals for the next years?

### Topic II: Data gathering about the two 'silent' stakeholders TPNP and palm oil companies

6. Can you tell me a little bit about the health of the TPNP and the surrounding region?
7. How would you characterize the connection between the local communities and the TPNP?
8. What negative impacts do illegal activities such as poaching have on the TPNP?
9. Are there any other institutions that have a negative impact on TPNP?
10. Could you describe the role of the palm oil companies and the impact of their plantations on the destination?
11. What can you tell me about the work of the other NGOs in and for the TPNP?
12. From your experience, would you say there is a difference in behavior between international and Indonesian guests in the park?
13. What would you describe as the thing most dangerous to the health of the TPNP?

### Topic III: Stakeholder relations

14. How would you rate the work of the TPNP administration?
15. What should they do that they are not currently doing or how could they improve their work?
16. What are other stakeholders in the destination?
17. What can you tell me about them, their work, their role in the destination and the impact they are having on the other stakeholders?
18. How would you rate the cooperation between the stakeholders?
19. What would you say are the reasons for the level of cooperation you described?
20. Is there a difference in cooperation between the international stakeholders and the local stakeholders?

#### Topic IV: Special field of interest – touristic development

21. Can you give me an overview of the status of touristic development in the destination?
22. Can you tell me a little bit about the history of tourism in Kumai?
23. How would you rate the cooperation with the DMO/Swisscontact?
24. Would you say their work was successful?
25. Were the lives of the population in the destination impacted by tourism?
26. If so, positively or negatively? And how heavily?
27. What would you say is the biggest hindrance for the touristic development of the region?
28. Where would be most potential for improvement?
29. Would you say tourism is helpful or harmful for the destination?
30. If you could change one thing in the destination, what would it be and why?

### **Informant group #9: Open group interview with the community of Kumai**

Interview in Bahasa Indonesia, 11.03.2017

#### Topic I: Understanding the stakeholder and their relationship to the tourism development in the destination

1. Do you think tourism is good or bad?
2. Can you tell me a little bit about the history of tourism in Kumai?
3. Have your lives been impacted by tourism? And how?
4. Where there changes in Kumai due to tourism?
5. What has changed? Positively and negatively?
6. What jobs were created through tourism?
7. What was your motivation to start working in tourism?
8. How does your work in tourism make you feel?
9. What are the positive and negative aspects about your work in tourism?
10. Is there a difference between international and Indonesian guests?
11. What are you hoping to gain from touristic development?



12. What should be done better/differently?
13. What would you like to archive with your work?
14. How would you rate your cooperation with the other stakeholders?
15. Is there a difference between the cooperation with the international and the local stakeholders?
16. Do you feel like you get help and support with the touristic development of your home?
17. How would you rate the work of the DMO/Swisscontact?

Topic I: Understanding the stakeholder and their relationship to the TPNP

18. How is the relationship between you and the TPNP?
19. How would you say is the relationship between the other villages and the TPNP?
20. Has it changed over time?
21. Would you say it is important to improve the relationship between the people and the TPNP?
22. What do you think about the palm oil companies and their work?
23. Has your opinion changed over time?
24. If you could change one thing in the destination, what would it be and why?