

DOES TOURISM REALLY HELP REVITALISE MANAGEMENT OF NATIONAL PARKS AS
COMMONS? LESSONS LEARNED FROM WEST BALI NATIONAL PARK, INDONESIA*

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ABSTRACT

National Parks in developing countries often face the harsh reality that local communities do not support them, creating protracted Park-people conflicts. Critics comment that the change of status, from common property to state property, which limits community access to the Park's natural resources, and failure to exert effective management have led to such conflicts. Of numerous approaches to address these problems, tourism has been promoted as having the potential to encourage conservation, reducing pressure upon natural resources, and to simultaneously provide economic opportunities for local communities. Ultimately, tourism could improve the use and governance of Parks as commons. While tourism has been integral to many National Parks in developing countries, little is known about whether it has really helped reduce natural resource degradation resulting from open access.

This study of the West Bali National Park, Indonesia, aimed to explore the impacts of tourism in conservation areas, as endorsed by Indonesian Government Regulation Number 18/1994 on Nature Tourism Enterprises in Utilisation Zones of National Parks, Botanical Gardens, and Recreation Parks, on Park administration and local communities, and the implications of these impacts for management of Parks as commons. Data were gathered through semi-structured interviews of semi-randomly selected villagers from three villages situated just outside the Park boundary, semi-structured interviews with Park officials and tourism operators, and analysis of government documents and newspapers.

Results suggest that tourism has affected Park administration by demoralising employees through (a) forced changes of Park zoning to give way to construction of private tourism facilities in the utilisation zone; (b) setting up of activities incompatible with Park objectives; and (c) loss of additional income that had been enjoyed for years up to the application of Regulation 18/1994. The local community experienced some positive effects of tourism through employment opportunities and generation of alternative livelihoods. However, removal of access to protected lands and general feelings that local people were being unfairly treated by the Park administration which appeared to favour outside tourism organisations promoted a lack of respect for the Park and increased pressure on it as a resource for the provision of firewood and fodder.

The overall situation, however, is not too bleak. The advent of tourism has induced (a) the adoption of a collaborative management scheme by local-level stakeholders to help the Park manage its coastal environment, and (b) demand from local communities for a traditional use zone in the Park and for promotion of community-based forestry management to reduce pressures upon the Park's terrestrial environment.

It is concluded that improvements to the state of the Park produced by these initiatives would be enhanced by the "pro-poor tourism" approach. This approach uses tourism as a community development vehicle to enable sustainable livelihoods in community-based natural resource management and has the potential to expand Park administration and tourism companies' social responsibility to address challenges of involving communities in conservation.

KEYWORDS: community, National Park, natural resources, open access, pro-poor tourism, social impacts, tourism

1. Introduction

The conservation of biodiversity resources in developing countries is often marked with protracted conflicts between protected area administration and local communities. Land-use incompatibilities that follow unilateral designation of protected areas which changes their status from common property to state property and reduction of access to resources have been widely viewed as the main reason. Together with the poor ability of the protected area's administration to manage it effectively, these have produced an open access situation which escalates threats to the biodiversity resources being conserved.

Tourism has been promoted as one way to address the troubled relationship between protected areas and local communities. The main idea was that tourism could generate economic opportunities and benefits for local people to help address land-use incompatibilities so that pressures on natural resources could be reduced and local people would become guardians (Bookbinder et al., 1998; Ceballos-Lascurain, 1996; Goodwin et al., 1998; Walpole & Goodwin, 2000). At the same time Park administration would have an incentive to improve and strengthen its environmental management capability (Ceballos-Lascurain, 1996; Eagles et al., 2001; Worboys et al., 2005). Officially recommended for the first time in the 1992 World Parks Congress in Caracas, Venezuela, the important role of tourism in conservation of biodiversity was reinforced in the 2003 World Park Congress in Durban, South Africa, which specifically recommended tourism as a vehicle for conservation and support of protected areas (Recommendation 12). Paragraph 1 point b and c state that the tourism sector should "make tangible and equitable financial contributions to conservation and to protected area management" and "ensure tourism contributes to local economic development and poverty reduction through: (i) support to local small and medium sized enterprises; (ii) employment of local people; (iii) purchasing of local goods and services; and (iv) fair and equitable partnerships with local communities."

The Government of Indonesia, which decided to adopt a National Park system in early 1980s to reinforce the protected area system which originated from the earlier Dutch system, issued Regulation Number 18 on Nature Tourism Enterprises in Utilisation Zone of the National Parks, Botanical Garden, and Recreation Parks in 1994 (Ministry of Forestry, 1994). The regulation, which is widely known as Regulation 18/1994, allows private tourism companies to operate in the utilisation zones of National Parks. The Regulation 18/1994 has implications for management of such commons since its main aim is "to increase the use of natural beauty and uniqueness of the National Park's utilisation zone, botanical garden and recreation parks" (article 2, point 2), and requires "private tourism enterprise to involve people living in the surrounding areas in its business activity" (article 10, point e). The main objective of local involvement is to empower communities economically so they are less dependent on forest or marine resources for their livelihood (Directorate of Nature Recreation and Environmental Services, 2001). The enactment, which was immediately followed by the development of tourism facilities in conservation areas throughout Indonesia, has given an opportunity to examine whether or not tourism in National Parks helps to improve or strengthen the management of Park as commons, and enhance Park-local community relationships which ultimately would encourage the local community to support conservation in the Park. Although this regulation has been in place for

more than ten years, little is known about the impacts of tourism on the management of National Park. Does tourism give benefit to Park administration thus improving its management performance? Does it help reconcile or strengthen Park-people relationships? Most importantly, does tourism really help revitalise management of Park as commons where Park administration, local communities and private tourism companies work hand in hand to achieve the objective of collective natural resource conservation?

West Bali National Park can be regarded as commons since it represents "... shared resources in which each stakeholder has an equal interest" as defined by the Digital Library of the Commons (2006). It was originally common property and, for the sake of conservation, was transformed into state property in which its use and management is carried out by public institution (in this case, Park administration) on behalf of general public. Recent advances in common property resource studies suggest that management of natural resource should embrace partnership between Park administration and local communities through collaborative management that institutionalises its systems of rights, rules and responsibilities that guide and control the use of natural resource (Borrini-Feyerabend et al., 2000; Hanna et al., 1996; Ostrom, 2005).

Research was conducted using a case study approach (Yin, 2003). Fieldwork was conducted between August 2004 and January 2005 in the Park and surrounding villages (Figure 1). To explore the history and impact of tourism development and natural resource use by local people, 12 Park officials and staff, and four members of the tourism companies operating in Park utilisation zone were interviewed. A total of 40 local community members were interviewed using a semi-structured questionnaire. They were selected semi-randomly through a snowball technique (Singleton & Straits, 1999) where the initial informants were asked to identify other potential interviewees. In-depth interviews, which encourage people to talk more freely and discuss their experience and knowledge (Singleton & Straits, 1999; Yin, 2003), were used in all cases. All interviews were carried out in the Indonesian language, tape-recorded and then translated into English. In addition, documents, such as village development annual reports, Park and resort management plans, site planning and internal reports, were also consulted.

2. Brief History of West Bali National Park

The Park was originally established as a wildlife sanctuary by the Dutch in 1941 to preserve wild ox (*Bos javanicus*) and the Bali tiger (*Panthera tigris balica*) (Jepson & Whittaker, 2002). However, the last tiger was reported shot dead already in 1937 (<http://www.lairweb.org.nz/tiger/balibarat.html>) last seen in 25 March 2006). In 1947 the same area was designated as a Nature Park by the Bali King's Council and as a Game Reserve in 1970 by the Ministry of Agriculture.

The West Bali National Park was declared in 12 May 1984 but officially gazetted in 15 September 1995 with a total area of 19,002.89 hectares comprising 15,587.89 hectares of land and 3,415 hectares of sea (Dartosoewarno, 2002). It now houses the critically-endangered species, the endemic Bali Starling (*Leucopsar rothschildi*) (van Balen et al., 2000) which became the flagship species of the Park (cf. Walpole & Leader-Williams, 2002). The Park was divided into core, wilderness, utilisation, and cultural use zones to support its conservation and sustainable use

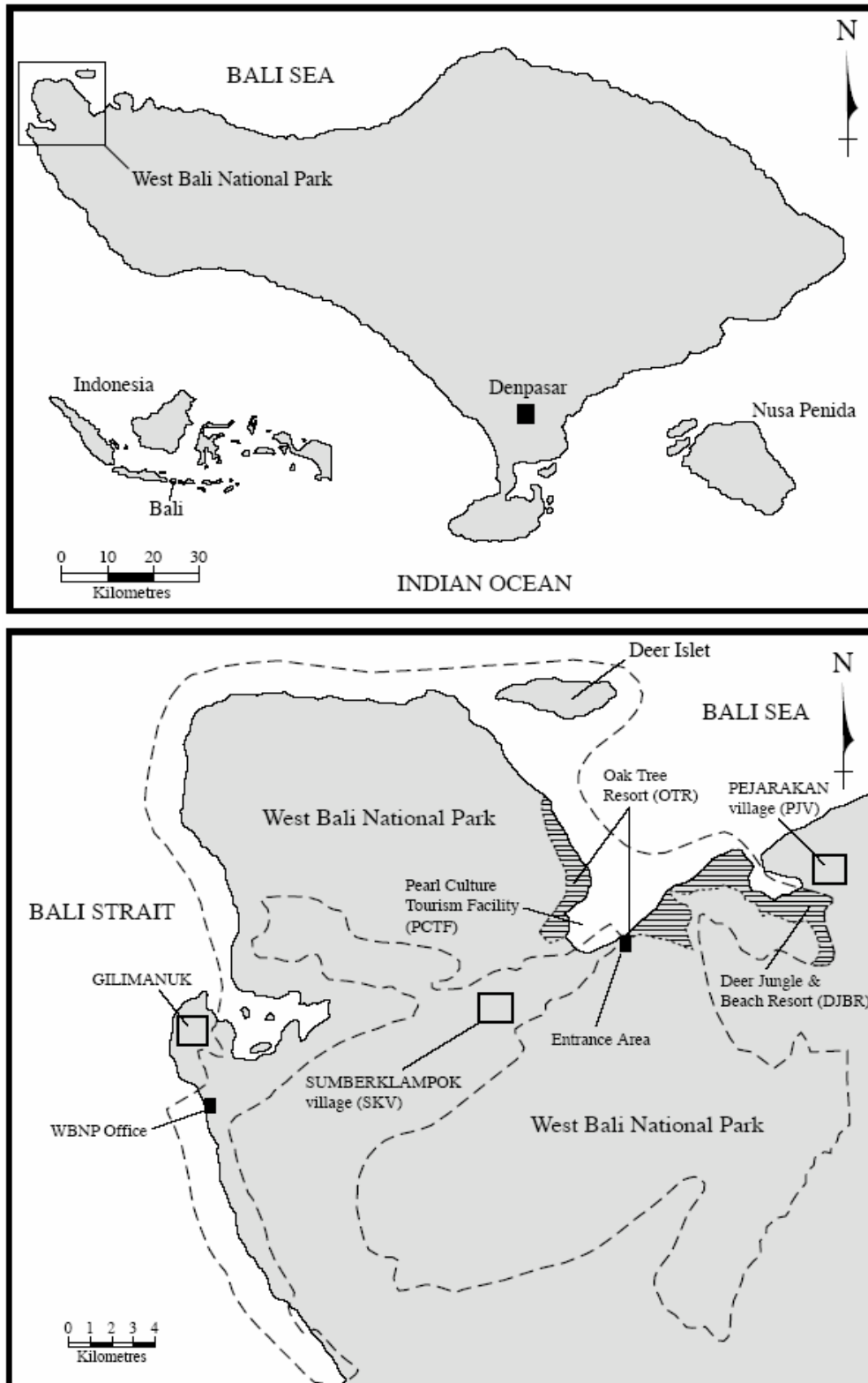


Figure 1: Bali Island, Indonesia, and location of the West Bali National Park (inset). The villages surveyed for this study and tourism facilities are shown. Dashed lines indicate the Park boundary. Shaded areas represent the Park utilisation zone.

objectives (see Table 4). Administratively, the Park is divided into three conservation and utilisation areas, i.e. northern and southern, and marine.

Collection of fire wood and fodder, and occasionally honey and medicinal plants, by local people is permitted by the Park administration as long as it is for household purposes. Villagers are allowed to collect wood from dead trees and logs with a maximum length of an adult hand and a diameter of less than or equal to four centimetres. This arrangement allows the Park administration to show its goodwill while expecting that villagers will not collect other resources from the Park (personal communication with the Head of West Bali National Park). However, this open access has created problems indicated by rampant and excessive collection of natural resources including fire wood, animals and ornamental fishes. The populations of both caged and wild Bali Starlings have declined since the Park was established in 1984.

3. Background to the Study Area

3.1 Demographic aspects

Of the six villages situated just outside the boundary of West Bali National Park, only the three discussed here, i.e. Sumberklampok, Pejarakan and Gilimanuk have a direct association with tourism in the Park. Villagers in the first two work with tourism companies operating in the utilisation zone of the Park (see Table 3). Gilimanuk houses people who work in the tourism sector but not in resorts, provides small to modest accommodation for independent tourists (i.e. backpackers) visiting the Park and is a marketing hub for the agricultural products of Sumberklampok and Pejarakan.

Sumberklampok is the oldest settlement in the area (established in early 1920s) while Gilimanuk and Pejarakan were founded in early 1940s. Sumberklampok evolved from a forced-labourers' camp in a coconut plantation established by the Dutch (until mid-1940s) becoming, first, an enclave in the Game Reserve and, later, in the National Park (1970s-1990s). Then, after a participatory mapping exercise in 2001, involving the local community, semi-official recognition (which put the village outside Park boundary) was given to it since ownership of the lands where the village stood are still in dispute. Demographic information of these villages is presented in Table 1. Unlike villages in other parts of Bali, which are generally populated by Balinese only, they have residents originating from other islands such as Java and Sulawesi. For instance, around 60 percent of Sumberklampok residents are second and third generation descendants of forced labourers from Madura Island in northern East Java brought in by the Dutch to open a coconut plantation in the early 1920s. As indicated in Table 1, both Sumberklampok and Pejarakan are poverty-stricken since the majority of the population have incomes less than US\$2 per day (cf. Shilling & Osha, 2003). Agricultural activities such as cultivation of corn and chilli occur within village boundaries and in many cases take place near or on the Park boundary.

Table 1: Demographic information of villages surveyed in this study (December 2003)

	Sumberklampok	Pejarakan	Gilimanuk
Total area (estimation, in hectares)	3,960	3,960	5,600
Total population	2,224	9,277	6,997
Ethnic background:			
▪ Balinese (%)	56	75	36
▪ Non-Balinese (%)	44	25	64
Typical livelihood:			
▪ Farmer and or fisher (%)	529 (77.79)	1,746 (89.04)	117 (8.24)
▪ Trader (%)	26 (3.82)	35 (1.78)	977 (68.80)
▪ Government employees (%)	71 (10.44)	32 (1.63)	231 (16.27)
▪ Other (%)	54 (7.94)	148 (7.55)	95 (6.69)
Education background:			
▪ Elementary school (%)*	1,401 (62.99)	8,069 (86.98)	4,815 (68.82)
▪ Junior high school (%)	678 (30.49)	687 (7.40)	1,043 (14.90)
▪ Senior high school (%)	133 (5.98)	458 (4.94)	1,024 (14.63)
▪ Higher education institutions (%)	12 (0.54)	62 (0.67)	115 (1.64)
Main agricultural products	Corn, chilli, rotation cash crops	Corn, rotation cash crops, fish	Various commodities
Income per household**	Approx. Rp 500,000.00 per month (-US\$ 50)	Approx. Rp 500,000.00 per month (-US\$ 50)	Approx. Rp 1,000,000.00 per month (-US\$ 100)

Note: *people who did not finish are included

**based on US\$ 1 = Rp 10,000.00

Source: Monograph of Sumberklampok and Pejarakan villages, and Gilimanuk sub-district year 2003.

The villagers of Sumberklampok and Pejarakan work primarily as farmers, whereas people of Gilimanuk are primarily traders and government employees, or work in the private sector in tourism accommodation, restaurants, transportation or the construction and telecommunication industries. People of Gilimanuk are largely independent from the National Park in terms of livelihood although there is some simple accommodation for tourists visiting the Park, and some plant and animal products from the adjacent forest are sold in the town market. The economy of Gilimanuk reflects a “modern” one (i.e. service-based and not too natural resource dependent) compared to subsistence with cash-crops based economy in the other two villages.

3.2 Land-use patterns

Table 2 presents current land-use in Sumberklampok, Pejarakan and Gilimanuk. Data suggest that villagers of Sumberklampok do not enjoy the same land ownership or entitlement status as in Pejarakan and Gilimanuk. All the land in

the village is still in dispute - the existence of homes, public facilities and cultivation fields does not reflect legal land ownership by the villagers since the state/local government does not want to grant such rights. Although the villagers have tried to pay local land-and-house taxes the local government has always declined to accept the payment because it could be viewed as official recognition of villagers' rights, giving them a stronger reason to claim the land. This awkward situation was a legacy of the troubled relationship between Park administration and the villagers since early 1990s described below (see Section 6). In Pejarakan, the villagers could claim personal entitlement for the land (*Sertifikat Hak Milik*, SHM), while in Gilimanuk people were only allowed to apply for building rights (*Hak Guna Bangun*, HGB) and business rights (*Hak Guna Usaha*, HGU)¹ (personal communications with respective village head).

Table 2: Land-use patterns in Sumberklampok, Pejarakan and Gilimanuk

Land-use types (hectares)	Sumberklampok	Pejarakan	Gilimanuk
▪ Ex-plantation lands with business-use rights	2,402.90	-	-
▪ State-owned lands	1,558.79	12.50	-
▪ Abandoned, cultivable lands*	(524.00)	1,092.00	-
▪ Garden*	(32.00)	43.30	364.00
▪ Swamps*	(30.41)	-	-
▪ Cemetery*	(1.50)	-	-
▪ Office complex*	(0.80)	-	-
▪ Village-owned lands	-	8.72	-
▪ Small plantations	-	3.50	-
▪ Ex-shrimp culture lands	-	300.00	-
▪ Forested lands	-	2,500.00	5,200.00
▪ Others	-	-	37.00

Note: *figures in parenthesis are the existing but officially-unrecognized land-use
Source: Monograph of Sumberklampok and Pejarakan villages, and Gilimanuk sub-district (2003).

4. Tourism in West Bali National Park

Tourism in the Park is based upon diving and snorkelling at the reefs of Deer Islet, and jungle trekking, bird-watching and wildlife viewing in lowland and rain forests of the Park. Foreign tourists usually arrive in two discernible seasons: the first between July to September when tourists from US and Europe dominate, and the second during December-January when Australians and Japanese are the majority. Domestic tourists come throughout the year, especially during school vacations.

The development of tourism in the Park could be distinguished into two periods: *before* and *after* the release of Regulation 18/1994. Before the regulation,

¹Indonesia has five types of basic land tenure - *Hak Milik* (freehold ownership), *Hak Guna Usaha* (cultivation or business only), *Hak Guna Bangunan* (building only), *Hak Pakai* (use only), and *Hak Pengelolaan* (land management only) (Heryani & Grant, 2004: 3)

tourism was concentrated in an area called “the entrance area” of Labuhan Lalang (see Figure 1), which is the only entrance permitting access to Deer Islet and other areas where visitation was allowed. At that time, tourism and services to incoming tourists were monopolised by the Park Employees Cooperative (“the Cooperative”) through its subsidiaries, i.e. the Boat Owners and Drivers Association (“the Boat Association”) and the Tourism Businessmen’s Association (“the Businessmen’s Association”) which were established in late 1980s. Members of the former often have direct or indirect family relations with Park officials and employees, and the latter consists of businessmen who are not members of the former. The Boat Association manages boats for tourists who want to go from the entrance area to Deer Islet for diving and snorkelling. The status of the Game Reserve, and then of the National Park, prevented further physical development in the entrance area but allowed members of the Businessmen’s Association to build simple restaurants and souvenir shops. During this period, the villagers of Sumberklampok and Pejarakan were not involved in tourism at all.

Table 3: Number of villagers working in tourism companies in West Bali NP

Tourism company	Number of workers from local village	Total number of employees	Percentage of total village population employed	Associated village (total population)	Partnership with village office
Pearl Culture Tourism Facility	44	51	1.98	Sumberklampok (2,224)	No
Oak Tree Resort	37	63	1.66	Sumberklampok (2,224)	Yes
Deer Jungle & Beach Resort	92	115	0.99	Pejarakan (9,277)	Yes

After the application of Regulation 18/1994, three private companies, i.e. the Oak Tree Resort, the Deer Jungle & Beach Resort and the Pearl Culture Tourism Facility (“the Pearl Facility”), were granted principal permits to operate in the Park by the Ministry of Forestry (Dartosoewarno, 2002). The first two companies started operation in 1998 while the third started its activity in 2001. Tourism was no longer confined in the entrance area but expanded into the utilisation zone. To meet Regulation 18/1994’s requirements, each company employed local people and involved the head village office and villagers in its activity. The Oak Tree Resort invited Sumberklampok Traditional Village² to manage the entrance area jointly through the Recreation Park Management Agency (“the Recreation Agency”), while the Deer Jungle & Beach Resort involved villagers of Pejarakan Village in the cultivation of special grass for its horses in exchange for rice. There was no village

²Bali is the only province in Indonesia where village-level administration is distinguished into *desa dinas* (official village) and *desa adat* (traditional village). The role and responsibility of official village is similar with any other village in Indonesia, i.e. execute village administration, while traditional village’s role and responsibility focuses on cultural and religious (Hindu) matters (Warren, 1993)

office involvement with Pearl Culture Tourism Facility. The number of villagers working in each tourism company is presented in Table 3. On average, these tourism companies employ only about two percent of the village population.

The associations mentioned above still exist in the entrance area of Labuhan Lalang but are no longer backed up by the Cooperative. Park guiding was initially done by the Rangers but in the late 1990s an independent guide association (the Park Guide Association) was established. At an earlier stage it was supported by the Park but became independent later. Currently, there are seven small restaurants, two souvenir shops, and a massage parlour belonging to the Businessmen's Association, 45 boats belonging to the Boat Association, and 25 certified guides in the entrance area.

5. Tourism Impacts on Park Administration

The application of Regulation 18/1994 apparently has affected the Park Office through (a) reduction of the size of the Park's conservation zones, (b) setting up of activities that are incompatible with the Park's objectives, and (c) loss of income for Park employees.

5.1 Reduction in size of important zones

Reduction of the Park's conservation zones was marked by the expansion of utilisation zone size and formation of cultural use zone at the expense of shrinking core and wilderness areas (Table 4). Article 33 of Law Number 5 Year 1990 on Conservation of Living Natural Resources and their Ecosystems ("Law No. 5/1990") specifically states that such changes are strictly prohibited. Article 33 point (1) stipulates that "every individual is prohibited from undertaking activities that could modify the intactness of the core zone of National Park," and Article 33 point (2) specifies that "modifications that could alter the intactness of core zone of the National Park as stipulated in point (1) include reducing the size of core zone, or changing its function, or adding non-native plant and animal species." Thus, the reduction in the size of the core zone obviously violates the Law. Unfortunately, the change was endorsed by the Directorate General of Forest Protection and Nature Conservation, which is responsible to oversee the conservation areas, including National Parks, throughout Indonesia.

5.2 Activities incompatible with Park objectives

The installation of the Pearl Facility violated article 33 point (3) of Law No. 5/1990 which specified that "any activities incompatible to the function of the utilisation zone and other zones of national parks, botanical gardens, and recreation parks are strictly prohibited." In this case, the Pearl Facility systematically 'abused' article 31 point (1) of Law No. 5/1990, which stated that "inside National Parks, botanical gardens or recreation parks, only those activities that accommodate research, science, education, support cultivation, culture and nature tourism purposes are permitted," to justify and to keep its existence in the Park. It argued that its main activity of cultivating pearl shellfish does not harm the Park marine environment. The problem was that the blacklip pearl oysters

(*Pinctada margaritifera*) employed for the culture were not native of the Park waters, and the seeds were imported from other parts of Bali. Stated simply, the oysters are exotic species that are strictly forbidden in the Park (see article 33 point 2 of Law No. 5/1990 above). The Director General of Forest Protection and Nature Conservation, through Directive No. 1024/Dj-IV/KK2002 of 29 November 2002, had also made it clear that the Pearl Facility was not compatible with Park objectives but, somehow, it was ignored as the facility still exists and has been expanded since.

Table 4: Changes of zoning in West Bali National Park

Zone	1996* (hectares)	1999** (hectares)
Core - terrestrial	7,633.89	7,567.85
Core - aquatic	970.00	455.37
Wilderness - terrestrial	6,281.00	6,099.46
Wilderness - aquatic	575.00	243.96
Utilisation - terrestrial	1,613.00	1,645.33
Utilisation - aquatic	1.960.00	2,745.66
Cultural use	---	245.26

*Director General of Forest Protection and Nature Conservation decree number 38/Kpts/DJ-VI/1996 of 15 April 1996 on Designation of Zones in West Bali National Park

**Director General of Nature Protection and Conservation decree number 186/Kpts/DJ-V/1999 of 13 December 1999 on the Amendment of Director General of Forest Protection and Nature Conservation decree number 38/Kpts/DJ-VI/1996 of 15 April 1996 about Designation of Zones in West Bali National Park

5.3 Loss of Park employee income

For Park employees, the application of Regulation 18/1994 has cut additional income they had enjoyed for years. Traditionally, Indonesia's government offices have always had an employee cooperative. It aimed to generate additional income, and to help employees meet their daily household needs. In West Bali National Park, the Boat Association and the Businessmen's Association had been the money-generating vehicle for the Cooperative to raise additional income. As one respondent³ explained, "... until the end of 2000, the entrance area of Labuhan Lalang was managed by the Cooperative through its subsidiaries, the Boat Association and the Businessmen's Association. Prior to the end of 2000, all permit and business fees associated with tourism activities must be paid to the Cooperative." The advent of tourism resorts in the Park utilisation zone since 1998, and particularly in Labuhan Lalang, unintentionally created undesirable effects on the employees. This is because the Oak Tree Resort, besides being granted the permit to construct its facilities in the entrance area, was also granted the right to manage the area. The Resort interpreted this right as the power to manage the

³Interview with informant SKLL1 in 18 August 2004

area by physically re-building and, if necessary, relocating existing facilities to a specially-built site nearby. The plan faced strong objection from the members of associations in Labuhan Lalang (Kompas, 2001), and created protracted conflict between the Resort and local businessmen³. In December 2001, the management of the entrance area was successfully handed-over to the Recreation Agency, a joint venture agency of the Oak Tree Resort and Sumberklampok Traditional Village. With this new arrangement, a levy was placed on all activities in Labuhan Lalang to be paid to the Recreation Agency. Thus, since 2002 the Cooperative no longer received money from tourism in Labuhan Lalang which meant removal of this source of additional income for Park employees. This has demoralised Park employees in general and some⁴ have started questioning the Ministry of Forestry about its seriousness and commitment to conservation. It has possibly affected their performance in managing the Park.

6. Tourism Impacts on Park-People Relationships

Although tourism has provided employment opportunities and alternative livelihoods for some villagers, the impacts of tourism on local people have been largely negative. Two notable impacts that have affected management of the Park as commons were the general feeling that tourism was causing the Park administration to be unfair to the local community by favouring outside tourism organisations rather than local people, and exploitation of the poor relationship between villagers of Sumberklampok and the Park by one of the tourism companies (i.e. Oak Tree Resort) for its own benefits.

6.1 Exacerbation of villager disrespect toward Park administration

One prerequisite for successful partnership is a harmonious relationship between Park administration and the local community. However, in West Bali National Park this was not the case. Failed attempts by Park administration and provincial government to relocate communities living within the Park boundary in 1991 (Bali Post, 1991) has created a prolonged sour relationship between Park administration and villagers, especially with those of Sumberklampok. The relocation program had been proposed in order to pave the way for a fully-fledged National Park in which people were not allowed to live (Directorate of Nature Protection & Preservation, 1978; Udayana University, 1979/1980). Since then, the villagers have been subjected to various allegations by the Park administration, particularly in relation to the loss of the wild and caged population of Bali Starling and to illegal logging. Villagers subsequently lost respect for the Park administration and took over plantation land, even though they did not own it, and distributed it among themselves. Efforts to get legal recognition for the occupied land have been made by the villagers but have never succeeded.

Feelings of unfair treatment by the Park also related to the existence of tourism resorts in the Park's utilization zone. Villagers⁵ repeatedly asked, "Why were these outsiders allowed to have their building constructed in the Park? They

⁴Interview with informants NP09 in 26 August and NP11 in 23 October 2004

⁵Interview with informants SKTB5 in 19 August, SKSK05 in 26 August, SKSK04 8 October 2004 and PJ06 in 11 October 2004

said that the Park was exclusively for natural resource protection but what happened now? The Park could not protect the forest from illegal uses and even they always accused us when the bird (Bali Starling) was lost, but now it allows hotels to be built in the Park. Why? Was that because they were rich people from big cities while we are not?"

Yet, the resorts (both the Oak Tree Resort and the Deer Jungle & Beach Resort) applied stricter rules than the Park by completely prohibiting local people from entering the utilisation zone preventing them from collecting fire wood and fodder. As one villager⁶ angrily stated, "DJBR now acts as an arrogant forest keeper. It prevented and prohibited us from entering the forest to collect fire wood and fodder for our cattle. How could they do that? We have been living around here and have used the forest for decades, long before it came here. We had never been treated like this before and we have always got what we need from the forest."

6.2 Exacerbation of the poor relationship of the Park and people

The poor relationship between the Park administration and the villagers of Sumberklampok was exacerbated by the establishment of the Recreation Agency, mentioned above, to manage the entrance area of Labuhan Lalang. At face value, the involvement of Sumberklampok Traditional Village by the Oak Tree Resort in managing the entrance area of Labuhan Lalang through the Recreation Agency was really encouraging. The partnership appeared to be a good example how a village office-level partnership between private tourism companies and local people should be done. Unfortunately, in reality this was not the case. There was a hidden reason behind this partnership. Sumberklampok Traditional Village was invited to help the Oak Tree Resort to face the existing, rebellious local tourism associations in the entrance area of Labuhan Lalang. It was an open secret that the Oak Tree Resort had always been having problems with the Boat Association and the Businessmen Association since it started its operation in late 1998. These associations, which were subsidiaries of the Cooperative, felt that they already been in the area much earlier than the Oak Tree Resort, and viewed that the Resort was arrogant in offering its plan to manage the entrance area and did not want to share the (economic) benefits of the area by taking over the management unilaterally and relocating their facilities (Kompas, 2001).

For the villagers of Sumberklampok, the invitation was seen as a good opportunity for them to revive their attempt to claim the ex-plantations' lands although some villagers have also complained that the benefits of the Recreation Park Management Agency did not trickle down to the whole community. An internal report between the Oak Tree Resort and the Park indicated that the monthly donation only went to specific groups which were the elites of each ethnic group in the enclave (Oak Tree Resort, 2001-2003). One villager⁷ questioned the situation, "Where did the money from the Recreation Park Management Agency go to? It only went to Mr. MJ (Madurese informal leader), Mr. MK (Balinese informal leader) and the office of village head. We only had it when we celebrated the Independence Day." Another villager⁸, who worked as a guide and made regular donations from

⁶Interview with informant PJ06 in 11 October 2004

⁷Interview with informant SBTT3 in 6 October 2004

⁸Interview with informant SKLL3 in 4 December 2004

his earnings from accompanying tourists, also questioned where the money he contributed to the Recreation Park Management Agency had gone. Villagers perceived this as unfair treatment that created dislike and jealousy.

7. Tourism Impacts on the Park utilisation zone

The effects of tourism on the relationships between local communities and the Park have mediated further effects which have reduced conservation in the Park.

7.1 Excessive collection of fire wood

The most frequently reported negative impact on conservation resulted from excessive collection of fire wood. Collection of fire wood by local people was tolerated by Park administration as long as it was for household purposes. Surveys by the Park administration, however, indicated that collection was now for commercial uses as well. An average of 27 fire wood collectors (Figure 2) came out of the utilization zone every day (Head of Northern Section Internal Report to the Head of West Bali National Park Office, 16 June 2004). Each collector took roughly 0.3 cubic-meters per day, equivalent to a total of around eight cubic-meters and about three times amount collected in 2000 (Head of West Bali National Park Northern Section, personal communication). In fact, the first author witnessed a large amount of fire wood being taken by trucks from the village of Sumberklampok. According to one villager, one or two such trucks came to the village each week. Depending on the truck capacity, between 30 and 50 cubic-meters of fire wood (Figure 3) were taken weekly to supply traditional ceramic tile and brick kilns all over Bali. Our observation indicated that there were more than three collection points in the village.



Figure 2: A typical fire wood collector in the West Bali National Park



Figure 3: Stacks of fire wood on the roadside waiting for collection

7.2 Illegal animal trapping

There was also an increasing number of illegal animal traps being set up in the utilization zone where tourism operators were working. In a report to the Park administration, the Deer Jungle & Beach Resort site manager mentioned that, "in a regular patrol we often found tens to hundreds of animal traps, especially for deer and wild fowl, in our area. Until now, we have 'collected' a total of 7,500 traps with increasing numbers each year since we started our operation in late 1999." This occurred especially near Pejarakan village (Deer Jungle & Beach Resort, 2001) and provided a source of easy money. According to one villager, the high demand for wild fowl existed because of cock-fighting, a traditional gambling practice at many local ceremonies.

This impact also appeared to result from a hatred of tourism by local people and the feeling that they were being unfairly treated by the Park described above. One villager⁶ said "Why has the resort always prevented us from trapping animals in the forest? They were new here and barely provide us anything beneficial, and now they want to act like the Park, prohibiting us from entering the forest? They have no right at all. We have been here long before them. Even the Park did not prohibit us from going to the forest."

7.3 Forest fire

The third impact was an increase in forest fire incidents. The latest occurred in mid August 2004. The Park's Northern Conservation and Utilization Section Head explained that forest fires occur regularly every year, especially during dry season. Strangely, according to the same person, the frequency started to increase in 1999, the year when the privately-owned resorts started their operation. He suggested that this was caused "... by irresponsible behaviour of throwing out lighted

cigarettes into dry bushes." In 2003, forest fires had burnt down around 20 hectares of forest, and possibly more in 2004 (Mustika, 2004).

The root cause of both the increase in fire wood collection and in forest fire incidents was the inconsistency and the inability of the Park administration to enforce its rules and regulations. The rule pertaining to the maximum size of wood that could be collected meant that it was not easy to find fire wood since the number of people looking for it and the intensity of collection were so high. Nevertheless, local people created their own way to get such wood: by burning a tree to kill it. This was usually done by lighting a fire right at the base of the tree and leaving it. After a week or so, villagers would return to cut down the tree into pieces of allowable size. The practice has been an open secret and well known by Park officials and staff. However, no punishment was ever reported.

8. Local Resources Management Initiatives

Events taking place in West Bali National Park have triggered the emergence of two resources management initiatives.

8.1 Communication Forum for Communities Concerned about Coasts⁹

The Communication Forum for Communities Concerned about Coasts ("the Forum") was established in 16 October 2003 after a two-year long preparation process facilitated by the World Wide Fund for Nature Indonesia Program (NRM/EPIQ, 2002). The Forum was formed to support the collaborative management (or co-management) of the Park's coastal environment which occupies around 18 percent of West Bali National Park's total area which suffers from considerable pressures due to its extremely open situation. This co-management scheme was part of an Indonesia-wide initiative to revitalise management efforts in conservation areas involving both international donor countries and/or international NGOs (cf. NRM/EPIQ, 2002). It was started in West Bali by the World Wide Fund for Nature in 2001 as the realisation that coral reefs in Deer Islet were deteriorating through both human and natural causes (NRM/EPIQ, 2002; Setiasih, 2003; West Bali National Park, 2003a). The Park Office has supported the co-management initiative to help it gain popular support from local communities and to achieve shared conservation and utilisation objectives with outside parties and other stakeholders (West Bali National Park, 2003a).

Members of the Forum are the three traditional villages, Sumberklampok, Pejarakan and Gilimanuk, three fishermen's groups from those three villages (Bunga Indah, Banyumandi and Wana Segara, respectively) four tourism private companies (Oak Tree Resort, Deer Jungle & Beach Resort, Deer Dream Resort, and Pearl Culture Tourism Facility), and a local non-government organisation, the Community Working Group (KUB) of Sumberklampok. The Forum meets regularly every month. It has helped local communities by making available alternative livelihoods through setting up a household-based food industry (e.g. production of seaweed snacks), a village cooperative and a community-based outlet-shop in Gilimanuk to minimise inappropriate use of the coastal environment. Its activities

⁹Locally known as Forum Komunikasi Masyarakat Peduli Pesisir (FKMPP)

include coral reef rehabilitation at Deer Islet, installation and maintenance of mooring-buoys in selected diving spots surrounding Deer Islet, regular beach clean-ups, joint patrols with the Park, and release and enforcement of a 'code-of-conduct' for marine-related tourism activities to reduce pressure upon coral reefs. This 'code-of-conduct' was legally accommodated by the Park through the Head of West Bali National Park Office decree number 511/IV-BTNBB/2002 (NRM/EPIQ, 2002). The World Wide Fund for Nature supports the initiative by providing a motorised-boat and coordinating a participatory patrol by the Forum members (NRM/EPIQ, 2002).

However, unlike other co-management initiatives such as in Bunaken (north Sulawesi) and Komodo (Komodo Island) where a management board was established to accommodate all concerned stakeholders regardless of their status, in West Bali National Park only non-government direct stakeholders (i.e. local traditional villages, community groups, and private tourism companies) have been the members of the Forum. The Park Office, and the associated local and regional government bodies, acted as equal supporting agencies rather than as members (West Bali National Park, 2003a). It was said that, with this kind of arrangement, it would ease communication between the Forum and government agencies and thus help expedite decision-making processes, and that the Forum could retain its semi-autonomous status to execute its own program (NRM/EPIQ, 2002; West Bali National Park, 2003a). While this sounds good and suggests an advanced participatory approach, the distinct organisational arrangement probably reflects the hesitation of the Park Office and local government agencies to sit together with one of the Forum members, i.e. traditional village (*desa adat*) of Sumberklampok, where land status is still in dispute. The presence of the traditional village of Sumberklampok in the Forum indicates increasing sophistication of the villagers employing any necessary, and politically correct, means to achieve their goals. It has also been a deliberate move by the villagers to use Indonesia's policy of governance decentralisation to help them to claim the ex-plantations lands associated with the village (cf. Warren, 2005).

8.2 Demands for Traditional Use Zone in West Bali National Park

In 2003, the official village (*desa dinas*) of Sumberklampok proposed to Park Office to have a traditional use zone, both marine and terrestrial, in addition to the existing zones (core, wilderness, utilisation and cultural use). The village aspires to have a zone where community-based natural resource management can be practiced in order to seize economic opportunities for village development. According to the Head of the official village of Sumberklampok, the proposal was triggered by three events, i.e. (1) the change of Park zoning in 1999 to accommodate the expansion of utilisation zone and creation of cultural use zone; (2) the advent of the Pearl Culture Tourism Facility in Teluk Terima bay which is part of the village according to the latest participatory mapping survey in 2001; and (3) the formation of the Recreation Park Management Agency which only involved traditional village (*desa adat*) of Sumberklampok. The demand is awaiting Ministry of Forestry approval.

The allocation of a traditional use zone to support a social forestry scheme has been a common practice in Indonesia's conservation areas and has been established in many Parks (Sumadhiyo, 2003). However, in West Bali National Park,

and particularly in conjunction with Sumberklampok village, the allocation was problematic as the village's land status was still disputed. Approval for a traditional use zone was seen by local government as providing villagers with stronger reason to continue their claim over the land. However, without such zone it would be difficult to implement social forestry program being planned (West Bali National Park, 2003b) together with local communities.

9. Discussion

The main goals for the introduction of tourism in National Parks are, firstly, to make additional funding available to meet part or whole of Park administration's operational cost, thereby improving its environmental management capacity and performance (Ceballos-Lascurain, 1996; Eagles et al., 2001; Worboys et al., 2005) and, secondly, to generate economic opportunities and benefits for local people to discourage them from taking natural resource from Park (Bookbinder et al., 1998; Ceballos-Lascurain, 1996; Goodwin et al., 1998; Walpole & Goodwin, 2000). Together, these outcomes are expected to lead to improved management of National Parks. This study, however, showed that in the West Bali National Park the impacts of tourism did not favour collaboration between Park administration and local communities contributed to increased pressures on the Park as a resource. Or in other words, tourism has failed to revitalise the management of West Bali National Park as commons.

For the Park administration, the decision of the Ministry of Forestry to implement Regulation 18/1994 allowing private tourism companies to operate in the Park utilisation zone has made Park employees questioning the Ministry of Forestry's intent to improve and strengthen the Park's capacity for collaborative management. The expansion of the Park's utilisation zone at the expense of core and wilderness zones, the failure to refuse establishment of the Pearl Facility in the name of tourism and arrangements that caused loss of additional income for Park employees have demoralised Park employees and consequently made Park management poorer. These events reflect the Park Office's powerlessness against the Ministry of Forestry's accommodation of business interests at the expense of consistent policy implementation. Furthermore, the Park Office's image was compromised by the presence of tourism resorts in the utilisation zone. Its relationship with local communities suffered further through its partnership with the Oak Tree Resort and the villagers of Sumberklampok.

At least two lessons can be learned from this case study. Firstly, the application of tourism as either a conservation or community development vehicle in National Parks as endorsed by the Regulation 18/1994 should be done cautiously, acknowledging the local situation, especially with respect to aspects of racial and cultural heterogeneity and asymmetric power relations within the community (cf. Agrawal & Gibson, 2001; Belsky, 1999).

Secondly, all direct local-level actors, in this case local communities, Park administration and private tourism companies should be empowered simultaneously. For the community, empowerment should reach both the elites and the ordinaries. As suggested by Sofield (2003) involving rural or traditional communities in sustainable tourism requires empowerment which works like double-edged sword. On one side, it should enable the elites to accept the ordinaries' aspirations and

share the opportunities and benefits of tourism. While on the other side, it should empower the ordinaries so they can voice their expectations and get involved in pursuing the opportunities and benefits of tourism. While for both the Park administration and tourism operators, empowerment will enable them to accept local communities as equal partners. Nevertheless, addressing poverty in villages surrounding the West Bali National Park, which affects even the local elites, is of paramount importance before such empowerment can take place. So long as poverty is a major problem, corruption, favouritism and asymmetric power relations will always occur since elites will always exploit tourism opportunities for the benefit of themselves and their relatives. Thus making the benefits of tourism available as widely as possible is very important as well. Channelling tourism benefits through initiatives that reach broader community would be helpful, e.g. through activities that directly and indirectly support tourism companies such as supply of raw materials such as vegetables and locally-made souvenirs (Goodwin, 2003).

The co-management initiative to manage the coastal environment and local demands for traditional use zone within the Park indicate a will to reverse negative impacts of human activities on the Park. Co-management by the Forum involved many actors with different aims and interests requiring establishment of a number of rights, rules and responsibilities that apply both to the Forum members and to external users (i.e. incoming tourists and non-member local peoples). Although the results are remained to be seen, this collaboration is a promising gesture. However, the proposal for a traditional use zone could be seen as an effort to address the problem of 'limited access for collection of fire wood and fodder from the Park' which was simply not working causing, instead, a perception that the Park was incompetent and leading local people to abuses their rights to maximise their own (economic) benefit. These trends indicate that local-level actors were trying to institutionalise collective attempts in managing natural resources. As Ostrom (2005) and Wells & McShane (2004) suggest, the management of the commons may be more effective when done by an autonomous, self-organised resource governance system at the local level which is also able to influence policy formulation and decision-making process at higher levels in order to strengthen and sustain implementation.

To take account of the complexity of factors involved in achieving equitable distribution of tourism benefits and reduction of local communities' dependence on the resources within National Parks, a more participatory process for planning and implementing tourism would be important. This would require collaboration between many stakeholders, and for that to be successful, decision making processes need to be continuously challenged and adapted (Jamal, 2004). This involves careful structuring and restructuring, negotiation and capacity building among the stakeholders, to ensure that the benefits of collaboration are not going to selected, influential parties (Jamal, 2004). Furthermore, the 'technical' process of developing tourism in Parks would also need to be overhauled. A suitable approach might be "pro-poor tourism" or PPT as discussed by Ashley et al. (2001). Defined as "tourism that results in increased net benefits for poor people", PPT aims "to unlock opportunities for the poor rather than to expand the size of the sector" (Ashley et al., 2001, p. 1) by enhancing the linkages between tourism businesses and poor people to increase tourism's contribution to poverty reduction and, at the same time, enabling poor people to participate more effectively. In this

case, PPT would work as a medium to bring together Park personnel, local communities and tourism operators to seek common ground in conservation and to establish consultation mechanisms. It would also be a way to expand the social responsibilities of the Park and of tourism operators in order to make the benefits reach as many people as possible and to encourage them to engage in activities that help to reduce the pressure on natural resources.

10. Conclusions

Tourism in West Bali National Park obviously did not help to revitalise the management of Park as commons. This study found instead, that the impacts of tourism were rather negative. For the Park administration, these impacts did not improve or strengthen its capacity for environmental management since the changes that took place directly violated the regulations it wanted to defend and subsequently demoralised its employees and affected its performance in securing Park areas.

Tourism has exacerbated the already poor Park-people relationship. In addition to deepening local communities' lack of respect for the Park administration and dislike of tourism operators, tourism, through one of the 'rogue' operators, has aggravated the already poor relationship between Park administration and the villagers of Sumberklampok by establishing a rather insincere partnership of the Recreation Park Management Agency. The partnership has simultaneously exposed the Park employees to loss of additional income and put the Park administration in the difficult situation of work with local people whose village was not officially recognised. These effects have precluded fruitful collaboration for conservation. Ultimately, the impacts of tourism have increased pressure on resources in the Park's utilization zone.

These detrimental effects have resulted from a lack of appropriate tourism planning and management in the context of a complex social and cultural environment with inequities of power and economic capacity. In order to avoid such results, an approach similar to pro-poor tourism would be more appropriate, providing a means for local people to contribute more directly to the process of planning and to resolve land use conflicts. Only when such conditions are fulfilled would tourism in such protected areas be able to act to enable both economic opportunities and conservation.

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