

THE INVENTION OF TERRITORIES AND HOPES IN THE ERA OF ECOTOURISM IN WEST PAPUA

PENCIPTAAN WILAYAH DAN HARAPAN DI ERA EKOTURISME DI PAPUA BARAT

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Abstrak

Artikel ini meneliti tentang masyarakat dari ranah bawah dalam meresponse status dan kebijakan baru berkenaan dengan konservasi alam. Masyarakat menciptakan teritorinya masing-masing berdasarkan memori mereka tentang tempat nenek moyang. Tujuannya adalah bukan saja untuk merawat alam dan tradisi, namun yang tak kalah penting adalah agar mereka terintegrasi dengan pasar. Riset ini dilakukan di Raja Ampat. Sebuah kabupaten baru yang mendefinisikan seluruh wilayahnya sebagai wilayah terlindungi dari eksploitasi alam. Pendekatan konservasi kali ini berbeda dengan sebelum perlakuan terhadap alam sebelum kabupaten Raja Ampat berdiri. Untuk mendapatkan uang kontan berarti merusak hutan. Namun kali ini, melalui proyek konservasi dan ekoturisme, harapannya adalah dengan merawat alam, masyarakat mendapatkan keuntungan ekonomis. Artikel ini didasarkan pada narasi etnografi. Peneliti mendaki ke beberapa titik penting yang dianggap sebagai wilayah nenek moyang masyarakat lokal. Tujuannya adalah untuk mengetahui interaksi masyarakat dengan masa lalu mereka, dengan alam, binatang-binatang. Juga, relasi mereka dengan marga lain dan NGO internasional yang mengusung ide konservasi dan ekoturisme.

Kata kunci: Ekoturisme, Konservasi Alam, Teritori, Memori Tempat, Pengamatan Burung, Pasca Desentralisasi

Abstract

This paper examines people from the bottom in responding new policies on nature conservation. They create their own territory based on the memories about their ancestors. The goal to preserve the nature and culture is even to be more integrated to the market exchanges. The research is conducted in Raja Ampat. A new kabupaten that defines their entire area as a protected place from natural exploitation. This approach is different from the previous treatment to nature of Raja Ampat. To earn cash means to destroy the forest. Rather, through ecotourism, the project expects to give a hope to the people. While preserving the nature, people even can get economic advantage. This paper is based on an ethnographic account. I hiked to the several important spots that also become the place of local people's ancestor. The aim was to get to know people's interaction with the nature and animals. Also, their social relations with other family clan and international NGO's.

Keywords: Ecotourism, Nature Conservation, Territory, Memory Of Place, Bird Watching

Introduction

Raja Ampat is a new kabupaten (district) that was established during the decentralization era that began in 1998 as the spirit of pemekaran ("blossoming") spread to the periphery of Indonesia. This kabupaten was separated from Sorong, West Papua in 2002. The euphoria of pemekaran also spread to the smaller levels (Pamungkas, 2004; Suryawan, 2014). Many villages that were unified under the New Order government attempted to reinvent their ancient or precolonial history in order to successfully separate from their constructed villages. Raja Ampat has 24 districts and 117 villages or kampung. The people of Raja Ampat live nearby the coastal areas. They work as fishermen as well

as maintaining sago and coconut garden in their land. Several kabupaten in West Papua are well known for its rich of biodiversity, mining, gas and oil, forestry and fishery. Multi stakeholder participants, International NGO'S, legal certainties, and some local elites believe on this richness, which convinced them to separate Raja Ampat from Sorong. There has been many local figure s were involved in the establishment of the kabupaten. Two International NGOs, (Conversation International) and TNC (The Nature Conversation) that previously experienced in handling ecological issues in Bali Island, helped to develop the concept of nature preservation in Raja Ampat.

In 2002, TNC (The Nature Conservancy), CI and other NGO's proposed a significant report to the new local government showing the rich biodiversity of the that Raja Ampat that covers coastal ecosystem, mangrove, and forest in the island. TNC reported that Raja Ampat Islands have 537 various coral reefs, which represent 75% of coral reefs all over the world. The ocean around the islands consists of 828 types of fish out of 1074 fish in the world. In the land, there are various endemic plants and animals. At the end of 2003, Raja Ampat officially declared as a new kabupaten. They consist of four big islands, Waigeo, Batanta, Salawati, and Misool and more than 400 small islands. Accepting the plans from TNC and CI, the first bupati, Sroyer Elisa, then implemented Raja Ampat became the base for building sustainable tourism based on ecological conservation.

The legal basis of ecotourism regulation was signed in June 2007 by the regent. Ecotourism in Radja Ampat is based on marine and forest. Marine ecotourism focuses on underwater life, sea turtle, fish and coral species. On the land, ecotourism focuses on the forest, various species of rare plants and birds, including birds of paradise. This research explores the latter. The conservation area is divided into five regions. Ayau-Island waters, Dampier Strait Waters, Mayalibit bay, Kofiau, and Misol.

Local-international assemblage interests were intertwined for establishing Raja Ampat. The initial objective of the pemekaran was because Raja Ampat has a good potential to be developed into an ecotourism site. Ecotourism brings a promise to integrate conservation and development program. This approach is in contrary to the old dominant model of biodiversity, which separates "wilderness" from society (Cronon, 1995; Kirsch, 2018). Both local government and NGO expect that villagers should have an innovation to enterprise their kampong without destructing the forest, as had been done previously by many national and international logging and mining companies. Pemekaran brings a hope to the people, even for those who live in the periphery area, such as people in the district of Mayalibit. The new project ecotourism expects that people can get more money through a new livelihood without curving the forest and cutting woods illegally. Also, ecotourism projects would attract more "foreigner" who gets in touch with the local

people and give a more nuance of "openness" to them.

Like in the description of Tania Li in *The Will to Improve* (2007) and *Land's End* (2015), although Raja Ampat people live in isolated and rural areas, they embrace the promises and hopes of development. In terms of labor, Aihwa Ong (2010) describes that young women from countryside being brought into the factories even very thankful. Young women consider that to be able to commodify their labor and get paid from their works as a moment of liberation. The young women who have their own income is treated as an adult. The chance to sell labor in the market price is a moment of emancipation. Likewise, what I observed during my research, the projects of ecotourism bring a hope for local people to have a new skill about managing their nature, controlling financial money from the project. People are also introduced with new tools supporting the ecotourism activities, such as GPS and binocular.

From the historical point of view, the Papuan feel and see that they are racially different from the people in Indonesia. Since they have been "forced" to integrate to Indonesian government, there have been many human rights violations committed by TNI (The Indonesian National Armed Forces) (Amnesty International Indonesia, 2018; Chauvel, 2005). While I almost never heard about violence occurred in Raja Ampat as big as in the mainland of Papua, which also called Tana Besar. Thus, in contrast to the James Scott's description to societies of Southeast Asia that run away to avoid the interaction with the State (Kadir, 2016; Scott, 2010) most of the people living in Raja Ampat peripheries enthusiast to participate in the greater economic system. However, they see that economic development promoted by government is a responsible and a compensation for what the government has done so far to the Papuan. People in Raja Ampat archipelagoes, have the same hurt feelings since military violence occurred in Tana Besar, as both people in the mainland and coastal areas have the same race, ethnicity and religion.

It is quite ironic that although During the 1990s, before Raja Ampat the island of Waigeo was turned to the nature reserve (cagar alam) area and introduced to ecotourism, several spots of the area became the logging and mining industry. The Nature Reserve of Waigeo Barat

was established in 1981 under the decree of minister of agriculture. In 1996, the minister of forestry officially established The Nature Reserve of Waigeo Timur. It is quite ironic that despite two nature reserve areas were established, people still also witnessed that often times the military backed up illegal logging and fishing (Mollet, 2011: 237). The result of the logging industry caused serious environmental problems. Several areas that used to be the common ground for harvesting sago for instance were deforested. This threatens people's food security. People believe that the pemekaran and the intervention of international conservation organizations in Raja Ampat will both integrated conservation and development project, two different things that combined and believed will bring human wellbeing without destructing nature.

This article is based on several weeks of ethnographic research in the district of Mayalibit bay area (teluk), located in Waigeo Island. This research writing uses ethnographic method, by expecting that the description can grasp the local people point of view in responding ecotourism and development project brought by big institutions, NGOs and local government. It was Conservation International (CI) that helped local government to introduce marine and forest protection area to Mayalibit bay area, which has area 53.100 hectare. I spent the majority of my time not only conducting interviews in the villages, but also following homestay owners, local guides, young people crossing the jungle in Mayalibit area. I observed interaction between ornithologist, entomologist, anthropologist, local NGO workers with local people in two villages in Mayalibit bay area, Warimak and Waifo. I chose these two villages because they represent different ancestors. Warimak people belong to Moi-Maya, the native inhabitant on the Island of Waigeo, whereas Waifo's ancestors were from Biak. Different ancestors generate divergent memories, the claim of territories and the way people treat their nature.

I also spent part of my time working and walking with people who have land based on family clan (marga) in the field camp of Leon Serongga in Warimak, and Kamtabai resort area in Waifo village. To enrich my perspective on hopes on ecotourism, I also expanded my interview and followed various guides who work around Waisai bird watching spots, such as Sapokren. My method to follow people to the garden and forest is to understand how people

give a meaning to their old places where their ancestors used to live. My findings show that the integrated conservation and development projects creates a kind of mixed feelings between hopes given people can search alternative outcomes, but also disappointment. Ecotourism and conservation promise hope of making a better life and bring a new infrastructure, but in the process, many people cannot be fully engaged in the programs and because most of the development infrastructure is neglected and not sustainable. In addition, the notion on ecotourism also brings people to the new consciousness on land property, territory, the livings of non-human things, and last but not least, it creates a sense of competition.

In the Mayalibit bay area, there were at least three villages that split into six villages. Those villages are Go, Kabiloi, Arway, Beo, Waifo and Warimak. (Warsambin, Lopintol, Kalitoko, Mumes?) This article examines on two different villages, Warimak and Waifo that have different deep histories. Warimak was separated from Waifo during the time of pemekaran. Warimak, one of the villages located on Mayalibit bay, merged with Waifo in 1972. Through 'penataan desa' (village order), or what people call 'Gaya Baru' (new style), the New Order merged Warimak with Waifo because Warimak was seen as more passive; having a lower population and not having enough experience living in a coastal area. The people of Warimak and Waifo share the same common language but they have separate descent family groups. They cultivate the same crops, bananas sweet potatoes, breadfruit, and yam. Both people of Warimak and Waifo rely heavily on sago (Metroxylon sago). They regard that subsistence agriculture and pigs hunting are part of their most important livelihood. To earn some cash, some people also sell the surplus sago to the market in Waisai, the capital of Raja Ampat. But they have to gather many garden crops besides sago, so that their income can cover the expense on travel cost to Waisai. People in Mayalibit bay area have been living familiar with the market exchanges. To earn some cash, they sell sago, dried fish, teripang to the market in Waisai and Sorong. The rest of the fish is also kept in fish cage (keramba), which later bought by Chinese Sorong who come regularly to the bay area.

Visiting Raja Ampat is currently not cheap for most Indonesian people. To enter this area, foreigners have to pay one million rupiah (around eighty US dollars) and domestic tourists

have to pay five hundred thousand rupiah (about 40 US dollars). Since Raja Ampat is getting famous as a tourist destination, many tourists are foreigners with an advantage thanks to a high exchange rate against the rupiah. When I asked a local officer at the gate why it's so expensive to buy a ticket, he asserted "We charge a high price in order to make the local people, like me, not hunt the birds of paradise, cockatoo, and many other endemic birds". Raja Ampat is not only well known for its stunning white-sand beaches and reefs, but it is also popular for its birds and many other kinds of fauna. Started from marine conservation, Conservation International (CI) was the one that proposed to set up several ecotourism projects for people along the Mayalibit bay area. The goal was to get alternative revenue besides from fisheries. Rather than replacing existing economic conditions in the Mayalibit bay area, the CI intended to provide alternative livelihoods with adding new alternative jobs in ecotourism. People aspire to the development of ecotourism as long as its not violating their essential livelihood.

Conservation: Controlling Nature While Integrating Market

Tania Li (2007a) shows that indigenous people themselves in different contexts and conditions can engage with capitalist relations. They brought transformation from themselves. This argument is different from Karl Polanyi (2001) who believes that double movement or resistance will counter or push back against capitalist relations in order to protect community lives. The expansion of commodity land, labor, nature, sea, forest put human lives in risk. However, Polanyi does not really describe under which conditions people push back against the market capitalist relations. Forest conservation that is introduced by the CI and TNC makes the people does do not have to compel to sell their land to the investment. The land protection under the nature reserve (cagar alam) zone opens people's chance to save land and labor and not being ended up from a harsh compulsion to become a labor. Thus, the people in Mayalibit bay are quite happy with ecotourism that comes alongside with Nature Reserve (cagar alam) of Waigeo Barat and Waigeo Timur. Local people are still allowed to conduct tourism activities within protected areas. They are also permitted to access to their family clan's territories so far not hunting threatened species and conducting illegal

logging. The conservation promises people earn money access to market without dispossessed from their own land.

What I have seen through my research, the protection does not come from the local themselves but from the local officials who worried to the nature and the people if they engage into capitalist market relations. The local government look to protect the communal land from illegal market capitalist expansions. Before the establishment of Radja Ampat, the area was fully exploited by logging industry. Local people cannot manage their land appropriately if they are introduced to the global market exchanges. They risk from debt mortgage and any capitalist predatory. In addition, the land is not sell because if people have the rest of tiny small land they will not grow enough food to feed their families. Thus, the establishment of cagar alam makes the land inalienable and become registered as a valuable thing that people cannot sell. The Local government and international NGO even conduct a kind of counter movement against the market investment that tries to operate land as a commodity.

This paper is not about a depressive narration on land titling and how land is sold to the commodity market, which are promoted by big investment or by IMF and World Bank as its in the common description about land dispossession. In my research, I found that land commodification does not really happen across the Raja Ampat. Instead, I came across, some kind of land in Papua hat is deliberately restricted from commodification. Cagar alam status and local government being actively taken out the land from the market. The counter movement land in Raja Ampat was about conservation. The conservation urges the land in order not to be sold and bought. Land cannot be a commodity, but it has to be protected. The individual property right cannot happen in the conservation land. However, it does not mean that local people do not try to organize themselves into a market. Nature conservation has brought people to the competition based on territory. By mapping zone, it creates a consciousness for territorializing land.

The land is owned on the basis of area that is inherited from the ancestors. People could not sell the land, but they can use the land for cultivating daily subsistence crops, such as sago and fruits. The changing was starting when Raja Ampat became a new regency (kabupaten). It

creates a new consciousness regarding with the labor and land belonging. International NGO started to introduce how to do mapping, so that people can claim their land and territory. When the land is introduced for conservation, young people started to be aware about their capability of making profit from the nature and its surroundings. They started to have a sense of belonging the birds, rivers, woods and trees. Young people imagine that through ecotourism, they can get profit, without destroying the nature as it used to be done by the logging corporations. People are excited about the new era of ecotourism because it brings them a hope to have some more money, so that they can build a decent house, have a nice phone sell, and other better life as they consider. On the other hand, the land territory makes people to compete. If one village has a good management of the homestays, another villager will compete by mimicking the succeed one. In Warimak, the department of tourism provided homestays in order to be maintained by the local people. Local NGOs, such as FFI (Flora and Fauna Indonesia) assisted with adventure equipment and kitchen utensils. In Waifoi, the homestay is built by individual initiative. Those who are from the same native family clans are allowed to have a bird watching spot and build homestay. The similarity between these two villages is, individuals who get benefit from the tourist guest or nature researchers, they must spend ten percent of the income to church and other ten

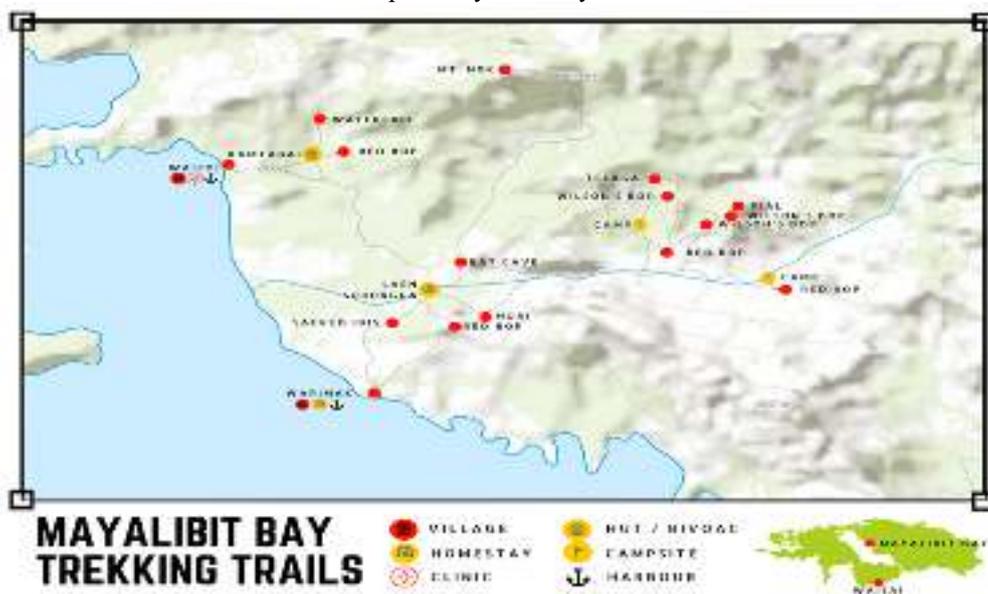
percent to the customary institution (lembaga adat).

Land is identity that has meaning and anchor for the family clan but it is not sufficiently becomes a productive enterprise. People live in the forest where land was abandoned before the establishments of Raja Ampat as kabupaten. They do not see land is scarce. People do not have mechanism to claim and bidding the price of land except it is communally talked. Land has been available as far people see, it is more than enough from their needs. Land can be a valuable territory once if they invest their labor to clear cut the land, build the hut, to become a place for tourism object. Community will respect for the local people who spend their labor for working on the empty land. If they work for it, it is their right to get a profit. The new conservation has put people in the new frontier of seeing value. People have a hope that the effort to build a new homestay, it will give an example to other neighbors in order to open a new place for tourist site.

History of the People

In my case study, Warimak, one of the villages located on Mayalibit bay, merged with Waifoi in 1972. Through 'penataan desa' (village order), or what people call 'Gaya Baru' (new style), the New Order merged Warimak with Waifoi because Warimak was seen as more passive; having a lower population and not having enough experience living in a coastal area.

Figure 1
Map of Mayalibit Bay Area



Source: www.stayrajaampat.com

Like a fragile house of cards, the collapse of the New Order in 1998 was followed by the inevitable desires for sovereignty that quickly spread; even to some isolated areas in Papua. Accordingly, Warimak separated from Waifo in 2002. Inspired by many other cases in Indonesia, new local governments permitted logging businesses to boost revenues in order to survive the first stage of becoming independent regents/villages. Right when Warimak separated from Waifo, the logging company Planet Dua Ribu, owned by an ethnic Chinese Ambonese, was permitted to operate from 2001 to 2005. The company compensated the deforestation by funding a church in the village.

Warimak and Waifo have two different, deep histories. The people of Waifo trace their lineage to Kaliraja, the center of the kingdom that is located near Waisai. The Waifo people are the descendants of Gurabesi, a mythical hero from Biak who built an alliance with the Tidore Kingdom to beat Jailolo and their Dutch alliances. After winning the war, the king of Tidore offered Gurabesi anything from Tidore. Gurabesi said "I already have everything in Kaliraja, but what I don't have is your younger sister." Gurabesi then finally married the younger sister of Tidore. The Waifo are proud that they were the vessels and the wife-taker from the Tidore Kingdom in the North Moluccas. On the contrary, the Warimak are river people who moved to the coastal areas, approximately, after the perang hong (Hongitochten/Hongi War) in the eighteenth century. The Hongi War was the war against the spice monopoly that happened all over the Moluccas and reached West Papua (Muridan, 2009). However, according to information from another source, the Warimak people moved to the coast during what is called 'jaman terang', the era of enlightenment, where people started to embrace religion, as well as stop the clan wars and revolts initiated by captive slaves. Ottow-Geissler, a German missionary, landed first in Manokwari in 1855 before finally spreading missionary activism from Western Papua to Ternate, North Moluccas. Accordingly, people in the Mayalibit bay area converted to Christianity between the end of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century.

The people of Warimak came from Laen Serongga, an old village that is located under Mount Nok. When they still lived in Laen Serongga, they were more defensive as opposed

to aggressively raiding other villages. Laen Serongga was guarded by two warlords (panglima) that they called mambri. These two warlords protected the village against raids from the people in the coastal areas. Because Warimak people are originally from upriver, they have many fond memories of their upland areas. The Warimak have sacred places located in the high elevations such as a sacred cave (goa sacral), a historical well (sumur sejarah), and of course, Laen Serongga, the old village that people believe to be their place of origin. Definitely, Laen Serongga means the land of heaven or tanah surga. It is called the land of heaven because the place was made beautiful by the deep flowing river whose water came from Mount Nok. Warimak people have many poetic stories each time they recall how beautiful it was to live in this area. From Laen Serongga, the Warimak can see their sacred mountain Gunung Nok that is located in the Cagar Alam Waigeo Barat. Rather than calling the mountain Gunung Nok, as many people call it, the Warimak call it Mon Pil. Mon means mountain, which according to them is the sacred place and epicenter of their being. Pil means to stay in place, while Gunung Nok is a modern term in which Nok is the place that means that people migrated somewhere else in the coastal area. Thus, the word of 'Gunung Nok' is not sacred according to the Warimak People. The Warimak believe that Mon Pil used to be the highest mountain in West Papua, but an eruption caused the top piece of the mount to be thrown off to the western part, now called Gunung Gamalama, in Ternate, North Moluccas. The advantage of having memories of living in the uplands, Warimak people can use all of these poetic stories to attract tourists to visit these sacred historical places. Sacred places have been reinvented according to pre-colonial memories, which can then be sold as a new territory for tourism.

On the other hand, the people of Waifo do not have these thoughts of sacred places and memories of living in the uplands, given that they are originally from the coastal area in Kaliraja. People in Waifo tend to call the highest mountain Gunung Nok rather than Gunung Pil. Nok is the name of the family clan (marga) who claim to own the highest upland level of the mountain. Unlike the Warimak people who historically avoided wars in the coastal areas, Waifo's ancestors were warlike and heavily involved in the Hongi wars. The descendants of

the people from Kaliraja then migrated to the villages along the Mayalibit bay, including to Waifoi.

Regardless of these two different and significant histories between Waifoi and Warimak, people in this area have a common life, specifically in terms of staple foods. They hunt wild boar during the day and fish in the middle of the night. Staple foods for both Waigeo and Warimak people are sago and starches from roots, such as taro and cassava. To obtain money, they sometimes sell excessive sago to Waisai. At the current time, both Warimak and Waifoi also deal with the same transformation of becoming a tourist site. Tourism promises more money as additional income from side jobs. Watching colorful parrots, noisy cockatoos, and brush turkeys becomes an attraction that can bring extra cash flow. Specifically, for many young people, they have an advantage through reinventing their ancestor's territory based on the ownership of family clans to develop their own tourist sites.

Tourism also leads to the individual competition (Robert, 1993). When it deals with the boars, for example, it is common for people to fairly share their hunt with the neighborhoods and their relatives, but when it comes to cash, people attempt to not only distribute the money for common interests, such as churches and customary institutions, but more importantly, they allocate the money for individual interests. Oddly, tourists have to pay the owners of the homestays for the customary interests (*uang kampung/adat*) instead of directly paying the head of customary regulations. Of course, the homestay owners will share the money for developing the village customs, however, they often do not mention, in detail, the money that they received for allocating to the village. It is very common that the money given from tourists is first circumscribed before it goes to the head of customary regulations (*kepala adat*). This kind of "small corruption" also representatively happens at the State level of the village. When I talked to one of the traditional figures (*tokoh adat*) of Waifoi, he was not really satisfied with the State funds that were mostly corrupted by the head of the village. He refers to the corruption '*salah urus*' (mismanaged), thus where do the homestay owners learn tricks to get more money from tourists? I almost have no idea for this, but let me tell one anecdote. One middleman working for an environmental NGO in Waisai can obtain income

for bringing tourists to the Mayalibit bay area, but they usually also tell the tourists that they should tip; these tips will be used to develop his organization. This kind of trick is never proven as to whether the money is truly allocated to the organization or not. I assume the homestay owners have learned how to get money from this middleman since he often brings tourists to the Mayalibit bay area. Money teaches villagers to not only compete against others, but it also allows them to think of ways to share the money for common interests without neglecting small individual profits.

Tourism brings a promise for people to obtain fast cash, thus by having cash from tourists, villagers can buy things in Waisai such as dishes, spoons, spring beds, and cell phones. It takes several days for tourists and nature researchers to explore terrestrial biodiversity, mangrove forests, rare birds, endemic animal, and plants. During these times, they interact with local guides and introduced them with various advanced technologies of the tent, machete, clothing, lighter, flashlight, footwear, raincoat, compass. After the trekking, tourists and researchers often give away their equipment as a gratitude to the local guide services. The modern goods introduced and displayed to guide's relatives and communities. Technological equipment then raises a desire among local people to get into the modern world of consumption.

Reinvention of Places: Hope and Disappointment

The ecotourism in Raja Ampat brings hope to the people, even for those who live in the fringe areas. The local government, and even NGOs concerned with environment preservation, promises a better chance with having an entrepreneurial spirit for tourism. A vertiable heaven for bird species ranging from eagles, Wilson's bird of paradise, palm cockatoo, and many other endemic birds thrives along the Mayalibit bay area and Waigeo Island. This condition leads many young people to open homestays and to find spots where the birds can be watched. Bapa Yeki is one of the men who has a homestay in Laen Serongga, the place where his father and grandfather used to live.

However, Laen Serongga is not easy to access. Tourists have to walk for about two hours through swampy and muddy trails. Since tourists

and birdwatchers tend to visit Waifo instead, the homestay in Laen Serongga looked abandoned. Yeki was very disappointed with Romi, a middleman-cum-NGO-activist in Waisai who promised to bring tourists to his place. When Romi came to visit the homestay in Laen Serongga, he kept blaming Yeki in his patronizing style, 'you should maintain the homestay even though tourists do not come regularly, how can tourists visit this homestay if you do not take care of it?'. Romi often compares it with the homestay maintenance in Waifo (which I will describe later). However, Yeki also had difficulties since he himself is living in a disconnected world. Warimak has no phone or internet access, and electricity only works during the night.

When we came to his ruined homestay, Yeki was so embarrassed that he did not even charge for the homestay, only for his labor in being our porter. We built a campsite, instead, beside his dilapidated homestay rather than sleeping inside the almost ruined homestay; we finally slept under a large tarpaulin built like an inverted V. The two ends of the tarpaulin were opened so we could walk in and out from two sides, both front and back. Some other expedition teams set up a tent and mosquito netting within his leaky homestay. Yeki has prepared five homestay rooms made from sago thatch. He also put kitchen utensils in one room to prepare food for the guests. He also transformed the forest into a garden. He cultivated banana trees, kangkung/water kale, and taro as food for the guests. However, his hope has been buried since not many tourists visit his place.

According to Yeki, Romi often hung him up in uncertainties. He gave support and other goods such as binoculars, GPS, beds and mosquito netting, but at the same time, he did not maintain the relationship by bringing tourists to visit his place. Most of the tourists and researchers tend to watch birds in Waifo rather than in Warimak. This disappointed Yeki and he then let the condition of his homestay in Laen Serongga dilapidate and become semi-ruined. Yeki sees Romi as his patron. He is like a State agency that gives funds and provides skills training, which means he also gives hope to the villagers, but Yeki is also disappointed because Romi is not always regularly present in advocating for the villagers in maintaining their 'entrepreneurial spirit'.

Many Papuans cannot be absorbed into the labor market or running business because they are considered have less skill (Mollet, 2011). But that's also due the NGO's or local governments does not support the sustainable assistance and ongoing advocacy to local people.

The failure of Yeki in maintaining his homestay does not make people in Warimak desperate. Many young people, including Yeki's son-in-law, Deki, optimistically maintain their own new spots for bird watching and they continue to learn how to identify birds. One environmental organization based in Waisai trained young people in Warimak to memorize many varieties of birds. Deki was trained for two weeks in recognizing about eighty different birds along the Mayalibit area. He could show his ability in remembering the names of the birds in English even though he pronounces them in a Papuan accent and Deki himself can hardly speak English.

Deki's bird watching spot is near the forest that used to be under the authority of a logging company. It is only fifteen minutes by boat. The tourist department in Raja Ampat provided a place for him to develop the territory. His bird watching spot looks better maintained than his father-in-law's homestay in Laen Serongga. There is one toilet available, one place for visitors to stop and rest before hiking to the place to watch birds, and there are also stairs for easier access to the bird spots. He has three trees as spots where many red birds of paradise can be seen in the morning and evening. Deki was hoping that the local government would help his entrepreneurial effort in attracting tourists to come. Although he heard of many disappointments from the abandonment of various tourist spots, he still has a plan to connect his birding spots by creating new trails for tourists to reach the historical spots that are mostly located in the uplands such as *sumur sejarah* and *goa sakral*.

Like Deki, many young people in Warimak now have their own bird spots and they also hope that someday many tourists will come and visit. When I was hanging out in the Warimak church, I met three such young people and surprisingly, each of them has prepared their own homestay and places for bird watching. The first guy is Dhika, Deki's brother-in-law. He is a charming and friendly guy. He told me that he also has prepared a homestay for birdwatchers.

Then Beskel, another tall guy, said that he also has prepared a homestay next to Deki's place. Beskel's homestay territory is close to the mangrove area, so in the future, in addition to watching the colorful panopli of birds, he promises that tourists will be able to watch crocodiles, even though it sounds to be a more difficult undertaking.

Competition

The establishment of both marine and forest conservation areas, which integrated with the development of ecotourism project lead to people's desire for being more engaged in the economic competition. Like many porters in both Warimak and Waifo, Yeki sees that foreigners are potential business partners to develop the tourism industry. Thus, to cut the middleman from Waisai, Yeki has a plan. He told me that for the next visit, I can basically go to Warimak by sneaking from Waisai to Warsambin village by bus and then he will pick up me in that village and take me to Warimak. Basically he wants to "take out the middleman", in this case, from Romi who also plays a role as a tourist middleman. Yeki told me that in the future he will make a spacious, comfortable, and more stable long boat. I understand what he means when he shares that he wants to compete against Romi who also owns a boat to bring tourists to Warimak.

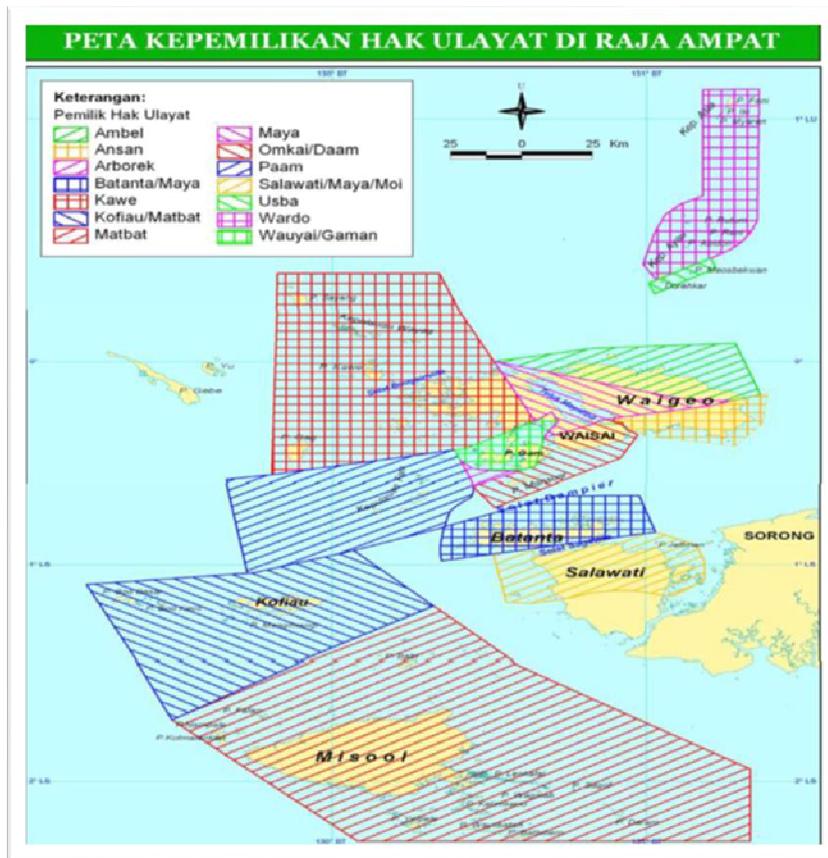
Different from Yeki's experience in Warimak, tourists tend to choose Waifo for bird watching given that the spots are more well-managed, the promotions also run very well, and the trails to get to the spots are not as muddy in Warimak. In Waifo, the spots for birdwatching are claimed by individuals of the same family clan as the landowners. The most well-known homestay is owned by a young man, Omaha. He offers some spots frequented by red birds of paradise (Cenderawasih Merah), as well as Mambruk (Victoria Crowned Pigeon), and Maleo (Brush Turkey). Omaha is a young man that used to work for an international NGO concerned about the environment based in Waisai. He then decided to go back to Waifo to be an entrepreneur. He managed the land that used to be cultivated as a garden by his father back in 1984. Now, Omaha gets at least one or two groups of tourists and birdwatchers every month, plus he has one boat to pick up tourists from Waisai; the income from these services is

sufficient for his monthly income. Different from Yeki's story where he built his homestay on ancient land, Omaha, who is from the coastal area, does not have any poetic memories regarding the locations of his current homestays. For Omaha, it is purely business rather than a business based on memories of the ancient home origins.

Omaha's success inspires Rio who works for Omaha as a porter. I found this is common both in Warimak and Waisai where porters also want to branch out from their patrons, the homestay owners, by creating their own new territories for bird watching at the edge of the village. Rio plans to create his own homestay, hiking trails, and birdwatching spots. Rio used to be a guide in Waisai bringing tourists to see the birds, but he said that one of his neighbors was jealous and shot up the trees to traumatize the birds. Rio then returned to Waifo to work with Omaha.

During our expedition to the higher elevations of Mount Nok, Rio accompanied us. The hike to reach the high elevation was grueling. There was no clear trail except for the ridge that we just followed. In the middle of the hike, we built a campsite right at the edge of the border with another family clan (marga). Rio warned us that we could not continue the hike unless we went back down to the Waifo village to get permission from the clan's landowner. The border between clan lands is marked by specific trees, in this case a cempedak tree (*Artocarpus integer*). It is an absolute must to get a permit from the clan landowner if we want to stay overnight in a different clan's land. Both in Warimak and Waifo, every bit of land is claimed by each group of marga, even if the land is a primary forest and they have never visited the land. It is absolutely prohibited to trespass on another marga's land without permission. Such a violation can infuriate local land owners. Prior to the existence of cagar alam, local people, both Warimak and Waifo, have had a claim to the land and forest. However, to avoid a conflicted claim on the area, they mark the clan's territory based on trees, memories of ancestors, and sacred places. Local government helped with KPHL, Protection Forest Management Unit, (Kesatuan Pengelolaan Hutan Lindung) create customary zoning in order to avoid the land conflict between family clans.

Figure 2
Map of Customary rights territory in Raja Ampat



Source: KPHL, 2016

Seeing us upset because we could not cross the border through another marga's land to hike to the highest elevation of Mount Nok, Rio then promoted to me that he is now trying to create a new trail and homestay on the edge of Waifoi village. He promises me that the view there is even greater than that from Omaha's trail. He also has already selected a gorgeous location in a lush forest to see colorful bird displays. Rio also promises me that rather than sleep in a tent under the trees, he would like to build a decent homestay close enough to the higher elevations so that he can easily bring one's gear from the village to climb Mt. Nok. Like Yeki in Warimak who tries to be independent from his patron, Romi, in Waifoi, Rio also attempts to disconnect from his patron by promising to create a new territory and trails. Competition among the villagers, therefore, is generated from the younger, the subordinated, and the employees who are not only dissatisfied with their patron's work, but are, at the same time, also inspired to improve their lots.

Territorialization

In subsection paper, I argue that the decentralization proliferates to villages in the periphery of Indonesia have created opportunity to renegotiate people's territorial differences. The separation of the Waigee villages during the decentralization era, coupled with the tourism boom, has created a new strong boundary for territorialization among the villagers. There was no record on the bloody conflict during the separation transition, as there have been many crossed marriages between Waifoi and Warimak. Deki for instance, our guide during the trekking, he married a woman from Gaman family clan in Waifoi. He does not have a problem accessing the Gaman's land in Waifoi except when he is going with tourists or researchers. Those involved in the tourist business are encouraged not to cross through another village unless they handover the foreigners/tourists to be guided and accommodated by the local people from the village. In addition, the encountering of Warimak and Waifoi villagers with NGO activists and the State apparatus have emerged a great expectation

about the development of their economic household, even though the hope often ended up with disappointment.

The separation of the Waigeo villages during the decentralization era, coupled with the tourism boom, has created a new strong boundary for territorialization among the villagers. Those involved in the tourist business are encouraged not to cross through another village unless they handover the foreigners/tourists to be guided and accommodated by the local people from the village.

When our research team asked Yeki and his son, Yamdani, to cross through the village from Warimak to Waifoï to find some more bird species and insects, they were visibly uneasy. Yeki told us that if we come to Waifoï, we have to treat him and his son as a guest (*tamu*) to stay in Omaha's homestay or they could choose to stay outside by building their own camp. Hearing our plan to hike the trail from Warimak to Waifoï, Yeki's son Yamdani, who helped us cook during the expedition, went back to Warimak village. And he never came back to our campsite in Laen Serongga, either. Instead, Deki, Yeki's son-in-law who was born and grew up in Waifoï was sent to our camp in Laen Serongga to replace Yamdani under the assumption that Deki could better explain why guides and porters from Warimak were crossing into Waifoï.

Fortunately, we did not hike through the Waifoï village due to heavy rain and flooding. We decided to take a boat to Waifoï, instead, and left Yeki and Deki to stay in Warimak. We thought that was a better decision than walking across Waifoï by bringing in porters from Warimak. We could not imagine how badly Yeki's feelings would be hurt if he knew that the homestay owned by Omaha is better maintained than his own abandoned homestay in Laen Serongga. Plus, had he slept outside Omaha's homestay and that hurt our feelings, as well as Yeki's.

The growth of ecotourism in Raja Ampat has not only spurred the consciousness of the importance of preserving bird spots, but at the same time, it's prompting claims over territory. Although people like Yeki are seen as less competent in responding to the demands of tourism, it does not extinguish the spirit of the youth who keep trying to create and maintain new spots and territories. Young people in both Warimak and Waifoï claim spots in the higher

elevations in order for tourists to identify the bird species living in the glorious, gigantic forest trees with thick, straight trunks covered with flowerless green plants. In other words, despite the disappointment that happens to many unfortunate people, other people still have hope as the land and the territory are based on clan affiliation and are still owned by the younger generation.

Closing Remark

Since Raja Ampat develops very well to be an ecotourism area, the demand over labor market in this area have increased rapidly over two decades. Many spontaneous migrants from Java, Maluku and Sulawesi encourage to establish business and informal sector jobs across the islands in Raja Ampat. Not only that, there have been foreigner investments pouring their money by buying land and build bungalows, resorts, homestays, and hotels all over the island. The story of homestay ownership in Mayalibit is a small portrait of the growing of homestays in Raja Ampat that mostly owned by foreigners. The Office of Culture and Tourism in Raja Ampat (*Dinas Kebudayaan Dan Pariwisata*) recorded that the number of tourists Raja Ampat grew from 998,000 in 2007 to 7,759,000 in 2015. There are over 100 homestays grew, 12 resorts, 40 live aboard boats. Most of the tourist business owners are foreigners that employ few local Papuans (King, 2017: 18). Nonetheless, compared to other places, local people in Warimak and Waifoï still own the homestay as their customary laws itself has blocked the foreign investment from owning the land and territory around these two villages.

The growing ecotourism phenomenon finally impacted local people to define their territories, to strengthen their memories of place and ancestors, and to invent their old traditional customs (*adat*). The new consciousness on nature preservation aim to not only block the domination of migrants and foreigners from economic resources, but more importantly by using their traditional (*adat*) identities, local people can also be more engaged to the economic market on ecotourism. My research in Mayalibit bay area shows that the conservation and ecotourism have inspired local people to define their memories of ancestors and territories. The more they preserve local culture and their nature, the more it fits to the market exchanges in the spirit of ecotourism.

This ethnographic account shows the status of nature reserve (cagar alam) and ecotourism have shaped the treatment of local people toward nature and environment. The current development in Raja Ampat is basically try to collaborate contradictory existences between individual competition and territorializing of commons, which then the objectives is to support the form of ecotourism and cagar alam conservation. According to KPHL, Protection Forest Management Unit, (Kesatuan Pengelolaan Hutan Lindung) the total area of under the forest management in Raja Ampat is 206,621 hectares. These areas consist of primary and secondary forest, mangrove, swamp, bushes, backwaters, garden, and human settlement. The modern zoning produced by KPHL, TNC, CI, and local government also consider the customary rights (hak ulayat). Local people are still allowed to access the protected forest areas that crossed with their customary territories. The establishment of Raja Ampat involves heterogeneous actors and practices, forms of knowledge, bureaucratic formations. The assemblage of interests is to make a consensus and to forge alignments from different parties and constituencies (Tania, 2007b). From local people, local government, to NGOs makes the projects as a working together. The objective is to manage failure and contradiction between nature and development. Preserving nature and commonality attempt to recognize people territories, while also diversifies peoples' livelihood.

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