

WISATA

Tourism Development for Selected Destinations in Indonesia

Community-based Tourism in Flores Impacts and Carrying Capacity

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Abbreviations

CBT	Community-based tourism
LAC	Limits of acceptable change
LP2MB	Lembaga Pengelola Pariwisata Megalith Kampung Bena
Pokdarwis	Kelompok Sadar Wisata (Tourism Awareness Group for CBT)
TIC	Tourism Information Centre

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Executive Summary

The research of this report describes the perception of the tourism development in three communities in different locations across the island of Flores in Indonesia. Two of the communities are traditional villages. The third is a typical Flores farming community. The research answers the following questions: Which impacts are important to the communities and how is the current situation with regard to each of these impacts? How sustainable is the tourism development and did the communities become depend on the new benefits? What can the people not tolerate to happen in their communities? Has the carrying capacity in terms of visitor numbers, acceptance of changes and livelihood transition been overstepped?

The study considered 44 different factors in order to evaluate the impact of tourism development on the communities. Only for few of these influences the results are negative. Problematic issues refer to the freedom to avoid tourism and the guarantee of cultural ownership in the traditional villages, the behaviour of tourists, and the income distribution in two of the three communities. A considerable proportion of factors does not affect the communities in any significant way, neither positively nor negatively. In some instances neutral influences can be considered an acceptable result in itself. For example, there are no significant signs for detrimental effects of tourism on the communities' culture, health, and environmental conditions. There are also no indications for risky livelihood changes. In other instances, however, neutral effects can reflect the absence of intended positive impacts. In one of the three villages, for example, tourism is not contributing to community organisation and empowerment, and it is not creating a noteworthy income on the community or household level. In the other two villages the most positively evaluated impacts refer to empowerment, community cohesion, cultural preservation and income creation.

Four conditions influence the impacts of tourism development. The base for any impact is the number of visitors. With growing numbers the likelihood that positive and negative influences arise increases. When visitor numbers are growing, the communities' organisational capacities in terms of structure and routine determine whether impacts will be positive or negative and if they will be smaller or larger. In the two villages, which have functioning community organisations, these create common ground and transparency. They help to mediate conflicts, function as a focal point for capacity building, facilitate a fairer distribution of benefits, and allow leveraging of touristic potential for attention and support from public authorities. Different touristic activities challenge the community organisations in differing ways. Ticket sales are less complex than touristic packages such as homestays, cultural performances or agro-tourism. Collectively delivered tourist products such as cultural performances need more coordination than individually delivered offers such as local products (unless they are pooled to be sold to retailers). Activities also determine what kind of income can be generated and how affected people are in their daily life. Ticket sales result in community income, which can facilitate a fairer access to benefits. Collectively delivered tourist products also allow a larger number of people to participate. Hosting guests on the other hand can be exclusive to only some community members. It potentially creates larger income for a small group of people, thereby increasing inequality within the community. Beyond that, hosting takes up more time than any other touristic offer and is likely to conflict with other livelihood activities of the hosts. This can result in risky livelihood transition. Finally, income is the most important factor influencing the acceptance and appreciation of tourism. Higher income makes the community more tolerant to potentially negative changes.

The carrying capacity in terms of visitor numbers has not been overstepped in any of the researched communities. However, in the community offering homestays members showed preferences for slower annual growth demonstrating a need for time to adjust to the new challenges. Therefore, increases in visitor numbers should be pushed slowly. The carrying capacity in terms of acceptable change has not been

breached in two of the communities. In the third village tourism acceptance is at stake, should the community not start to financially benefit in more substantial ways.

The impact assessment and carrying capacity study show mostly positive results for two of three communities. One reason for the good results is that Swisscontact did not introduce tourism to places which did not know it before or were very far from common touristic routes. This allows the communities to tap into stable and significant enough tourism flows. Additionally, they benefit from the professionalization of the destination management in Flores as well as increased networking among the island's tourism stakeholders. Within the community the extensive efforts to establish functioning community organisation structures is a clear success factor. However, the result also shows, that tourism does not necessarily bring benefits to communities and that substantial assistance can be needed to attract and manage it.

The communities welcome tourism as long as it creates income for them. While one of the three communities already succeeds in generating meaningful income, another is still at a point where income creation is just starting to happen. Arguably the income is rather marginal at this point in time; however, the concerned village is in a position now to extend this income source. It should not be underestimated how much time is needed to build a sound foundation for tourism development before meaningful income generation can happen.

The results from the community with the homestay program also provide conclusions with regard to plans of Indonesia's central government to rapidly expand homestay capacities in rural areas in Indonesia. The establishment of homestays bears certain risks for the reputation of destinations as well as the livelihood of the hosts. Homestays need to comply with certain quality standards. Otherwise they will not be accepted by guests. First mover tourists might discourage adaptive travellers from using homestays, if the quality is not sufficient. There are cultural differences between Western guests and Indonesian hosts. If both sides are not prepared to meet each other, this can lead to misunderstandings and conflict which create a bad experience for the guests and discourages the hosts. For the hosts opening a homestay does entail investment risks and can cause risky livelihood transition. Homestay owners should be supported with capacity building regarding financial planning and management, to prevent them from making investments which do not pay back and neglecting other livelihood activities.

A homestay program is also not inclusive, that is poorer families are likely not able to meet the needed standards to host guests. Therefore, more attention should be paid to building inclusive economic linkages to the overall tourism industry. In theory Swisscontact follows this double approach of CBT and inclusive business development. In practice the potential is not fully used. While the establishment of destination management pushes universal marketing for the island as a whole and the vocational school program links the educational with the business sector, such linkages are not similarly built between Flores conventional tourism and the villages crafts and agricultural sectors. Implementing activities aimed at both CBT and inclusive business development is a matter of time and resources. Each approach needs extensive work and at the same time they pose very different challenges. Implementing both at the same time is demanding.

1. Introduction

A central aspect of Swisscontact's WISATA Program is the involvement of local communities through community-based tourism (CBT) and inclusive business development. CBT activities encourage communities to manage tourism attractions such as traditional villages or natural sites. Inclusive business development supports them in building market links to the tourism industry and sell agricultural products or crafts.

Swisscontact WISATA in Flores focuses on four villages, of which three are traditional and one is a modernised farming village. The traditional villages are Bena, Belaraghi and Nggela. While the former two are located in the island's highlands and halfway between the two highlights of Komodo National Park in the West and Volcano Kelimutu in the East, the latter is located close to the sea adjacent to Volcano Kelimutu. The modernised farming village is Waturaka, which is close to the entrance to the famous colour-changing crater lakes of Volcano Kelimutu. The four communities differ not only in terms of the attractions, products and services they can offer to tourists, they also differ in terms of the number of tourists they receive. While all the traditional villages are somewhat similar, Bena is a well-known touristic highlight in Eastern Indonesia. Belaraghi and Nggela on the other hand can still be considered off the beaten track. Waturaka in turn lacks the obvious attraction the traditional villages have. The touristic potential in this community comes from its beautiful location in the middle of rice fields and gardens along the slope of Volcano Kelimutu, and the opportunity for tourists to stay overnight before visiting the crater lakes. Consequently, while Bena is at risk to be overrun by mass-tourism, the other three villages are challenged with attracting enough tourists to create stable and meaningful benefits.

CBT and inclusive business are approaches which aim to give access to and control over tourism development to communities. Such approaches are necessary, because income and benefits created in the tourism industry do not automatically "trickle down" to the population and especially not to those most marginalised (Scheyvens & Russell, 2012; Spenceley & Meyer, *Tourism and poverty reduction: theory and practice in less economically developed countries*, 2012). However, CBT and inclusive business projects can face difficulties themselves and at times even have adverse consequences for the communities they are supposed to uplift.

CBT is built upon the premise of empowered decision-making. To realise this communities must be able to foresee all implications of tourism development – including potentially negative impacts. However, due to a lack of experience and information this condition might not be fulfilled. Consequently critics argue that CBT projects are often controlled by donors rather than by the communities (Briedenhann & Wickens, 2004; Schilcher, 2007). There are also examples for CBT projects which lack profitability and are unable to create income and benefits as intended. This is usually due to insufficient capacity building in the communities as well as a lack of business planning, product development, and marketing. CBT projects can fail to establish links to the overall tourism industry. Such links are needed, however, for access to tourism expertise and marketing channels. Additionally, when the support for a CBT project ends the community might not be able to sustain it by itself (Harrison, 2003; Spenceley, 2008; Strasdas, 2009; Lapeyre, 2010; Meyer, 2010; Erskine & Meyer, 2012). Aside from that, a community is not one homogeneous group. Power imbalances within the community can inhibit equal involvement of all members causing unfair distribution of benefits and growing inequality (Duijn, Peters, & Wearing, 2005; Mowforth & Munt, 2003). Conflicts can arise between those who benefit more and those who benefit less. Tourism might initiate cultural changes which are not welcomed by everybody and can cause further frictions among the people.

Inclusive business development on the other hand can be hampered by a number of supply, demand and marketing constraints. The quantity and quality of products provided by communities as well as the

reliability of delivery is often a problem that makes the establishment of market linkages more difficult than development practitioners assume (Mitchell & Ashley, 2010).

Aware that the numbers of visitors to Flores are growing and that one of Swisscontact's partner communities already faces mass-tourism, in addition to the general pitfalls of CBT and inclusive business projects, Swisscontact decided to conduct an impact and carrying capacity study for its community projects in Flores. The research describes the perception of the tourism development from the perspective of the people:

- Which impacts are important to them and how is the current situation with regard to each of these impacts?
- How sustainable is the tourism development and did the communities become depend on the new benefits?
- What can they not tolerate to happen in their community?
- Has the carrying capacity in terms of visitor numbers, acceptance of changes and livelihood transition been overstepped?

The following report answers these questions based on research undertaken in the villages and gives recommendations regarding the application of the research methodology in other Swisscontact tourism projects.

2. Methodology

2.1. Research Sites

While Swisscontact is involved with several communities in Flores, the main activities have focused on Bena, Belaraghi, Nggela and Waturaka. Bena, Nggela and Waturaka have been chosen as research sites for the study at hand. Coverage of Belaraghi was not possible due to timely restraints. The three villages included in the research differ not only in their location and the attractions, products and services they can offer to tourists, but also in terms of tourism development and level of community organisation. This makes an interesting comparison between the sites. As Belaraghi is in many ways comparable to Nggela, it was acceptable to not include it in the research.

Bena, which is located near Bajawa halfway between Komodo National Park and Volcano Kelimutu, is the furthest developed destination among the three researched villages. While there still exist many traditional villages in Flores, Bena is unique among them as it remained the centre of the community life. Opposite to many other villages, the people of Bena live in the old settlement instead of moving out to modernised villages in close proximity and merely maintaining the traditional houses for reasons of cultural practices, sentiment and tourism. The beautiful setting of the village on terraces surrounded by a bamboo grove and its unique monolith structures on historic burial grounds make the village particularly attractive for a visit. The production of traditional Ikat weaving can be watched, when the women go about their work on the verandas of their homes. Other than Ikat production, the livelihood of the people is traditionally based on agriculture. Bena charges a modest entry fee for a visit to the village, Ikat weavings and baskets from natural material are sold to visitors as well as retailers, and guests can stay overnight in the traditional houses. The community is receiving guests since the 1970s. Swisscontact helped the village to take better control over the tourism, instead of being merely subjected to it. An important step on the way was the formation of LP2MB, a community organisation managing the touristic activities. However, Bena is walking the line between normality and becoming a living museum. For example, the village is entered through a ticket office. While this was a necessary step to gain control over the community income, it also creates a feeling of artificiality. Furthermore attempts to keep the village as pristine as possible resulted in rules for everyday behaviour. Dogs, laundry, building material, electricity and satellite dishes have to be kept out of sight, which is not the case in other traditional villages. This ruling in fact resulted from a study trip to other traditional villages in Java and Bali which was organised by Swisscontact.



Figure 1: Bena

Compared to Bena, Nggela is a traditional village off the beaten track. After Nggela's traditional houses have been abandoned for decades and traditional cultural practices were increasingly falling into oblivion, the community rebuilt and made stronger efforts to preserve its heritage since 2012, when the current Mosalaki (customary head of the community) was elected. The rich cultural heritage is the village's main touristic attraction. The traditional houses are in very good condition by now and cultural ceremonies, dancing and Ikat weaving are revived and vivid. Surrounding Nggela's traditional village centre lays a modernised village. Like in many other traditional villages in Flores, the traditional houses are mostly inhabited by the elders, while younger family members move to the modernised settlement close by. Nggela is an approximate 1.5 hours drive away from the crater lakes of Volcano Kelimutu, requiring a detour on roads in poor condition. There are other traditional villages and Ikat selling communities in the same area¹, putting Nggela in a considerable competitive situation. However, the proximity to the sea holds potential to create a unique selling point in comparison to competitors. Ikat weaving contributes more to the livelihood of Nggela's people than farming. The largest proportion of income is generated from sales to other locals rather than tourists. While there exist Ikat-weaving cooperatives as well as a Tourism Information Centre (TIC; Nggela X'otic), the level of community organisation is not as advanced as in Swisscontact's other CBT sites. There are three homestays in the modern part of the village and guest rooms in the TIC, but they are operating independently from each other. On occasions traditional houses take in guests as well. Aside from that the tourism in Nggela is limited to short visits by tourists who spend a couple of hours in the traditional village centre and sometimes buy Ikat before continuing their trip towards Maumere or Moni.



Figure 2: Nggela

Waturaka is a modernised village located between the town of Moni, which is the main entry gate to Kelimutu National Park, and the three colour-changing crater lakes of the Volcano Kelimutu. With Swisscontact's help the community is tapping into the tourism market which so far has been developing around them without providing any benefits to them. Opposite to Bena and Nggela, Waturaka's traditional houses have been replaced with modern buildings decades ago, so that no particular cultural heritage is left to be visited by tourist. Instead, Waturaka's touristic attractiveness derives from its rural charm, its

¹ Pemo and Woloara are in hiking distance from the crater lakes. Jopu is located between Wolowaru and Nggela. Wologai and Saga are on the way to Ende. One Nua is an Ikat selling community with retailers and located near Jopu.

picturesque rice fields and gardens on the slope of Volcano Kelimutu, as well as its proximity to the crater lakes. The latter makes the village an alternative to Moni for overnight stays in the area. Agriculture is the major income source for the people of Waturaka. With Swisscontact's assistance the community is now diversifying their livelihood with income from tourism. Pokdarwis, Waturaka's community organisation, was founded to initiate and coordinate the touristic activities in the community. Currently, 13 households in the village host tourists and additional families are interested in joining the activity. Other villagers are involved in traditional dancing groups, agro-tourism, local product development and guiding. The sales of entry tickets to a waterfall on land owned by community members offers a further income source.



Figure 3: Waturaka

2.2. Research Method

Tourism brings change wherever it develops. It has positive and negative impacts. In some cases the development gets overwhelming and out of control. Naturally those in charge of managing tourism have desired a tool allowing them not only to determine impacts, but also to identify the point at which positive impacts no longer outbalance negative.

In the 1960s this point was named "tourism carrying capacity". An eponymous concept aimed to calculate a fixed number of tourists which could be tolerated in a given touristic site. As promising the approach has been in theory, as difficult it turned out to be in implementation. Research concluded that carrying capacity depends on many changeable conditions and could not be narrowed down to one fixed figure. How many tourists could potentially be absorbed by a touristic site changes over time and can be influenced through timely, special or other management interventions (Zelenka & Kacetl, 2014).

The concept of "Limits of Acceptable Change" (LAC) later incorporated the core idea of carrying capacity whilst considering the concept's short-comings. Instead of attempting to calculate a fixed number of visitors, LAC followed a repetitive management process starting with the identification of concerns and issues relating to a given touristic site, followed by the formulation of standards suitable to ensure that critical issues remain tolerable, monitoring of the standards, and - if needed - managerial actions to re-establish a tolerable situation (Pritchard & E., 2012).

Following the concept of LAC the study at hand focused on the identification and evaluation of concerns and issues in Swisscontact's community projects. It did so from the perspective of the community members under the consideration, that a community is not one homogeneous group and that the preferences among their members differ.

LAC provided the general direction for the research. The specific method was drafted based on studies conducted in rural communities in Israel and the U.S.:

Mansfeld & Jonas (2006) used a focus group discussion to determine the “social-cultural carrying capacity” of a Kibbutz in Israel. The researchers first asked the participants to name “two to three main socio-cultural tourism impacts that they would categorically refuse to allow even at the price of not operating tourism in their community altogether” (red lines = socio-cultural carrying capacity; Mansfeld & Jonas, 2006). They then ask the participants to define the current positive and negative socio-cultural impacts tourism has on all participants (status quo = current impact). In comparing the two it was possible to determine in which points the carrying capacity threshold had been breached - or in other words, which “red lines” had been crossed. In a third round the researchers asked about the expectations the participants had for the future. A comparison between the status quo and the expectations provided more information on impacts (satisfaction with the current impacts and impacts which are not yet occurring). During all rounds participants were asked to rank the discussed impacts by importance, which gave information about consensus among the group and significance of the impacts.

Fraumann & Banks on the other hand used surveys to determine the resident perception of tourism by a gateway community in a U.S. mountainous region. In contrast to Mansfeld & Jonas they did not inquire impacts from a representative group of community members, but instead developed a pre-set list of potential positive and negative impacts based on their own expertise and input from selected stakeholders. They then distributed questionnaires to a large number of residents asking respondents to assess the preselected impacts regarding

- a. their importance in making the research site a desirable place to live, and
- b. the current condition of each impact.

Fraumann & Banks deployed likert-scales in their survey (for a: 1 = very unimportant and 5 = very important; for b: 1 = poor and 5 = excellent). They then related the importance and the performance values to each other and displayed them in a two dimensional matrix with four quadrants (see Figure 4).

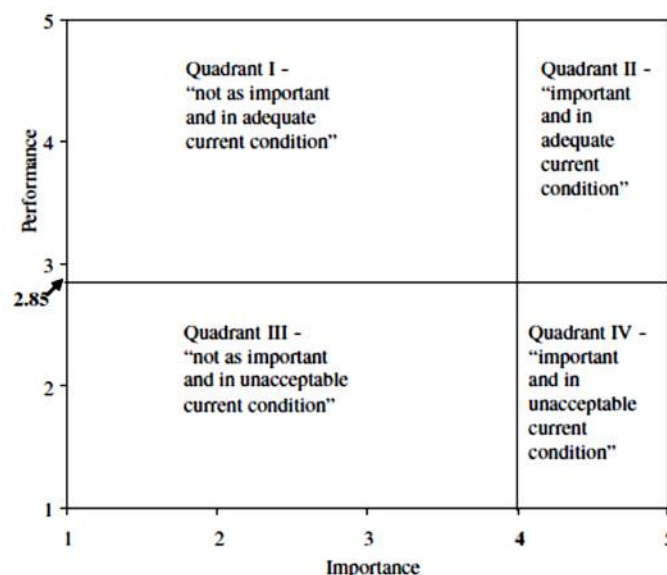


Figure 4: Importance-Performance-Matrix (Fraumann & Banks, 2011)

The matrix allowed the identification of important impacts in poor condition. These impacts needed to be addressed for more tourism acceptance. The questionnaires additionally asked for demographic details of the respondents, so that it was possible to create individual matrices for various individual groups and visualize differences in their priorities and perceptions.

The focus group method of Mansfeld & Jonas has the advantage of delivering in-depth qualitative information. However, the method presupposes the formation of a focus group, which represents all relevant individual groups of the community (in the case of Flores: age, gender, families and clans). Additionally, participants would need to feel comfortable to speak openly during the group discussion. The local culture in Flores, which is strongly hierarchical and prohibits public display of conflicts, made such a method impractical. Accordingly, for the study at hand the survey technique of Fraumann & Banks was favoured over the focus group method of Mansfeld & Jonas. In order to gain deeper insight on particular impacts, the likert-scales from Fraumann & Banks' research design were complemented by further multiple-choice questions. There was also concern that the likert-scales would not lead to differentiated results regarding potential "red lines", as it could be assumed that respondents would put high importance on all suggested impacts. Accordingly, an open question was placed before the likert-scales, which was inspired by Mansfeld & Jonas first question of the focus group method (question for "red lines"; see above). Given that Waturaka and the traditional villages differ substantially in their touristic characteristics and only Waturaka offers the organised possibility to stay overnight in homestays, different questionnaires have been developed according to the two different contexts.

2.3. Research Implementation

The surveys in Bena, Nggela and Waturaka were conducted by a team of one local and one international staff member. Respondents were approached during village gatherings or visited in their homes. They were given the choice to fill-in the questionnaires independently or be interviewed face-to-face by the local staff member. Microsoft Excel was used for the data processing and analysis. As the consultants stayed in the villages for two to ten nights during the period of the questioning, they were able to gain additional insights from observation and informal discussions.

The three researched villages are each divided up in a number of settlements (Dusun). This study focused only on the settlements which are subject to tourism. The traditional village of Bena consists of two Dusun (Bena, and Bena I). It forms a village with two other settlements, which are nearby, but spacially clearly separated from Bena (see Figure 5).



Figure 5: Research site Bena

Nggela on the other hand consists of six settlements merging directly into each other. The Dusun of One Nua is the location of the traditional village centre and the only settlement of Nggela which is regularly visited by tourists (see Figure 6).



Figure 6: Research site Nggela

Tourism to Waturaka concentrates in Waturaka Dusun 1 and Dusun 2, which are bordering with each other and located approximately two kilometres from the villages other two Dusuns (Error and Liasambe). All homestays and the majority of Pokdarwis members are from Dusun 1 and Dusun 2 (see Figure 7).



Figure 7: Research site Waturaka

The collected data is statistically representative for the adult population of the selected Dusuns in each site with a margin of error of at least 10 per cent and a confidence interval of at least 90 per cent (see Table 1)².

Unfortunately, in the case of Waturaka the quality of responses was corrupted by translation mistakes. After this was discovered and adjusted a second round of interviews was conducted. Due to the mistake not all questions have been answered by a statistically representative number of people. Throughout the report it will be noted if results are not statistically representative.

² Particularly in the case of Bena and Nggela (traditional villages) the representativity is likely higher, as not all people who are registered in the community do also live there. Younger community members and particularly men often leave the village in pursue of job and income opportunities elsewhere.

Village	Adult population size	Threshold for minimal statistical representation	Sample size
Bena	Approximately 220 ³	52	55
Nggela	161	48	52
Waturaka	269	55	Round 1: 42; Round 2: 74; Interviews without duplets: 92

Table 1: Research sample sizes

It was intended to have a balanced number of respondents of different genders and ages. In Bena and Nggela this presented a challenge, as many young men have left the village to earn an income in other places (see Figure 8 and Figure 9). While both Bena and Waturaka have officially set up community organisations for tourism development, in Waturaka the entity plays a significantly more important role for the ability to participate in tourism. For this reason it was ensured that in Waturaka members as well as non-members of Pokdarwis would participate in the survey (see to Figure 10). In Bena (and also Nggela) on the other hand, due to the characteristics of tourism in traditional villages, a potential issue is not the ability to participate in tourism, but the freedom to avoid it, if desired. In this regard community organisation membership was not considered crucial.

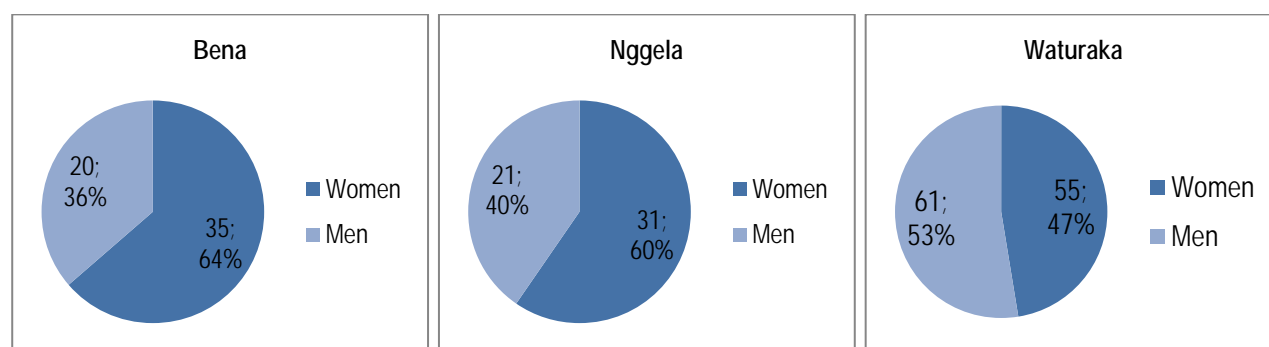


Figure 8: Respondents' genders

³ Bena was the only site, in which it was not possible to get hold on population data by Dusun and age group. In order to arrive at the number of adults living in Bena and Bena I, the age allocation of the total population of the subordinated village has been applied to Bena's Dusuns.

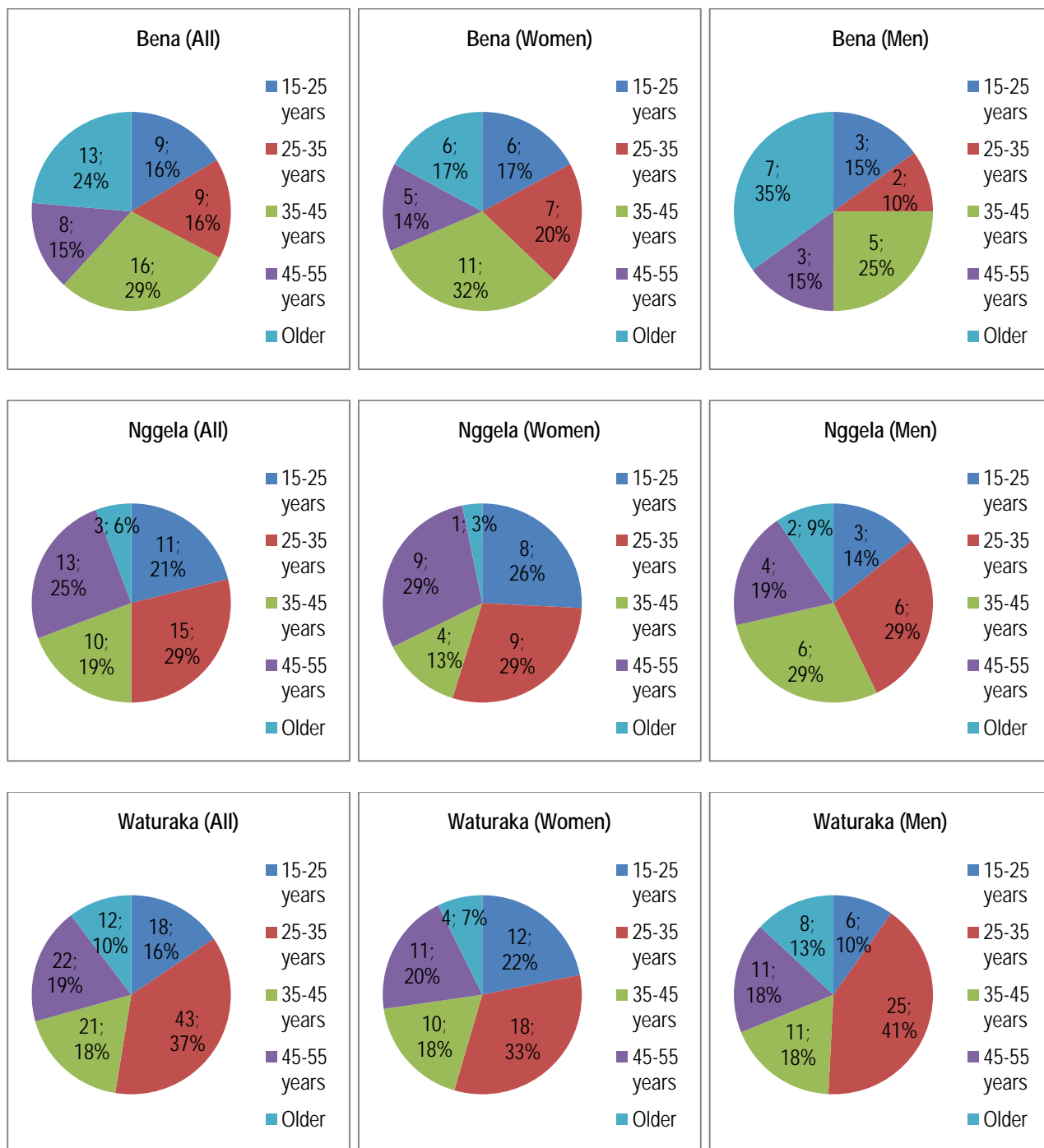


Figure 9: Respondents' ages

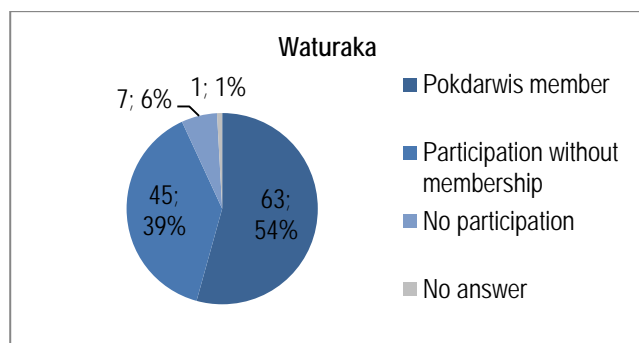


Figure 10: Pokdarwis membership of Waturaka respondents

3. Impacts

3.1. Overall perception by site

In general the communities in all three research sites are very positive about tourism. In each case over 95 per cent of the respondents agreed, that tourism brings more positive than negative things to the community (see Figure 11).

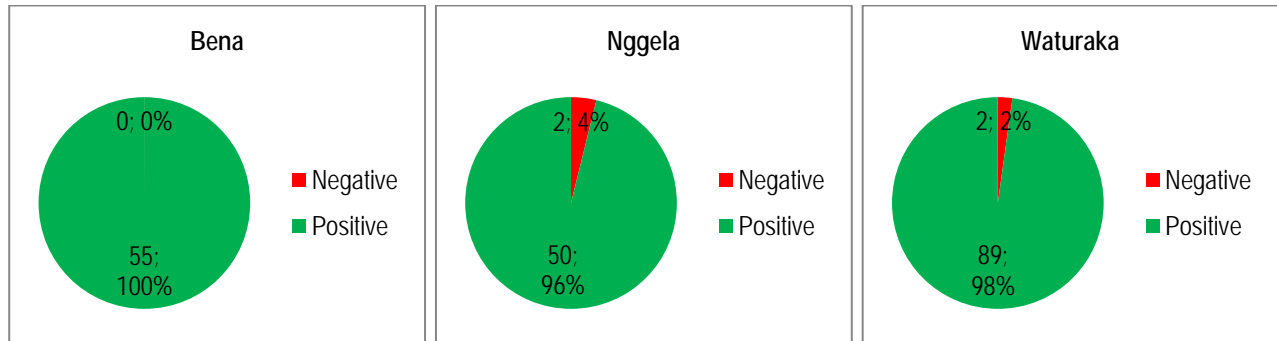


Figure 11: Perceived net-impact of tourism

Bena

Despite the overall positive assessment across all preselected impacts, Bena faces challenges in some areas. The community feels in control over the development and assessed the current situation regarding communal and household income very positively. However, perspectives for the youth are considered inadequate. This corresponds with the observation, that especially young men leave the village in search of better opportunities elsewhere. The current situation regarding jealousy within the community received one of the lowest ratings of all impacts. This indicates that the distribution of benefits from tourism could be fairer and/ or more transparent. The jealousy does not seem to translate into significant conflict between the community members. Cultural indicators were assessed very positively. Only the current situation regarding freedom to modernise the village was an exception from this rule. Men and older people showed the least satisfaction in this regard. Potentially, respondents misunderstood the question and wanted to express, that they don't like the village to modernise rather than that they felt restricted from modernising, if they wanted to. There is considerable dissatisfaction with the behaviour of tourists, which is also reflected by the "red lines" for the carrying capacity (see 4.2.2; see Figure 12).

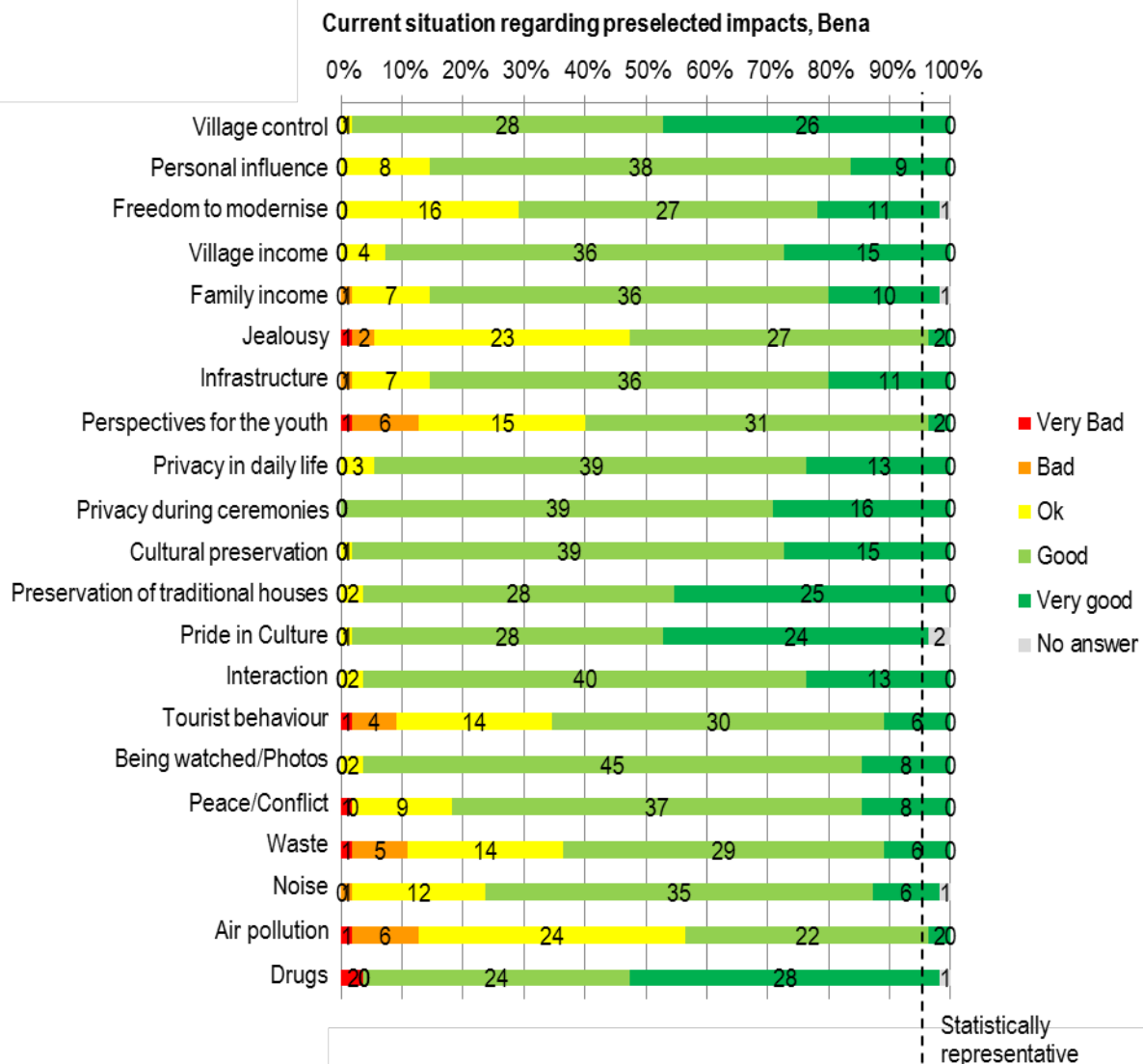


Figure 12: Current situation regarding preselected impacts, Bena

Nggela

In Nggela, it is striking how relatively negative the assessment of the current situation regarding control of the community over the development, income creation and jealousy is compared to the other two communities. The low satisfaction with the income creation can easily be explained with the low numbers of tourists Nggela is receiving. Additionally, Nggela is the only village which does not have a community organisation set up yet. This is a possible explanation for the negativity about the control and jealousy indicators. Fortunately, in Nggela – similar to Bena - the jealousy seemingly does not translate into significant conflict, even though the values in Nggela are less positive than in Bena. Both traditional villages see the perspectives for the youth in their communities as a problem. Compared to Bena the people of Nggela assessed the current situation regarding cultural aspects and guest-host-relationship less positive. The former can partly be explained, because in Nggela there is no communal income from tourism which helps to finance the costly maintenance of the traditional houses as well as the production of traditional crafts. The comparison between Bena and Nggela in terms of the perception of the guest-host-relationship suggests that routine in dealing with tourist as well as income from tourism affects it. The small numbers of guests in Nggela compared to Bena don't allow for much interaction, but also do not expose the villagers as much to rude behaviour by the tourists. Income is surely compensating to a certain degree for negative things in the guest-host-relationship, which might be an explanation why the people of Nggela feel slightly

more intrusion into their daily life and ceremonies and also mind being photographed more than the people of Bena (see Figure 13).

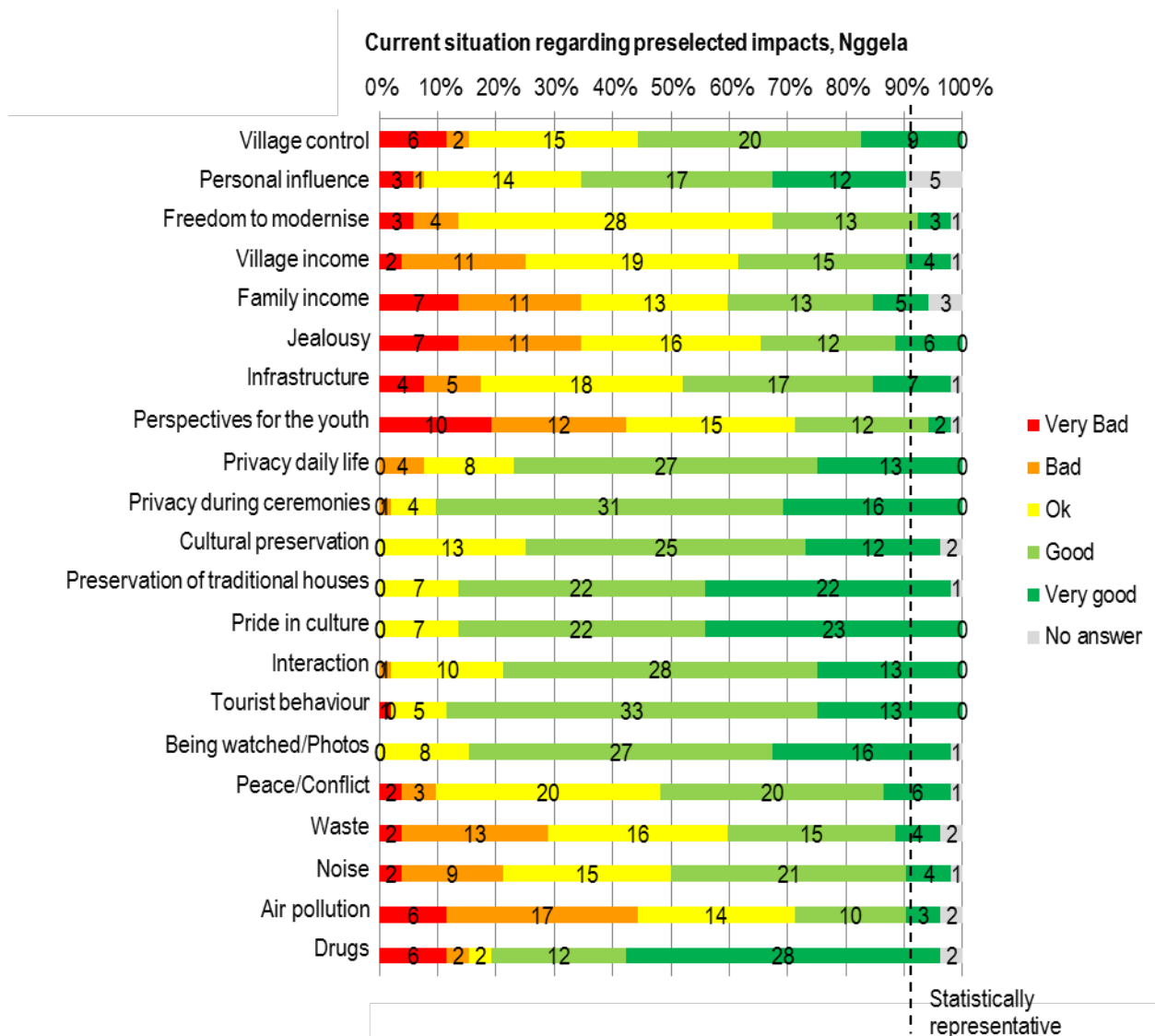


Figure 13: Current situation regarding preselected impacts, Nggela

Waturaka

The survey results for Waturaka lie between the result for Bena and Nggela in all impact areas. The people of Waturaka feel less in control and find the current situation regarding income creation and jealousy less positive than Bena but more positive than Nggela. Like the other communities they wish for more perspectives for the youth. They are satisfied with the ability to conserve and practice their culture with pride, as well as the quality of interaction with tourists in terms of privacy and comfort, but a little less in terms of tourist behaviour and interaction with guests (see Figure 14).

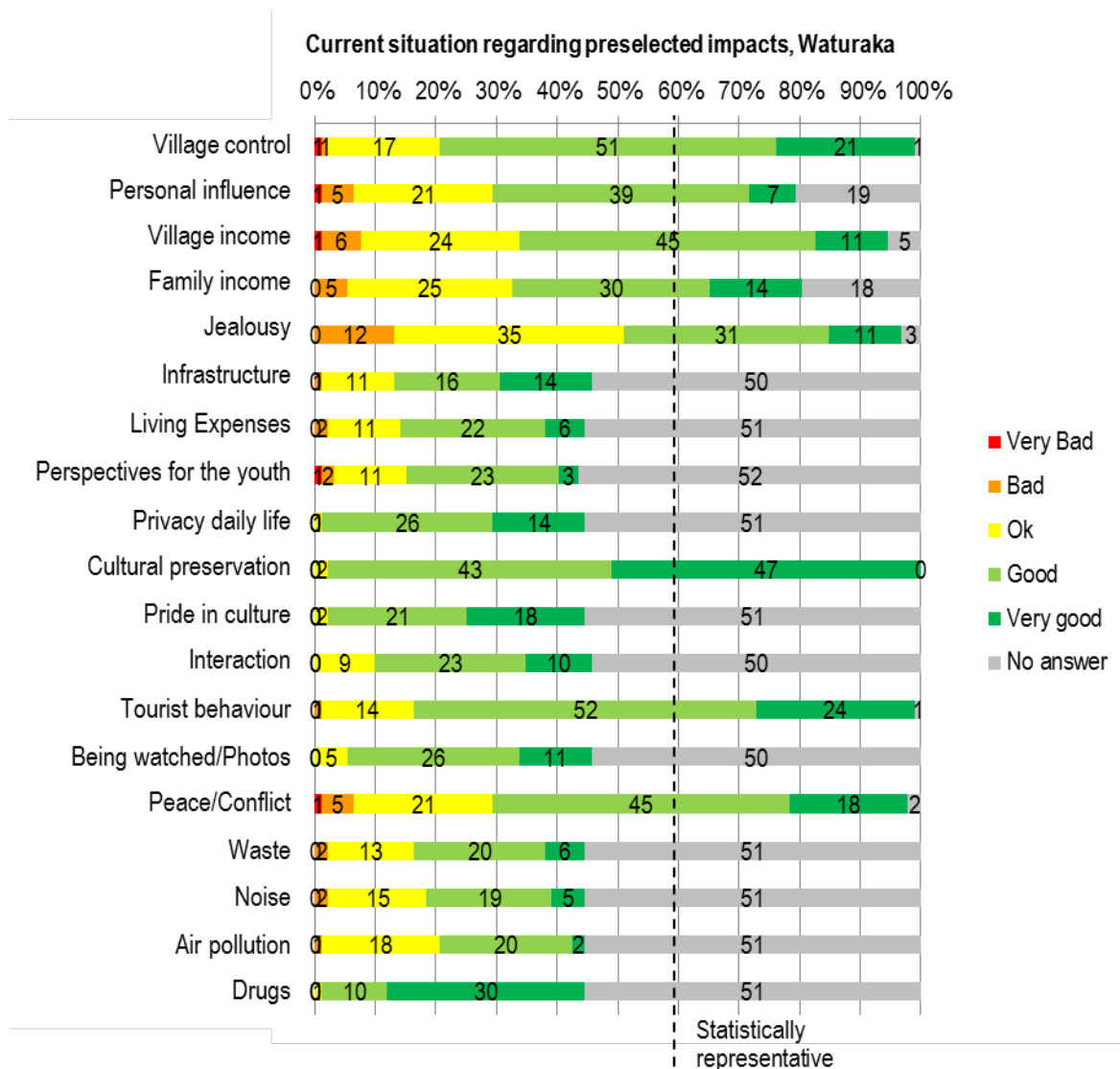


Figure 14: Current situation regarding preselected impacts, Waturaka

Tourism versus other influential factors

In all three villages the respondents assessed the current situation in their villages regarding waste, noise and air pollution rather negatively. However, from observation it is safe to say, that these issues are not intensified by tourism. Only in Bena littering by tourists was mentioned as a problem. Aside from that other factors influence the satisfaction with the environmental indicators. Effective waste management is a challenge everywhere in Flores and Indonesia. In fact, Swisscontact has supported Bena and communities in Kelimutu, including Waturaka, to manage the waste better. Tourism creates additional incentives to follow through with the suggested activities. This can be considered a positive impact. Noise in the villages is caused by community members blasting loud music or children, but not by tourists. When asked about the negative assessment of the air quality, people explained that dust is a problem during dry season. However, tourism does not add to these issues in any substantial way. Similarly, drugs are objectively not a problem in the village. If people gave a negative assessment in this impact, they wanted to express that they do not want drugs in their villages rather than that they actually see a drug problem in the community.

3.2. People – Social impacts

3.2.1. Empowerment

Empowerment needs to be considered on the community level as well as on the level of individual groups, such as women, youth or the elder. As was mentioned in the introduction, donor financed projects are at risk to impose a development on communities, which they can neither judge nor influence according to their preferences. The projects can be dependent on external support. On the community level empowerment therefore describes the extent to which the people have self-sufficient control over the tourism development. It also means the ability to leverage community organisation and tourism potential to gain political power. On the level of individual groups empowerment can manifest in increased participation, capacity of voicing concerns and influence on decision making, but also in terms of earning and controlling income.

Community control

An important factor in ensuring **community control** over the tourism development in Swisscontact's community projects is the establishment of **community organisation structures**. In Bena and Waturaka such structures have been set up in form of LP2MB and Pokdarwis. The latter is an Indonesia-wide governmentally recognised form of community organisation. In both communities the current situation regarding community control was assessed more positively than in Nggela, which does not have a community organisation of the same quality (see Figure 15).

The people of Bena in turn assessed the current situation regarding community control significantly more positive than the people of Waturaka. The difference is most likely caused by varying levels of **experience and complexity of the organisation**. Swisscontact has been supporting Bena longer than Waturaka, giving it more time to familiarise with the organisational structures. Additionally, Bena's LP2MB manages community income from the ticket sales, coordinates cultural performances and facilitates general rules regarding the presentation of the village, but the organisation does not interfere so much in the activities on household level, namely Ikat weaving. Waturaka's Pokdarwis on the other hand coordinates all kinds of touristic activities, namely homestays, cultural performance groups, visits to the waterfall, agro-tourism, local products and guiding.

Bena and Waturaka are able to leverage their community organisation and touristic potential to gain additional governmental funds. According to the head of the village in Bena, his community receives up to twice the budget as neighbouring villages. This is not similarly the case in Nggela. In fact, during a discussion with tourism officials from the concerned regency, it became clear that they were aware of Nggela's touristic potential but had very inaccurate perceptions of the extent and quality of tourism development in the village. They believed Nggela was not in need of particular support. A community organisation could help the people of Nggela to lobby for themselves as Bena and Waturaka do.

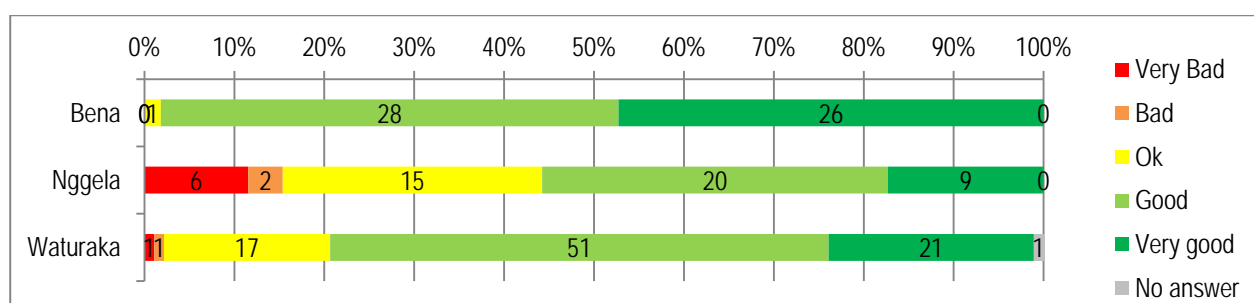


Figure 15: Community control

Self-Sufficiency

Noticeably, both Bena and Waturaka have **members with a strong vision** for the tourism development and the necessary esteem to push it from within the community. In Bena, the head of the village is a visionary leader and local champion, who takes significant part in the responsibility for the community development. In the past, he has ended the cooperation with an NGO, because he considered the proposed activities unsuited to meet the community's needs. In Waturaka the champions are a group of individuals, who take over responsibility in the community organisation, set a positive example and mobilise their fellows. Opposite to Bena, however, the head of the village is not one of them. In Nggela there are no champion figures. There is an individual, who started a tour operator in the village and who could become a champion, but so far he lacks the standing in the community to push the development ahead.

In all three villages around three quarters of the respondents was positive that the community could maintain their touristic activities after Swisscontact leaves. This generally suggests **low dependence of the projects on external support**.

Both Bena and Waturaka received intensive support from Swisscontact. However, in Waturaka more people are sceptical that the community can succeed on its own. Noticeably in Nggela, which received by far less support from Swisscontact than the other two communities, the confidence level is nevertheless the same as in Waturaka (see Figure 16). The crucial and explaining difference between the villages is that tourists have been visiting the traditional villages for decades without Swisscontact's support (even though the visitor numbers in Nggela are not comparable to Bena). Swisscontact's role is to support the communities in taking better control over the tourism, instead of merely being subjected to it. Naturally the people of Bena are not worried at all about continuous tourism in their village and also the people of Nggela believe that they will continue to receive visitors without Swisscontact's assistance. In the traditional villages it is more a question of whether a high quality of the tourism development can be established (Nggela) and maintained (Bena). Judging from the overall assessment of impacts this is more likely in Bena than in Nggela. In contrast, tourism in Waturaka was introduced to the community with Swisscontact's help. In Waturaka, therefore, the high confidence level is in itself a very positive result. People are wary about having to walk the way alone, but they also have confidence in the established organisational structures and the capacities they have built over the last years.

Ultimately, the research at hand only describes the perception of the people. How well the communities will really do after Swisscontact has left will remain to be seen.

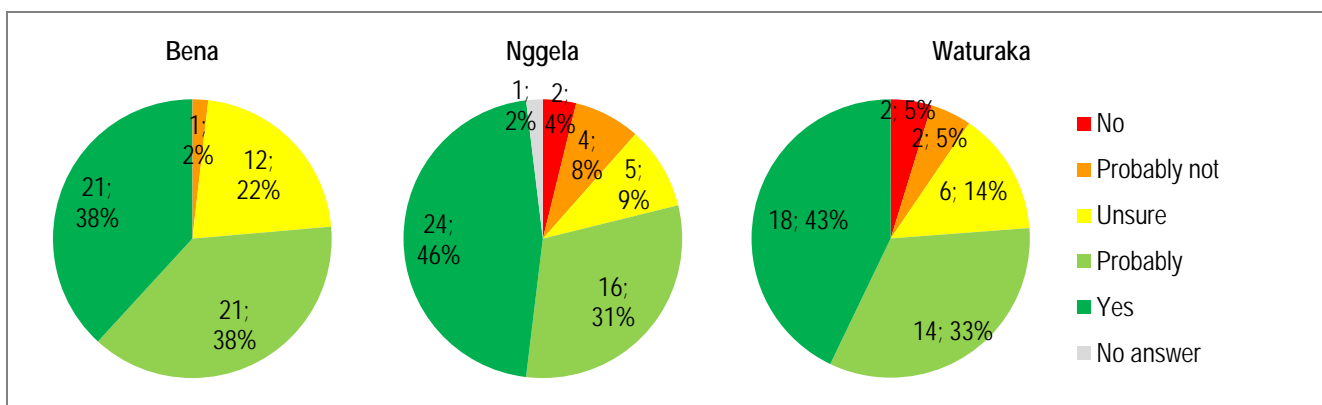


Figure 16: Confidence in self-sufficiency

(NOTE: The data for Waturaka is not statistically representative in this case)

Freedom to avoid tourism

In the traditional villages a particular challenge in terms of community and personal control over the tourism development exists regarding the **freedom to avoid tourism and the relationship with external guides and tour operators**.

In Bena 98 per cent and in Nggela 85 per cent of the respondents thought that tourism is unavoidable for people who do not like it. This is not surprising, given that the tourism in the villages concentrates in very little space. The lack of freedom to avoid tourism no problem as long as the acceptance is very high, which is the case in both villages. However, there is significant potential for conflicts and problems should this ever change. It is questionable how far the community control over the tourism development reaches with regard to visitor flows. Guides and tour operators can be asked not to visit the community. However, external actors do not necessarily respect the wishes of the visited communities. Already, 56 per cent of the respondents in Bena felt that external guides and tour operators are trying to benefit from Bena in an unfair manner. In fact, when the community collected donations instead of selling entry tickets, some guides exploited their position of power by collecting donations from their customers, but keeping parts of it to themselves. Respondents also criticised that guides would discourage guests from buying lkats in the community and bringing them to other, allegedly cheaper places instead. The latter also happens in Nggela. Nevertheless the respondents were slightly more positive. However, still 37 per cent believed external guides and tour operators are behaving unfair. Other than hoping for the cooperation of guides and tour operators, the communities could only fence their villages and/ or discourage visitors through offensive behaviour.

Empowerment of individual groups

In terms of a **feeling of personal influence** on decision making, the comparison between the three communities is similar as with regard to community control. Bena leads and is followed by Waturaka and Nggela. However, in Bena and Waturaka the current situation regarding personal influence was assessed less positively than the current situation regarding community control. The opposite was the case in Nggela (see Figure 17)⁴.

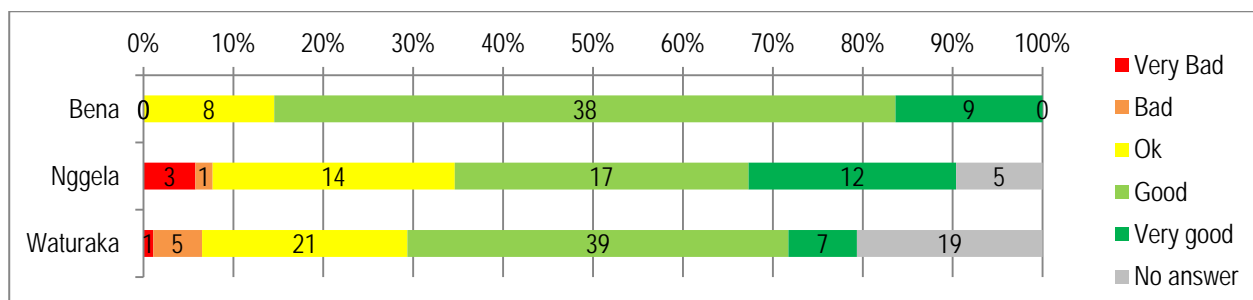


Figure 17: Feeling of personal influence

In Bena and Nggela men felt slightly less influential than **women**. Bena belongs to a matriarchal society which prompts a generally strong influence of women in the community. This is supported by the fact that the difference between the genders is slightly more distinct in Bena than in Nggela, which belongs to a patriarchal society.

As in both traditional villages Ikat weaving is an important source of income and that it is exclusively practiced by women, the result could also indicate that women gain influence through income creation. In

⁴ In Waturaka this question has only been asked in the second survey round. The results are statistically representative, but the proportion of respondents, who did not answer the question, is particularly high for this reason.

fact, in Bena compared to Nggela more people felt like tourism is creating many/more⁵ income opportunities for women. In both villages people thought there are more new income opportunities for women than for other potentially marginalised groups (i.e. the elder and youth; see Figure 18).

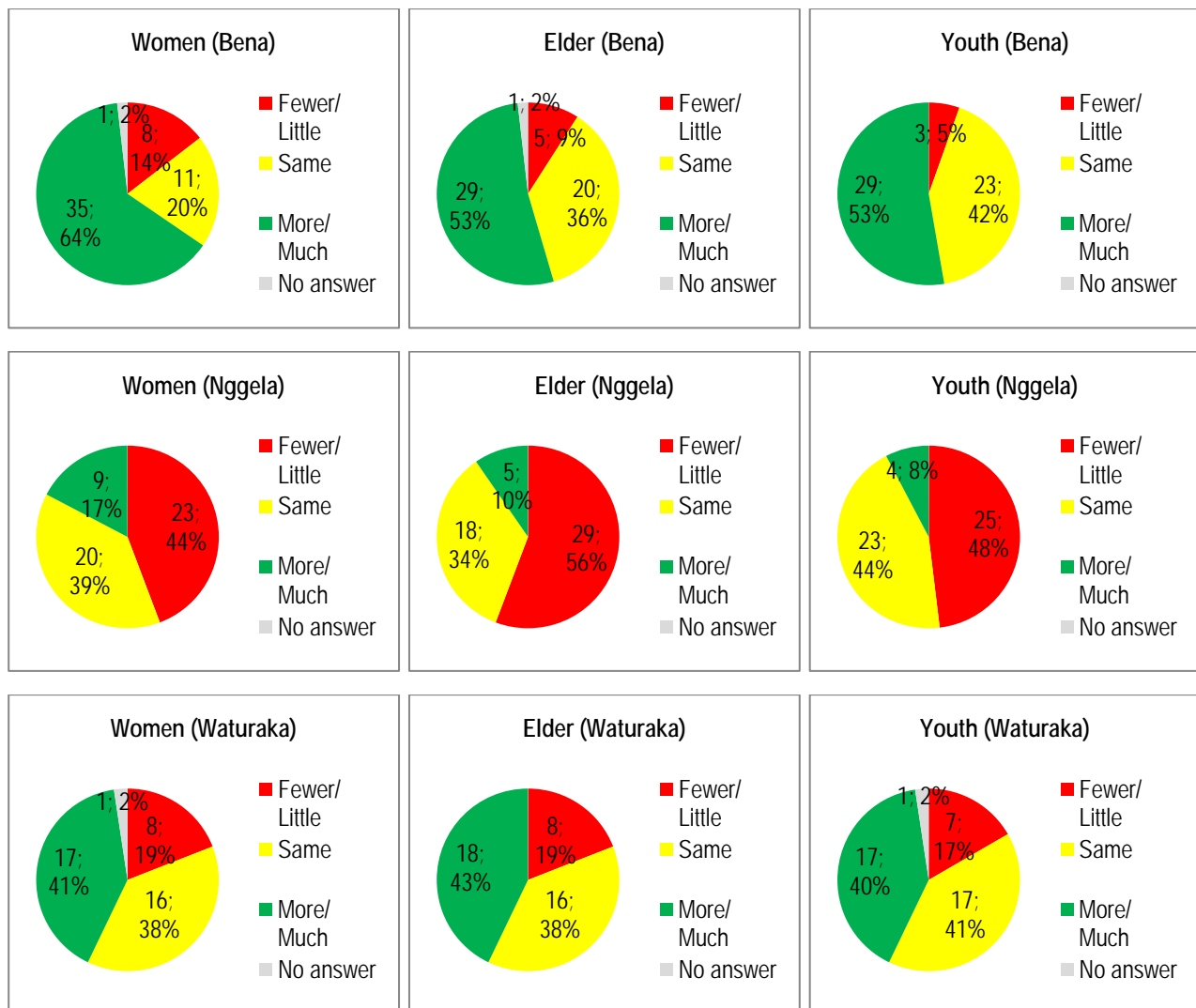


Figure 18: Income for potentially marginalised groups
(NOTE: The data for Waturaka is not statistically representative in this case)

Generally, however, the differences in the answers of men and women regarding personal influence are very slight. They could also just reflect a culturally conditioned lower aspiration to wield influence. In Waturaka, for example, the feeling of personal influence was assessed similarly positive by men and women, but objectively much less women participated in Pokdarwis meetings, where decisions are being made. Also only two of the nine Pokdarwis section leaders are female. When asked, a few Waturakan women agreed that there is a noticeable difference in engagement between the genders, but they could not give an explanation for it.

In Bena the elder feel less influential than the younger respondents, while it is the opposite in Nggela. In Waturaka **age** seemed not to influence the responses. In turn, Pokdarwis members and even more so homestay owners, felt much more influential than their counterparts.

In all communities, people who perceived⁶ that they did not make an income from tourism felt more often that they have little personal influence than their counterparts.

⁵ In Bahasa Indonesia the words for less and little as well as the words for more and much are interchangeable.

In conclusion, empowerment on the community level is the strongest in Bena and Waturaka. How successful the communities will be without Swisscontact's support remains to be seen, but at least for Bena and Waturaka the establishment of organisational structures and the confidence in them, as well as the presence of strong champions among the community members, give reason to be positive. Nggela on the other hand is in need of support to gain better control over the tourism development in order to increase the benefits from it and mitigate negative impacts.

With a view to empowerment on an individual level, in none of the researched communities there were large differences between the individual groups regarding the satisfaction with personal influence on decision making (except for homestays in Waturaka). This suggests fair distribution of power or at least a distribution of power which is accepted by the communities. There was little evidence though that any individual group gets empowered in a particular way.

Really problematic is the ability of the traditional villages to control visitor numbers, should the carrying capacity be breached.

3.2.2. Community Cohesion

Tourism development can have various impacts on the social fabric of a community. Not every community member might benefit from the development in a similar way. This can cause jealousy. Conflicts over the benefit distribution might arise. On the other hand the community can unite behind the common goal of developing tourism in their village. The exposure to Western or domestic tourists with a very different lifestyle might change the views and behaviour of some community members, particularly the youth. This can result in conflicts with the elder. Economic and social empowerment of women might cause confrontations with their husbands. The latter obviously does not mean that the women should not be empowered. Sometimes conflict is part of positive change processes and not an issue as long as it does not escalate.

In all three villages the respondents assessed the current situation regarding **jealousy** rather mixed. In Bena and Waturaka close to half of the participants thought the current situation is merely ok or worse. In Nggela close to 70 per cent answered similarly (see Figure 19).

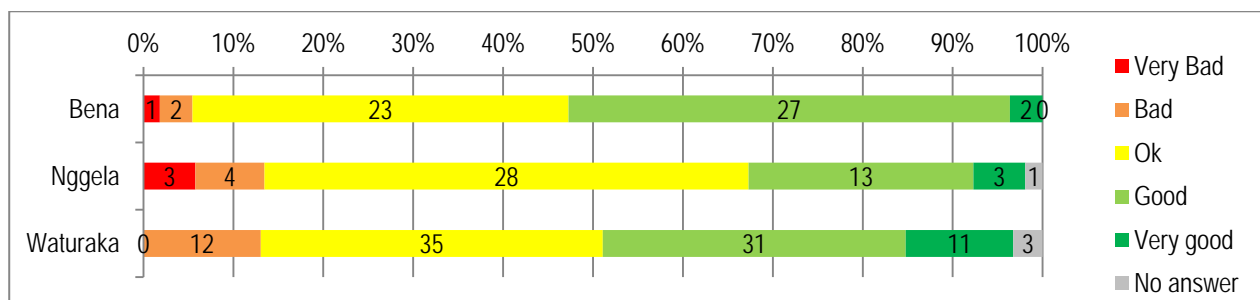


Figure 19: Jealousy (current situation)

Respondents were specifically asked how the situation regarding jealousy has been impacted by tourism. However, the interpretation of the responses is a little bit difficult, because the words for less and little as well as the words for more and much are interchangeable in Bahasa Indonesia. So besides extensive attempts to explain the meaning of the question we cannot be sure, that people meant to report a positive

⁶ In Bena, each family makes income from Ikat. Tourist being the main customer base, each family therefore makes income from tourism. Seemingly, some respondents made a difference between income from Ikat and income from other tourism related activities resulting in a perception, that they make no income from tourism besides reporting to make income from Ikat.

or negative impact (less or more jealousy) or a negative impact of different intensity (little or much jealousy).

By tendency, the people of Bena and Waturaka see a positive impact or at least think tourism is causing only little jealousy. Compared to Bena people in Waturaka thought more often that there is a negative impact or much jealousy. A closer look reveals that in Waturaka by far more women, Pokdarwis members and homestay owners believed tourism causes more or much jealousy. The research in Waturaka took place shortly after an increase in homestay prices had been determined. There was also on-going discussion about the sharing of payments between the homestays, Pokdarwis and the community. Due to a lack of communication there was confusion about the new rules, which had led to controversies between the homestay owners. Interestingly, those who reported to make an income from tourism and those who did not answered very similarly. This suggests that rather than the overall distribution of income it is misunderstandings between individual members which lead to jealousy.

The majority of respondents in Nggela did not see any impact of tourism on jealousy in the village (see Figure 20). If people perceived a difference they almost always thought there is a positive impact or at least that tourism is causing only little jealousy.

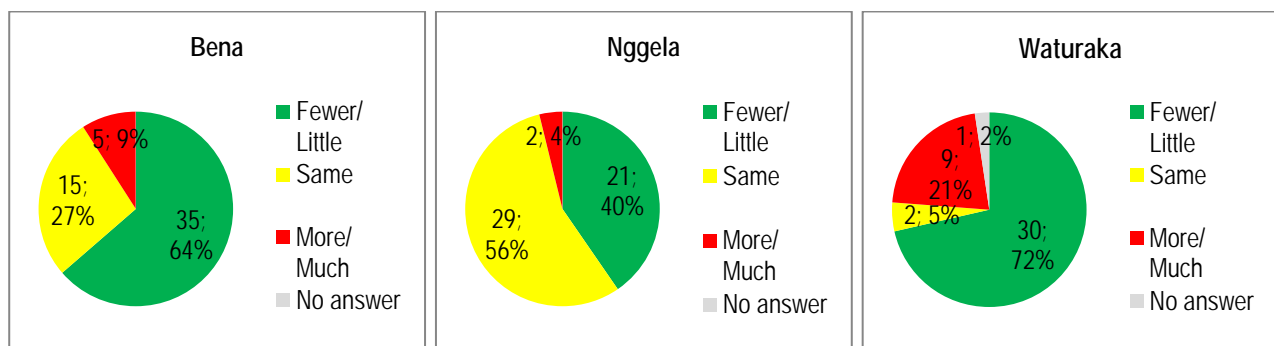


Figure 20: Jealousy (tourism impact)

In all three villages the assessment of the current situation regarding **conflicts** in the village is better than regarding jealousy, suggesting that jealousy does not necessarily result in open conflict. This is most likely due to the culture, which condemns open confrontations. Again, the people in Bena were the most positive, followed by Waturaka and Nggela (see Figure 21).

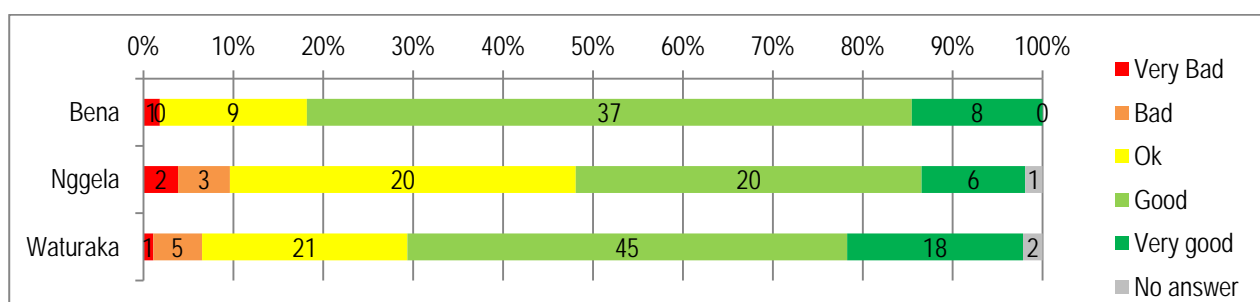


Figure 21: Conflict (current situation)

(NOTE: The data for Waturaka is not statistically representative in this case)

If asked for the impact of tourism on conflicts - again given the difficulties arising from the translation - a similar picture evolves as for jealousy. The large majority of the people in Bena and Waturaka tended to see a positive impact or at least thought tourism causes only little conflict, while in Nggela the same amount of respondents believed tourism has a positive impact as believed it has no impact at all (see Figure 22). Respondents in Waturaka explained, that Pokdarwis provides them with structures to solve conflicts and that the common goal to develop tourism in the community facilitates compromises. In Bena people saw the value of the community organisation for mediation of conflicts as well.

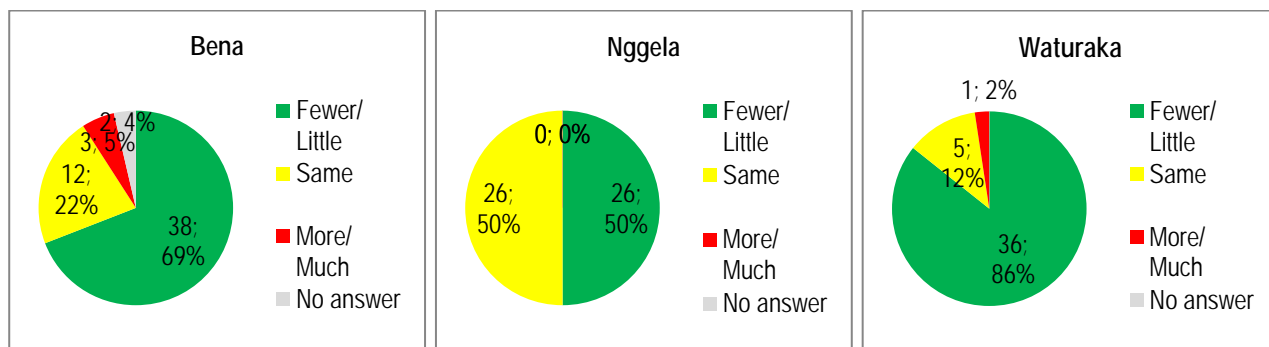


Figure 22: Conflict (tourism impact)

(NOTE: The data for Waturaka is not statistically representative in this case)

While the people of Bena and Nggela saw almost no difference in terms of conflict in between the villagers in general, between genders and between age groups, the people of Waturaka reported slightly more conflict potential between genders and age groups than between the community members in general (see Figure 23). This suggests that in Waturaka changes are felt stronger on the household level.

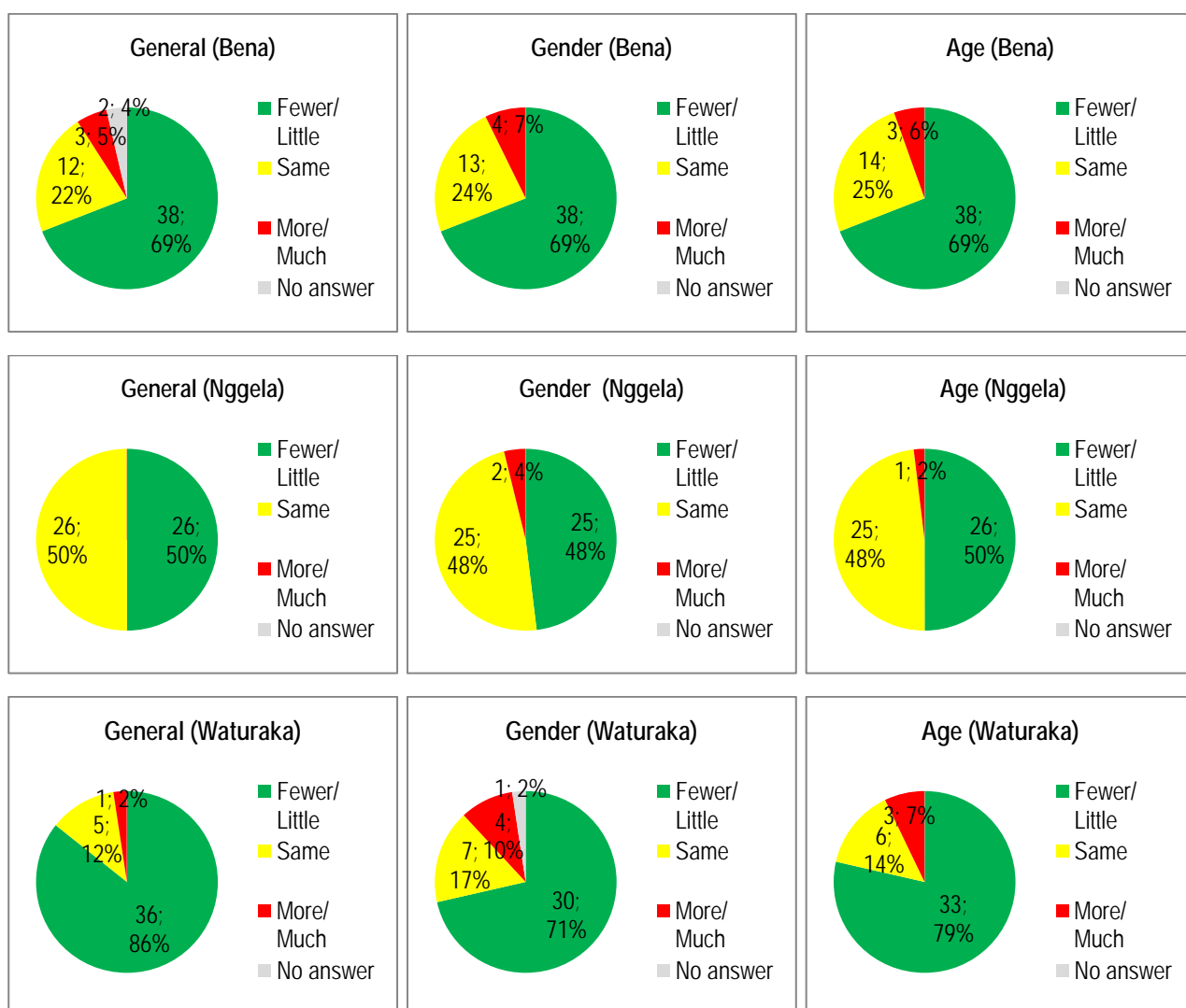


Figure 23: Conflict by individual groups

(NOTE: The data for Waturaka is not statistically representative in this case)

Besides jealousy and conflicts, respondents in the villages were also asked if there is more **cooperation** within the community because of tourism. The responses underline the value of organisational structures, in that the cooperation among the community members was assessed much more positive by the people of Bena and Waturaka than by the people of Nggela (see Figure 24). In Waturaka and Nggela, which both had

a considerable number of respondents who expressed negativity with regard to cooperation in their village, is was especially younger people who believed there is less/ little of it. This could reflect a stronger feeling of competition resulting from a perceived lack of prospects for the youth (see also 3.4.2). Additionally, in Waturaka people, who did not make an income from tourism, believed more often than their counterparts that there is less/ little cooperation in the community. This suggests that there are more efforts needed to involve people in tourism activities.

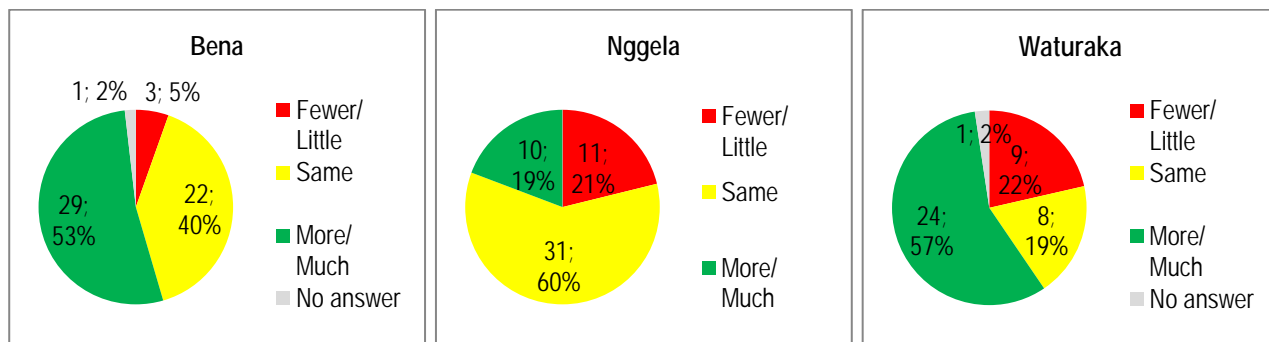


Figure 24: Cooperation
(NOTE: The data for Waturaka is not statistically representative in this case)

From the experience of the Swisscontact staff, tourism and the introduction of new sources of income brings jealousy and conflict to communities almost inevitably. In Waturaka and Nggela there are observable indicators for that. For example in Waturaka a lack of communication and transparency has led to confusion and controversies about the prices for the homestays. In all the Pokdarwis sections there is still confusion about the rules regarding the collection of payments. There are some worries that members of the community are trying to engage in tourism outside of Pokdarwis causing destructive competition between the villagers. There were also complains, because people felt excluded from the benefits of the ticket sales to the waterfall on their land. Some people were not satisfied with the leader of the local product section of Pokdarwis, who was suspected to promote only his own products. People also expressed disappointment with the lack of enthusiasm and support from the current head of the village. However, respondents also explained, that the **organisational structures** of Pokdarwis enable them to address these problems and solve conflicts. They also said that they lacked such problem solving mechanisms before. This explains, why the overall assessment of the current situation regarding jealousy and conflict was rather positive despite the challenges the community was currently facing.

In Nggela, respondents mostly criticised that there is no coordination between the Ikat sellers. Some people were trying to lure guests to individual houses thereby harassing tourists and disadvantaging other villagers. There were also no standard prices for the Ikat causing price competition between the sellers. People involved in hosting guests overnight were uncertain about the payment and how it should be shared between those community members who provided accommodation and those who cooked for the guests. In Bena respondents explained that the same problems existed in their village as well, but could be solved through community organisation. The only exception is overnight stays, which have not officially been integrated in LP2MB's responsibilities, so that there was uncertainty about how the payments would be shared between hosts and the community.

In conclusion, jealousy and conflict are part of community life with and without tourism. Nevertheless tourism starts a change process which is accompanied by friction. The frictions are more significant where there is no community organisation to manage benefit creation and distribution as well as mediate between community members and to solve conflicts. Building such structures needs time in order to set rules and familiarise with and unify the people behind them. Communication and transparency is crucial to build trust in the organisation structures. The comparison between Bena and Waturaka suggests that as the more differentiated the touristic activities are as the more challenging it is to manage them. With increasing routine, however, the frictions decrease.

3.2.3. Guest-Host-Relationship

Tourists can at times be terrible guests. They can intrude their hosts' privacy by being overly curious and taking pictures without asking. They might act disrespectful in the way they dress, behave and treat their opponents. But they can also be a resource for interesting and valuable exchange.

Overall the respondents of all three communities did not feel like tourists are **intruding into their daily life or ceremonies**. Interestingly, even though Bena is receiving large numbers of guests in high as well as low season, the people of Bena felt more positive about the privacy they enjoy than the people of Nggela, whose village is not visited as much (see Figure 25 and Figure 26). This result suggests that income from tourism compensates for potential annoyance from tourism.

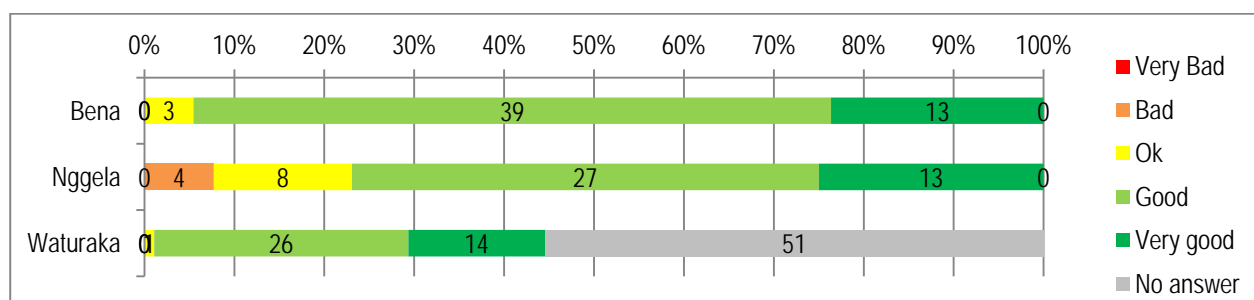


Figure 25: Privacy in daily life
(NOTE: The data for Waturaka is not statistically representative in this case)

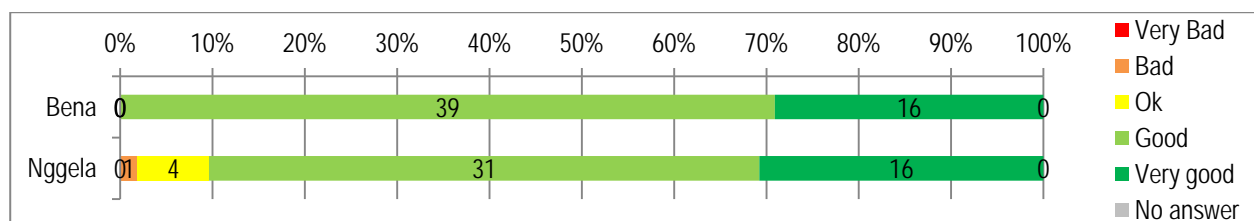


Figure 26: Privacy during ceremonies

The same is true for **being watched or photographed** by tourists, which all three communities feel comfortable with (see Figure 27).

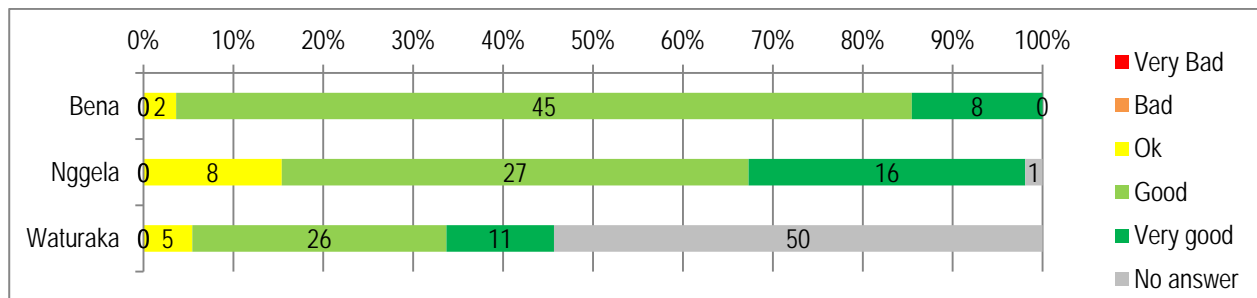


Figure 27: Comfort when watched or photographed
(NOTE: The data for Waturaka is not statistically representative in this case)

The tolerance ends however with the **behaviour of tourists**. In this regard, Bena showed significantly more dissatisfaction than the other two communities, suggesting that being exposed to more tourists also means being exposed to more rude behaviour. The people of Bena mostly criticised that visitors would dress inappropriately, that couples would show affection in public, and that tourists would litter. The people of Waturaka had similar complaints regarding tourists who would not cover up after taking showers or bathing in the hot-spring. They also complained about homestay guests who left without paying. In fact, this indicator is the only one in which Nggela shows more positive values than the other two villages, possibly because the visitor numbers are smaller or visitors are not taken in by homestays, respectively (see Figure 28). The numbers of visitors as well as the touristic activities therefore seem to influence the exposure to rude behaviour.

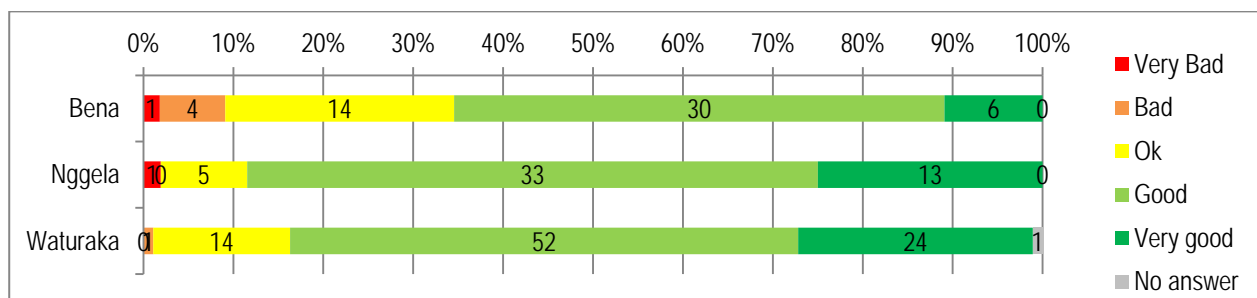


Figure 28: Behaviour of tourists

The flip side of lower visitor numbers is having fewer opportunities for fruitful **exchange with guests**. Not surprisingly we see the same ranking as in the other indicators again. Bena comes first, Waturaka second and Nggela third (see Figure 29). In all of the three communities there are high language barriers for the communication with guests from abroad. However, the majority of guest in the communities are domestic, which explains the overall positive assessments.

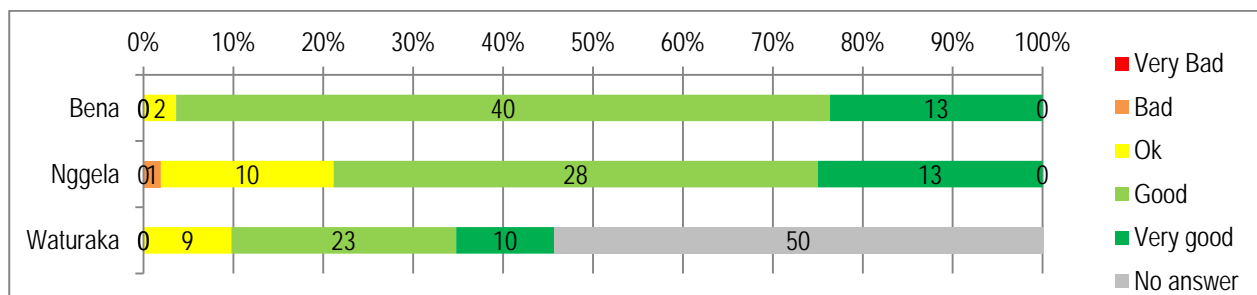


Figure 29: Exchange with guests
(NOTE: The data for Waturaka is not statistically representative in this case)

In conclusion, people are positive about even high numbers of tourists as long as they behave respectfully. A feeling of intrusion on the other hand does not present much of an issue.

3.2.4. Culture

Tourism brings people of varying lifestyles and cultures together. This can result in a clash or fruitful encounters. Tourism can create incentives to preserve and practice traditions and culture as much as it can initiate cultural change. It can make people proud of their heritage or create a feeling of imprisonment in an artificial tourism theatre. In the worst case culture is exploited by outsiders at the detriment of the people whose culture it is. Against this background, it is a very good sign, that cultural indicators used in the study at hand received in all three villages the most positive assessment of all impacts.

Cultural preservation

With a view to cultural preservation the people of Bena and Waturaka answered very similarly and very positively. The people of Nggela articulated slightly more dissatisfaction (see Figure 30).

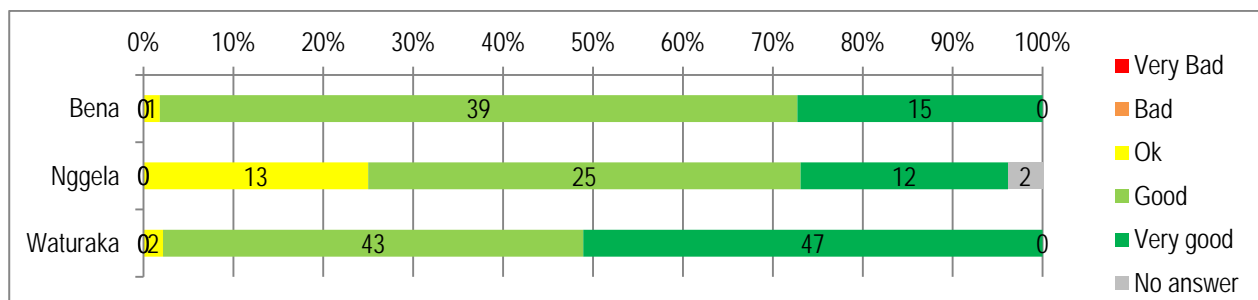


Figure 30: Cultural preservation

In both traditional villages, respondents emphasised that they did not preserve their heritage *because* of tourism, but rather because it mattered to them for social and cultural reasons. Nevertheless, at least in the case of Bena, tourism does have a positive impact on the **ability to preserve tangible and intangible culture**. The community income from the ticket sales is used to co-finance the very costly maintenance of the traditional houses. The regular maintenance costs for a traditional house are, for example, as high as 10 million Rupiah (approximately 710 Euro). This accounts to approximately seven months' salaries at minimum wage level. If a traditional house has to be rebuilt this costs 10 times as much. Rebuilding the shrines for the female and male ancestors requires funds of three to five million Rupiah (approximately 210 to 350 Euros). Swisscontact has also assisted the women in Bena to revive traditional organic colouring techniques for Ikat weavings, which had not been practiced for 30 years and required the replanting of suitable plants. Organic Ikat are favoured by richer domestic and foreign visitors. For Nggela on the other hand such positive impacts cannot be registered. Instead, respondents emphasised the role of the village's current Mosalaki (customary head of the community), who head revived and pushed cultural preservation for its own sake rather than tourism.

In Waturaka tourism development resulted in the revitalisation of traditional music, singing and dances (Sanggar). The village has now two active Sanggar groups for older and younger community members. Performances by the Sanggar groups are part of the service and product portfolio Waturaka has developed for tourists. Since their establishment the groups have not only performed for visitors, but they have also participated in regional competitions and been awarded as best performance group in the regency.

Cultural pride

Not surprisingly all three villages show high **pride** in their culture. Given the strong intrinsic value the heritage has for the people, it is very difficult to assess whether and to what extent tourism might add to it. Slightly more people in Bena reported pride than the people of Nggela, which could be an indicator that the tourism creates an increased feeling of pride in the communities (see Figure 31).

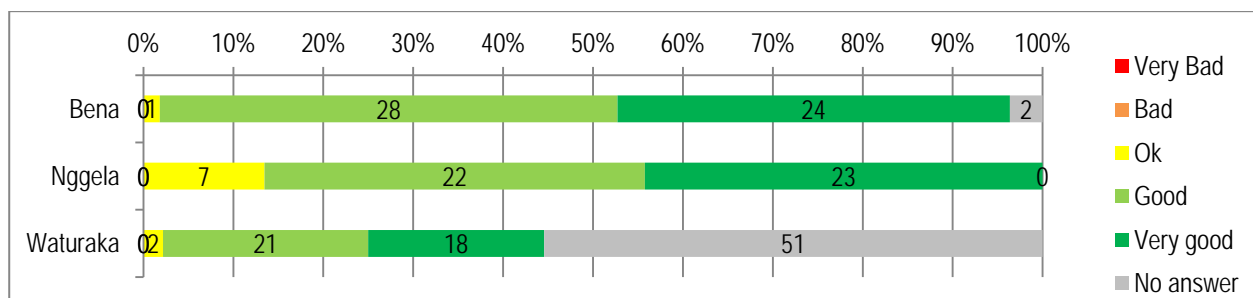


Figure 31: Cultural pride
(NOTE: The data for Waturaka is not statistically representative in this case)

Freedom to modernise

The flip side of cultural preservation is the **freedom to modernise**, which in case of the traditional villages potentially conflicts with the expectations of visitors to find a pristine and somewhat “underdeveloped” place. While the whole of Flores is less developed than other places in Indonesia, there does exist some modern infrastructure such as electricity, water pipes, bathrooms (septic tanks), mobile and TV reception in both Bena and Nggela. Bena, however, chose to hide such installations behind the houses, where they are not so visible to visitors.

Objectively there is no freedom to modernise the traditional houses, which provide little space, are scarcely furnished and have no windows. The cooking is mostly done using fire places releasing smoke into the living space of the houses. Other villages in the region started building hybrid-houses resembling the traditional houses but with larger or additional rooms.

Given that there are some modern amenities and that the respondents in both villages strongly emphasised the value of their traditional way of living, it is a bit surprising that in both Bena and Nggela a considerable amount of people were not particularly positive about the freedom to modernise (see Figure 32).

In Bena men and older people showed the least satisfaction in this regard. Potentially, respondents misunderstood the question and wanted to express, that they don’t like the village to modernise rather than that they felt restricted from modernising. However, given little economic perspectives for men in Bena (see also 3.4.2) it would not be surprising, if this group did actually prefer a modernisation of the village. Additionally, the data might be biased in this regard, because those residents of Bena who don’t like the current state of the village are not living in the village anymore, but moved elsewhere. Their opinion is therefore not reflected by the data. In Nggela it was also men, who gave a more negative assessment than women, but in this case it was the youth, which was less satisfied than the elder. In both villages, people who did not perceive to be making an income from tourism, were less positive about the current situation regarding the freedom to modernise. This suggests that the appreciation of the traditional way of live is connected with income generation from tourism after all. This assumption is supported by the fact, that the assessment by the people of Bena is significantly more positive than the assessment by the people of Nggela (see Figure 32).

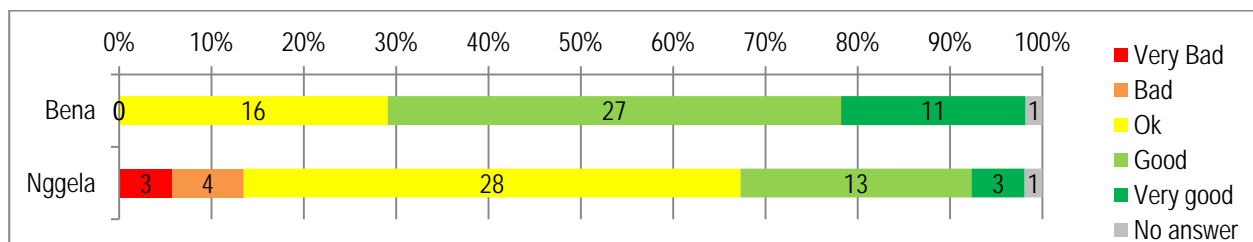


Figure 32: Freedom to modernise

Cultural ownership

Another potential issue traditional villages face is the **ownership** over the way their culture is utilised for profits and how it is presented to guests by outsiders. It was already discussed that 56 per cent of the respondents in Bena and 37 per cent of the respondents in Nggela believe that external guides and tour operators are trying to profit from them in an unfair manner. Additionally three quarters of the respondents in Bena believe that external guides misrepresent their culture. In Nggela still over a third of the people believed, external guides are not explaining the community's culture correctly to the guests (see Figure 33). In both villages there was only one guide from the community itself, which does not help to ensure more ownership over the representation. The guide in Bena speaks limited English, while the guide in Nggela has no English proficiency.

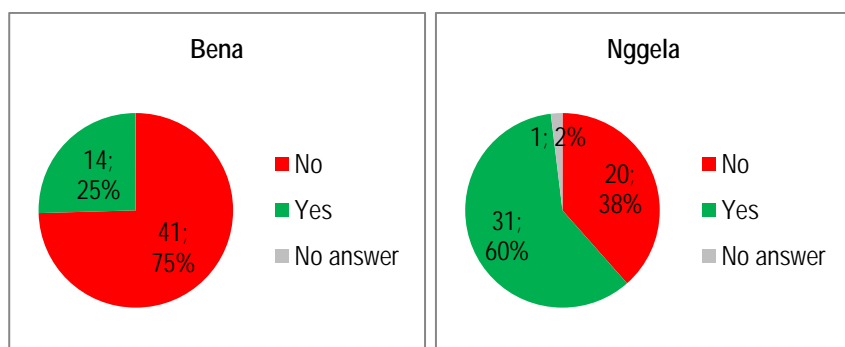


Figure 33: Correct presentation of culture by outside tour guides

In conclusion, there are no indicators for negative cultural impacts. Even the opposite is true for Bena and Waturaka, where tourism development provides funds for cultural preservation and revives cultural practices. The research results suggest that income creation from tourism makes people more likely to accept restrictions on modernisation in the traditional villages. A problem in the traditional villages is the ownership over the way their culture is utilised for profits and how it is presented to guests by outsiders.

3.2.5. Health

In many developing countries public health care is insufficient. In this case income generated from tourism can give access to better private care. Such an impact is perceivable in Bena, Nggela and Waturaka, too. Indonesia is pushing universal health care coverage. However, in remote parts of the country such as Flores the quality of care is still not good. The income from tourism potentially allows people to spend more money on their health and seek higher quality treatments. As this was not included in the study, the assumption cannot be underlined with data.

On the other hand tourism can introduce risky or unhealthy behaviour which hadn't existed in the communities before. This seems not to be the case in Bena, Nggela and Waturaka. From observation and discussions with the villagers it is clear that tourism is not bringing drugs to the communities or causes an increase in alcohol abuse and risky sexual behaviour. The touristic activities are not physically dangerous or otherwise threatening. Tourists do not add to the pollution of water sources in a significant way.

In terms of hygiene, the intention to host guests overnight has prompted some people in Bena and Waturaka to build proper bathrooms, which improves their own hygienic situation as well.

In conclusion tourism development is not impacting the health in the communities negatively. Claiming a positive impact, however, is difficult as a variety of factors and interventions from different actors influence the situation in the villages.

3.2.6. Education

Tourism can have an impact on **school education**. The income from tourism might take pressure off a family to gain income from agriculture or other economic activities in which the children of the families might have to participate instead of going to school. The opposite is possible as well, when children and youth have opportunities to earn money in tourism and therefore decide to quit school. A credible perspective of (self-)employment in tourism might in turn motivate young people to seek a higher level of education. However, governments are making efforts to improve education and increasingly more families are aware of the importance of a good education independently from tourism. Insofar it is difficult to assign an impact to tourism in distinction to other influential factors.

While the impact of tourism development in general is difficult to determine, there certainly is an impact of Swisscontact WISATA on the quality of touristic education in Flores. An important component of Swisscontact WISATA is the cooperation with vocational schools. The support to the schools includes capacity building for teachers, development of guidelines and syllabi, technical assistance on library management, as well as a Sister School Program, which connects the vocational schools with more advanced schools in Bali and Java. An Internship programme assists vocational school students to gain practical experience in touristic businesses in Flores. In 2016 a school in Ngada regency, which also has students from Bena, was included in the programme, so that there is a positive impact in this community. The cooperation has in fact been initiated by Bena's head of the village. The nearest partner schools for the Kelimutu area are rather far away, so that the impact is less tangible there.

As for school education, **capacity building in the communities** does not automatically happen, because there is tourism. Again it is rather Swisscontact which has an impact. On the other hand Swisscontact would not engage in the villages if there was not a touristic potential. Swisscontact workshops and trainings have helped to build competencies with regard to community organisation, touristic product development, marketing and financial management, English language skills, traditional craft techniques and organic agriculture, waste management and environmental education. The positive impact varies in relation to the intensity of cooperation between Swisscontact and the communities. The benefits in Bena and Waturaka can therefore be considered more significant than in Nggela.

In conclusion, better access and quality of education is not one of the obvious impacts of tourism development in the researched communities. However, without tourism there would be no support by Swisscontact. In this way there is an indirect impact on vocational school education in Bena and capacity building for adults in Bena and Waturaka.

3.3. Planet – Environmental impacts

Environmental impacts have not been the focus of this study. However, observation suggests that tourism is not adding to **resource use, land use as well as waste and sewage** in a significant way – at least not within the communities. In Bena and Nggela this is mostly due to the character of the touristic activities, which causes the guests to visit and leave the site shortly after. Hosting overnight as in Waturaka and also to a certain extent in Bena is not yet extensive enough to justify the conclusion of a strong impact.

In all three villages the respondents assessed the current situation in their villages regarding **waste, noise and air** pollution rather negatively. However, from observation it is safe to say, that these issues are not intensified by tourism. Only in Bena littering by tourists was mentioned as a problem. Aside from that other factors influence the satisfaction with the environmental indicators. In fact, effective waste management is a challenge everywhere in Flores and Indonesia. Swisscontact has supported Bena and Waturaka, to manage the waste better. Tourism creates additional incentives to follow through with the suggested activities. This can be considered a positive impact in two of the three researched communities. Noise in the villages is caused by community members blasting loud music or children, but not by tourists. When asked about the negative assessment of the air quality, people explained that dust is a problem during dry season. However, tourism does not add to these issues in any substantial way.

In terms of **biodiversity**, the touristic potential of the volcano supported the establishment of Kelimutu National Park which is a positive impact affecting Nggela and Waturaka. In Waturaka activities have been implemented with regard to organic agriculture, which can be exploited for agro-tourism and value chain linkages with the overall tourism industry. As organic agriculture tends to have a positive impact on biodiversity as compared to conventional agriculture, there is an indirect impact. In Bena there are incentives to actively support foresting of diverse types of trees, as specific wood is needed for the maintenance of traditional houses. However, as was discussed earlier. Tourism adds to the motivation to maintain the houses, but is not the main driving factor.

In conclusion, environmental impacts play a minor part in the impact assessment of tourism development in the researched communities. In general there are very little indications for negative impacts, and some instances in which there is a positive impact perceivable.

3.4. Profit – Economic impacts

3.4.1. Investments, decent jobs and wages

Tourism has the reputation of being a driver for development in emerging countries by attracting investments and creating jobs. This conventional industry development is not directly relevant in Bena, Nggela and Waturaka. However, the presence of the traditional villages increases the attractiveness of Flores as a whole. Insofar, their existence affects industry growth elsewhere. This is most obvious in the case of Bena. Together with other traditional villages in the area Bena creates the base for the growth of an accommodation and gastronomy sector in Bajawa, the nearest urban centre. Bajawa is also the residency location of most of the local guides. The sustainability of the industry growth in Bajawa has not been researched within the scope of this study though. In the case of Nggela and Waturaka a similar connection is not obvious. Rather it is Volcano Kelimutu and its crater lakes which spur tourism development in the area.

3.4.2. Business income: CBT and Inclusive Business

Opposite to investments, CBT and inclusive business do not create income opportunities through jobs, but through direct business relationships with tourists. In Bena tourism creates community as well as household income. In Waturaka the income is mostly created on household level. The same applies to Nggela. There is potential to build links between the agricultural production of the villages and the growing accommodation and gastronomy sector in nearby urban areas. However, this inclusive business integration into the overall local economy is not pronounced yet.

Income generation

Obtaining quantitative data on the income was very challenging in all three researched communities. In Bena official records of data were available from the ticket sales, homestays and cultural performances, but

not from craft sales. In Waturaka Pokdarwis members had been trained in bookkeeping, but the data they could provide for 2016 was incomplete. In Nggela there is no bookkeeping or comprehensive registration of visitors set up yet.

The available data suggests that **Bena** is generating the most substantial income. According to the ticket sales Bena received 19,600 guests between the start of ticketing in early August 2016 and the time of the research in early March 2017. This translates into a community income of 490 million Rupiah (approximately 34,500 Euro). The annual income can be expected to be at least twice as high, because the given information does not include the high season months. Half of the income contributes to the general budget of Bena's two Dusuns and benefits the community as a whole. Another 25 per cent is used to finance LP2MB, which compensates the ticket sellers for their time, provides weaving material for the women of the community and helps to finance the costly maintenance of the traditional houses. The funds are available to all families in the villages and can be considered an additional community benefit. The remaining 25 per cent are being paid out to the superordinate village entity and the local government in form of taxes.

Numbers on household income in Bena were more difficult to obtain. During surveying a number of respondents were asked how many Ikat they sold and guests they hosted in 2016. There are 45 households in Bena. eleven women recalled their sales volume from the previous year. The numbers ranged from three to 60 Ikat. The average number was 20 Ikat. Scarfs are the most commonly sold Ikat item. If an estimated average price of a scarf (250,000 Rupiah = approximately 17.50 Euro) is applied, the women make between 750,000 and 15 million Rupiah (approximately 50 to 1,050 Euro) per year. On average the annual household income from Ikat sales would be 5.1 million Rupiah (approximately 500 Euro). Multiplied with 45 households this makes a total income of around 230 million Rupiah (approximately 16,100 Euro). The actual income is likely higher because Sarongs are more expensive and the women sell larger amounts of belts in addition to scarfs and sarongs. It is difficult to verify the numbers. Monitoring data from 2015, for example, recorded a total sales volume for local products, mainly Ikat scarves and sarongs, worth 130 million Rupiah (approximately 9,100 Euro; Swisscontact WISATA, 2016), which is slightly more than half of what we assume for 2016. Considered that the income from Ikat sales is additional to income from agriculture, it can be considered a substantial positive impact on the household level.

Despite not having an "official" management structure for homestays, the people of Bena are hosting guests overnight. Six of Bena's 45 families gave information about the number of visitors they hosted in 2016. It varied between zero and eight. On average the families had received five overnight guests in the year. This corresponds with data we were provided by the homestay coordinators. According to them Bena as a whole received 140 local and 97 foreign overnight guests in 2016. A number of film crews visited the village, which added substantially to this number. The price for one night is 125,000 Rupiah (approximately nine Euros) per person per night including three meals a day. This makes an average annual income per hosting family of 625,000 Rupiah (approximately 44 Euros). Compared to Ikat weaving the hosting of guests overnight is playing a subordinate role.

According to the head of the village the cultural performance group of Bena had been booked three times in 2016 resulting in an income of 10 million Rupiah (approximately 710 Euro), which are shared between the group members and the community organisation.

The main source of income from tourism generated in **Nggela** is from Ikat sales. While the women of Bena almost exclusively sell their products to tourists, the women of Nggela receive the largest share of their income from sales to locals. There are no quantitative data available on the income they make specifically from tourism. There is no reliable documentation of the number of visitors the community is receiving. The guest book of the TIC recorded only 46 guests in all of 2016, but not all visitors register at the TIC. Key

informants from the community estimated that the village was visited by a few hundred people. Such a small customer base for Ikat sales is unsuited to generate significant additional income. Through Nggela X'otic it is also possible to book cultural performances, but this has happened only four times in 2016.

Waturaka is in the process of establishing a variety of products and services to be marketed to tourists. The organisation has sections for homestays, visits to the waterfall, cultural performances, local products, agro-tourism, and guiding. So far only the first three are generating an income.

The income from the homestays, the visits to the waterfall and the cultural performances are being shared between households and Pokdarwis. 85 per cent of the homestay revenues go to the hosting family. 35 per cent of the ticket revenue from the waterfall is given to the families, who own the land. 5 per cent are used to compensate the ticket sellers. 95 per cent of the income from cultural performances is shared between the performance group members. Pokdarwis receives 15 per cent of the homestay revenues, 60 per cent of the money from the waterfall, and 5 per cent from cultural performances. The organisation uses the money for its own proceedings and pays a share out to the village administration as well as the Mosalaki (customary head of the village), who in turn use it for community meetings and ceremonies. The share had not been determined by the time of the research.

In 2016 around 200 guests stayed overnight in the homestays (Swisscontact WISATA, 2017). At the price of 150,000 per person per night including three meals, this accounts to an annual income of 30 million Rupiah (approximately 2,130 Euro), of which 25.5 million (approximately 1,810 Euro) remain with the households. Assumed a fair distribution of the guests, this would make an annual income of 2 million (approximately 140 Euro) per household. This is about a third of the income the women in Bena make from Ikat sales.

According to the available accounting data from Pokdarwis ticket sales at the waterfall created income in March and during the summer months from May until September. The total income was 4,375,000 Rupiah (approximately 67 Euro). The accounting data also suggests that the Sanggar groups were booked five times during 2016, but other Swisscontact monitoring results give a the numbers of bookings as high as 15. The accounting data do not provide information about the total income from the performances. According to the villagers the prices for a performance package varies between 620.000 and 2.8 million Rupiah (approximately 44 to 199 Euro) depending on the performance given. This results in an estimated annual income of 3.1 to 14 million Rupiah (approximately 220 to 994 Euro) or 9.3 to 42 million Rupiah (approximately 660 to 2,980 Euro) depending on which number for the bookings is correct. This income gets divided by an unknown number of people, who took part in the performances.

Table 2 summarises the quantitative data on income from tourism in the three communities. However, as most of the data is based on estimations and incomplete accounting information, the results have to be used with caution!

	Community income	Homestays	Crafts	Cultural performances	Tickets to waterfall
Bena	840,000,000	29,625,000	230,000,000	10,000,000	-
Nggela	-	?	?	?	-
Waturaka	-	30,000,000	0	3,100,000 to 42,000,000	4,375,000

Table 2: Estimation of income from tourism (in Rupiah)

As the quantitative data suggests the assessment of the current situation regarding income creation for the community and the households is most positive in Bena, followed by Waturaka and Nggela (see Figure 34 and Figure 35).

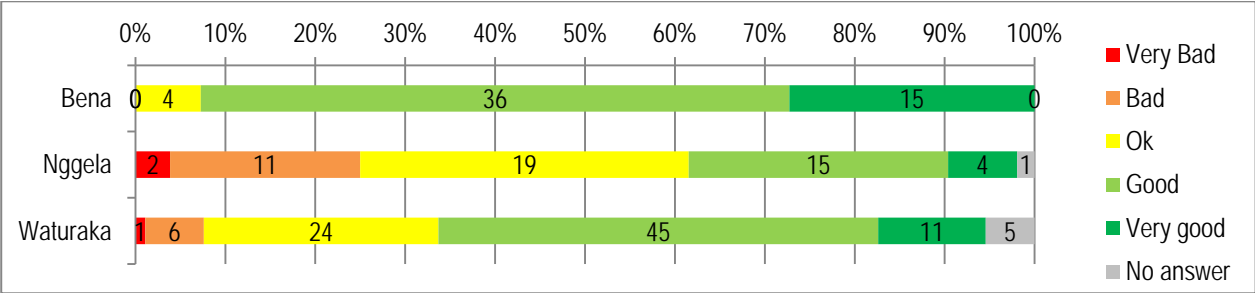


Figure 34: Community income

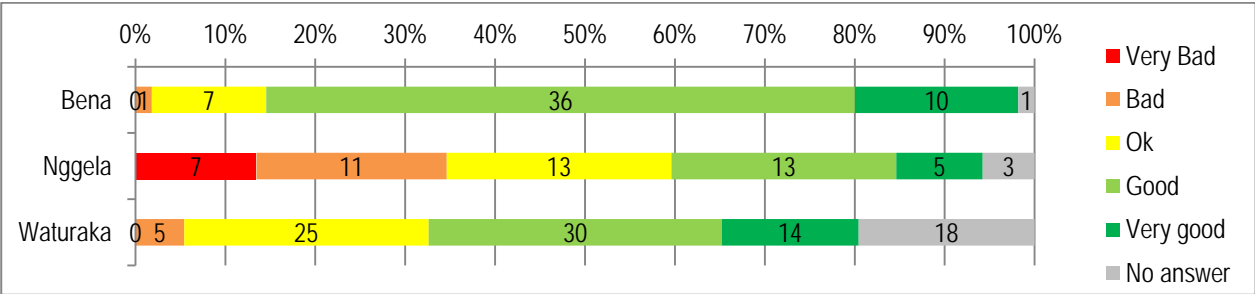


Figure 35: Household income

In conclusion, tourism does create income in the villages and in the case of Bena it can even be considered a substantial positive impact on the community as well as the household level. In Waturaka the available data is less informative. There is income creation on the household level in particular for homestay owners. It is less significant than in Bena though, which is reflected by lower satisfaction. Nggela is benefitting from tourism in the village to a very marginal degree. It is a foregone opportunity in all three communities, that the agricultural production – being the main economic activity of the villages – are not systematically linked to the growing accommodation and gastronomy sectors in nearby urban centres.

Income distribution

Information about income generation alone is not enough to evaluate the economic impacts of tourism development. It is crucial to know how the income is distributed in order to know who the beneficiaries are and whether income generation might substantially contribute to increasing inequality and its implications.

In **Bena** almost every respondent reported to make an income from tourism. Some people seemed to differentiate between earning income from Ikat sales as opposed to other tourism activities (see Figure 36 and Figure 38). Since the sole customer base of the weavers of Bena are tourists (either directly or indirectly through art shops), income from Ikat can be equalled to income from tourism in this case. Therefore, it is fair to conclude that 95 per cent of the people of Bena earn money from tourism (see Figure 38). This suggests a very high degree of equality in terms of income distribution and, indeed, 83 per cent or respondents in Bena agreed that the distribution is fair (see Figure 37). With regard to compensations for work shifts at the ticket office as well as homestays, the benefit distribution is organised through a rotational system. Each of the village’s nine clans had to appoint two members to the ticket office, who rotate every week, and homes take turns in hosting overnight guests.

However, in one aspect this positive picture gets spoiled. While there are four Ikat weaving groups, so far only one of them was successful in establishing sales relationship with retailers (art shop in Labuan Bajo & online shop of a private seller from Ngada). When asked, why other women were not participating in supplying retailers, a respondent explained that the weavers were not willing to offer discounts for bulk purchases. Besides that, when asked about their function, the Ikat group heads only felt responsible to communicate information about potential improvements in weaving patterns and techniques to their group members. They did not mention to feel responsible for promotion initiatives. Besides that there also remain quality and supply issues, which need to be addressed, according to the responsible Swisscontact project officer. This suggests a need for more capacity building with regard to organising and building sales relationships with retailers as well as pricing and quality standards.

In **Nggela** significantly less people reported to make an income from tourism than from Ikat sales (see Figure 36 and Figure 38). This corresponds with the information that the primary customer base are locals. Additionally, almost two thirds of the people in Nggela did not believe that the money from tourism is distributed fairly. Given depictions of haggling, of price competition and of guides, who favour some weavers over others, this is not surprising. The comparison between Bena and Nggela in this impact area reconfirms again that community organisation in combination with a critical number of visitors is decisive for the creation of benefits.

In **Waturaka** 60 per cent of the respondents reported to receive income from tourism. This was not limited to Pokdarwis members (see Figure 36). To the contrary, while 10 per cent of Pokdarwis members reported to make no income from tourism despite membership, almost a third of non-members said, they did earn money from tourism (see Figure 39). This is remarkable, as opposite to the traditional villages, where tourism is unavoidable, in Waturaka tourism needs to be made accessible. The research suggests that accessibility is not an issue in Waturaka (see also Figure 40). This is a good evaluation of the community organisation, because it could also have been a potential, unintended mean of exclusion. However, as we have seen in the discussion about community cohesion (3.2.2) a considerable amount of people, who are not making an income from tourism felt like there is less or at least little cooperation among the villagers. So while formal access to Pokdarwis is not a problem, there is still a need to get more people involved in tourism activities on a personal level.

Accessibility however is not the same as income equality. More than a third of the respondents in Waturaka believed the distribution is not fair. Not surprisingly, people who were not member of Pokdarwis and reported not to earn an income from tourism believed that the income distribution is unfair. However, they did not similarly believe, that it is difficult to participate in tourism (meaning Pokdarwis) which suggests, that rather than there being a distribution issue there is a lack of initiative combined with a feeling of entitlement to benefits by non-members. Opposed to that, there is a comprehensible difference between the responses of homestay owners and non-homestay owners. Homestay owners are much more likely to make a higher and more stable income from tourism than other community members. Additionally, hosting guests is only possible if the homes fulfil certain quality criteria (extra room, a proper wooden bed, water, clean bathroom etc.). It was obvious from observation that community members who were already better off (larger, more comfortable houses) were more likely to be a homestay than others. As long as other touristic activities in Waturaka, which are easier to participate in, are not capable of creating substantial income as well, there is a considerable potential for systematic discrimination and intensification of economic inequality. In this regard again it is a foregone chance if local product development and building of sales relationship for agricultural products are neglected.

Other than income distribution between Pokdarwis sections, there is also the distribution of income within each section. In this regard the people of Waturaka have utilised the community organisation to set favourable rules for fair procedures. For the homestays there is a rotation system stipulated, so that each

homestay receives guests. Additionally, the homestays agreed to limit the number of guest per stay to a maximum of four people. The construction of additional space solely dedicated to host tourists is forbidden. The income from activities which are implemented collectively (cultural performances, waterfall) are shared evenly between all group members.

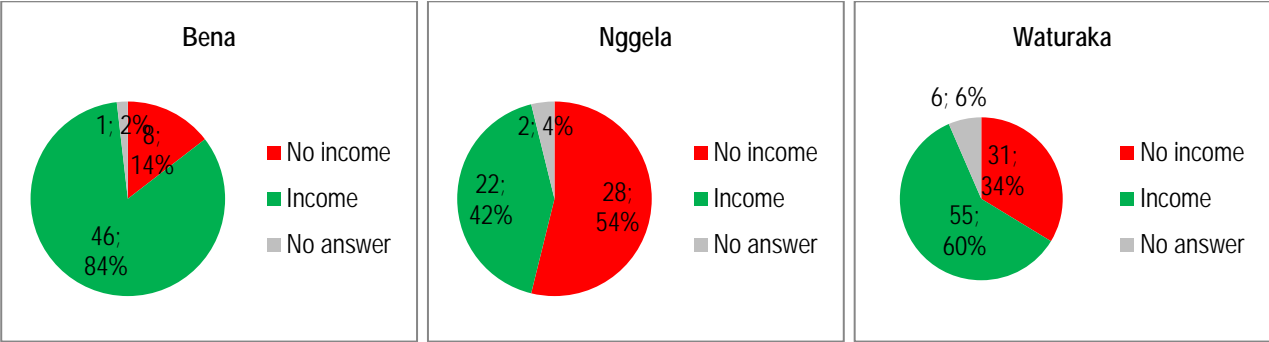


Figure 36: Income generation from tourism

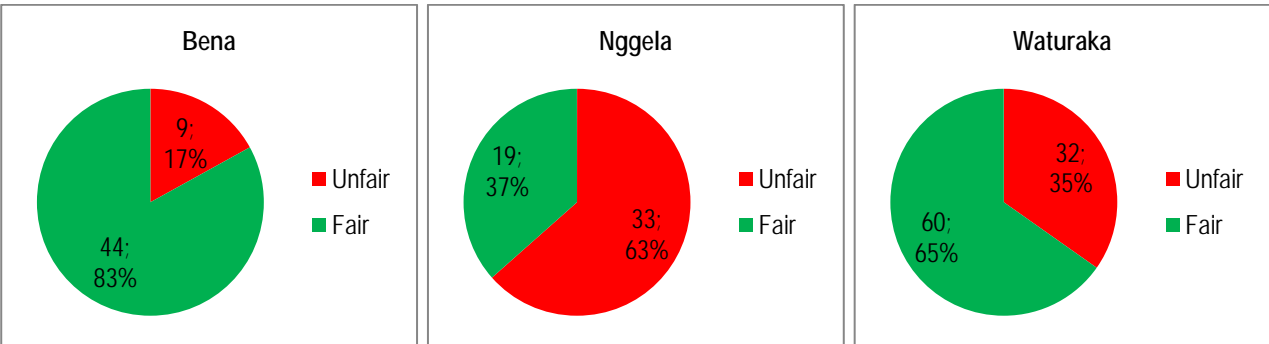


Figure 37: Perceived fairness of income distribution

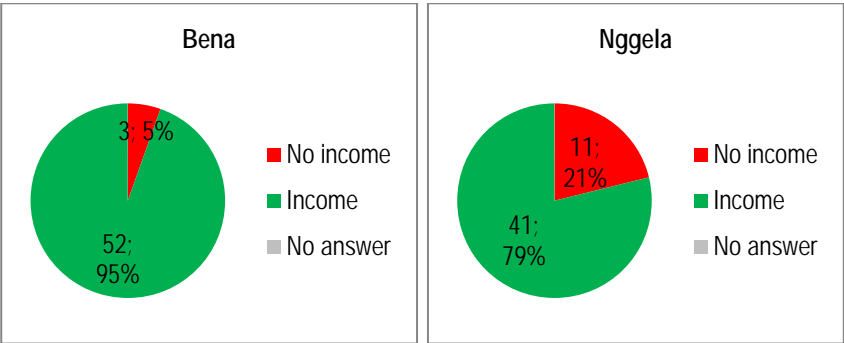


Figure 38: Income generation from Ikat weaving

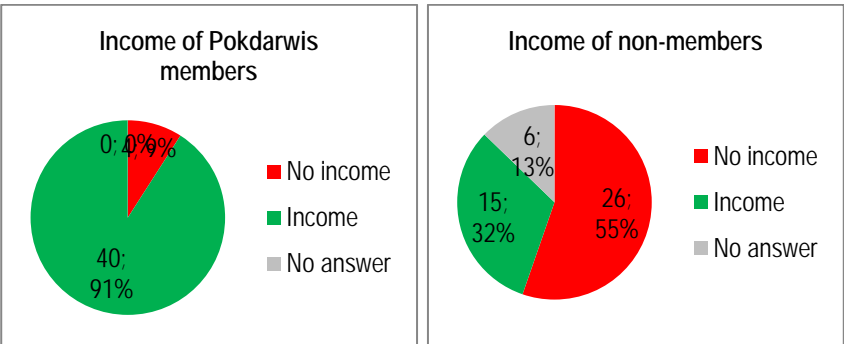


Figure 39: Income of Pokdarwis members and non-members

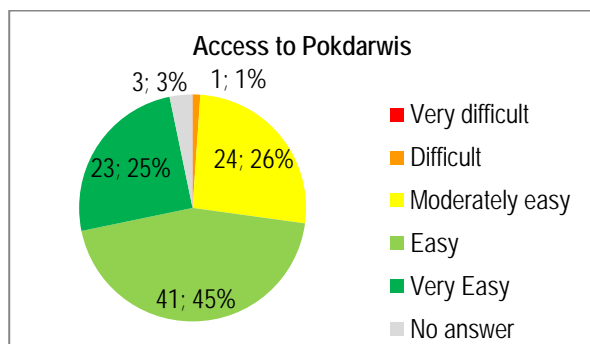


Figure 40: Accessibility of Pokdarwis

In conclusion, fair income distribution in Swisscontact's community projects requires sufficient income generation to avoid competition, management of the distribution of benefits through community organisation, and transparency about revenues and their percentage allocation to avoid misunderstanding and mistrust. The type of touristic activity determines how demanding the facilitation of fair income distribution is. Participation in sales of crafts and other local products as well collectively provided goods and services are easier than hosting guests. Especially if homes are not standardised like in traditional villages.

Income for marginalised groups

A particular chance of income generation in the context of development efforts is the improvement of the financial situation of potentially marginalised groups. Commonly this includes low skilled people, women, the elder and the youth.

Education and skills are fairly homogeneous among all the community members in all three villages. In addition, the touristic activities in all three villages do not require higher education or skills which are not prevalent among the villagers at it is. This does not mean that better education and capacity development would not be beneficial. It would certainly increase the quality of products and services, the management thereof, and the benefits created. However, for the evaluation of the economic impact, it can be concluded that the communities are uplifted in comparison to other marginalised communities, but not that individual community members are uplifted in comparison to their peers.

Corresponding with the overall data on income generation, we see that for potentially marginalised groups the most benefits are created in Bena, followed by Waturaka and Nggela. In Bena women are benefitting more than the elder and the youth. It is debatable though, if women are to be considered a potentially marginalised group in a matriarchic culture. In Nggela we see the same difference between the assessment for women compared to the elder and the youth. In Waturaka all potentially marginalised groups are believed to capture a similar share of the income creation from tourism (see Figure 41).

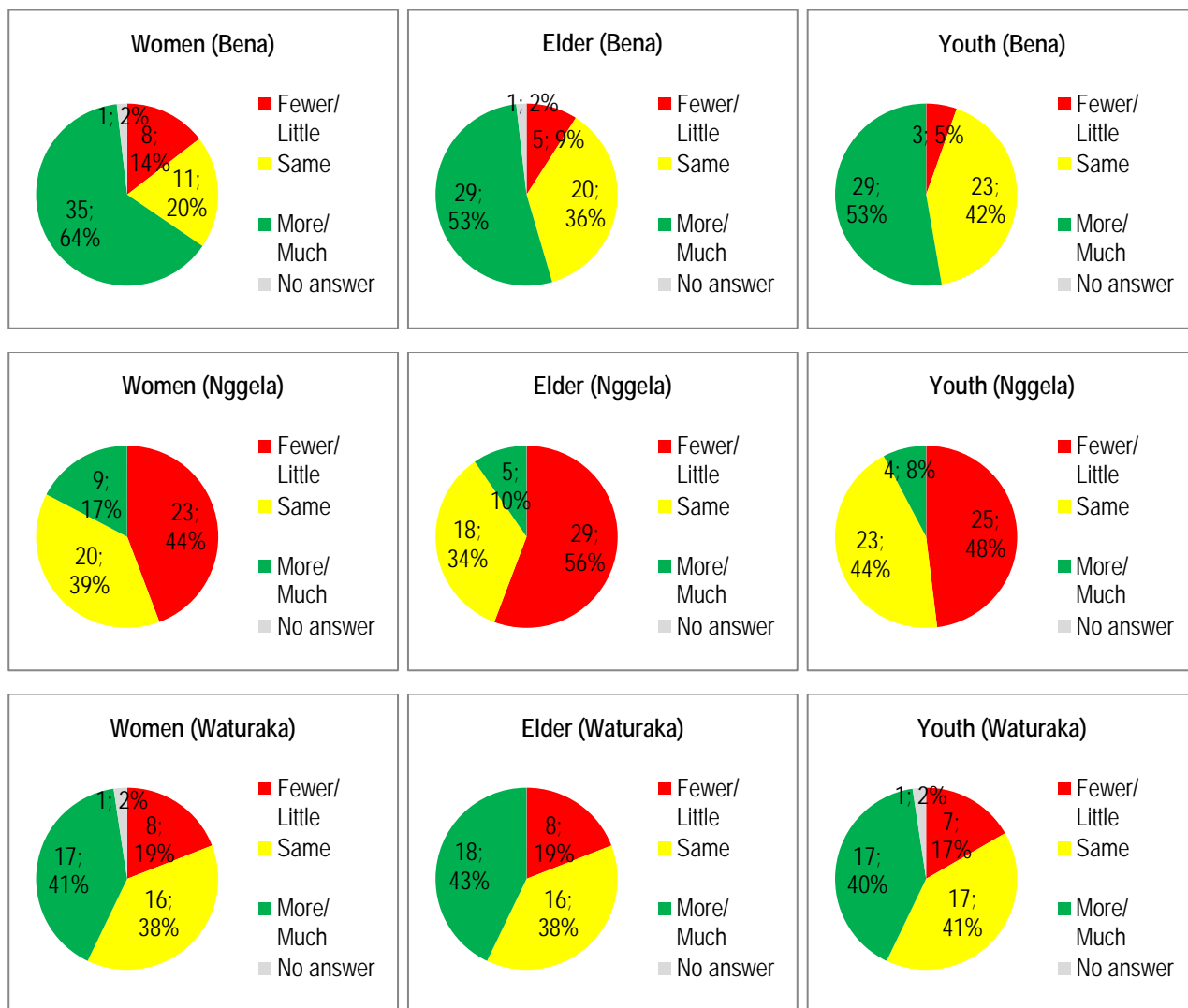


Figure 41: Income for potentially marginalised groups
(NOTE: The data for Waturaka is not statistically representative in this case)

If specifically asked about perspectives for the youth as incentive to stay in the community instead of migrating elsewhere, all three researched communities identified this as an issue, which demands attention (see Figure 42). As this is not reflected by the question about newly available income opportunities, this suggests that the situation would likely be worse without tourism.

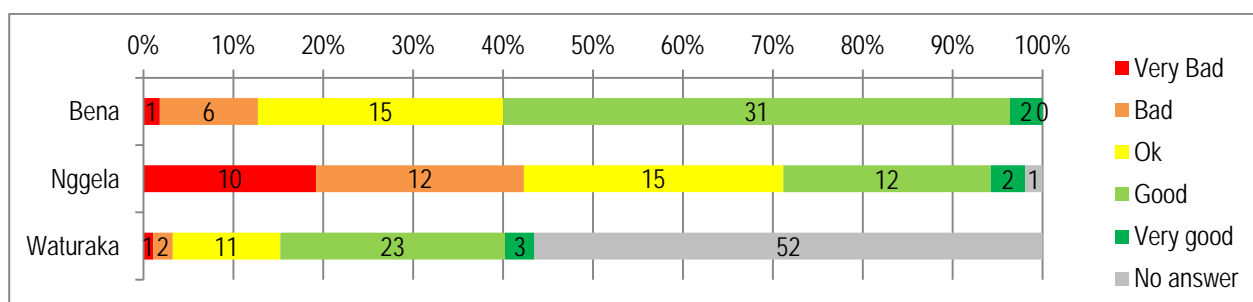


Figure 42: Perspective for the youth
(NOTE: The data for Waturaka is not statistically representative in this case)

Unfortunately, the data for Waturaka are not statistically representative in this impact area. However, *by tendency*, Waturaka seems to be better off than the traditional villages. At first sight this might be surprising, given that there is much more income from tourism flowing into Bena than into Waturaka. However, in Bena Ikat weaving is one major source of income on the household level and it is only practiced by women. There are no guides from Bena, which theoretically provides an opportunity to create

jobs for men. Beyond the occupational aspect, the matriarchal culture of Bena lays down that the traditional houses and possessions are passed on to women only. For these reasons many **men from the community see no perspective** for themselves and leave despite the benefits tourism creates.

In conclusion, tourism development in Swisscontact's community projects provides income opportunities for potentially marginalised groups. How much they benefit depends on the overall extend of the economic impact. In the traditional villages women are benefitting proportionately a little bit more than the elder and youth, while in Waturaka all individual groups are presented with similar additional income opportunities. Nevertheless, the additional income opportunities for younger community members are not considered sufficient by the respondents. In particular in Bena and Nggela this results in outmigration of (mostly) young men.

Livelihood

Income is strongly intertwined with livelihood, meaning the ability of people to secure their basic necessities. Tourism can affect livelihood in a variety of ways. Potential positive impacts from increased income can be outbalanced by sudden restrictions on access to resources (often the case in connection with protected areas) or decreased ability to engage in subsistence activities. People can decide to shift their main economic activities from former income sources to tourism. Substantial risks are connected with such livelihood transition. People can become overly dependent on tourism income. They might not be prepared for the seasonality of the industry. In combination with low financial management skills, this can lead to financial difficulties and debt during low season (see box below; Lasso & Dahles, 2017). Financial risks also derive from potential investments, which do not amortise.

Livelihood transition on Komodo Island

The introduction of woodcarving on Komodo Island was initiated in the 1970s when a researcher from the United States was looking for a local carpenter to craft him a Komodo statue. The souvenir business was later applied as a livelihood diversification strategy, conducted in the locals' spare time besides their main occupation of bagan fishing. In the mid-2000s income from bagan fishing fell due to a combination of a significantly decreasing squid population, high fuel prices and scarcity of bagan crews. At the same time the number of tourist visiting the national park on the island increased. Witnessing the success of other full-time crafters and souvenir sellers, more and more bagan fishermen quit fishing, sold their boats and fully concentrated on the souvenir business. As a result their livelihood fully relies on tourism today.

Currently tourism is providing the crafters and souvenir sellers in Komodo with a sufficient income besides growing numbers of market participants and increasing competition. However, the long stretched low season proves to be financially challenging and creates debt risk. The locals' fully reliance on the number of tourists also makes them vulnerable to drastic changes in visitor numbers caused by shocks, natural disaster or terrorism. The crafters and souvenir sellers do not have alternative means to maintain their livelihood as they have lost one of their most crucial assets, the bagan boats. The high purchase prices for bagan boats make it unfeasible to return to the former occupation. Under these conditions the sustainability of the contribution of tourism to the local livelihood remains questionable.

A number of current developments threaten the people's livelihood:

- a. Raising entrance fees to the national park pose a potential threat in the future by causing a decrease in visitor numbers.
- b. The only legal market place at the national park entrance can no longer absorb the increasing number of souvenir traders. At current visitor numbers the market is saturated.
- c. Although crafters and sellers succeed to earn a sufficient income during high tourist season, their lack of financial management skills does prevent them from getting through the low season. This traps some of them in a circle of debts.

Lasso, Aldi H. & Dahles, Heidi. Tourism Development and Local Livelihood on Komodo Island, Indonesia, Otago University, Dunedin, 2017.

In the traditional villages people do not feel **restricted from accessing resources**. Respondents who answered contrarily explained that they had to apply for permits to cut trees. This is, however, a universal rule and not caused by tourism. In Waturaka the situation is slightly different. Even though both Nggela and Waturaka are located in Kelimutu National Park, Waturaka feels the impact of access restrictions to resources in the park stronger than Nggela. This is due Waturaka's proximity to park authorities as well as uncertainty about where the land of the community ends and the national park begins. Nevertheless even in Waturaka the large majority of people does not feel restricted from accessing resources (see Figure 43).

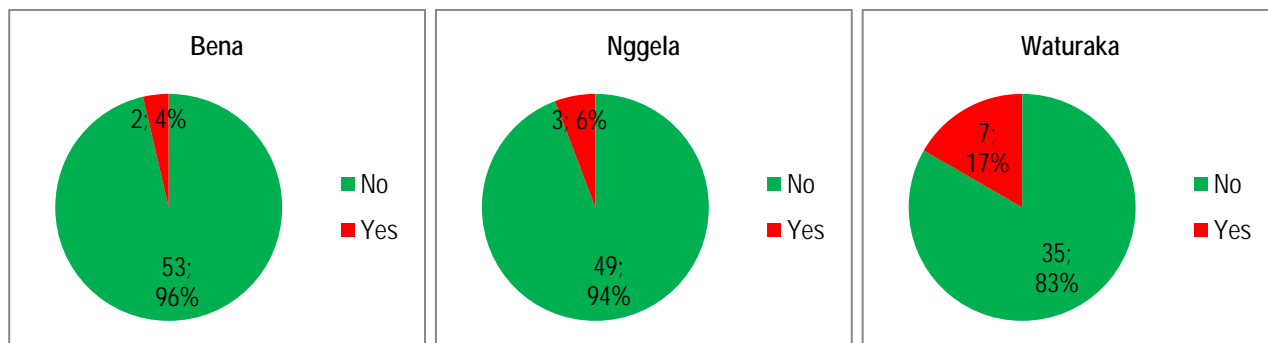


Figure 43: Perceived restrictions from accessing resources

The conventional income source for the researched villages is in all cases smallholder agriculture. A potentially problematic **livelihood transition** would result with regard to farming. However, the only community in which a considerable amount of respondents reported to farm less is Bena and even there the majority reported to farm the same or more/much (see Figure 44). A closer look at the answers from Bena reveals that in particular women, older respondents and people who make an income from tourism reported to farm less than their counterparts. This result suggests that Ikat weaving is indeed taking the place of farming. One woman explained, that weaving was much less physically demanding as compared to farming, which is why the female family members preferred to make the craft. For older women this provides a chance to keep contributing to the household income, even though they might not be physically able anymore to support the family in farming activities. Rather than a problematic livelihood change, tourism is in all three villages diversifying and extending the ways in which family members can contribute to the household income.

Despite the fact that hosting guests and providing three meals a day requires people to stay in the house instead of going to the farms, the homestay owners from Waturaka were able to maintain a constant level of farming. However, this is only possible because the numbers of guests are relatively low. Due to the rotation system there are also long phases without guests. When asked if hosting guests potentially conflicts with farming, families in Bena as well as homestay owners in Waturaka agreed that this can be a problem, especially for families with few family members. Consequently, while no negative impact in terms of livelihood change can be concluded yet, this remains a factor which demands attention.

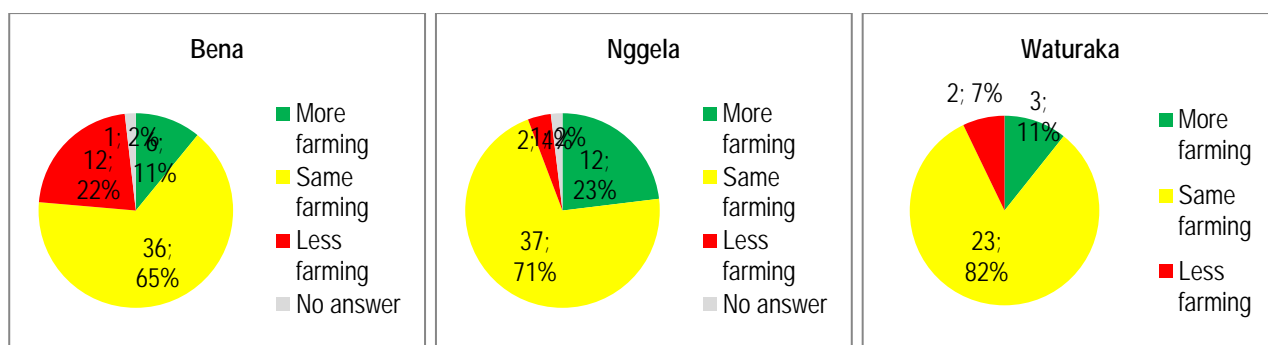


Figure 44: Livelihood transition

Of all three villages Bena is making by far the most income on community as well as household level. However, the people of Bena felt the least **dependent on tourism income** (see Figure 45). This is surprising in itself, but additionally because they evaluated the income just as important as the other communities (see Figure 46). In turn in Waturaka, which makes income from tourism, but not as substantially as the people in Bena, and even though there are no indicators for a livelihood transition, respondents felt nevertheless very dependent on the tourism income. Only the results for Nggela are comprehensible without much further explanation, because the people of Nggela do not make much income from tourism, they are not dependent on it. That they nevertheless assess the income as very important expresses that they desire to earn more money from tourism.

Possible explanations for the responds from Bena and Waturaka refer to custom and tangibility. Bena is receiving tourists since decades. Swisscontact majorly helped to organise it in a more beneficial way. In Waturaka on the other hand, touristic activities were introduced by Swisscontact as a new source of income not very long ago. Consequently, the people of Waturaka possibly feel the difference much stronger than the people in Bena. The people in Waturaka also mostly make direct income from tourism (payments for hosting, performances, and ticket sales), while the people of Bena make direct (Ikat sales, hosting) and indirect income (ticket sales) from tourism. The impact in Waturaka therefore might be more tangible.

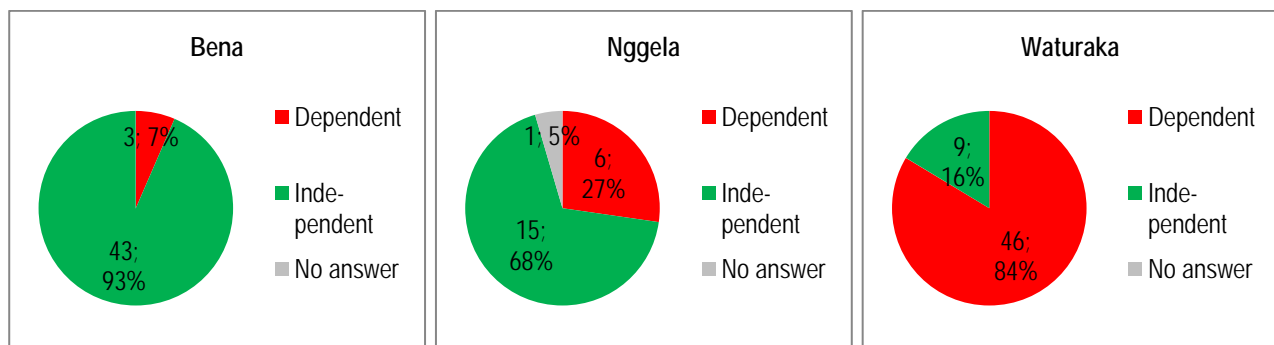


Figure 45: Dependency on tourism income

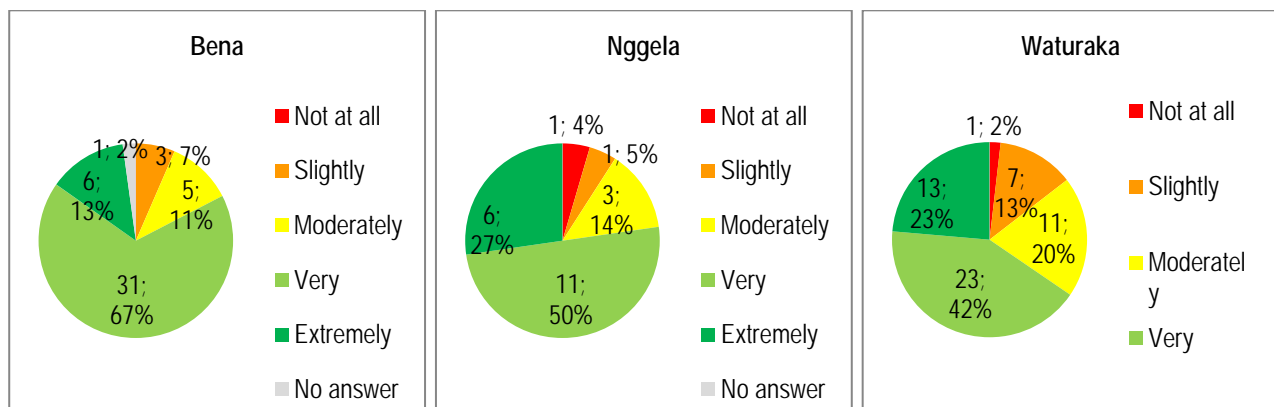


Figure 46: Importance of tourism income

In addition to risky dependency on tourism income, financial problems arising from **unamortised investments** are a potential problem for Waturaka's homestays. As mentioned before, homestays have to fulfil certain quality criteria, which can require investments. Indeed, 64 per cent of the homestay respondents reported that they made purchases to be able to host guests and only half of them had brought in the investments by the time of the research (see Figure 47). As there are restrictions on building additional space for hosting, the investments are mostly limited to building of bathrooms (which benefit the families as well), maintenance of the houses, installing sockets and buying a few pieces of furniture.

This is manageable or can be used by the families themselves. Consequently, the somewhat alarming survey results regarding investment risk are a bit relativized.

Instead of investment risks on the household level, the community of Bena is affected by the decision to build a house for the ticket sales. The construction was partly financed through a bank loan. However, given Bena’s stable and high visitor numbers, this investment should amortise without major problems.

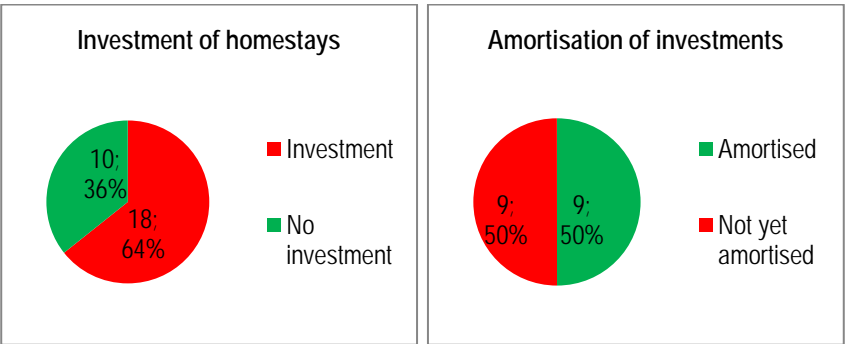


Figure 47: Investment risk among homestays in Waturaka

In conclusion, tourism income is an appreciated diversification of income sources for Bena and Waturaka, which is not outbalanced by restrictions on accessing resources or livelihood transition which causes difficulties to engage in subsistence and former income activities. With regard to dependency on tourism income the data of the survey does not seem to reflect the real risk very well. More investigation of this issue is therefore advisable. Investment risk on the other hand does not seem to present an issue, but the communities should be made aware that this is because of the manageable scale of the investments and not because of the generated income.

3.4.3. Public Income

Besides increased income tax, which is inevitably correlated with increased income generation, there are further positive impacts on public income in Bena and Waturaka. In Bena the income from the ticket sales contribute a substantial sum to the general budget of its two Dusuns. In addition both Bena and Waturaka are able to leverage their touristic development to access extra public funds. The head of the village in Bena claimed that his village receives twice the budget other communities are being granted.

3.4.4. Spill-over

Tourism development can create various indirect benefits and disadvantages, such as effects on migration, as was discussed earlier. It can also bring about improvements in public infrastructure and mobility which are directed at tourists, but benefit communities as well.

Except for Bena it is difficult to make the case that tourism development has a major impact on infrastructural developments. In Bena the money from the ticket sales adds to the general budget, which among other things was used to improve the water supply in the village. Other than that, spill-over effects on Bena, Nggela and Waturaka are hardly observable. Bena can now be accessed via a new road, however, improvements of road infrastructure is a goal of the administration independently - or at least not solely dependent - on tourism. The roads to Nggela and Waturaka on the other hand are in bad condition, even though Waturaka is located along the road to the Kelimutu crater lakes, which is one of Flores’ main touristic attractions. There is electricity, internet and water-conducting systems in all three villages; however, they are not in particularly good condition. Electricity cuts are common. Internet coverage is ok. In Waturaka and Nggela pipes transport water from nearby streams to water stations in the villages, however, from there households have to collect it and carry it to their houses. The water is not drinkable without filtering. In conclusion, the villages do not enjoy better infrastructure than other villages.

3.5. Impact summary

This study considered 44 different factors in order to evaluate the impact of tourism development on the communities of Bena, Nggela and Waturaka. A first positive conclusion is the wide absence of significantly negative influences. The few problematic issues refer to the freedom to avoid tourism as well as the guarantee of cultural ownership in the traditional villages, the behaviour of tourists in Bena, and the income distribution in Nggela and Waturaka.

A considerable proportion of factors does not affect the communities in any significant way, neither positively nor negatively. In some instances neutral influences can be considered an acceptable result in itself. For example, there are no significant signs for detrimental effects of tourism on the communities' culture, health, and environmental conditions. There are also no indications for risky livelihood changes. In other instances neutral effects can reflect the absence of desired positive impacts. This is more often the case in Nggela than in the other two communities. For example, in Nggela tourism is not contributing to community organisation and empowerment and it is not creating a noteworthy income on the community and household level, but it is also not making things worse.

The most positively evaluated impacts refer to empowerment, community cohesion, cultural preservation and income creation in Bena and Waturaka (see Figure 48 and Appendix 1).

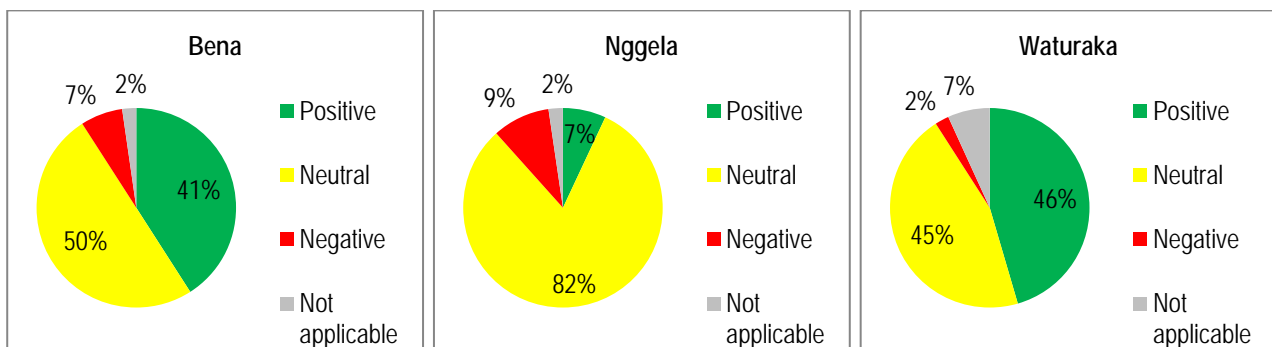


Figure 48: Proportion of positive, neutral and negative results for applied indicators

Four conditions influence the impacts of tourism development. The base for any impact is the number of visitors. With growing numbers the likelihood that positive and negative influences arise increases. This is why tourism barely has an impact of any kind in Nggela. The visitor numbers are simply too low.

When visitor numbers are growing, the communities' capacities to organise in terms of structure and routine determine whether impacts will be positive or negative and if they will be smaller or larger. Functioning community organisation creates common ground and transparency. It helps to mediate conflicts, functions as a focal point for capacity building, facilitates a fair distribution of benefits, and allows leveraging of touristic potential for attention and support from public authorities.

Different touristic activities challenge community organisations in differing ways. Ticket sales are less complex than touristic packages such as homestays, cultural performances or agro-tourism. Collectively delivered tourist products such as cultural performances need more coordination than individually delivered offers such as local products. Activities also determine what kind of income can be generated and how affected people are in their daily life. Ticket sales result in community income, which can facilitate a fairer access to benefits. Collectively delivered tourist products also allow a larger number of people to participate. Hosting guests on the other hand can be exclusive to only some community members. It potentially creates significantly larger income for a small group of people, thereby increasing inequality within the community. So far the communities of Waturaka and Bena, who host guests, do not see an issue in this. However, a problematic potential exists particularly in Waturaka, because homes have varying standards, while the traditional village is much more homogeneous. Beyond that, hosting takes up more

time than any other touristic offer and is likely to conflict with other livelihood activities of the hosts. This can result in risky livelihood transition.

Finally, income is the most important factor influencing the acceptance and appreciation of tourism. Higher income makes the community more tolerant to potentially negative changes.

The 44 factors considered in the research can be summaries under 18 impact categories, six each for every sustainability dimension. The conditions in Bena are the most favourable among the three communities. Bena consequently shows the best results across all impact categories. It is followed by Waturaka, which has smaller numbers of visitors due to differing touristic activities, less routine in community organisation and more demanding touristic activities, no community and smaller household income. Nggela, which receives very few guests in comparison with Bena, does not have a community organisation and limited touristic activities which create no community and marginal household income shows barely any impacts at all (see Figure 49 and Appendix 1).

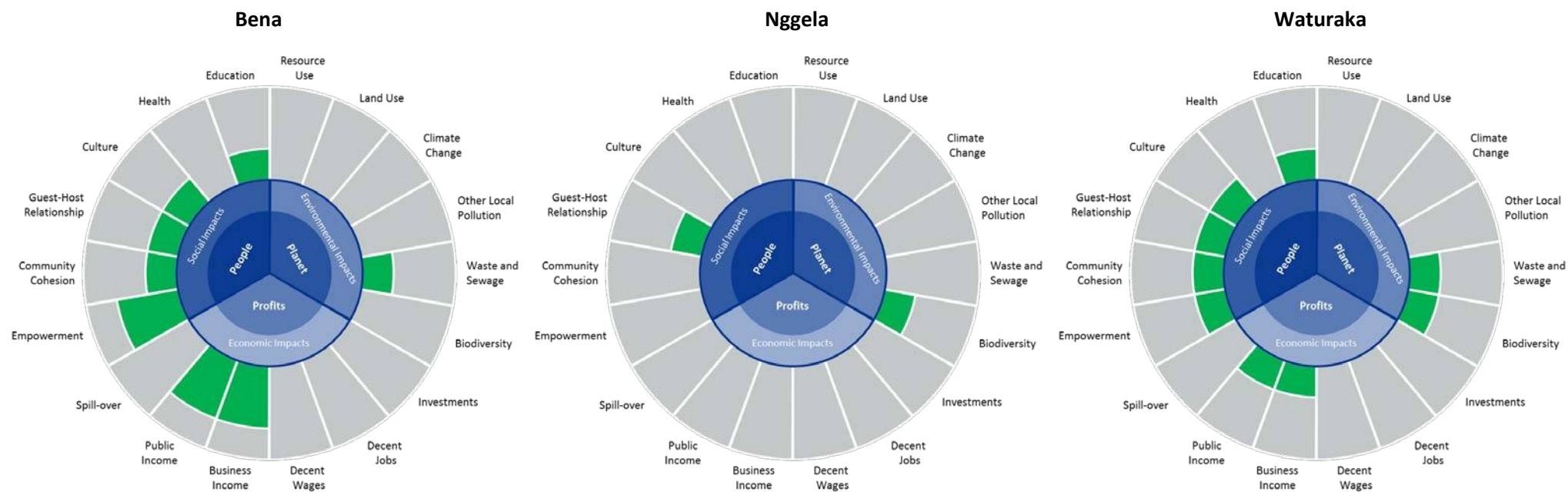


Figure 49: Impact summary

4. Carrying Capacity

From the perspective of the communities the carrying capacity for tourism development in their villages can be evaluated in terms of numbers and acceptance of tourism induced changes.

4.1. Visitor numbers

It is unrewarding to try to define an absolute number of visitors which is acceptable to visit a community, because numbers are not tangible. It would be a challenging cognitive exercise to imagine what life in the communities would be like with x, y, or z visitors per year. Therefore instead of asking precisely how many visitors are acceptable to the community members, the research asked if the respondents would prefer more, the same or less visitors in the current as compared to the previous year. It is advisable to collect this data on an annual basis, because the result only allows conclusions for one year ahead.

4.1.1. Overall preferences

Overall, in all three communities the majority of people preferred to have more rather than less visitors. However, as more income the community makes the more tolerant they are towards high guest numbers. It is striking, that the people of Bena - besides having thousands of visitors coming to the village - to 96 per cent want to have even more tourists. In comparison in Nggela, which has only hundreds of visitors in a year, the carrying capacity is already overstepped in the opinion of a quarter of the respondents. In Waturaka there is a considerable amount of people, who would like to see no growth of visitor numbers for now, but overall the majority of Waturakans is open for having more guests (see Figure 50).

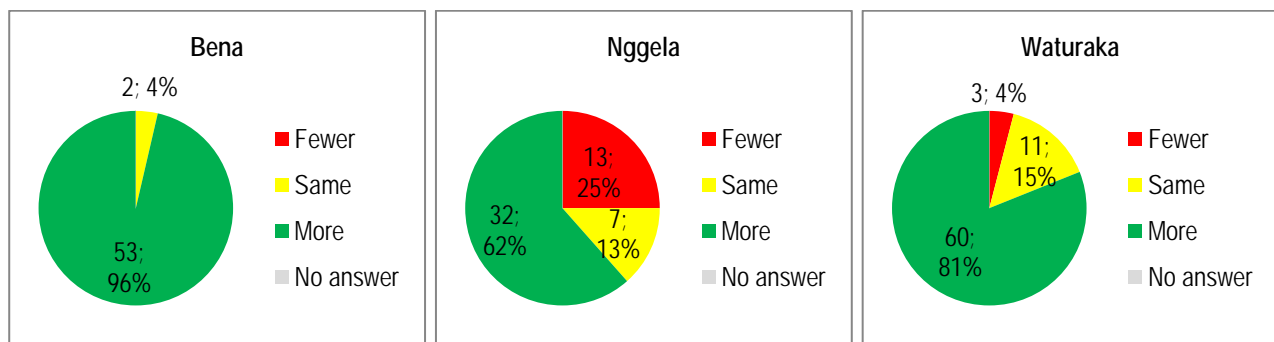


Figure 50: Carrying capacity regarding visitor numbers

In all three villages respondents who preferred no further growth of visitor number were more likely female than male. This possibly reflects the unequal burden tourism is for women as compared to men. In the traditional villages it is the women who are being watched and approached during their daily activities in the villages, while the men are working in the fields. It is also the women, who are taking care of catering to guests, cooking and preparing the bed for the night in homestays.

In the traditional villages young people were also more likely to have a preference for lower visitor numbers than older people. This was not the case in Waturaka.

In all three villages, but especially in the traditional villages, people who did not perceive to make an income from tourism, were more likely to be opposed to growing visitor numbers. This clearly supports the conclusion that income generation is decisive for acceptance of tourism.

4.1.2. Homestay preferences in Waturaka

In Waturaka homestay owners were more likely to prefer a slow growth of visitor numbers than their counterparts. This indicates a desire for more time to adjust to the new situation and gain routine.

The willingness of the homestays to host guests also sets a limit to how many tourists will be able to visit the village. All Waturakan homestay owners have been asked about their preferences regarding hosting guests. The preferred maximum length of stay of a party of guests ranged between one and four nights in a row. The median was two nights. The homestay owners preferred to have a break between visitors of none to three month. On average (median) respondents preferred a break of three nights (see Figure 51).

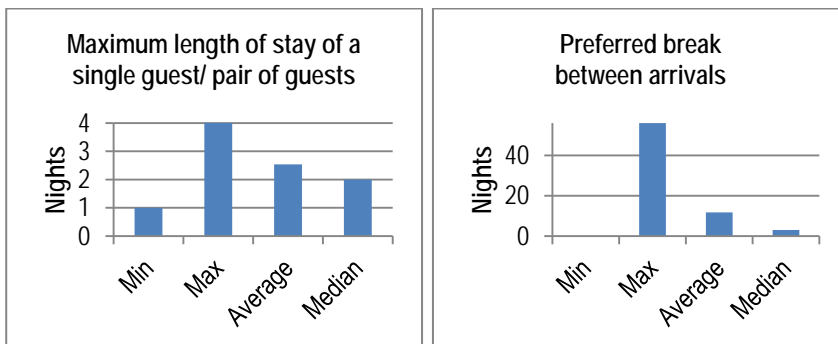


Figure 51: Homestay preferences regarding hosting

Based on the median results Waturaka's carrying capacity limit are close to 950 homestay guests per year. At the carrying capacity limit the homestays would make a total revenue of around 140 to 285 million Rupiah (approximately 9,800 to 20,100 Euros) depending on the amount of guests per stay (see Figure 52). 15 per cent, that is 21 to 42.8 million Rupiah (approximately 1,500 to 3,000 Euro) of the revenue would be communal.

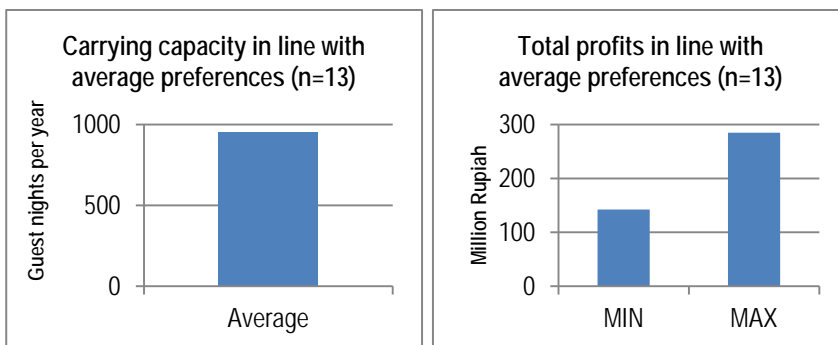


Figure 52: Homestay carrying capacity (median values)

Different family members expressed different preferences regarding the right amount of guests. It can be assumed that the families will agree on a compromise between the smallest and largest preferences. If the smallest preference for each family is applied the carrying capacity limit sinks to 610 visitors. With the largest preference applied it increases to around 1,120 guests. This would result in a total annual revenue of around 90 to 335 million Rupiah (6,400 to 23,600 Euro; see Figure 53), of which 13.5 to 50.3 million Rupiah (approximately 950 to 3,500 Euro) would go to Pokdarwis.

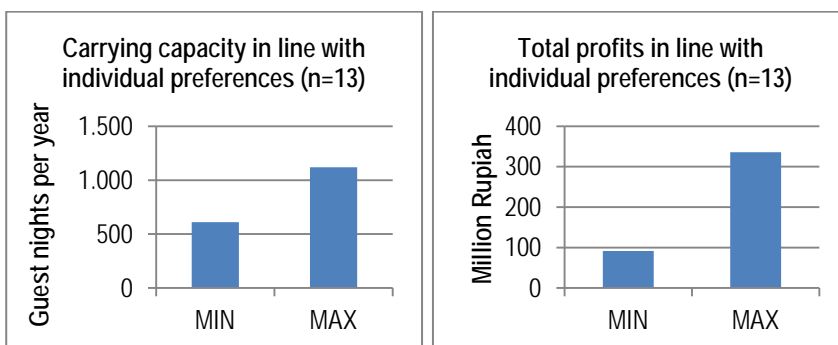


Figure 53: Homestay carrying capacity (individual preferences)

In conclusion, the carrying capacity in terms of visitor numbers has not been overstepped in any of the researched communities. Additionally, in Waturaka the current guest numbers in the homestays are far from the carrying capacity limit, which suggests significant upward leeway. However, considering the partly reserved overall preferences regarding the annual growth, the increase in visitor numbers should be pushed slowly.

4.2. Acceptable change

Besides the quantity of visitors the carrying capacity also depends on the quality of change the tourism brings about. During the research the people of Bena, Nggela and Waturaka have been asked, which preselected impacts they find important and how satisfied they are with the status quo. A comparison of the two through an importance-performance matrix allows conclusions on which aspects generally need attention. The formulation of “Red Lines” additionally helps to decide which issues are the most pressing ones.

4.2.1. Priorities for interventions

As was assumed during the planning of the research the respondents in all communities put high importance on all preselected impacts. Fortunately, in all three communities the reality lives up to these high expectations. Only in Nggela there were aspects in the fourth quadrant of the importance-performance-matrix, which means that these aspects are important to the people but currently in bad condition. In Bena and Waturaka on the other hand, it is necessary to zoom into the third quadrant, which entails very important impacts in very good condition, to draw conclusions for preferable interventions (see Figure 54).

The people of Bena are most concerned with the behaviour of tourists, conflicts in the community and waste management. While the impact assessment gives a good picture of the current situation regarding behaviour of tourists and the waste problem, further inquiries should be made to find out about conflicts. Generally, the data from the impact assessment was rather positive in this regard, so that it is not obvious what intervention is needed. In any case there seems to be room for improvement.

Nggela is the only community with more pressing issues (Quadrant IV). These issues are the lack of income creation, and in connection with this, the grim perspectives for the youth and jealousy among the villagers. If tourism can create an income that is meaningful and profits many community members equally it can make a substantial difference in Nggela. Second priority after the income creation (Quadrant III) are the establishment of community control over the development, alleviation of conflicts, a contribution to cultural preservation and infrastructure development.

The people of Waturaka are concerned about a decent income for the village and wish to have an income that creates perspectives for the youth and allows the families to bear increasing living expenditures. As in the other two communities the alleviation of conflicts among villagers is another priority of the Waturakans.

In all three villages better waste management and interventions aiming to improve the air quality in the village would be appreciated environmental spill-over effects.

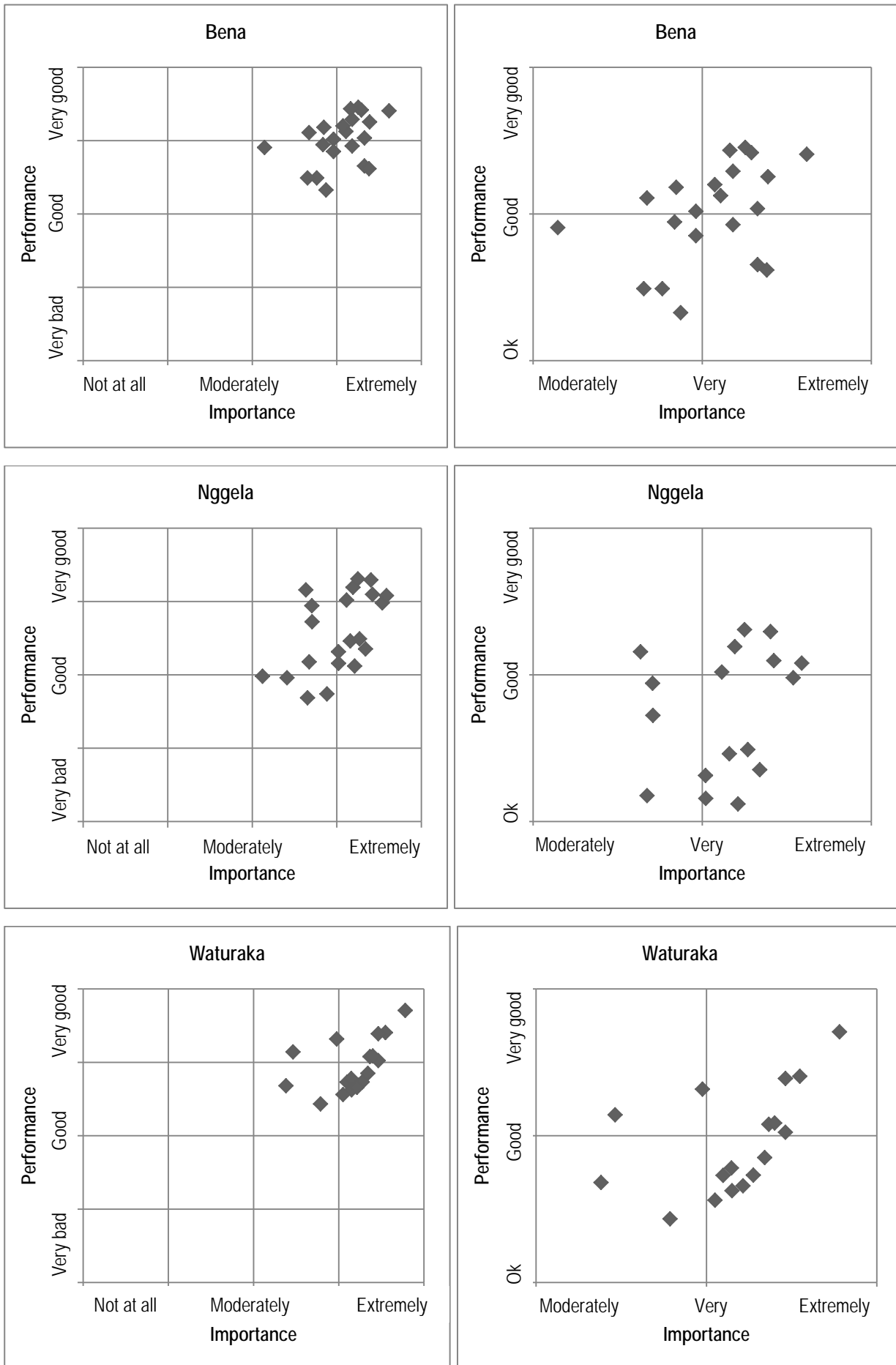


Figure 54: Importance-Performance-Matrices

4.2.2. Red Lines

The first question of the survey asked the participants to name potential negative impacts on their community which they would not tolerate no matter what. This question turned out to be rather challenging for many respondents. It was obvious that they are used to think about what tourist expect from them and what they could improve, but struggled with the opposing perspective. On the one hand this supports the research finding that the experiences with tourism are mostly positive, however it also indicates, that the communities are not well aware of potential negative developments. In other words, they are not actually aware about what they got themselves into, which is one of the main criticisms of CBT projects.

Other than that the “Red Lines” reflect the issues which are the priority concerns for the communities (see 4.2.1). In Nggela, which receives the least benefits from tourism, the strongest “Red Line” was a lack of income creation. In other words, if tourism does not create benefits the people do not want to have them “sneak around” in their village. In particularly not, if they affect the community cohesion negatively, misbehave and bring drugs or cultural change to their community. In Waturaka on the other hand the four most commonly mentioned Red Lines related to the erosion of the community’s unity, underlining the importance of successful community organisation. In Bena income and community cohesion were not seen as issues. Consequently, attention shifted to disrespectful tourist behaviour (see Figure 55).

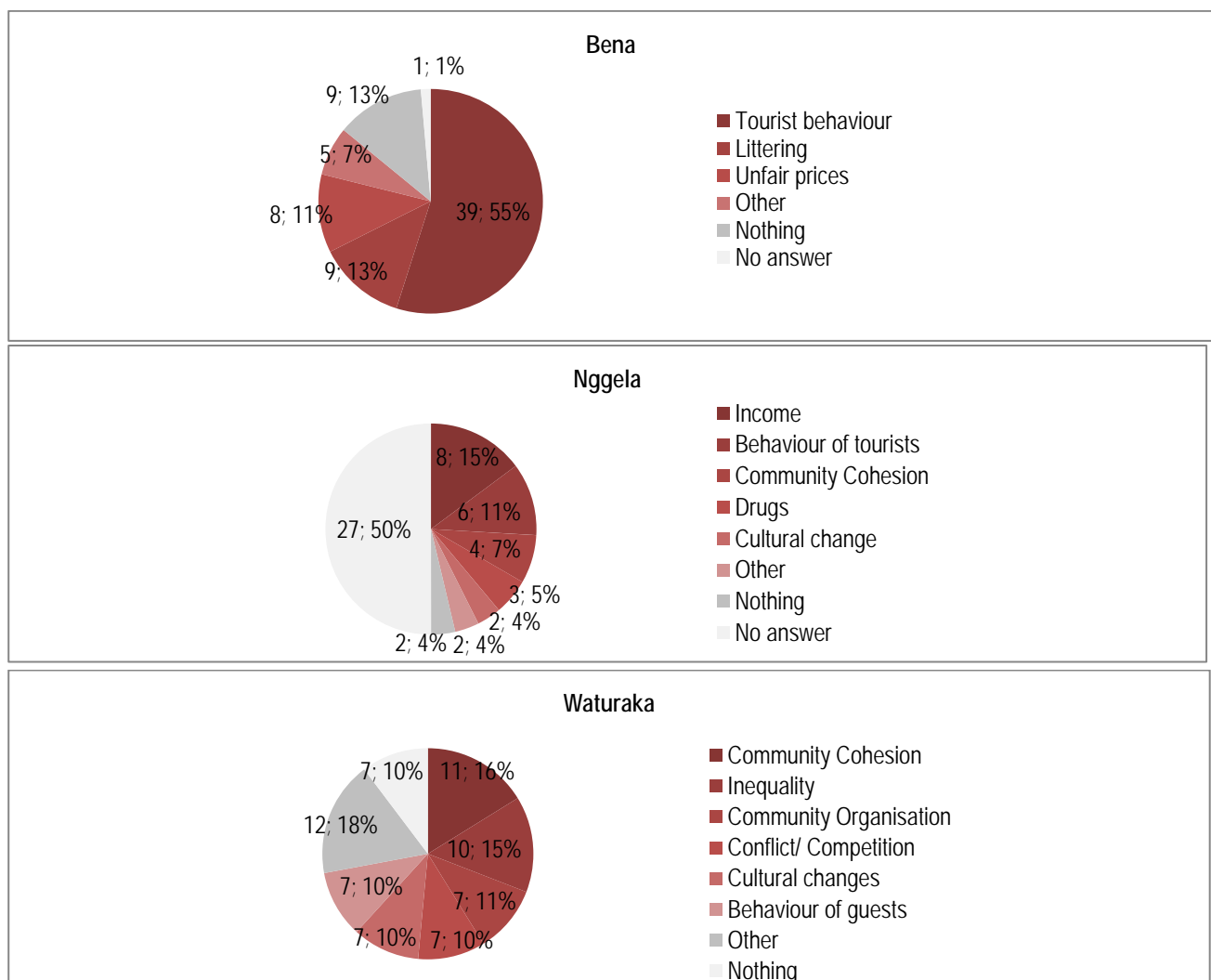


Figure 55: Socio-cultural carrying capacity (Red Lines)

As we know from the impact assessment, in none of the communities the current situation regarding the “Red Lines” is in really critical condition. There are many things that can be done to further develop tourism and expand benefits. However, specifically focusing on the “Red Lines”, a few priorities can be identified.

In Bena it is advisable to educate guests better about how to behave politely during visits. This refers particularly to the way foreigners dress, to public display of affection and littering. A code of conduct for tourists could be installed visibly at the ticket office. In this regard appealing and playful illustrations can be a more inviting way than extensive and commanding writing. Beyond that, education must already start during the research phase of travelling. For example, it is too late to ask visitors to wear decent cloth, when they already arrived at the site. Information should be spread via the internet and promotion material. Guides and employees of tour operators and tourism information centres should be encouraged to educate their customers. Other than that, transparency about the standard prices for crafts and explanations of factors which justify higher prices for Bena’s Ikat potentially discourage disrespectful haggling.

In Waturaka, there is a need for clearer rules and transparency regarding prices and payment procedures. This is primarily a question of how this information can be made accessible to everyone. An information board in the village can be one solution. In addition homestays can be provided with guidelines. Beyond that, other touristic activities than the homestay program need attention in order to spread benefits and avoid frictions between a limited amount of beneficiaries and the rest of the communities. Most promising are local products as well as the establishment of links between hotels/restaurants and Waturaka’s farmers.

Nggela on the other hand needs promotion in combination with community organisation from the base.

In conclusion, the carrying capacity in terms of acceptable change has not been breached in Bena and Waturaka. In Nggela on the other hand tourism acceptance is at stake, should the community not start to benefit in more substantial ways.
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5. Conclusion

The impact assessment and carrying capacity study show mostly positive results for two of three communities. One reason for the good results in Bena and Waturaka is that Swisscontact did not introduce tourism to places which did not know it before or were very far from common touristic routes. This allows the communities to tap into stable and significant enough tourism flows. Additionally, they benefit from the professionalization of the destination management in Flores as well as increased networking among the island’s tourism stakeholders. Within the community the extensive efforts to establish functioning community organisation structures is a clear success factor. However, the results for Nggela also show that tourism does not necessarily bring benefits to communities and that substantial assistance is needed to attract and manage it.

The communities welcome tourism as long as it creates income for them. While Bena already succeeds in generating meaningful income, Waturaka is still at a point where income creation is just starting to happen. Arguably the income is rather marginal at this point in time; however, Waturaka is in a position now to extend this income source. It should not be underestimated how much time is needed to build a sound foundation for tourism development before meaningful income generation can happen. Against this background, Waturaka will need further assistance by capable local stakeholders to keep building needed capacities. The village is not as likely as Bena to be self-sufficient without Swisscontact.

The results from Waturaka also provide conclusions with regard to plans of Indonesia’s central government to rapidly expend homestay capacities in rural areas in Indonesia. The establishment of homestays bears

certain risks for the reputation of destinations as well as the livelihood of the hosts. Homestays need to comply with certain quality standards. Otherwise they will not be accepted by guests. First mover tourists might discourage adaptive travellers from using homestays, if the quality is not sufficient. There are cultural differences between Western guests and Indonesian hosts. If both sides are not prepared to meet each other, this can lead to misunderstandings and conflict which create a bad experience for the guests and discourages the hosts. For the hosts opening a homestay does entail investment risks and can cause risky livelihood transition. Homestay owners should be supported with capacity building regarding financial planning and management, to prevent them from making investments which do not pay back and neglecting other livelihood activities.

A homestay program is also not inclusive, that is poorer families are likely not able to meet the needed standards to host guests. Therefore, more attention should be paid to building inclusive economic linkages to the overall tourism industry. In theory Swisscontact follows this double approach of CBT and inclusive business development. In practice the potential is not fully used. While the establishment of destination management pushes universal marketing for the island as a whole and the vocational school program links the educational with the business sector, such linkages are not similarly build between Flores conventional tourism and the villages crafts and agricultural sectors. Clearly implementing activities aimed at both CBT and inclusive business development is a matter of time and resources. Each approach needs extensive work and at the same time they pose very different challenges. Implementing both at the same time is demanding.

6. Methodological recommendations for other Swisscontact projects

Generally, the methodological framework for the impact and carrying capacity study based on the methodologies of Mansfeld & Jonas as well as Fraumann & Banks was very useful. It allowed the assessment of a variety of impacts and clear conclusions regarding carrying capacity priorities which demand attention. However, the level of abstraction can be challenging in rural communities, requiring clear wording and close assistance by the interviewers. Furthermore quantitative data need to be collected additionally.

During the research it became clear that some of the information was difficult to receive using a questionnaire and face-to-face interviews only. If other Swisscontact projects would like to conduct similar research as has been implemented in Flores it is therefore advisable to choose a mix between focus group discussion and survey. Based on the experiences in Flores the following procedure is recommended.

1) List needed data, which will not be covered in the focus group discussion and/ or the surveys, and identify people who can provide these data

If the research is conducted by someone else but regular staff members enable them to get familiar with the research sites. Besides project proposals and plans, provide the researcher with any relevant monitoring data, other existing studies and fact sheets, lists of implemented activities, progress reports, community profiles (statistics on population etc.), accounting data from partnering community organisations etc.

If the researcher is already familiar with the site, list any data which is not yet available. Data is needed on the *adult* population size of each community in order to determine survey sample sizes. Other than that a list of the variety of activities which generate income is needed and must be complemented with the information how such revenues are being shared between individuals/ households and other entities (e.g. community organisation). If possible collect membership and accounting data from the community organisation and/or activity/ community group leaders. Ideally such data show developments over time. Upon reception check data for plausibility.

2) Visit each research site, before finalising questionnaires.

If the research is conducted by someone else but regular staff members preferably allow them to get familiar with all research sites before finalising questionnaires. The content of the questionnaires needs to be adjusted to the research context. If several sites are compared to each other the context might be different for each one of them. For example, livelihood activities might be different (farming, fishing, herding, production of crafts) and be affected by tourism in varying ways. New aspects might come to light depending on these contexts. In order to have a complete picture of the factors influencing the research sites, the questionnaires should be finalised after the site visits.

The site visits should be used for an introduction of the researchers and their project to key stakeholders in the community. This also presents an opportunity to retrieve the first data from the list compiled in step 1. If the stakeholders do not have the data at hand they can be asked to prepare them for the focus group discussion. Get contact information of the people to remind them on the data later.

3) Focus Group Discussion

Besides the risk, that a focus group does not represent all individual groups of a community equally and that not all the participants might feel comfortable speaking openly and out loud, it is more suited than a survey to ask questions which need extensive explanations. With regard to the Flores research such questions referred to the “Red Lines”, the payoffs between engaging in tourism versus other (livelihood) activities, as well as the preferences of homestays regarding length of stay and breaks between guests. With regard to the “Red Lines” it was challenging to explain to the participants, that the researchers were not only interested in general negative impacts of tourism development, but that they specifically wanted to know, which ones are intolerable no matter what (in the research of Mansfeld & Jonas (2006): “two to three main socio-cultural tourism impacts that they would categorically refuse to allow even at the price of not operating tourism in their community altogether”). With regard to potential payoffs between tourism and other activities, respondents did not seem to grasp the idea behind the questions, even though they seemed pretty straight forward.

Preferably the Focus Group Discussion should be conducted in all three villages before finalising and conducting surveys, for the same reason why all the sites should have been visited beforehand.

4) Finalising of surveys and interviewer training

Based on the site visit and Focus Group Discussions the questionnaires can be finalised. A survey template is attached in Appendix 2 and can be adjusted to the local context. If the questionnaires need to be translated, calculate sufficient time for proving. Has the translator understood the question and translated it according to its meaning? Has Anglicism been avoided? Is the format still correct? Has nothing been overlooked?

If the surveys will be conducted by supportive staff/ interpreters invest time in familiarising the interviewers with the research. Why do impacts and carrying capacity need to be researched? What is the purpose of each question? What kind of responses are we looking for? Interviewers likely also need to be trained in interview technique. The introduction should not be skipped. Otherwise respondents wonder why they are being questioned and what the questions are about. Common mistakes during face-to-face interviews are the suggestion of answers (e.g. “There is no conflict, right?”) or answering questions according to assumptions instead of patiently asking each one. As more familiar with the questions the interviewer becomes, the more likely he or she knows them by heart and will read them in a rapid paste. It then gets difficult for respondents to follow. Furthermore, the interviewer should give people time to think instead of explaining a question hastily. Ideally interviewers develop a feeling for contradictory answers and clarify why participants

gave responses as they did. If respondents don't know how to answer a question the interviewer should make a note, such as "no answer" and/or "not applicable". In the field it is often difficult to separate a respondent from a group. Attention needs to be focused exclusively on the interviewee in order to discourage others to interfere in the interview. Children often distract their mothers during surveying. Having crayons or other small toys available to distract them in turn is helpful. In order to be able to draw conclusions from the importance-performance-matrix, it is important to emphasize that the preselected list of impacts gets assessed two times from differing perspectives. The first one looks at importance, the second one at the current situation.

5) Research implementation

It was an absolute asset to stay overnight in the communities, participating in community activities and discussing aspects of the research informally with varying individuals and groups. It is therefore recommendable to arrange the surveying in an according way and allow sufficient time for other things than interviewing.

6) Data analysis

The data analysis with excel is rather complex. Researchers should be very familiar with formulas and different kinds of charts.

7) Present and discuss results with communities

Some responses can be contradictory or demand an explanation. Plan time for a presentation in the communities during which the results can be discussed.

The time needed to conduct the research depends on the context. For example, if background information and data are easy to compile, it will be faster as if there is no structured, centralised documentation, so that information and data have to be collected from many different sources and people. It also depends on the sample size. During the research in Flores it was possible to conduct between ten and 15 surveys a day.

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Appendix 1: Impact evaluation (Summary)

Impact	Eval.	Bena	Eval.	Nggela	Eval.	Waturaka
People – Social Impacts						
Empowerment	++	Community organisation established and functional	±	No community organisation established, no means of taking control over tourism development	+	Community organisation established and functional, recognised by public authorities, but due to complexity of tasks less self-sufficient than Bena
	++	Assessment of current situation regarding community control over the tourism development: • Positive: 98 per cent • Neutral: 2 per cent • Negative: 0 per cent	±	Assessment of current situation regarding community control over the tourism development: • Positive: 56 per cent • Neutral: 29 per cent • Negative: 15 per cent	+	Assessment of current situation regarding community control over the tourism development: • Positive: 78 per cent • Neutral: 19 per cent • Negative: 2 per cent
	++	A champion drives the tourism development from within, he has political power and standing in the community	±	No champion drives the tourism development from within, the closest candidate has no not sufficient standing in the community	+	There are several champions from the community driving the tourism development from within, but they have no political power
	+	Confidence in self-sufficiency without Swisscontact support: • Positive: 76 per cent • Neutral: 22 per cent • Negative: 2 per cent	+	Confidence in self-sufficiency without Swisscontact support: • Positive: 77 per cent • Neutral: 9 per cent • Negative: 12 per cent	+	Confidence in self-sufficiency without Swisscontact support: • Positive: 76 per cent • Neutral: 14 per cent • Negative: 10 per cent
	–	Perceived freedom to avoid tourism: • Positive: 2 per cent • Negative: 98 per cent Currently, a small issue due to very high tourism acceptance	–	Perceived freedom to avoid tourism: • Positive: 15 per cent • Negative: 85 per cent Currently, a small issue due to very high tourism acceptance	Not relevant for Waturaka	
	±	Little evidence that any individual group gets empowered in a particular way	±	Little evidence that any individual group gets empowered in a particular way	±	Little though that any individual group gets empowered in a particular way
Net-Impact	++			±	+	

Impact	Eval.	Bena	Eval.	Nggela	Eval.	Waturaka
People – Social Impacts (continued)						
Community Cohesion	±	Assessment of current situation regarding jealousy among community members: • Positive: 53 per cent • Neutral: 42 per cent • Negative: 6 per cent	±	Assessment of current situation regarding jealousy among community members: • Positive: 31 per cent • Neutral: 54 per cent • Negative: 14 per cent	±	Assessment of current situation regarding jealousy among community members: • Positive: 46 per cent • Neutral: 38 per cent • Negative: 13 per cent
	+	Specifically, impact of tourism on jealousy: • Fewer/Little: 64 per cent • Same: 27 per cent • More/Much: 9 per cent	±	Specifically, impact of tourism on jealousy: • Fewer/Little: 40 per cent • Same: 56 per cent • More/Much: 4 per cent	+	Specifically, impact of tourism on jealousy: • Fewer/Little: 72 per cent • Same: 5 per cent • More/Much: 21 per cent
	++	Assessment of current situation regarding conflict between community members: • Positive: 82 per cent • Neutral: 16 per cent • Negative: 2 per cent	±	Assessment of current situation regarding conflict between community members: • Positive: 50 per cent • Neutral: 39 per cent • Negative: 10 per cent	+	Assessment of current situation regarding conflict between community members: • Positive: 69 per cent • Neutral: 23 per cent • Negative: 7 per cent
	+	Specifically, impact of tourism on conflict: • Fewer/Little: 69 per cent • Same: 22 per cent • More/Much: 5 per cent	±	Specifically, impact of tourism on conflict: • Fewer/Little: 50 per cent • Same: 50 per cent • More/Much: 0 per cent	++	Specifically, impact of tourism on conflict: • Fewer/Little: 86 per cent • Same: 12 per cent • More/Much: 2 per cent
	±	Specifically, impact of tourism on cooperation: • Fewer/Little: 5 per cent • Same: 40 per cent • More/Much: 53 per cent	±	Specifically, impact of tourism on cooperation: • Fewer/Little: 19 per cent • Same: 60 per cent • More/Much: 21 per cent	±	Specifically, impact of tourism on cooperation: • Fewer/Little: 22 per cent • Same: 19 per cent • More/Much: 57 per cent
Net-Impact	+		±		+	

Impact	Eval.	Bena	Eval.	Nggela	Eval.	Waturaka
People – Social Impacts (continued)						
Guest-Host-Relationship	±	Assessment of current situation regarding intrusions in private life: • Positive: 95 per cent • Neutral: 6 per cent • Negative: 0 per cent	±	Assessment of current situation regarding intrusions in private life: • Positive: 77 per cent • Neutral: 15 per cent • Negative: 0 per cent	±	Assessment of current situation regarding intrusions in private life: • Positive: 95 per cent • Neutral: 2 per cent • Negative: 0 per cent
	±	Assessment of current situation regarding intrusions during ceremonies: • Positive: 100 per cent • Neutral: 0 per cent • Negative: 0 per cent	±	Assessment of current situation regarding intrusions during ceremonies: • Positive: 90 per cent • Neutral: 8 per cent • Negative: 2 per cent	Not relevant for Waturaka	
	±	Assessment of current situation regarding comfort when watched and photographed: • Positive: 96 per cent • Neutral: 4 per cent • Negative: 0 per cent	±	Assessment of current situation regarding comfort when watched and photographed: • Positive: 83 per cent • Neutral: 15 per cent • Negative: 0 per cent	±	Assessment of current situation regarding comfort when watched and photographed: • Positive: 88 per cent • Neutral: 12 per cent • Negative: 0 per cent
	—	Assessment of current situation regarding behaviour of tourists: • Positive: 66 per cent • Neutral: 26 per cent • Negative: 10 per cent Also defined as red line.	±	Assessment of current situation regarding behaviour of tourists: • Positive: 89 per cent • Neutral: 10 per cent • Negative: 2 per cent	±	Assessment of current situation regarding behaviour of tourists: • Positive: 83 per cent • Neutral: 15 per cent • Negative: 1 per cent
	++	Assessment of current situation regarding fruitful interaction with tourists: • Positive: 96 per cent • Neutral: 4 per cent • Negative: 0 per cent	+	Assessment of current situation regarding fruitful interaction with tourists: • Positive: 79 per cent • Neutral: 19 per cent • Negative: 2 per cent	+	Assessment of current situation regarding fruitful interaction with tourists: • Positive: 79 per cent • Neutral: 21 per cent • Negative: 0 per cent
Net-Impact	+		+		+	

Impact	Eval.	Bena	Eval.	Nggela	Eval.	Waturaka
People – Social Impacts (continued)						
Culture	++	<p>Assessment of current situation regarding cultural preservation:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Positive: 98 per cent • Neutral: 2 per cent • Negative: 0 per cent <p>Tourism finances maintenance of traditional houses and purchases of weaving material. Revival of traditional organic colouring techniques.</p>	±	<p>Assessment of current situation regarding cultural preservation:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Positive: 71 per cent • Neutral: 25 per cent • Negative: 0 per cent <p>Preservation not motivated by tourism and no financial contribution to maintenance of traditional houses.</p>	+	<p>Assessment of current situation regarding cultural preservation:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Positive: 98 per cent • Neutral: 2 per cent • Negative: 0 per cent <p>Revival of traditional cultural performances.</p>
	±	Pride is independent of tourism.	±	Pride is independent of tourism.	+	Award for cultural performances likely increases pride.
	±	<p>Assessment of current situation regarding freedom to modernise:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Positive: 69 per cent • Neutral: 29 per cent • Negative: 0 per cent 	±	<p>Assessment of current situation regarding freedom to modernise:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Positive: 31 per cent • Neutral: 54 per cent • Negative: 14 per cent 	Not relevant for Waturaka	
	--	<p>Correct representation of culture by outside guides and tour operators:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Correct: 25 per cent • Incorrect: 75 per cent <p>One guide from Bena, with limited English proficiency.</p>	-	<p>Correct representation of culture by outside guides and tour operators:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Correct: 60 per cent • Incorrect: 38 per cent <p>One guide from Nggela with no English proficiency</p>	<p>Not relevant for Waturaka</p> <p>(But there are local guides from the community, who are organised in Pokdarwis. However they do not speak English and their coordination is lacking in practice)</p>	
Net-Impact	+			±	+	
Health	±	No indication of negative, nor significant positive impact	±	No indication of negative, nor significant positive impact	±	No indication of negative, nor significant positive impact
Edu-cation	+	Positive impact of Swisscontact WISATA on vocational education and capacity building.	±	No indication for impact.	+	Positive impact of Swisscontact WISATA on capacity building.

Impact	Eval.	Bena	Eval.	Nggela	Eval.	Waturaka
Planet – Environmental Impacts						
Re-source use	±	No indication for impact.	±	No indication for impact.	±	No indication for impact.
Land use	±	No indication for impact.	±	No indication for impact.	±	No indication for impact.
Climate change	±	No indication for impact.	±	No indication for impact.	±	No indication for impact.
Other local pollution	±	No indication for impact.	±	No indication for impact.	±	No indication for impact.
Waste and sewage	+	No indication for significant negative impact thanks to Swisscontact facilitated interventions as well as capacity building on waste management and environmental awareness-raising.	±	No indication for impact.	+	No indication for negative impact. Swisscontact facilitated capacity building on waste management and environmental awareness-raising.
Biodiversity	±	No indication for impact.	+	Establishment of national park	+	Establishment of national park
Profits – Economic Impacts						
Investments	±	No indication for impact.	±	No indication for impact.	±	No indication for impact.
Decent Jobs	±	No indication for impact.	±	No indication for impact.	±	No indication for impact.
Decent income from employment	±	No indication for impact.	±	No indication for impact.	±	No indication for impact.

Profits – Economic Impacts (continued)

Business income	++	Quantitative data suggests meaningful positive impact on community as well as household income.	±	Quantitative data not available. Observation suggests no community income and marginal household income.	+	Quantitative data suggests considerable positive impact on household income, but mostly for homestays.
	++	Assessment of current situation regarding community income: • Positive: 93 per cent • Neutral: 7 per cent • Negative: 0 per cent	±	Assessment of current situation regarding community income: • Positive: 37 per cent • Neutral: 37 per cent • Negative: 25 per cent	+	Assessment of current situation regarding community income: • Positive: 61 per cent • Neutral: 26 per cent • Negative: 8 per cent
	++	Assessment of current situation regarding household income: • Positive: 84 per cent • Neutral: 13 per cent • Negative: 2 per cent	±	Assessment of current situation regarding household income: • Positive: 35 per cent • Neutral: 25 per cent • Negative: 35 per cent	+	Assessment of current situation regarding household income: • Positive: 60 per cent • Neutral: 34 per cent • Negative: 7 per cent
	++	84 per cent of respondents make an income from tourism, 95 per cent make an income from Ikat weaving (with tourism as primary sales market)	–	42 per cent of respondents make an income from tourism, 79 per cent make an income from Ikat weaving (with local demand as primary sales market)	+	60 per cent of respondents make an income from tourism, community members choose not to participate in tourism
	+	Perception of income distribution: • Fair: 83 per cent • Unfair: 17 per cent	–	Perception of income distribution: • Fair: 63 per cent • Unfair: 37 per cent	±	Perception of income distribution: • Fair: 65 per cent • Unfair: 35 per cent
	Not relevant for Bena and Nggela				+	Accessibility of community organisation perceived as easy or very easy by 70 per cent and as moderately easy by 24 per cent. Only 1 per cent thinks it is difficult
	+	Same activities for income generation available to all community members, rules for fair benefit sharing established through community organisation (rotational system)	±	Same activities for income generation available to all community members, but no coordination through community organisation resulting in competition	–	Different activities for income generation are available for different community members, the activities do not generate the same income leading to unequal benefits, within activities fair benefit sharing established through community organisation (rotational system, fair splitting of revenues)

Profits – Economic Impacts (continued)						
Business income (continued)	±	No indications for restrictions from access to resources	±	No indications for restrictions from access to resources	±	Little indications for restrictions from access to resources, mostly due to insecurity about rules and regulations
	±	No indications for livelihood transition	±	No indications for livelihood transition	±	No indications for livelihood transition
	±	Feeling of dependency on tourism income: • Independent: 93 per cent • Dependent: 7 per cent Data does not seem to reflect the real risk of dependency very well (see quantitative data on income)	±	Feeling of dependency on tourism income: • Independent: 68 per cent • Dependent: 27 per cent	±	Feeling of dependency on tourism income: • Independent: 84 per cent • Dependent: 16 per cent Data does not seem to reflect the real risk of dependency very well (see quantitative data on income)
	±	Bena has taken out a loan to build ticket office, however, stable and significant revenue stream likely allows to amortise the investment without problems; there are not investment risks on household level	±	No investment risks on community or household level	±	No investment risks on community level, and manageable investment risk on household level in the case of homestays
Net-Impact	++		±		+	
Public Income	++	Ticket sales contribute substantially to the general budget of Bena's two Dusuns; community is able to leverage touristic development to access extra public funds	±	No indication for impact	+	community is able to leverage touristic development to access extra public funds
Spill-over	±	No indication for positive spill-over effects	±	No indication for positive spill-over effects	±	No indication for positive spill-over effects

Appendix 2: Survey template

The template has been provided to the Swisscontact WISATA and the Head office-teams as Office WORD document.

Community Survey

Thank you very much for participating in this survey! We conduct this survey on behalf of Swisscontact. The purpose of the survey is to find out which impact tourism has on [community]. We would like to know how satisfied you are with the tourism development in your village. The results of the survey can be used in the future to manage the tourism development so it becomes as satisfying as possible for the people of [community].

We will not discuss your answers or opinions with anybody else!

Your answers will be used completely anonymously.

Thank you very much for your time and effort!

The first two parts of the questionnaire will give you a list of preselected impacts tourism can potentially have on your community. We would like you to tell us first, how important you find these impacts. In a second step we would like you to tell us, how satisfied you are with the current situation of each impact.

Part 1: Importance of impacts

Tourism can have many impacts on a village, but not all the impacts are very important for every village or every person from the village. We would like to know, what is important to you!

On the next page is a list of impacts and a scale with five boxes that you can use to tell us how important each impact is in your opinion. Please, check only one box for each impact.

Please, go to the next page.

How important are the following things to you?	Not at all important	Slightly important	Moderately important	Very important	Extremely important
1. The village has control over the tourism development.	!	!!	!!!	!!!!	!!!!!!
2. I personally have an influence on decisions regarding tourism in our community.	!	!!	!!!	!!!!	!!!!!!
3. My family earns money from tourism.	!	!!	!!!	!!!!	!!!!!!
4. The village earns money from tourism.	!	!!	!!!	!!!!	!!!!!!
5. I do not want our living expenses to increase.	Formulations with negation confused some respondents. "I do not want..." might be a more comprehensible phrasing.				
6. I do not want that the people in our village are envious of each other.	!	!!	!!!	!!!!	!!!!!!
7. Because of tourism the young earn an income and don't move away.	!	!!	!!!	!!!!	!!!!!!
8. We get better infrastructure because of tourism (water, communication ...).	!	!!	!!!	!!!!	!!!!!!
9. Life in our village is peaceful and free of conflicts.	!	!!	!!!	!!!!	!!!!!!
10. Tourism helps us to preserve our culture.	!	!!	!!!	!!!!	!!!!!!
11. Tourism helps us to maintain our traditional houses.	Instead of traditional houses any other cultural good can be included.				
12. Tourism gives us pride in our culture.	!	!!	!!!	!!!!	!!!!!!
13. We can modernize our village if we want to.	Include if applicable.				
14. We have enough privacy in our daily life even though tourists visit.	!	!!	!!!	!!!!	!!!!!!
15. We have enough privacy during ceremonies even though tourists visit.	Include if applicable.				
16. We enjoy and learn from interactions with tourists.	!	!!	!!!	!!!!	!!!!!!
17. The tourists dress, behave and treat us respectful when they visit us.	!	!!	!!!	!!!!	!!!!!!
18. I feel comfortable even if tourists watch me or take pictures.	!	!!	!!!	!!!!	!!!!!!
19. I do not want that tourists litter and produce waste in our village.	!	!!	!!!	!!!!	!!!!!!
20. I do not want that tourists cause a lot of noise in our village.	!	!!	!!!	!!!!	!!!!!!
21. I do not want that tourist pollute our air.	!	!!	!!!	!!!!	!!!!!!
22. Our village stays free of drugs.	!	!!	!!!	!!!!	!!!!!!

Part 2: Current situation

After you told us, what is important to you, we would like to know, what the current situation is really like at the moment. Please, check only one box for each impact.

How satisfied are you with the current situation?	Not at all satisfied	Slightly satisfied	Moderately satisfied	Very satisfied	Extremely satisfied
1. The control of the village over the tourism development.					
2. My personal influence on decisions regarding tourism in our community.					
3. The income my family earns from tourism.					
4. The income our village earns from tourism.					
5. The living expenses in our village.					
6. Jealousy in our village.					
7. Opportunities for the young that motivate them to stay in our village.					
8. Infrastructure (water, communication ...) in our village.					
9. Current situation regarding conflicts in our village.					
10. Contribution of tourism to the preservation of our culture.					
11. Contribution of tourism to the maintenance of our traditional houses.					
12. Pride in our culture.					
13. Possibilities to make our village more modern.					
14. Privacy in our daily life even though tourists visit.					
15. Privacy during ceremonies even though tourists visit.					
16. Enjoyable interactions with tourists and learning from the interactions.					
17. The way tourists dress, behave and treat us when they visit us.					
18. Tourists watch or take pictures of me.					
19. Current situation regarding tourists littering and producing waste in our village.					
20. Current situation regarding tourists causing a lot of noise in our village.					
21. Current situation regarding tourists polluting our air.					
22. Current situation regarding drugs in our village.					

Respondents at times forgot the overall question and instead of assessing the current situation expressed their preferences ("There is no conflict in our village" = satisfied vs. "I don't like conflict in our village" = not at all satisfied)

Part 3: Details

The following questions ask for details regarding some of the impacts. Please, check only one box per question.

1. Do you think people in [community], who do not like tourism, can avoid it?
☐ Yes ☐ No
1. How easy is it to participate in [community organisation]?
☐ More ☐ Same ☐ Less
2. Do women in [community] have more, the same or less opportunities to earn money than without tourism?
☐ More ☐ Same ☐ Less
3. Do the elder in [community] have more, the same or less opportunities to earn money than without tourism?
☐ More ☐ Same ☐ Less
4. Does the youth in [community] have more, the same or less opportunities to earn money than without tourism?
☐ More ☐ Same ☐ Less
5. Do men in [community] have more, the same or less opportunities to earn money than without tourism?
☐ More ☐ Same ☐ Less
6. Do you think income from tourism is distributed fairly among the villagers?
☐ Yes ☐ No
7. Does tourism prevent you from accessing and using any resources (e.g. land, wood, water, plants etc.)
☐ Yes ☐ No
8. Do you think there is more, the same or less cooperation between the villagers because of tourism?
☐ More ☐ Same ☐ Less
9. Do you think there is more, the same or less jealousy between the villagers because of tourism?
☐ More ☐ Same ☐ Less
10. Do you think there are more, the same or less conflicts between the villagers because of tourism?
☐ More ☐ Same ☐ Less
11. Do you think there are more, the same or less conflicts between men and women because of tourism?
☐ More ☐ Same ☐ Less
12. Do you think there are more, the same or less conflicts between the young and the old because of tourism?
☐ More ☐ Same ☐ Less
13. Would you like it if larger numbers of tourists would visit [community] this year than last year?
☐ Yes ☐ No

One or the other or both will apply depending on the context.

Add any sub-group you find important

14. Do you think that tourism brings more good or bad things to [community]?
- ☐ Good ☐ Bad
15. Do you think [community] can continue with tourism after Swisscontact left?
- ☐ Yes ☐ Probably ☐ Maybe ☐ Probably not ☐ No
16. Do you think outsiders (e.g. tour operators, guides) are behaving fair towards the [community]?
- ☐ Yes ☐ No
17. Do you think guides from outside explain your way of life and culture mostly correctly to the tourists?
- ☐ Yes ☐ No

Part 4: Livelihood

1. Is your family farming less, the same, or more since tourists come to [community]?
- ☐ More ☐ Same ☐ Less
2. Is your family selling produce at the market less often, the same, or more often since tourists come to [community]?
- ☐ More ☐ Same ☐ Less
- Ask same question for any other important activity that might be in conflict with hosting guests (fishing, making crafts, going to school)
3. Is your family making an income from tourism?
4. How important is the income from tourism for your family?
- | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Not at all important | <input type="checkbox"/> Slightly important | <input type="checkbox"/> Moderately important | <input type="checkbox"/> Very important | <input type="checkbox"/> Extremely important |
|---|---|---|---|--|
- Add any other relevant income source in the same way.
5. Would your family be ok without income from tourism?
- ☐ Yes ☐ No
6. How many [product] are you selling in one year?
-
7. What is the price of the [product]?
-

Include any relevant product.

Part 5: Homestay questions

1. Have you made investments in order to be able to host guests over night?
- ☐ Yes ☐ No
2. Have the investments been small or large?
- ☐ Small ☐ Large
3. Have you already earned the money back by hosting guests?
- ☐ Yes ☐ No
4. What is the maximum length of stay that you would like to host a guest?
-
5. How many days of break would you like to have between hosting one guest and the next?
-

Part 5: Respondent details

1. What is your gender?

☐ Female ☐ Male

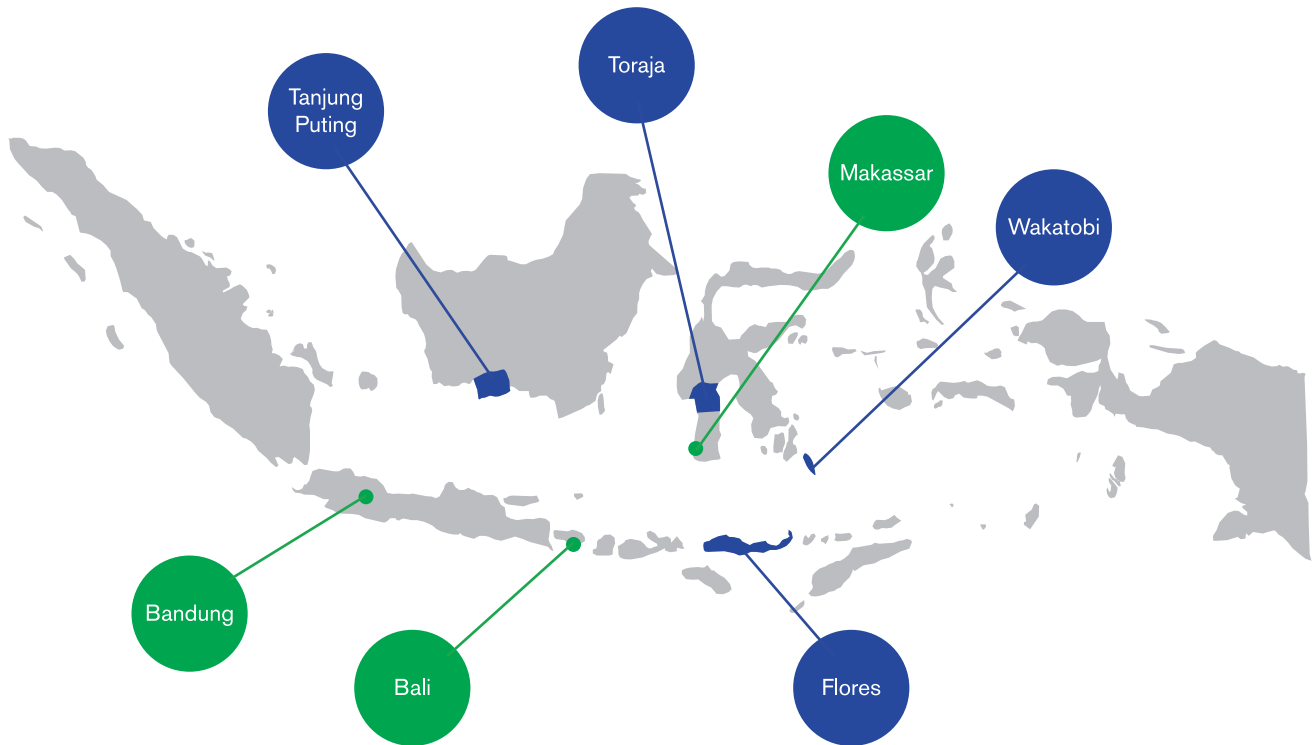
2. What is your age or year of birth?

3. In which touristic activities are you involved?

☐ Activity a ☐ Activity b ☐ Activity c ☐ Activity d

WISATA

Tourism Development for Selected Destinations in Indonesia



The Swisscontact WISATA II program

The WISATA program funded by the Swiss State Secretariat for Economic Affairs (SECO) originally started in 2009 focusing on the island of Flores. The second phase of the program started in June 2014, covering there additional destinations Tanjung Puting, Toraja and Wakatobi. In addition WISATA II strengthens 9 vocational schools located in the 4 destinations as well as 3 Tourism Higher Education Institutes. The program is carried out in close cooperation with the Indonesian Ministry of Tourism . The main goal is to contribute to economic development through sustainable tourism, which creates employment and income to improve the livelihood of the local population.

We Create Opportunities

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ZEWO-Seal of Approval: Swisscontact was awarded the Seal of Approval from ZEWO. It is awarded to non-profit organizations for the conscientious handling of money entrusted to them, proves appropriate, economical and effective allocation of donations and stands for transparent and trustworthy organizations with functioning control structures that uphold ethics in the procurement of funds and communication. Swisscontact is regularly audited on the adherence to these criteria. (Source: ZEWO)

Société Générale de Surveillance (SGS): Swisscontact has been awarded the Certificate of the International Inspection

Agency Société Générale de Surveillance (SGS) within the NGO Benchmarking Program.

April 2017



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