Ecotourism in Bali: Backgrounds, Present Conditions and Challenges

Izawa Tomomi*

Abstract

The United Nations General Assembly designated the year 2002 as the International Year of Ecotourism (IYE), and that year, the World Ecotourism Summit was held in Quebec City, Canada. The Summit produced the Quebec Declaration in order to promote ecotourism worldwide. In line with this, Indonesia named 2002 the “National Ecotourism Year,” and since then, ecotourism has become a growing industry in Indonesia.

The Indonesian government is trying to develop ecotourism in order to protect its rich biodiversity. It is becoming especially popular in the Province of Bali, one of the most famous international tourist destinations. Although the tourism industry has been economically beneficial to Bali, it has negatively impacted Bali’s local society, including its culture and nature. Therefore, the expectations for ecotourism, as an alternative form of tourism that respects Balinese society, are growing.

How has Bali developed ecotourism? In what ways has it produced positive outcomes? What are the discernible problems with ecotourism projects? This paper attempts to explore these questions. On the basis of my intensive fieldwork, I analyze three different ecotourism projects in Bali and provide insights on their positive and negative developments. My study attempts to identify the gaps between expectations and reality in Indonesia’s current conduct of ecotourism. I also present the major dilemmas in the promotion of ecotourism in Bali and argue that without overcoming these dilemmas, the very legitimacy of ecotourism could be undermined, possibly resulting in the further destruction of Bali’s biodiversity and culture.

Introduction

The United Nations General Assembly designated the year 2002 as the International Year of Ecotourism (IYE), and a World Ecotourism Summit was held in Quebec City, Canada that year. According to The World Ecotourism Summit Final Report, a total of 1,169 delegates from public institutions, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and

* Doctoral Program in International Relations, Graduate School of International Relations, Ritsumeikan University.
private companies in 132 countries attended the summit, and heated discussions were held. On the last day of the summit, the Quebec Declaration on Ecotourism was issued to promote ecotourism development for future.1)

The Quebec Declaration suggested that five criteria be used to define ecotourism: nature-based products, minimal impact management, environmental education, contribution to conservation, and contribution to the community. On the basis of these features, ecotourism is expected to protect the nature of tourist areas as well as to improve the living standards of local people.

While ecotourism has been actively promoted around the world, Indonesia has been particularly keen on developing ecotourism, naming the year 2002 their “National Ecotourism Year.”2) Indonesia is known for its rich biodiversity and cultural diversity. The country promotes ecotourism with the high hope that ecotourism will provide alternative ways to use such diversities sustainably and economically, and to improve the living standards of Indonesia’s people.

In spite of the high expectations for ecotourism in Indonesia, however, it is doubtful that it has been promoted in accordance with the true concept of ecotourism or that it has brought results in line with those expectations. For example, while I Gede Ardika, the former Indonesian Minister of Culture and Tourism, stated that Indonesia should regard ecotourism as a long-term strategy, he also commented, in an interview with journalists at a Jakarta newspaper, that ecotourism can appeal to tourists with such activities as diving, cruising, surfing, and fishing.3) These tourism activities cannot be considered ecotourism, whose purpose is to conserve nature; thus, it is easy to see that ecotourism in Indonesia has not been promoted properly.

In this paper, I focus on the Province of Bali, which is one of the most famous international tourist destinations, and I identify the gaps between expectations and reality in Bali’s current conduct of ecotourism. First, I will discuss why ecotourism is important in Indonesia, especially in Bali. Second, I will examine the historical development of the concept of ecotourism. Thereafter, I will analyze three different ecotourism projects in Bali and present the major dilemmas in the promotion of ecotourism in Bali, arguing that unless these dilemmas are overcome, the very legitimacy of ecotourism could be undermined, possibly resulting in the further destruction of Bali’s biodiversity and culture.

1. The Booming Ecotourism Industry in Indonesia

Ecotourism is promoted with the expectation that it will help preserve biodiversity in Indonesia. Additionally, in the Province of Bali, ecotourism is expected to be a tourism activity that is free from the harmful effects of mass tourism on Balinese society.
Ecotourism in Bali

Indonesia has faced many environmental problems, specifically those that have occurred in Bali, due to the expansion of mass tourism activities. In accordance with this background, I will examine why ecotourism is expected to develop in Indonesia, especially in Bali.

1.1 Ecotourism for the protection of biodiversity

According to Anak Agung Gde Raka Dalem, ecotourism started to become an important concept in Indonesia in 1995. In order to strengthen the Indonesian ecotourism movement, three goals for ecotourism were agreed upon in a workshop on ecotourism that took place in Bali in 1996. The concepts were as follows: first, to increase awareness about the need for the conservation of nature in Indonesia; second, to develop the quality of environmental education; and third, to provide economic benefits to local people who are involved in ecotourism activities.

It is often said that Indonesia is a high-potential area for the development of a strong ecotourism industry. For example, Ricardo Manurung points out that Indonesia has approximately 120 sites that could be used for ecotourism activities. This is due to the rich biodiversity Indonesia possesses, as well as the fact that many kinds of endemic species can be found there. Even though Indonesia occupies only 1.32 percent of the world's total area, the nation's biodiversity accounts for at least 10 percent of the world's plant species, 12 percent of its mammals, 16 percent of its reptiles and amphibians, 17 percent of its birds, 25 percent of its fish, and 15 percent of its insect species. No wonder Indonesia is known as a country with "mega centers" of biodiversity.

On account of the social challenges that Indonesia has faced, including a rapid population increase, economic growth, and other human activities, the natural diversity of Indonesia is being destroyed, even in protected areas like national parks. For example, the annual rate of forest cover change in Indonesia is approximately 1.2 percent, while that of the world is approximately 0.2 percent. Human activities such as logging, mining, large-scale agricultural plantations, subsistence activities, and forest fires are the main reasons for deforestation. Concerning marine conditions, Indonesia can claim the highest coral biodiversity in the world, with 14 percent of the world's total coral reefs. In spite of its famous biodiversity, however, this hot spot is in serious danger due to blast and cyanide fishing, increased sedimentation, sewage and industrial pollution, and so on. At the 2000 International Coral Reef Symposium, held in Bali, it was proclaimed that Indonesia was losing between 3 and 6 percent of its coral reefs per year. In order to deal with such environmental destruction, the Indonesian government has promoted a twenty-five-year plan that began in 1991; however, it is still far from a solution. Ecotourism is expected to be used in biodiverse areas as a useful way to protect
nature economically, helping local people protect their natural environment by promoting environmental education for both local people and tourists. In addition to that, Indonesia also has a rich culture, with about 490 ethnic groups. Thus, ecotourism is thought to bring alternative job opportunities to local people by appealing to their original culture, and to improve their living standards. Furthermore, ecotourism is also expected to become a way to lead local people to an awareness of the importance of nature by providing environmental education. Taking advantage of these characteristics and the geographical characteristics of Indonesia, the country has actively promoted ecotourism. INDECON has established networks of ecotourism sites in various provinces of Indonesia in order to develop it effectively.

1.2 Criticism of mass tourism and promotion of ecotourism in Bali

As mentioned above, ecotourism is expected to help Indonesia comprehensively resolve environmental problems and protect its biodiversity. The promotion of ecotourism has become particularly popular in Bali these days, as in other regions in Indonesia; however, according to Anak Agung Gde Raka Dalem, ecotourism development in Bali had already started in the 1980s. In order to understand why ecotourism is needed in Bali, it is necessary to examine the historically bad influence that mass tourism has had on Bali.

The Soeharto regime (1966–98), which began emphasizing the importance of economic development, launched its first five-year plan in 1969. The tourism industry was regarded as one of the most important ways for the Indonesian government to obtain foreign currency in that plan. Bali was specifically designated as the most important international tourism destination in Indonesia due to its unique culture, and the Balinese government developed the tourism industry as a core economic growth strategy by advertising the appealing Balinese culture. Thus, Bali had become a resort area by the 1980s. While only 11,278 foreign tourists visited Bali in 1969 when Ngurah Rai Airport was constructed, the number of visitors increased as tourism development expanded, with 120,084 visitors in 1979, 436,358 visitors in 1989, and 1,032,467 visitors in 1994.

Such tourism development has caused Bali to experience a variety of social changes. Though the number of tourists to Bali increased, job creation for the Balinese was not necessarily encouraged. While the government proceeded to purchase land from local residents by claiming that they were promoting the employment of local people, eventually, more Javanese people, who came from outside of Bali, were hired. Moreover, soaring land prices due to the influx of foreign capital forced local people to sell their land. The problem of Balinese people losing their land occurred in many places in Bali, on one level or another.

Regarding the impact on Balinese culture of the expansion of tourism, elements
Ecotourism in Bali

such as religious ceremonies, religious dances, gamelan music, and traditional fancy work changed to tourist-oriented pursuits. While a tradition called Gotong Royong, or mutual help, was rapidly disappearing, commercialism was starting to spread to the whole of Balinese life. Furthermore, activities such as smoking marijuana, walking around in the nude, eating hallucinogenic magic mushrooms, and getting drunk in public places grew into serious problems, especially among the younger generation. In contrast, with ecotourism, the influence of tourism on the local nature, culture, and economy must be considered and the impact of tourism activities must be minimized. In Bali, now a famous international tourism site, ecotourism is expected to free the province from the bad influence of tourism on local society.

2. Development of the Concept of Ecotourism

A universal definition of “ecotourism” has not yet been created; researchers and organizations have historically discussed and promoted ecotourism by using their own definitions. One of the reasons why the definition of ecotourism is so ambiguous is that it is not clear when and by whom the academic jargon “ecotourism” was used for the first time. While Orams and Hevengard insist that the term ecotourism began to be used in 1980s, Higginz comments that the origin of the word can be traced back to the 1970s. In recent years, however, the most widely held theory is that the term ecotourism was used for the first time in a thesis by Hetzer. In addition to the ambiguous origin of the term, ecotourism had also been confused with “nature tourism,” a kind of mass tourism undertaken in nature.

What is the concept of ecotourism that is now promoted by the United Nations World Tourism Organization and Environment Programme? Does the definition of ecotourism in Indonesia match that of the UN? I will now more closely examine what ecotourism is by discussing its historical background and the reasons why it was proposed.

2.1 Shift from mass tourism toward sustainable tourism

According to Safari, in the 1960s, tourism was regarded as an effective industry that generates foreign exchange—a viewpoint he termed the Advocacy Platform. The slogan of the “International Year of Tourism” proclaimed by the United Nations was “Tourism is a Passport to Peace,” and the positive aspects of tourism, such as preserving the environment, reviving past traditions, and actively promoting cultural performance, were emphasized.

During the mass tourism of the 1970s, however, the negative impact on local areas
that were accommodating tourists increased. Research and case studies were undertaken by social scientists, who questioned the validity of the benefit claims as contrasted to the realities of the commoditization of culture and other bad influences on a host society. Tourism could no longer be looked at only in a positive light by emphasizing its positive economic effects. Jafari calls this viewpoint the Cautionary Platform.

Mass tourism is tourism in which a massive and efficient movement of people, services, and products is regarded as important and the pursuit of benefits from tourism is prioritized, without considering local environments, people, or cultures. For example, when tourism-related development began, the needs of tourists were regarded as more important than the needs of local people. Mass tourism has been criticized for its non-local orientation. For example, hotels and mega resorts are symbols of mass tourism’s domination: they are created by non-local people, have little requirement for local food products, and are owned by individuals and groups who come from other rich countries. Hotel marketing is based on a high volume of turnover, an attempt to attract as many customers as possible. Tourist attractions are created and transformed to meet the expectations and demands of visitors. Since companies try to meet all of their tourists’ expectations, those tourists do not have to learn about the language, culture, or nature in advance, so they tend not to respect or even think about them. This situation has been unfavorably compared to a bubble, a closed society, or a traveling goldfish bowl.

The following are some arguments against mass tourism put forth by representatives from developing countries who attended a workshop on tourism held in Manila, Philippines in 1980.

1. The countries of the Third World cannot reap the benefits of tourism because developed countries control hotels, travel agents, airlines, and the like.
2. Job opportunities in tourism are few and are characterized by exploitation.
3. When some economic organizations such as the World Bank promote tourism as an opportunity for development, only local elites benefit personally, even if there are financial crises.
4. The element of cultural exchange in tourism is superficial because tourists do not stay in one place for a long time.
5. Package tours from consumption-oriented countries tend to encourage sex tourism.

These increasing criticisms of mass tourism have led to the advocating of alternative tourism, a standpoint that Jafari calls the Adaptancy Platform. The philosophy behind alternative tourism was to ensure that tourism policies would no longer concentrate on
Ecotourism in Bali

economic and technical necessities alone, but rather emphasize the need for an unspoiled environment and the consideration of the needs of local people. This softer approach places natural and cultural resources at the forefront of planning development, instead of as an afterthought. In alternative tourism, catch phrases such as “appropriate,” “eco,” “responsible,” “people to people,” “controlled,” “small-scale,” “cottage,” and “green” have become popular. Thus, one goal of ecotourism is to keep tourist-heavy locations from being negatively impacted by tourism activity; thus, ecotourism is different from general tourism conducted in nature and from nature tourism.

2.2 Ecotourism and sustainability

According to the UN’s "Report of the Economic and Social Council," the text proclaiming 2002 as the International Year of Ecotourism referred specifically to Agenda 21, which was adopted in Rio in 1992. To achieve the aims of Agenda 21—promoting development and the protection of the environment or sustainable development for developing countries in particular—the needs of ecotourism have been emphasized.

Sustainability was spotlighted in the Report of the Brundtland Commission: Our Common Future, known as the Brundtland Report, which was issued in 1987. According to this report, the definition of sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. The report also suggested that equity, growth, and environmental maintenance are simultaneously possible and that each country is capable of achieving its full economic potential while at the same time enhancing its resource base.

The importance of promoting sustainable development was reaffirmed at the United Nations conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), or the Earth Summit, held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil in 1992. Agenda 21, designed for a transition to sustainability in the 21st century, was adopted there. In order to achieve the sustainable development in the tourism sector laid out in Agenda 21, sustainable tourism had to be emphasized.

The goal of sustainable tourism is to contribute to the local economy while maintaining the quality of the environment for the long term. It must be adopted with ethical and social values. Moreover, the number of visitors to a given destination needs to be controlled in order for sustainability to succeed. Tourism activity and nature conservation must be undertaken mainly by local residents. Ecotourism, as promoted by the United Nations, is regarded as a type of sustainable tourism. Since the origin of the word ecotourism is ambiguous and it has historically been confused with nature tourism, concepts such as “impact on locals” and “sustainability” were not originally included in the concept of ecotourism. According to Fennel, ideas such as “conservation,” “education,” and “benefit for local residents” have been emphasized more in recent
Based on these concepts, we can define ecotourism as follows.

Ecotourism is a type of sustainable tourism undertaken in nature, which takes into consideration the impact of tourist activity on the local environment, culture, and economy. Its activities are mainly promoted by local residents, and tourists learn about local culture and nature from their hosts. Those hosts earn revenue directly from tourists, and some of that revenue is used to protect local nature and culture as well as to increase the living standards of local people. In this type of tourism activity, the number of visitors must be controlled due to the potential impact on local nature, culture, and economy. Tourism that meets these requirements can be called ecotourism.

I will now focus on ecotourism in Indonesia. The definition that has been adopted in Indonesia is as follows. Ecotourism is responsible tourism conducted in natural areas, which conserves the environment and improves the welfare of local people. This includes educating tourists about the local culture and entertaining them with the beautiful surrounding scenery. This definition was created by the Indonesia Ecotourism Society in 1998. In fact, however, each government body in Indonesia has a different definition of ecotourism, and some of these organizations still confuse ecotourism with nature tourism.

Ecotourism was regarded as a type of nature tourism in Government Regulation Number 18 of 1994, which defines ecotourism as various activities that are related with nature tourism. Based on this government regulation, the Ministry of Forestry also uses the word “wisata alam” or nature tourism, to indicate ecotourism. Furthermore, there is little difference between the Indonesian words for ecotourism and nature tourism, even at the ministry level. The words “ekotour,” “eko wisata,” and “wisata alam” are all used to indicate “ecotourism.” This confusion or misunderstanding of ecotourism deserves careful attention. In nature tourism activity, there is no goal of sustainability or concern about the impact of tourism on local society. Thus, it cannot contribute to the conservation of local nature or culture, nor can it increase the living standards of local people. Rather, it can actually be harmful to nature because activities are undertaken in relatively unexplored territory.

With this background, I will now take a look at case studies of the kind of ecotourism promoted in Bali.

3. Three Case Studies of Ecotourism in Bali

I have discussed earlier why ecotourism is important in Bali and how the concept of ecotourism has developed. Then what are the actual conditions of ecotourism sites like Bali? What challenges has Bali faced by promoting ecotourism? I will now examine the
actual condition of three ecotourism sites based on field research.

3. 1 Ecotourism in the forest: Mangrove Information Centre (MIC)

The MIC

The MIC is located at Ngurah Rai Road Bypass, Suwung Kauh, which is 21 kilometers south of Denpasar in Bali. The Mangrove Information Centre (MIC) was opened in May of 2003, and the ecotourism practice of using mangrove forests was started there. The MIC is open daily and the entrance fee is Rp 50,000 per person. The Centre has trails that run through the woods and tourists walk through the mangrove forests along those trails. According to the website of Bali Travel News, the following can be found in the mangrove forests: (1) 13 types of major mangrove, (2) nine types of minor mangrove, (3) 28 types of associated mangrove, (4) 62 types of birds, (5) 32 types of crustaceans, and (6) 10 types of reptiles.33

According to a JICA expert at the MIC, from the 1970s to the 1980s, the Ministry of Forestry rented out the lands along the coast to people from Java, who raised shrimp for export overseas, especially to Japan.34 A lot of chemical fertilizers were used during the shrimping process. Due to that, the soil in the ponds used for cultivation went bad in a few years. With no more expectation of benefit, the Javanese went back their home and the bad ponds filled with bacteria were left alone for a long time. In the 1990s, the Ministry of Forestry bought the bad land back and the ministry asked the Government of Japan (via JICA) to bring the dirty seashore back to life. The Centre was then funded with money granted by JICA.

The practice of ecotourism in the MIC

Before visitors participate in ecotourism in the mangrove forest, information about mangroves and an overview of the MIC are explained by the staff. Then tourists go into the exhibition hall to access knowledge about mangroves and other living things in the forest. After tourists receive all of this information, they join in the mangrove ecotourism.

There are two kinds of walking trails in the forests. One trail goes halfway around the forest and takes about 45 minutes, while the trail that goes all the way around the forest takes about an hour and a half. Picture 1 shows scenery found on one of the walking trails. There are six guides who work at the MIC; they lead people around the forest, explaining about the mangroves and other living things in Indonesian, English, or Japanese. In addition to the walking trail tours, there are boat tours, canoe tours, and bird-watching tours. Moreover, if tourists visit the MIC when the tide is low, they can experience mangrove tree planting for an additional fee of Rp 70,000.
Izawa Tomomi

This ecotourism in the MIC was started as one way of self-financing the Centre, which wants to become independent from JICA in the future. According to a JICA expert, the MIC is different from private companies in that the workers there are public officers, so they do not earn salaries from ecotourism activities; rather, they are paid by the government. In addition to that, the ecotourism of the MIC is not limited to its specific region; it is a nationwide project targeting all places in Indonesia where mangroves are preserved.

Picture 1. Scenery on the Walking Trails in the Forest of the MIC.

3. 2 Aspects of environmental education

Education for tourists

Ecotourism is often recommended because it provides opportunities, both to tourists and to local people, to learn about the importance of nature, as well as bringing in direct revenue. According to a JICA expert at the MIC, while about 6,000 people visit the Centre annually, about 70 percent of them visit for the purpose of environmental education. The statistics related to such visits are shown in Figure 1.

Environmental education for tourists seems to be effective in its goal to protect nature. First, compared with the usual type of environmental education, environmental education through ecotourism has advantages in that tourists can observe real situations
Ecotourism in Bali

For example, while tourists get detailed information about mangrove forests through the environmental education program, tourists can find out about local problems at the same time. For instance, while the garbage problem is the biggest problem in the MIC, it cannot be imagined without visiting there because it seems at first that there is no relationship between garbage and mangrove forests. Yet, one can see from Figure 2 and Picture 2 how serious garbage problem is in the MIC.

In addition, experiencing ecotourism leads tourists to discover that there are close relationships between environmental problems and tourists. For example, as stated above,
Izawa Tomomi

one of the reasons why mangrove forests were cut down is that local people once used the area to farm shrimp for export. There are many other cases of environmental problems related to other factors from the outside world. Thus, ecotourism can be an effective medium for protecting local nature.

Education for local people

In addition to education for tourists, MIC has promoted environmental education for local people. As stated above, one of the biggest problems at the MIC is that mangrove forests have filled with garbage. According to one of the JICA experts, who works on nature projects as a member of JICA, the mangrove forest at MIC is called a garbage dump by the local people. This expert explained that almost all garbage comes from the river, into which people throw rubbish. This trash causes the death of mangroves by tangling itself up in mangrove roots until the plants cannot breathe. In order to solve this problem in the forest, the MIC has promoted events that include environmental education for local people. For example, in 2003, the MIC held a workshop with people from a local village in order to notify them about the garbage situation in the mangrove forest. The MIC also donated 16 carts for collecting garbage to 16 different villages. This, however, turned out to be a failure, because throwing garbage into the river is cheaper than collecting it.

At the MIC, environmental education for students has been also promoted. As local staff members pointed out, there are not enough chances for local people to learn about

Picture 2. Garbage in the Mangrove Forest
Ecotourism in Bali

environmental problems in Indonesia, despite the fact that there are some good opportunities for them to notice nature’s importance. However, a JICA expert pointed out that even if students learn about environmental problems, they cannot put those ideas into practice, since they generally adhere to the attitudes of their parents. However, a JICA expert pointed out that even if students learn about environmental problems, they cannot put those ideas into practice, since they generally adhere to the attitudes of their parents. 40)

Judging from the above, it is difficult to change the attitudes of local people toward nature by using ecotourism in the short term. One of the reasons why the environmental education of local people has not worked well is that they are not rich enough to change their attitudes toward nature. In other words, in addition to environmental education, improving the living standard of local people is also necessary in order to lead them to care about nature.

We should not overlook the fact, however, that Bali has a traditional culture in which people throw the offerings used in religious ceremonies into rivers. Such offerings were originally made of organic objects that decompose naturally, such as bamboo grass and banana peels. Yet, the widespread use of chemical products in the daily life of Balinese society, influenced by the rapid development of tourism, has led to more serious environmental issues. In this way, if environmental education is promoted in Bali—a province that is simultaneously an international tourism area and a developing country—it can demonstrate the relationship between local environmental issues and daily life in places outside of Bali. This opportunity for foreigners to learn about local problems by relating those problems to their own daily lives could be a breakthrough for solving environmental problems that cannot be overcome without cooperation from outsiders.

Financial difficulty

As it was described previously, ecotourism at the MIC was designed to bring in revenue from tourists and to promote the conservation of mangrove forests. The number of visitors to the MIC has increased gradually; however, it does not mean that the MIC has succeeded in increasing its benefits by using ecotourism.

First, while ecotourism is expected to bring in revenue, it cost a lot to manage ecotourism programs. For example, MIC established wooden roads and other facilities in the forest for the purpose of accommodating tourists. According to a JICA expert, it costs about 15,000 Japanese yen per meter to construct wooden trails, and 8,000,000 Japanese yen to maintain those trails every year. Despite that, they last for only 3 to 5 years. The MIC cannot afford to recover the wooden trails, though they are in need of repair. Printing guidelines or brochures for tourists also costs money.

Secondly, ecotourism has been promoted by taking into account its capacity of how many tourists can be accommodated in sustainable ways. JICA experts asserted that it is desirable for one guide to lead one group of less than five people through the MIC.
However, it is becoming more difficult to do that as the number of tourists increases.

Thus, though it costs a lot to promote ecotourism, people cannot just pursue its benefits; they must consider its sustainability. In addition to that, ecotourism is not so popular that it can attract people from all generations. We can recognize from these factors that stable funds as well as good management are needed to promote ecotourism.\(^{41}\)

What has to be noted here is that the ecotourism promoted at the MIC is not community-based. Staff members of the MIC who are engaged in ecotourism projects are public servants, so local communities do not get economic benefits from their ecotourism activities. The residents living in the vicinity of the MIC are migrants who began living there in the late 1990s, so they do not have a tradition of depending on the mangrove forests for their daily lives.\(^{42}\) Thus, the ecotourism practiced at the MIC does not have a structure in which the local community can gain economic benefits by promoting ecotourism, which would lead to further conservation of the mangrove forests. This situation makes it difficult to change the attitudes of local residents toward nature through environmental education alone.

**Private companies and ecotourism**

Judging from the condition of ecotourism at the MIC, private companies cannot promote ecotourism easily because they cannot exclusively pursue ecotourism’s benefits. Some travel agents have previously advertised the MIC, and they took tourists to the MIC as part of a package tour, as illustrated in Figure 3.

\[\text{Figure 3. Purposes of participating in ecotourism (2004)}^{43}\]

The MIC was once under contract with the Japan Tourist Bureau (JTB) and Rama
Ecotourism in Bali

While package-tour tourists accounted for a fourth of the total number in 2004, as Figure 3 shows, travel agents stopped offering package tours in 2006.

According to a member of the staff at Rama Tours, that company has already begun a new tourism program in another mangrove forest. The new tourism is different from the ecotourism of the MIC in that tourists can enjoy the mangroves from a motorboat. Rama Tours developed this particular package because some people were of the opinion that ecotourism at the MIC was not so attractive because tourists can only walk on the wooden roads in the mangrove forest.\(^44\)

A staff member at the JTB also pointed out that ecotourism at the MIC was not popular enough to be continued as a package tour. In addition, there are no supermarkets or other buildings near the MIC, so its inconvenient location is another reason why these package tours have been discontinued.\(^45\) As this situation demonstrates, it is difficult for private companies to promote ecotourism because they must attract tourists in order to reap benefits.

The reason why MIC can promote ecotourism in such difficult situations is that it is supported by a major aid agency, JICA, which has a strong financial base. Therefore, it seems that managing ecotourism would be too difficult financially if the MIC were to become independent from JICA.

3. 3 Community-based ecotourism: The Sangeh Monkey Forest

*History and general description of the Sangeh Monkey Forest*

The Sangeh Monkey Forest is situated in southwestern Bali, about 20 kilometers north of Denpasar. The forest, near the village of Sangeh, covers 10.8 hectares of land with giant nutmeg trees that can grow up to 40 meters high. It is a home for hordes of monkeys and no trees are allowed to be chopped down here because of its sacred qualities. There are also cultural objects and temples in the forest. The monkeys here inhabit both the trees and the Pura Bukit Sari, a temple situated in the deep, fragrant woods.\(^46\) There are approximately 600 to 700 monkeys living in the area.\(^47\)

According to the International Bali Post, in the seventeenth century, during the golden period of the Mengwi Kingdom, I Gusti Agung Ketut Karangasem, the son of I Gusti Agung Made Agung (King of Mengwi), founded a temple in the midst of the nutmeg forests. Later, it was called the Bukit Sari Temple. The nutmeg forest is a holy territory that is worshipped by Sangeh Customary village and vicinities. Apart from functioning as a sacred place, the forest, along with the monkeys has come to be a fascinating tourist destination that is worth visiting.\(^48\)
Introduction of ecotourism in the Monkey Forest

According to Bali Travel News, the objective of ecotourism in the Sangeh Monkey Forest is the improvement of self-sustainability. In order to achieve that goal, greening action has been carried out to preserve nature and to produce fruit for the monkeys. In addition, for the benefit of tourists, the area around the forest is well cleaned, and a parking area, toilets, art shops, souvenir shops, restaurants, and footpaths are located nearby. These activities have been promoted mainly by people from the village of Sangeh. At the present time, the forest is managed by 21 Sangeh villagers and about 30 staff members of the forestry department.

In the ecotourism that takes place in the Monkey Forest, tourists are charged an entrance fee of Rp 3,000 to explore the forest for about 30 minutes with at least one guide. In addition to explaining details about the trees, monkeys, and cultural objects in English or Indonesian, the guides are also responsible for maintaining the safety of tourists. During their walks through the forest, guides summon monkeys by giving them food. Tourists can not only observe the monkeys, they can also experience what it is like to feed them. Moreover, for an additional fee of Rp 10,000, a photographer will take a picture of the tourists with monkeys on their shoulders. According to one forest guide, the traditional Bali festival is held in the forest twice a year, so tourists who visit during those seasons can enjoy cultural tourism.

Yet, the Monkey Forest has had problems managing its tourism in the past. One of the reasons for its difficulty in promoting tourism was that the monkeys in Sangeh used to be famous for mischievous and sneaky behavior toward visitors. For example, monkeys sometimes grabbed visitors’ glasses and would only drop them if they were given a banana.

In addition to the problem of how to control the monkeys, according to the village people, there have been other management problems in the Monkey Forest. These include debates about which organization should manage the forest and what should be done to increase the number of tourists. Demands from outsiders that forest management be improved have increased along with domestic dissatisfaction of the management system. As the number of victims of monkey attacks increased, travel agents worried that their clients might be injured by monkeys, so they demanded that the Sangeh Forest establish better management of its tourism or risk dissolving its partnership with those agents.

New management system

A new management system was introduced in 2003, aimed at increasing the number of tourists in Bali. To accomplish that goal, it was decided that the management of the
Ecotourism in Bali

forest was to be promoted mainly by Sangeh village people under the direction of the Balinese government. Second, to ensure the safety of the tourists, a system was introduced whereby village people serve as many of the forest guides. The forest management then started to feed the monkeys in order to prevent a decrease in the number of tourists. Under the new management system, monkeys have become friendly enough that photographers can take pictures of tourists with monkeys on their shoulders. Since the new management system was introduced, the number of tourists has increased, resulting in a rise in the salary of village people.54)

Through the new management system, monkeys living in the Sangeh forest have been well controlled and are no longer nasty, in spite of the fact that the Sangeh forest covers a larger area than any other monkey forest in Bali. Figure 4 demonstrates the recent increase in visitors to the forest.55) According to forest guides, the number of students who visit the forest for school trips has particularly increased. Most of the students are from Java, though some come from Sulawesi, Sumatra, and Kalimantan.

Figure 4. The number of tourists who visited the forest from 2004 to 2006

Problems

It is true that the revenue of the Monkey Forest is increasing due to success in increasing the number of tourists, but this forest still has financial problems regarding its management. First, the revenue of the forest is unstable. The money from tourists is used to pay taxes to the Balinese government and to pay for the management of the forest and the salaries of the staff. The biggest problem is that the number of tourists varies dramatically from season to season, as is shown in the figure below. This means that in seasons when the number of tourists is small, the salary paid to village people decreases. A guide explained that the salary paid to village people in the low season is not enough to
Izawa Tomomi

live on.\textsuperscript{56}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure5.png}
\caption{The number of tourists per month from 2004 to 2007\textsuperscript{57}}
\end{figure}

Second, the Monkey Forest does not receive help from professional organizations that can give advice about improving its management of ecotourism and support it financially. As stated above, the forest does not have enough money to run its tourism with desirable conditions. For example, in order to treat tourists well, especially visitors from foreign countries, guides must improve their English skills. In the present circumstances, volunteers from foreign countries sometimes teach English to local people. Thanks to them, guides in the forest can communicate with tourists in English, but the time devoted to teaching is not enough for local people to master the language. In addition, the Monkey Forest has a volunteer animal doctor who gives village people advice about the health of monkeys. This help from outside is necessary to maintain good management in the monkey forest.

Third, although more tourists have visited the Monkey Forest in recent years, it should be noted that ecotourism in Sangeh does not actually make much effort toward sustainability. Village people do not well understand the concept of ecotourism and often confuse it with nature tourism. We can even say that the ecotourism of the Sangeh Monkey Forest is becoming nature tourism because they do not care the tourism impact on the forests. It appears, based on the comments of village people who happily talked, that as many as 1,000 tourists visit the forest in a single day and the parking areas are often filled with large vehicles.\textsuperscript{58} In order to promote ecotourism sustainably, each project site needs to understand the capacity how many tourists can be accomodated there with minimum impacts on environment. Without considering it, the tourism activities can
Ecotourism in Bali

destroy the nature and it can be called nature tourism.

At the present time, however, Sangeh village does not have professional organizations that can help the people operate ecotourism smoothly. In order to overcome these issues and run the Monkey Forest more effectively, assistance from outside is highly necessary.

3. 4 Ecotourism for the protection of endangered species: Serangan Island

Illegal turtle trading and local circumstances on Serangan Island

Ecotourism is expected to become a useful way in which to protect nature. While Indonesia has rich biodiversity, its environment in danger. It is suggested that illegal activities are prominent in Indonesia and may damage the nation’s natural environment. Alternative job opportunities are needed to stop these activities, and ecotourism is expected to provide the potential for such jobs to open up.

Serangan Island in Bali has been the largest black market for sea turtle meat and related products for decades. The island has been the Balinese base for turtle poachers’ ships, as well as other ships that sail as far as Derawan in East Kalimantan and Papua. They have destroyed ecosystems in large areas of the sea and have decreased the number of turtles. It is estimated that by the late 1990s, over 30,000 marine turtles were being brought to the island and killed every year. International and domestic laws prohibit the use of any part of a sea turtle. However, between 500 and 1,000 turtles are still illegally imported into the island each month. There are several reasons why it is difficult to stop the illegal trading.

One of the reasons why this illegal activity cannot be stopped is simply that the turtles can be sold at a high price. The meat of a turtle that is one meter long can be sold for Rp 1,000,000 and the shell can be traded for Rp 500,000 to 600,000 while the average wages in Kuta is around Rp 800,000 per month.

Second, the demand for sea turtles in Bali is high because Balinese and Hindu people have a culture in which turtles are used for ceremonies. According to the local people, turtles have long been used as sacrifices to the gods in rituals and in family ceremonies such as weddings. Therefore, using turtles for such practices is natural and it is difficult to persuade local people to protect the sea turtles under the law.

This close relationship between sea turtles and local culture has resulted in the formulation of more “tolerant” regulations in Bali than in other provinces, and it has contributed to the attraction of turtle poacher’s ships to Serangan Island.
The booming of the tourism industry and the decrease of turtles

As described above, Bali has a culture that uses sea turtles in its ceremonies. However, this is not only the reason for the shrinking number of sea turtles on Serangan Island. It is important to recognize the negative influence of mass tourism, which has caused serious danger for sea turtles.

First, the demand for sea turtles by tourists has increased sharply due to the expansion of mass tourism since the 1970s, which has caused the turtle population to shrink drastically. Not only were turtle shells sold as souvenirs, but turtle soup also became a highlight of many hotel menus. Beaches that had been turtles’ nesting grounds were filled with tourist facilities. Sea turtles are extremely sensitive to changes in their habitat, so noise and light from the buildings kept sea turtles from leaving the water to lay their eggs.

While the demand for sea turtles increased due to tourists, the areas of sandy beach in Serangan where sea turtles lay their eggs decreased. This also caused a decrease in the number of species. The land reclamation project that attempted to make Serangan Island a tourist resort in 1994 should be particularly criticized for destroying turtles’ natural habitat in and around Serangan. The project linked Serangan Island to Bali with roads and increased the island to three times its original size. During this project, sand on the island was dug up, mangrove trees were cut down for reclamation, and coral reefs were blasted away. Eventually, this reclamation project ceased completely when the project sponsor was arrested, but the project left a ransacked ecosystem from which local people cannot get any fish for their living, and turtles also disappeared.

Thus, tourism was a big factor in the reduction of the number of sea turtles. Since then, ecotourism-related conservation activities regarding sea turtles have begun occurring on Serangan Island.

Ecotourism to protect sea turtles

Though Serangan Island is famous as a base for the illegal sea turtle trade, activities to protect sea turtles are now becoming popular. Ecotourism in Serangan is expected to become the main way to save sea turtles. It is also expected to produce alternative job opportunities for the local community. Some travel agencies have begun to develop ecotourism in Serangan Island, taking advantage of the fact that the island is surrounded by mangrove forests in addition to its other natural features, such as sea turtles.

There are now many places on Serangan Island that farm sea turtles (see Pictures 3 and 4). Most such establishments are designed for tourists, and donations collected from tourists are used for activities that protect sea turtles and to pay the salary of local people who educate tourists about sea turtles.
Ecotourism in Bali

Since ecotourism that protects sea turtles is thriving on the whole island, the prospect for more such tourism is getting higher, especially after the establishment of the Turtle Conservation and Education Center (TCEC) in 2006.

The TCEC was opened on Serangan Island in January 2006, supported by WWF, the Governor of Bali, the Denpasar district government, the Provincial Nature Resources Conservation Agency, and the local communities. The TCEC has been developed as part of a comprehensive strategy to eradicate illegal turtle trading on the island. Four
fundamental goals of this eradication are as follows:

1. To encourage the public not to consume products made of sea turtles, regardless of whether they are meant for religious use.
2. To support turtle conservation, providing sea turtles for rituals without killing them.
3. To offer employment opportunities for local people in Serangan.
4. To act as a watchdog for the turtle trade in Serangan in particular and Bali in general.

In order to achieve these goals, ecotourism has been promoted in the TCEC as well, and it plays an important role in protecting turtles in various ways. The facilities in the TCEC are designed for receiving tourists and promoting ecotourism. It has an exhibition building that contains turtles swimming in pools, a semi-artificial nesting facility, and a research facility in which tourists can get information about sea turtles.

In addition to the fact that ecotourism provides local people with alternative job opportunities, it plays another important role by supporting activities that stop the decreasing of the turtle population. First, ecotourism in Serangan is used to supply tourists with chances to learn about the decreasing population of sea turtles. When tourists visit the TCEC, they are given basic explanations about sea turtles by staff members. Second, the TCEC holds educational lectures for students who visit there for school trips. According to one guide, about 6,000 students visited there in 2006, not only from Indonesia, but also from Malaysia and Singapore. Third, through ecotourism, the TCEC collects donations from tourists and lecture fees from students, which make it possible to promote their projects to protect sea turtles. This money is used to protect sea turtles and also to pay the salary of local staff.

As education about sea turtles is promoted as part of ecotourism, it is expected that public awareness of the importance of the sea turtle will increase, and that NGOs and the government will put more pressure on the illegal turtle trade. In addition, donations collected from tourists and lecture fees collected from students are necessary to promote the projects to save the turtles. As such money is also used for the salary of TCEC staff, it encourages them to protect the sea turtles as well.

The difficulty of promoting ecotourism in Serangan Island

It is true that ecotourism has been promoted with the expectation that it may lead local people to protect sea turtles and bring about alternative job opportunities. However, it is doubtful that local people understand why they must protect sea turtles, how
Ecotourism in Bali

Ecotourism may create job opportunities, and why illegal turtle trading has to be banned.

In some areas of Serangan, sea turtles tend to be used as a tourist attraction rather protected. In such sites, local people are more eager to sell their products than to explain about the turtles, which can be seen in many places other than TCEC. There are even cases in which some staff members have pocketed money donated by tourists. These problems have the potential to disturb the promotion of real ecotourism and the protection of sea turtles.

There is also the problem that almost all sites at which sea turtles are protected or farmed, including TCEC, have met financial problems. Entrance fees are not collected at most of these facilities; donations from tourists are merely requested. Some portions of tourist contributions are used for the salary of the staff, but that salary alone is not enough to live on. In other words, revenue from ecotourism is very limited in the present situation and is clearly far from preventing the illegal trading of turtles.

Moreover, the present law to restrict illegal turtle trading does not work well in Serangan. This is mainly because sea turtles can be sold at high prices and because such activities have been carried out historically. If ecotourism can offer better job opportunities for local communities, it can reduce illegal activities. However, this is difficult to accomplish in the present situation.

Nevertheless, ecotourism is still a very important way in which to notify visitors about the serious situation of sea turtles. In particular, telling tourists about how turtles have been threatened by the tourism industry is important, as it poses questions about the nature of mass tourism.

4. Conclusion: Challenges of Promoting Ecotourism in Bali

Based on the concept of sustainability, which is a keyword on developing ecotourism, I will conclude by discussing the achievements and challenges of developing ecotourism in Bali as well as the dilemmas of promoting ecotourism its challenges for future.

Figure 6 explains the characteristics of each site, what its main goal is, what the obstacles are to achieving that goal, the reason why ecotourism is promoted, and the current situation at each site.

Ecotourism is different from mass tourism in that the influence of tourism on local society must be considered. Due to the concept of sustainability, however, ecotourism cannot solely pursue benefits, as the case of the MIC shows. The Sangeh Monkey Forest succeeded in attracting more tourists by improving its management system, led by the village community. Furthermore, its success has resulted in an increase in the voice of
village community as well as an increase in their revenues. As stated above, however, the concept of sustainability has not been considered in promoting ecotourism in Sangeh, so we can say that Sangeh’s tourism is not truly ecotourism, but nature tourism. Moreover, the village people are still suffering from income insecurity. It is a big challenge to attract tourists constantly because the number of visitors varies widely throughout the year, depending on the season, so projects are heavily affected by external conditions. The ecotourism of the Sangeh Monkey Forest is different from that of the MIC in that it does not receive any financial support or technical assistance from aid agencies. Therefore, it is still challenging for local people to promote ecotourism with consideration for its impact on their culture and nature while maintaining a solid financial base.

On the other hand, on Serangan Island, ecotourism is expected to create job opportunities. Yet, despite the fact that ecotourism generates jobs, it does not have enough potential to stop the illegal sea turtle trade, because only a segment of the people can be involved in ecotourism activities. In addition to that, it is doubtful that local residents can promote sea turtle conservation smoothly by promoting ecotourism. They have traditionally eaten and used sea turtles for religious ceremonies, and local residents keen to sell tourists souvenirs often attract tourists with appealing sea turtles.

I will now focus on the effectiveness of environmental education for local residents and tourists through ecotourism. The three sites discussed herein have succeeded in attracting more tourists, especially students on school trips. This is due to an increased awareness of the need for environmental education, especially in Indonesia. In fact, however, environmental education through ecotourism is ineffective because it is difficult
Ecotourism in Bali

for local residents to suddenly alter their attitudes toward the environment due to severe economic conditions and cultural customs. On the other hand, environmental education provided for tourists is effective in contributing to the conservation of nature. For instance, tourists from developed countries learn how their lives relate to the environment of developing countries, as the MIC shows, and they can learn about the cultural or economic background of the destruction of local nature. This approach to the issue, both from a global and local perspective, will help Indonesia to overcome its environmental problems comprehensively. Furthermore, as the case of Serangan Island shows, environmental education can be useful in gaining international assistance by appealing to tourists, foreign governmental organizations, and NGOs, as well as providing tourists with opportunities to recognize environmental issues.

Regarding the management of ecotourism in Bali, we can say that Bali lacks the financial and technical capacity to manage ecotourism. In order to welcome visitors constantly, ecotourism requires a major investment in facilities, advertisements, and staff salaries. However, it is impossible for many sites to develop sustainable ecotourism without any support from other organizations. At the same time, ecotourism requires local–based management for promoting its attendant activities. Here we see a clear dilemma of ecotourism financing in Bali. Moreover, since even governmental organizations confuse ecotourism with nature tourism in Indonesia, the promotion of ecotourism might increase the risk for negative impacts on local society, rather than contributing to conserving the nature and culture of that society. Thus, aid agencies are needed to promote ecotourism in Bali at the present stage, even though ecotourism was originally managed by local residents.

Finally, we need to return to the concept of ecotourism. In ecotourism activities, contributions to local society—including the economy, nature, and culture—are required. As shown by the case of Serangan Island, it is true that ecotourism activities have help conserve sea turtles by receiving financial help, but at the same time, we must recognize the fact that local people have faced cultural restrictions on using sea turtles for religious ceremonies. Similarly, we must not forget the fact that it is a cultural habit for Balinese people to throw the offerings used in religious ceremonies into the rivers. From a long-term point of view, we can assert that dealing with such problems as trading of sea turtles and garbage issues would contribute to local nature and culture. On the other hand, however, we must draw attention to the conflicts between the conservation of nature and the dominant culture by promoting ecotourism, as the case of Serangan Island clearly shows.

Bali is one of the most famous international tourism spots in the world, so there is a strong possibility that ecotourism activities are evaluated more from foreigners’ point of
view, which may lack evaluation from a cultural standpoint. If local culture is not considered by tourists during their activities, those activities will increase the risk for a rapid acculturation of the area. In particular, in ecotourism, local sites directly depends on tourist economically to manage their activities, so to keep attracting tourists, it is easy to be tourists oriented one.

Concern about promoting ecotourism has been growing without objection to the concept of ecotourism, which contributes to local nature and culture as well as increasing the living standards of local people. In Bali, however, the foundation for promoting ecotourism sustainably is still fragile, including the policies of government organizations. In a famous international tourist destination like Bali, not only nature but also culture must be considered. Without such attention, promoting ecotourism might rapidly destroy or acculturate Balinese culture for the sake of nature conservation. In addition to the policies of the country, the promotion of ecotourism in Bali has been eagerly recommended by researchers and NGOs, so we need to keep drawing attention to the kind of impacts that Bali will experience as a result of promoting ecotourism.

Notes
6) Ibid., p.98.
10) Loke Ming Chou, Vo Si Tuan, Phil Reefs, Thamasak Yeemin, Annadel Cabanban, Suharsono and Ith
Ecotourism in Bali

13) INDECON is a non-profit organization that focuses its activities on developing and promoting ecotourism in Indonesia. Established in 1995, INDECON has facilitated various stakeholders in ecotourism development in Indonesia. See <http://www.indecon.or.id/about_us.html>.
14) Anak Agung Gde Raka Dalem, op. cit., p.91.
21) David A. Fennell, op. cit., p.4.
22) Ibid.
24) Ibid., p.63.
34) All the pictures in this paper have been taken by the author.
35) Interview with Mr. Hiroyuki Hatori, JICA expert at the MIC, October 25, 2005, Bali.
36) The data was provided by a JICA expert on October 25, 2005.
37) This data was obtained from reports made by a JICA expert on October 25, 2005. According to this
Izawa Tomomi

expert, this data is based on the results of 133 questionnaires filled out by visitors in 2004.

39) Author’s interview with a JICA expert at the JICA office in Jakarta, September 22, 2005.
40) Author’s interview with Mr. Hiroyuki Hatori, JICA expert, in Bali, August 10, 2007.
41) Author’s interview with Mr. Hiroyuki Hatori, JICA expert, in Bali, August 10, 2007.
42) Author’s interview with Mr. Hiroyuki Hatori, JICA expert, in Bali, October 25, 2005.
43) This data was obtained from reports made by a JICA expert on October 25, 2005. According to this JICA expert, this data is based on the results of 133 questionnaires filled out by visitors in 2004.
44) Author’s interview with a staff member at Rama Tours in Bali, August 8, 2007.
45) Author’s interview with a staff member at the JTB in Bali, August 8, 2007.
47) Interview with village people, September 29, 2007.
50) Interview with village people, September 29, 2007.
51) Ibid.
52) Ibid.
53) Ibid.
54) Interview with village people, September 29, 2007.
55) Figure 4 is based on data from *DAFTAR JUMLAH KUNJUNGAN BUKIT SARI*, obtained through an interview with village people on September 29, 2007.
56) Interview with village people on September 29, 2007.
57) Figure 5 is based on data from *DAFTAR JUMLAH KUNJUNGAN BUKIT SARI*, gained through an interview with village people on September 29, 2007.
58) Interview with village people on September 29, 2007.
59) Interview with village people on September 29, 2007.
60) According to the *Report on Biodiversity and Tropical Forests in Indonesia*, there was a dramatic increase in all groups of species recognized as endangered in Indonesia between 1993 and 2001. For example, the number of endangered mammals and birds increased by 104 and 264 species, respectively. It is important to note that this reflects increased efforts to identify threatened species and not necessarily an increase in the actual number of species endangered. See Steve Rhee, Darrell Kitchener, Tim Brown, Reed Merrill, Russ Dilts, and Stacey Tighe, *Report on Biodiversity and Tropical Forests in Indonesia*, 2004, p. 202. Available at <http://rmportal.net/library/VI/1/118_indon/view>.
63) There are seven species of sea turtles. All seven are listed in Appendix I of the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species (CITES) and are granted the highest level of protection; all seven are also listed as critically endangered, endangered, or vulnerable on the IUCN (World Conservation Union) Red List. See <http://www.wcl.american.edu/environment/iel/sup5.cfm>.
64) Government Regulation No. 7/1999, which forbids any sea turtle trade regardless of whether the turtle is dead or alive (including the shell and other parts of the turtle) was issued by the government
Ecotourism in Bali

in 1999. More information is available at

65) Olivier van Bogaert, ”A second chance for Bali’s marine turtles,” available at
<http://www.panda.org/what_we_do/how_we_work/conservation/species_programme/

66) The Hindu Dharma Council, the highest Hindu organization in Indonesia, officially decreed that the
presence of endangered species, including turtles, in Hindu sacrificial rituals could be substituted
with a drawing, a cake, or another animal in early 2005.
(See <http://www.ioseaturtles.org/pom_detail.php?id=45>.) According to local people, however,
there are still warung (local restaurants) that sell turtle meat. Some people also still kill turtles in
rituals. This information is based on interviews with local people held on September 22, 2007.

67) According to “ProFauna Indonesia,” in order to reduce the over-exploitation of turtles in Bali, the
Local Government of Bali issued Governor Decree No. 660/1/1751/BKLH, which states that the limit
for turtle poaching in Bali is 5,000 turtles per year. The use of turtles is allowed only for religious and
cultural matters. Although the quota on green turtle use in Bali has been 5,000 per year since 1990,
the use of turtles actually spans far beyond this number. More information is available at
<http://www.profauna.or.id/English/turtle-slaughter.html>.

68) Olivier van Bogaert, ”A second chance for Bali’s marine turtles,” op. cit.


70) This information is based on my experience of visiting a sea turtle farming site on September 22,
2007.

References

American University Washington College of Law, ‘Environmental Law.’
http://www.wcl.american.edu/environment/iel/sup5.cfm

(APO), ed., Linking Green Productivity to Ecotourism: Experiences in the Asia-Pacific Region, Tokyo:


http://www.fao.org/DOCREP/005/Y7581E/y7581e00.htm


and Germany Play?’ WWF Schweiz, p.4.

INDECON, ‘Indecon Profile.’ http://www.indecon.or.id/about_us.html


International Bali Post, September 25.

Ikeda, Kanji, ed. (2006) Chikyu Kankyo Mondai no Field: Indonesia ni Miru Syakai to Kankyo no
Izawa Tomomi


Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Republic of Indonesia
http://www.my-indonesia.info/page.php?ic=7&id=1932

Ministry of Forestry, Republic of Indonesia.
http://www.dephut.go.id/index.php?q=id/node/635


Olivier van Bogaert, A second chance for Bali’s marine turtles.’

Quebec Declaration on Ecotourism.
http://www.gdrc.org/uem/eco-tour/quebec-declaration.pdf#search='quebec declaration on ecotourism'


http://rmportal.net/library/VI/1/118_indon/view


United Nations, ‘Economic and Social Council.’


WWF, 'Conservation News.'

WWF-Indonesia, 'Indonesian Sea Turtle Conservation.'
http://assets.panda.org/downloads/brochureturtlecop/indonesiacbd.pdf
Ecotourism in Bali
