Surf Tourism and Sustainable Community Development in the Mentawai Islands, Indonesia: a Multiple Stakeholder Perspective

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Table of Contents

List of Figures	7
List of Photos	10
List of Tables	13
List of Appendices	14
List of Abbreviations	15
Attestation of Authorship	16
Acknowledgements	17
Abstract	19
Chapter 1 : Introduction	21
1.1 Rationale	21
1.2 Aims and Research Questions	24
1.3 Research Approach	25
1.4 Thesis Structure	26
Chapter 2 : Literature Review	30
2.1 Sustainable Tourism Development	30
2.2 Stakeholders and Sustainable Tourism Development	32
2.3 Sustainable Livelihood Model	35
2.4 Community Participation in Tourism	42
2.5 Stakeholder Collaboration in Tourism Development	46
2.5.1 The collaborative advantage	49
2.6 CBT Models	50
2.7 The Evolution of Surf Tourism	53
2.8 Surf Tourism Research	57
2.9 Chapter Summary	62

Chapter 3: Methodology and Case	64
3.1 Introduction	64
3.2 Paradigm Choice	64
3.3 The Grounded Theory Approach	67
3.4 The Case Study Method	73
3.5 The Mentawai Islands	75
3.5.1 Surf tourism in the Mentawais	83
3.5.2 Marine tourism management in Indonesia	85
3.5.3 Surf tourism management in the Mentawai Islands	87
3.5.4 Study sites	90
3.6 Research Methods	104
3.7 Study Design	105
3.7.1 Pilot visit	107
3.7.2 Interpretation and translation	109
3.8 Local Community Interviews	111
3.8.1 Setting up the interviews	111
3.8.2 Conducting the interviews	114
3.9 Government and Operator Interviews	119
3.10 Surf Tourist Online Questionnaire	121
3.11 Analysis	123
3.12 Fieldwork Challenges	124
3.13 Ethics and Indonesian Research Permit	126
Chapter 4 : Surf Tourists and Their Perceptions of Surf Tourism	n Development128
4.1 Introduction	128
4.2 Surfer Characteristics	128
4.3 Travel Motivations and Satisfaction Levels	138
4.4 Tourist Expenditure	142

4.5 Local Community Involvement	147
4.6 Mentawai Surf Tourism Management	158
4.7 The Impacts of Surf Tourism	159
4.8 Future Development	161
4.9 Chapter Summary	164
Chapter 5 : Operator, Government and Other Stakeholder Perceptions of Sur Tourism Development	
5.1 Introduction	166
5.2 The Stakeholders	166
5.2.1 Surf tourism operators	166
5.3 The Meaning of Surf Tourism and Sustainable Tourism Development	168
5.4 Mentawai Surf Tourism Development	173
5.5 Management and Consultation	178
5.6 Community Participation	182
5.7 Perceived Positive Impacts of Surf Tourism	186
5.8 Perceived Negative Impacts of Surf Tourism	190
5.9 Changes to Katiet	193
5.10 Challenges to Participation in the Mentawai Surf Tourism Industry	196
5.11 Operators' Perceptions of Ways Government Could Improve Their Invol	
5.12 Future Development	200
5.13 Chapter Summary	205
Chapter 6: Host Communities' Perception of Surf Tourism Development	207
6.1 Introduction	207
6.2 The Study Villages	207
6.3 Local Communities' Perception of Tourists and Tourism	210
6.4 Community Change	214

6.4.1 The local community's perceptions of the positive impacts of surf tourism development
6.4.2 The local community's perceptions of the negative impacts of surf tourism development
6.5 The Local Community's Perception of Tourist Numbers224
6.6 Planning, Management and Consultation226
6.7 Community Participation230
6.8 The Local Community's Perception of Future Surf Tourism Development in the Mentawai Islands233
6.9 Chapter Summary238
Chapter 7: Discussion of Cross-cutting Themes240
7.1 Introduction240
7.2 The Need for Communication Between Stakeholders240
7.3 The Need for Sustainable Surf Tourism Development in the Mentawai Islands 245
7.4 The Inadequacy of Current Tourism Management Strategies in the Mentawai Islands252
7.5 The Importance of Community Participation in the Surf Tourism Industry255
7.6 The Future Development of the Surf Tourism Industry262
Chapter 8 : Conclusions265
8.1 Introduction265
8.2 Research Questions265
8.2.1 To examine the characteristics of surf tourists visiting the Mentawai Islands and to gain deeper insights into how they perceive the environmental, social and economic impacts of their travel265
8.2.2 To explore how government officials, operators, surf journalists and NGO employees perceive surf tourism development in the Mentawai Islands, and to examine their attitudes towards tourism management, stakeholder participation and the future development of the surf tourism
8.2.3 To gain an understanding of how Mentawai communities perceive tourists and tourism development. What is the host population's view on current surf

Appendices		305
References		277
8.5 Summary and F	uture Research Agenda	273
8.4 Dissemination of	of Findings	272
8.3 Contributions		268
stakeholder anal	e the common themes and key differences to lysis and to identify some potential approach nent in the industry	nes to enhance the
•	ticipation in its development? What benefits	J

List of Figures

Figure 1.1 Location of the Mentawai Islands	24
Figure 2.1 The evolving relationship between mass tourism and alternative tourism	32
Figure 2.2 Sustainability goals of main stakeholder groups	34
Figure 2.3 The DFID Sustainable Livelihood Framework	36
Figure 2.4 Sustainable Livelihood Framework for Tourism	40
Figure 2.5 Ladder of citizen participation	45
Figure 2.6: A model of community-based tourism	51
Figure 2.7: The Endless Summer movie poster	56
Figure 2.8: The relationship between mass tourism and alternative tourism: The conventional approach versus the emerging approach	59
Figure 3.1: The location of the main surf breaks in the Mentawai Islands	84
Figure 3.2: Timeline of surf tourism development between 1980 and 2010	85
Figure 3.3: Timeline of surf tourism management in the Mentawais between 1996 and 2010	
Figure 3.4: Mentawai study sites	91
Figure 3.5: Location of Ebay Village	92
Figure 3.6: Location of Mapadegat Village	95
Figure 3.7: Location of Katiet Village	98
Figure 3.8: Location of Silabu Village	.101
Figure 3.9: Triangulation of methods	.105
Figure 3.10: The iterative grounded theory research design used in this doctoral stu	•
Figure 4.1: Ages of the surf tourists	.129
Figure 4.2: Nationalities of the surf tourists	.130
Figure 4.3 Personal incomes of the surf tourists	.131
Figure 4.4 Participant level of education	.132

igure 4.5: Hard and soft surf tourism13	4
Figure 4.6: Number of nights spent in the Mentawais by surf tourists13	8
Figure 4.7: Travel motivations of the surf tourists13	9
Figure 4.8: Trip satisfaction14	.2
igure 4.9: Prepaid package price14	.3
Figure 4.10: Tourists' ability to meet with indigenous Mentawai people and learn aboun their way of life	
Figure 4.11: The positive impacts perceived by surf tourists from their travel to the Mentawais	9
Figure 4.12: The negative impacts perceived by surf tourists from their travel to the Mentawais	0
Figure 4.13: Surf tourists' perceptions of future development16	3
Figure 5.1: Year of business commencement16	7
Figure 5.2: Factors that influenced the operators to start their business in the Mentawais16	8
Figure 5.3: Most frequently used words by operators, government officials and other stakeholders to describe "sustainable tourism development"	'0
Figure 5.4: The most frequently used words by operators, government officials and other industry stakeholders to describe surf tourism development in the Mentawais	,,
igure 5.5: Is the Mentawai Surf Tourism industry at a threshold where negative mpacts are starting to occur?	
Figure 5.6: Methods of increasing local community participation18	:5
Figure 5.7: Positive impacts, as perceived by operators, government officials and other ndustry stakeholders18	
Figure 5.8: Negative impacts, as perceived by operators, government officials and other stakeholders	1
Figure 5.9: Perceptions of change to Katiet19	ا5
Figure 5.10: Challenges to participation in the Mentawai surf tourism industry19	ا7
Figure 5.11: Operators' perceptions of how local government could improve their nvolvement in the Mentawai surf tourism industry19	19

Figure 5.12: Operators', government officials' and other stakeholders' perceptions of the future for surf tourism development in the Mentawai Islands20	
Figure 6.1: The community sample20	80
Figure 6.2: Most frequently used words by local community members to describe a "tourist"	11
Figure 6.3: Most frequently used words to describe "tourism"2	13
Figure 6.4: The local community's perceived positive impacts of surf tourism development	16
Figure 6.5: The local community's perceived negative impacts of surf tourism development	21
Figure 6.6: The local community's perceptions of methods to increase community participation	31
Figure 6.7: The local community's perceptions of future development of the Mentawasurf tourism industry23	
Figure 7.1: A model for assessing community-based tourism2!	58

List of Photos

NOTE: All photos were taken by the researcher in the field unless otherwise stated.

Photo 2.1: Duke Kahanamoku standing with surfboard in Los Angeles, California54
Photo 3.1: Looking onto downtown Tuapejat76
Photo 3.2: An indigenous Mentawai family outside their home at Madobag77
Photo 3.3: A traditional <i>uma</i> at Madobag
Photo 3.4: Mentawai men displaying a traditional greeting79
Photo 3.5: A <i>sikerei</i> collecting medicinal plants for a ceremony at Madobag80
Photo 3.6: An indigenous Mentawai woman compacting processed sago into banana leaf containers at Madobag village82
Photo 3.7: Perfect waves roll down the reef at a surf break named Hollow Trees at Katiet, Sipora
Photo 3.8: An incomplete homestay at Ebay93
Photo 3.9: Surf tourism development: unfinished homestays at Ebay94
Photo 3.10: A partially completed homestay, with several surfers already staying in makeshift rooms, Ebay, Nyang Nyang Island94
Photo 3.11: One of three churches in Mapadegat96
Photo 3.12: Mapadegat96
Photo 3.13: Mapadegat boasts the largest range of homestay options in the Mentawais97
Photo 3.14: Looking back from the ocean at homestays on the shoreline at Katiet99
Photo 3.15: A surfer playing with the children from a homestay in Katiet100
Photo 3.16: Surfers walk down the main road in Katiet
Photo 3.17: Silabu is comprised mainly of small huts with thatched roofs102
Photo 3.18: SurfAid signage at Silabu
Photo 3.19: Devastation caused by the 25 October 2011 tsunami at Silabu103
Photo 3.20: During the pilot study – island-hopping on the local ferries109

Photo 3.21: Birthday celebrations at Mapadegat112
Photo 3.22: A traditional spirit-cleansing ceremony at Madobag113
Photo 3.23: Fortune telling with chicken intestines at Madobag114
Photo 3.24: A daytime interview with a SurfAid employee at Silabu116
Photo 3.25: An evening interview with a participant (holding the information sheet), and a local villager observing; Ebay, Siberut117
Photo 3.26: An elementary school teacher about to sign the consent form, Silabu, North Pagai119
Photo 3.27: Meeting with the <i>bupati</i> (Local Administrator) of the Mentawai Islands 120
Photo 3.28: Interview with a tourism operator121
Photo 3.29: Typical Mentawai ferry boarding at Maura, Siberut125
Photo 3.30: Presenting research in front of Budy's faculty at Bogor Agricultural University, Java127
Photo 4.1: Mentawai surf charter vessel <i>The Addiction</i>
Photo 4.2: Macaronis Resort, North Pagai136
Photo 4.3: Pak Esar homestay at Katiet137
Photo 4.4: Non-package surf tourists purchasing goods from a local store, Katiet, South Sipora
Photo 4.5: Surfers visiting the village of Katiet149
Photo 4.6: Men selling handicrafts from their canoes at Katiet151
Photo 4.7: Young Mentawai surfer at Katiet153
Photo 4.8: Monica homestay at Mapadegat155
Photo 5.1: Mentawai tourism staff displaying promotional material186
Photo 5.2: SurfAid headquarters at Tuapejat187
Photo 6.1: The village of Katiet, located in the coconut trees on the left, lies directly in front of the famous surf break HT's209
Photo 6.2: Arriving at Silabu by boat, access is through a maze of mangroves210
Photo 6.3: Young children playing with a surfer, while an older boy opens a coconut at Katiet

Photo 6.4: A school visit at Silabu, North Pagai	219
Photo 6.5: Female tourist wearing sufficient clothing while walking down the main street of Mapadegat	
Photo 6.6: The village administrator's house (right), Silabu	223
Photo 6.7: Homestay permit displayed on a homestay in Ebay	227
Photo 6.8: Local craftsman carving wooden handicrafts at Katiet	236
Photo 6.9: Surf tourists staying in uncompleted homestays at Ebay	237
Photo 7.1: Silabu Village leader accepting a donation from Rip Curl	246
Photo 7.2: Charter boats anchored off the coast, removed from the local communi	ty
	246
Photo 7.3: Visitors drinking alcohol at a homestay	249
Photo 7.4: A SurfAid health centre at Katiet	250
Photo 7.5: A Mentawai dinner banquet	261

List of Tables

Table 3.1: Eisenhardt's process of building theories from case study research74
Table 3.2: Specific dates and locations of the three different stages of research and details of fieldwork undertaken107
Table 4.1: Daily local expenditure (US\$) by surf tourists144
Table 4.2: Surf tourists' perspectives on local community involvement in the Mentawai surf tourism industry148
Table 4.3: Surf tourists' perception of whether there is a large amount of interaction between surfers and local community in the Mentawai Islands150
Table 4.4: Surf tourists' perception of the effectiveness of MMTA's management158
Table 4.5: Surf tourists' perception of whether the Mentawai Islands will be an attractive option for a surf holiday in 10 years162
Table 5.1: Cross tabulation between Mentawai surf tourism development and stakeholder group
Table 5.2: Cross tabulation between local community involvement and stakeholder group
Table 5.3: Stakeholder outlook for future surf industry development over the next 10 years204
Table 6.1: Cross tabulation between community change and level of exposure to tourism215
Table 6.2: Cross tabulation between whether there are too many tourists travelling to the Mentawais and level of tourism exposure225

List of Appendices

Appendix A: Confidentiality Agreement	306
Appendix B: Participant Information Sheet – English Version	307
Appendix C: Participant Information Sheet – Indonesian Version	310
Appendix D: Consent Form – English Version	313
Appendix E: Consent Form – Indonesian Version	314
Appendix F: Indicative Discussion Guide for Interviews with Industry Stakeholders	315
Appendix G: Online questionnaire for Surf Tourists	317
Appendix H: Indicative Discussion Guide for Interviews with Local Community	
Members	325
Appendix I: AUT Ethics Approval	327
Appendix J: Researcher Safety Protocol	329
Appendix K: Indonesian Research Visa	330
Appendix L: Letter of Support from Simon Milne (Research Supervisor)	331
Appendix M: Letter of Support from Budy Wiryawan (Indonesian Research	
Counterpart)	332
Appendix N: RISTEK Research Permit	333

List of Abbreviations

AKSSB West Sumatran Charter Boat Association

AUD\$ Australian dollar

CBT Community-based tourism

DFID Department for International Development

EIA Environmental impact assessment

GBI Great Breaks International

MARVIP Mentawai Archipelago Visitor Registration and Approval

MMM Mentawai Mooring Movement

MMTA Mentawai Marine Tourism Association

MOD Manado Ocean Declaration

MWB Mentawai Wisata Bahari

NGO Non-government organisation

NZ\$ New Zealand dollar

PNG Papua New Guinea

RISTEK Ministry Of Research and Technology

SL Sustainable livelihood

STD Sustainable tourism development

US\$ United States dollar

WCED World Commission for Economic Development

WWF World Wildlife Fund

ZAP Zone agreement permits

Attestation of Authorship

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

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Abstract

Surf tourism is expanding into regions with newly discovered surf breaks, often in less economically developed world parts of the world. The economic, environmental and socio-cultural benefits that surf tourism brings to many destinations worldwide are significant; however, adverse community impacts can also be significant and often overlooked. The Mentawai Islands, located off the west coast of Sumatra, Indonesia, is an emerging surf tourist destination and provided the case study used in this thesis to explore multiple stakeholder perspectives on surf tourism development.

This thesis attempts to listen to all relevant stakeholders involved in the Mentawai surf tourism industry (the multiple stakeholder perspective). To achieve some degree of immersion, the researcher lived and surfed in the Mentawai Islands for four months. The core data-collection tools used were semi-structured interviews for local community members, government officials, surf charter boat operators, surf resort operators, NGO employees, and surf journalists (72 participants), and an online questionnaire for surf tourists (48 respondents). The interviews and online questionnaires being supported by field observations and informal discussions with key stakeholders. The triangulation approach combined several complementary research tools, with each data-collection method highlighting complexities and contrasts between different stakeholder groups, thus adding insights to the overall picture.

This doctoral thesis contributes to the large body of knowledge surrounding sustainable tourism development (STD) and specifically adds to the limited existing literature on surf tourism. The study has illustrated the complex challenges that stakeholders faced attempting to enhance the sustainability of surf tourism development in the Mentawai Islands. The findings revealed a number of underlying themes that included: the need for improved communication between stakeholders; the inadequacy of current tourism-management strategies; the importance of local community participation; and the need for more sustainable surf tourism development practices in the Mentawai Islands. Despite the many obstacles present in the various

sectors of the industry, there is one main cross-cutting theme that should be noted: all stakeholders showed enthusiasm to work together to ensure the Mentawai Islands became a more sustainable destination.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Rationale

Communities throughout the developing world have turned to tourism because of its ability to generate income and create new jobs (Scheyvens & Momsen, 2008, p. 22). Tourism also has the potential to bring positive socio-cultural change to traditional societies through introducing new concepts, teaching language, caring for the environment and improved health care (Scheyvens, 2011). Despite these benefits, tourism also produces adverse environmental, social and economic impacts.

These impacts on communities are particularly significant in less economically developed nations. Work by Murphy (1981, 1983, 1985, 1988, 1993) has shown that tourism has a ripple effect on the host community, which can ultimately change or destroy local culture. More recent studies over the last decade have revealed that impacts associated with tourism in developing nations are multifaceted, often leading to increased social tension and breakdown of traditional community structures (Cavus & Tanrisevdi, 2003; Dyer, Aberdeen & Schuler, 2003; Gu & Ryan, 2007; Ishii, 2012; Mbaiwa, 2011). As well as socio-cultural impacts on a community, tourism also creates extra waste in societies that generally do not have effective waste-management systems. Furthermore, despite tourism increasing incomes for some local people, there are the issues of unequal distribution of profits between community members, and the creation of a reliance on the tourism industry for income, moving locals away from their traditional livelihoods (Simpson, 2009).

Many academics argue that tourism in some developing nations is a new form of colonialism (Manyara & Jones, 2007; Spenceley and Meyer, 2012), which can create increased inequalities and dependency (Scheyvens, 2007, p. 238). Tourism also has the potential to exploit the workforce of less developed countries, produce inappropriate development policies (Sharpley, 2009), displace local communities (Mowforth & Munt, 2009) and generate conflicts over scarce resources (Mbaiwa & Darkoh, 2009). A major concern is that the global structures of the tourism industry have made it impossible for less developed countries to benefit from tourism development, and that foreign

"leakages" from multinational companies is high (meaning that money generated often goes offshore) (Scheyvens, 2009).

There are many terms used to describe sustainable tourism development (STD) and related philosophies in developing nations. These have included ecotourism, pro-poor tourism, community tourism, sustainable tourism, responsible tourism and community benefit tourism (Simpson, 2009, p. 186). These types of tourism predicated on the premise that the industry should develop in an environmentally, economically and socially sustainable manner that will benefit local communities. Problems have emerged in evaluating whether these programmes are providing such benefits to local communities and the environment, whilst maintaining financial viability (United Nations Development Programme, 2011).

Spenceley and Meyer (2012, p. 301) note that studies need to embrace the complexity of tourism, moving away from an approach that sees the industry either as a force for good or evil, and acknowledge that it is a powerful social force that needs to be better understood in order to enable more effective links to sustainable development. The understanding of multiple stakeholder perspectives allows the relationships between relevant stakeholders involved in the tourism industry to be examined, and the major barriers to sustainable development identified (Timur and Getz, 2008). The support of host communities is a proven pre-condition for sustainable tourism development; therefore, alongside other types of approaches to tourism research, detailed community social impact studies are of vital importance to tourism planning and decision-making (Deery, Jago & Fredline, 2012; Harrill, 2004; Zhang, Inbakaran & Jackson, 2006; Tovar & Lockwood, 2008).

Assessing the impacts of tourism development on different stakeholder groups in less developed countries has presented a considerable challenge for researchers. Historically, studies have tended to focus on environmental impacts (Cole, 2006, p. 629), often oversimplifying the situation and failing to highlight the deeper issues influencing communities (Simpson, 2009). Stewart and Draper (2007, p. 7) comment that understanding local stakeholder perspectives in developing regions is critical in order to maximise positive and minimise negative effects of tourism within communities and to ensure longevity and sustainability of tourism developments.

Investigating multiple stakeholder perceptions offers an approach to evaluating STD, as the framework can include the views of all the stakeholders who are directly related to the tourism activity that is being examined (Byrd, Bosley & Dronberger, 2009, p.693).

Surf tourism often involves tourists travelling to newly discovered surf destinations in developing countries, and therefore it is an ideal vehicle through which to explore the interface between local stakeholders and sustainable tourism development. Surf tourism worldwide is booming, with an estimated 23 million surfers and a total industry value exceeding US\$8 billion (Carroll, 2004). The economic benefits that surf tourism brings to destinations around the world have proven significant (Gough, 1999; Nelsen, Pendelton & Vaughn, 2007; Lazarow, 2007; Lazarow, Miller & Blackwell, 2008; Ntloko & Swart, 2008; Martin and Assenov, 2012). However, in some locations the amount of income that the local community receives has been shown to be limited (Ponting, MacDonald and Wearing, 2005; Ponting, 2007 and 2009). Furthermore, indications from two studies, in Costa Rica and Indonesia, suggest surf tourism at a local scale can be responsible for adverse environmental, socio-cultural and economic impacts (Lazarow, Miller & Blackwell, 2007; Ponting, 2008; Ponting and Obrien, 2013).

Adverse impacts are potentially problematic at newly discovered surf destinations such as the Mentawai Islands where communities are less experienced in tourism development and the natural environments are pristine.

Surf tourism in the Mentawais is undergoing a rapid and far-reaching transformation that will change the islands, the lifestyles of the local people and surfers' experiences of the Mentawais forever (Baker, 2006, p. 1).

Surf tourism is a relatively recent activity in the Mentawai Islands (Figure 1.1). It is a rapidly growing industry, with the number of surf resorts and charter boats increasing every year. Meanwhile, the majority of Mentawai people live in poverty – in 2002, Barilotti found that copra harvesting yielded a family breadwinner at most AU\$30 a month. Health surveys funded through SurfAid International (2008) determined the situation to be "critical": child mortality is as high as 93 per 1000 live births and 41.1% of children under five years are malnourished. Many indigenous Mentawai communities have low education levels, and there are very few tools available to assist them in achieving greater participation in the surf tourism industry.

Padarg

Figure 1.1 Location of the Mentawai Islands

Source: Wikipedia (2009)

Surf tourism development in the Mentawai Islands faces a range of other challenges. Ponting (2008) suggests that local communities involved in the surf tourism industry are disillusioned with the amount of benefit they are receiving. Internet blogs and forums indicate that surf tourism development in the Mentawais has in many cases jeopardised sustainability through economic leakages, increased pressure on the environment and resources, and adverse effects on local communities (Global Surfers, 2009a, 2009b; Kurangabaa, 2009a, 2009b; Real Surf, 2009).

1.2 Aims and Research Questions

Only by providing an in-depth insight into multiple stakeholder perceptions will it be possible to comprehend fully, the barriers to the sustainable development of a tourism location (Byrd, et al., 2009, p.693). The overall aim of this doctoral study is to identify and explore stakeholder perceptions of surf tourism development in the Mentawai Islands, and to examine the issues and inter-relationships that shape tourism development in the region.

The specific research questions that guided this doctoral research are:

 To examine the characteristics of surf tourists visiting the Mentawai Islands and to gain deeper insights into how they perceive the environmental, social and economic impacts of their travel.

- To explore how government officials, surf tour operators, surf journalists and NGO employees perceive tourism and surf tourism development in the Mentawai Islands, and to examine their attitudes towards tourism management, stakeholder participation and the future development of the surf tourism.
- 3. To gain an understanding of how Mentawai communities perceive tourists and tourism development. What is the host population's view on current surf tourism and their participation in its development? What benefits or challenges has it brought?
- 4. To examine the common themes and key differences that emerge from the analysis, and to identify some potential approaches to enhance the future management in the industry.

The research builds on current theories surrounding the importance of local community participation in the sustainable development of tourism destinations in the developing world. These theories include social capital, community-based tourism, sustainable livelihoods, host population empowerment, and tourism stakeholder collaboration. This doctoral study strives to contribute new knowledge to the emerging field of surf tourism, by exploring multiple stakeholder perspectives on the development of the surf tourism industry in the Mentawai Islands.

The practical contribution of this investigation is to provide managers and policymakers with a deeper understanding of the current barriers to sustainable surf tourism development for the Mentawai Islands. The research aims to create increased consciousness amongst stakeholders of the factors that can achieve more sustainable outcomes. This study builds on previous research platforms provided by existing Mentawai surf tourism literature (Ponting et al., 2005; Ponting, 2008; Buckley 2002b).

1.3 Research Approach

Understanding the viewpoints of stakeholders involved in a particular tourism destination has significant benefits for STD outcomes. Gathering information from numerous perspectives allows a wide range of voices to be heard, considered and blended into tourism policy and management. This doctoral study builds on findings by academics such as Timur & Getz, (2008), whose work showed that tensions existing between stakeholder groups create barriers to STD.

The thesis integrates traditional field methods, such as informal observations from spending extended periods in small communities, with contemporary data-collection techniques, such as a web-based questionnaire which can be completed anywhere on the globe. The mixture of research methods is reflected in the presentation throughout the thesis, where imagery, word clouds and statistical analysis are used to support comments, quotes and personal field observations. This study also illustrates the challenges of undertaking fieldwork in remote locations in developing countries, which could be of assistance to future researchers gathering information in a similar setting.

The approach deemed most appropriate was explorative and interpretive, following a mixed method framework. A pilot study in the Mentawai Islands was undertaken in August 2009 in order to gain the context needed to develop the research design. The most suitable study sites and participants were identified through initial meetings and discussions with key local community members, surf tourism operators and government officials. The fieldwork took place over five months in 2010 and involved in-depth discussions, semi-structured interviews and informal observations with these stakeholders. An online questionnaire specifically for surf tourists was conducted simultaneously with the fieldwork, allowing participants to complete it at their own leisure.

Huxham and Vangen's (2005) theory of seeking the "collaborative advantage" in stakeholder collaboration was employed to uncover emergent themes that cut across the different stakeholder groups. The formulation of these cross-cutting themes allowed stakeholder perceptions to be investigated, highlighting specific issues that hinder the sustainable development of the Mentawais surf tourism industry.

1.4 Thesis Structure

The overall structure of this thesis intends to take the reader on a journey to the Mentawai Islands, exploring how stakeholders perceive surf tourism development. Logically, before one undertakes such a journey, some background research is necessary to fully appreciate the destination.

Chapter 2 provides a review of STD, and the subsequent evolution of alternative tourism. The role of stakeholders in sustainable development is discussed, and the topics of sustainable livelihoods, community participation and stakeholder collaboration are explored in the context of surf tourism in the Mentawai Islands. The Chapter then examines the emerging theory of collaborative advantage in relation to multiple stakeholder collaboration in tourism development. The Community-Based Tourism (CBT) model is also introduced as a framework that may be applicable to understanding the impacts and outcomes of surf tourism in the Mentawai Islands. The last section of Chapter 2 traces the evolution of surf tourism from its roots in Hawaiian culture through to modern-day commercial surfing packages to remote regions of the globe. Then the current scope of surf tourism research is discussed, with particular reference to the definition of surf tourism. The chapter concludes with an overview of surf tourism-related impacts, highlighting several of the issues produced by the development of surf tourism; with a brief introduction to the case study region of the Mentawai Islands.

Chapter 3 outlines the methodology adopted in the research, describing the interpretive paradigm and grounded theory approach. The process of triangulating data-collection techniques is presented. The rationale for the case study approach is given, followed by a synopsis of the case study region of the Mentawai Islands. An historical overview of the Mentawai surf tourism industry is provided, identifying current challenges to future development, as well as exploring current marine management policies in Indonesia and surf tourism management in the local context. The overall study design is presented, along with the interviewing process undertaken with individual stakeholder groups and subsequent data analysis. The last section of Chapter 3 explores the challenges of undertaking fieldwork in the Mentawai Islands, and outlines how these issues were addressed.

Chapter 4 provides a detailed profile of surf tourists who visit the Mentawai Islands, with a specific focus on surf-holiday characteristics, travel motivations and local expenditure. This chapter gives insight to the perceptions of tourists of the social, environmental and economic impacts associated with their visits and with surf tourism in general. The concluding sections of the chapter examine visitor views on the current

surf tourism-management scheme, local community involvement in the industry, and the future development of surf tourism in the Mentawai Islands.

Chapter 5 constructs a profile of surf tourism operators, and assesses how industry stakeholders in the Mentawai Islands perceive tourism and sustainable development. This chapter also provides a detailed insight into how the government and operator stakeholders perceive the impacts generated by surf tourism, and identifies the major challenges to individual stakeholder groups. The level of local community participation in the Mentawai surf tourism industry is examined through the eyes of operators and officials, and potential methods for increasing involvement of the host population are explored. The final section of the chapter investigates government and operator stakeholder perceptions for the future of the surf tourism industry in the Mentawai Islands, highlighting major challenges to its sustainability.

Chapter 6 examines how members of four local communities in the Mentawai Islands – Ebay, Katiet, Silabu and Mapadegat – perceive tourists, tourism and, specifically, surf tourism development. This chapter also provides a detailed picture of how the host population views community change related to surf tourism and its associated benefits and challenges. Lastly, investigation of the host population's perceptions of participation in the planning, management and consultation processes and future development of the industry.

Chapter 7 presents a synthesis of findings from Chapters 4, 5 and 6. The five main cross-cutting themes identified enable the complexities of individual stakeholder group perceptions to be further investigated and barriers to sustainable tourism development to be uncovered. The emergent themes include unsustainable surf tourism development, tourism planning, stakeholder communication, management frameworks, community participation, and future surf tourism development. These themes are explored in detail with specific reference to individual stakeholder groups.

Chapter 8 concludes the thesis with a discussion of the contributions of the research to the literature on surf tourism, STD and local community participation in tourism.

Attention is given to the methodological contributions of the study, the use of multiple interpretive research methods, and the advantages of incorporating community-based frameworks on the perspectives of the host population. Practical contributions are

discussed, such as the feasibility of establishing a regular tourism forum and the prospect of creating a sustainable tourism-management strategy. A future research agenda is proposed, which recommends further investigation into the practicalities of implementing sustainable surf tourism development in the Mentawai Islands.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Sustainable Tourism Development

Tourism that takes full account of its current and future economic, social and environmental impacts, addressing the needs of visitors, the industry, the environment and host communities. (UNWTO, 2005, p. 11-12)

Research focusing on sustainable tourism development has grown dramatically since the 1980s, resulting in a wealth of literature on the subject (Richins, 2009; Weaver 2006). Some of this literature has been criticised for its preoccupation with definitions and principles of sustainable development rather than focusing on the practical aspects, such as the development of tools to implement the concept in practice (Ruhanen, 2008, p. 429). In 1997, Hunter criticised the tourism sector for its slow progress in moving sustainability principles into practice. Again, in 2003, Stamboulis and Skayannis questioned whether tourism industry policymakers and stakeholders had accepted and utilised this large body of knowledge. Today STD is better understood and has become more central to tourism policy development.

The concept of sustainable development was a key theme in the Brundtland Commission Report (WCED, 1987) and the Rio Earth Summit (Roddick, 1992), both of which addressed poverty and global population growth. This growing importance placed on sustainable development has seen a shift from the dominant Western environmental paradigm – identified as a separation between human and nature (Knill, 1991) – towards a "greener" understanding of the world (Wiidegren, 1998). This new environmental paradigm has seen a change in people's environmental attitudes, with many consumers wanting "greener consumables" such as recycled goods and energy-efficient products (Kilbourne, Beckmann & Thelen, 2002, pp. 193-4).

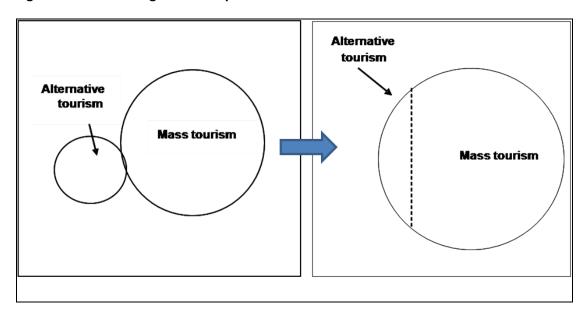
Cole (2006, p. 629) comments that the heavy emphasis by academics on contemporary environmental issues overshadowed earlier studies centred on community-related issues which were an important contribution in tourism research. It is important that studies investigating alternative tourism have a local community element, because

independent travellers often visit less developed countries to avoid "the beaten track" (Whelan, 1991), increasing the scope of adverse socio-cultural impacts on sensitive indigenous populations. Alternative tourism became a popular paradigm because of the negative impacts of mass tourism (Butler, 1990), and it is the natural outcome of the emerging information surrounding tourism development (Fennell, 2007).

Weaver (1998) believes that alternative tourism is not necessarily less harmful or better than mass tourism but rather a substitute for it. The alternative tourist puts distance between themselves and the mass tourist, considering themselves "travellers" rather than tourists and often travelling alone or in small groups (Weaver, 2001). Generally, Lanfant and Graburn (1992), Clarke (1997) and Weaver (2001) describe the relationship between alternative tourism and mass tourism by using dialectical and dichotomous terms; alternative tourism is the "good" option and mass tourism the "bad" option.

This conventional approach is increasingly challenged as further research on the nature of the relationship between mass tourism and alternative tourism is conducted. Weaver (2001) suggests that an emerging approach views mass tourism and alternative tourism as extremes on a continuum, and movement between them is a subtle transition rather than an abrupt jump across a boundary. The differentiation between alternative and mass tourism is becoming further unclear (Figure 2.1), as today many alternative tourism activities are large scale but aim to provide customised visitor experiences with a focus on sustainability (Weaver, 2007). Weaver (2012) concludes that contemporary tourism is converging towards sustainable mass tourism as the desired outcome for the majority of the world's destinations. The emergence of sustainable mass tourism, based on assumption that tourism destinations will move towards the direction of sustainability as demand for air travel highlights environmental concerns such as carbon footprints and emissions.

Figure 2.1 The evolving relationship between mass tourism and alternative tourism



Source: Adapted from Weaver (2001)

The emerging relationship between mass tourism and alternative tourism is moving in the direction of synthesis, convergence and symbiosis. Weaver (2001) comments that many forms of alternative tourism, such as ecotourism, have the potential to strengthen the mass tourism product by offering opportunities for diversification; in turn, mass tourism supplies a large market of "soft" ecotourists. It is now more than 10 years since Weaver's book was written, and today there are numerous transformational approaches such as "slow tourism" (Conway & Timms, 2010, p. 332) and "degrowth" (Hall, 2009, pp. 57–59), with different forms of tourism becoming so intertwined that it is debatable whether labelling tourism types and producing these distinctions is useful.

2.2 Stakeholders and Sustainable Tourism Development

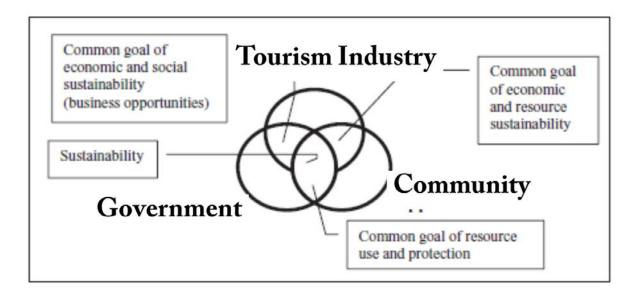
Freeman (1984, p. 46) defines a stakeholder as "any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of the organization's objectives." Donaldson and Preston (1995) offer a narrower and more refined definition, stating that to be identified as a stakeholder, the group or individual must have a legitimate interest in the organisation concerned. Hardy (2001, p. 75) notes both definitions have deficiencies when applied to the context of sustainable tourism, as they place an emphasis on recognition and do not address the concept of feedback. Stakeholders do not just relate to organisations; for example, Steelman's (2001) study of national forest

planning in the United States concluded that every person who felt involved in the park has the right to be involved no matter their level of power.

An understanding of local stakeholder perspectives towards tourism and related developments is vital if the industry is going to be managed in a sustainable fashion. It is important to monitor and measure stakeholder attitudes where possible (Stewart and Draper, 2007, p. 7). Burns (2003, p. 38) concludes that tourism built up through embracing a multiple stakeholder approach has a greater propensity for long-term stability because of decreased antagonism between sectors and the fostering of cooperative planning. Conflicts can occur when different stakeholder groups perceive tourism costs and benefits in alternative ways. Therefore, to effectively reduce inherent conflict and increase the sustainability of the tourism development, it is essential that the attitudes and perspectives of stakeholders are identified and understood (Reid, Mair & George, 2004). Hardy and Beeton (2001) recommend that before tourism development begins, tourism planners should listen to the views of all stakeholders.

The tourism industry, government and local community have different goals and interests regarding STD (Figure 2.2) (Timur & Getz, 2009). According to Timur and Getz (2009, p. 222), the local community and tourism operators share the common goal of economic and socio-cultural sustainability, while the local community, government officials and tourism industry share the common objective of sustainable resource use and protection aims. Moisey and McCool (2001) suggest sustainability can only ever be achieved in tourism developments once all stakeholder groups share common goals, and this requires the involvement of relevant local community members, government officials and tourism operators.

Figure 2.2 Sustainability goals of main stakeholder groups



Source: Timur and Getz (2009)

Most of the current theory associated with stakeholders and their role in tourism development is constructed from literature in the business management and public administration fields (Byrd et al., 2009). Much of the early research into stakeholders and stakeholder involvement focused on the organisation and the power of the stakeholder in public administration (Ansari & Philips, 2001; Carmin, Darnall & Mil-Homens, 2003; Steelman, 2001). Investigating different stakeholder groups and the importance of their perceptions of STD has also been a prominent theme in tourism research over the last decade (Andereck & Vogt, 2000; Davis & Morais, 2004; Gursoy, Jurowski & Uysal, 2002; Haukeland, 2011; Holden, 2010; Ryan & Aicken, 2005).

Traditionally, tourism stakeholders were spilt into four main groups: visitors, the host community, tourism operators, and government officials (Goeldner & Ritchie, 2003). Early tourism-development studies (Allen, Hafer, Long & Perdue, 1993; Lankford, 1994; Murphy, 1983; Pizam, Neumann & Relchel, 1978) looked at only one of the four stakeholder groups; therefore, it is rare to find multiple stakeholder studies. Byrd et al. (2009, p. 694) note that in comparison to the large number of studies investigating individual stakeholder groups, there has been very little research undertaken to contrast the perceptions of different stakeholder groups. The incorporation of relevant stakeholder perspectives is essential to guaranteeing effective tourism management plans (Battaglia, Daddi & Rizzi, 2012, p. 196). Focusing research on individual

stakeholder perspectives often obscures the complexities existing between groups, whereas investigating multiple groups allows a comprehensive view of the big picture.

Stewart and Draper (2007, p. 7) note that there are an increasing number of methods available for investigating the perceptions of local stakeholders within a STD approach. In general, investigations into stakeholder perceptions have followed deductive frameworks, focusing on how individuals respond to predetermined questions and how attitudes relate to external and internal variables (Fredline and Faulkner, 2002). Previous work by Hardy (2005), Hasse and Milne (2005) and Stewart, Jacobson and Draper (2008) has shown that combining interpretive research approaches helps in understanding the perceptions of local stakeholders affected by tourism development.

2.3 Sustainable Livelihood Model

The sustainable livelihoods (SL) approach (Shen, Hughey and Simmons, 2005) helps to understand how development processes are affecting the community and what the outcomes from tourism development are. Embedded in the SL approach are the concepts of vulnerability, social capital and "pro-poor" tourism; with these concepts expanded on in more detail later in this chapter. Collaboration, community participation and empowerment are other elements crucial in sustainable development; these are further explored and combined into the CBT model.

There is no "one size fits all" model for assessing local stakeholder perceptions. Using specific approaches for different groups can be useful in revealing unforeseen elements pertinent to that group, leading to a better understanding of group perceptions and insights. The SL framework is one such approach. It can be consistently replicated is flexible and easy to understand and use, especially in the common situation in which communities and other stakeholders sustain themselves by multiple activities (Simpson, 2009, p. 205). In marginal communities where achieving sustainability may be particularly difficult. An approach that uses the concept of sustainable livelihood has advantages over ones using sustainable development, and its derivative sustainable tourism. 'Livelihood' is a more concrete concept than 'development' and easier to discuss, observe, describe and even quantify" (Tao & Wall, 2009, p. 91).

An initial lack of cohesion in defining the SL model led a number of government departments, international organisations and non-government organisations (NGOs) to develop their own perspectives and methodologies (Cahn, 2002; DFID, 1999; Hussein, 2002). The pentagram-based module (Figure 2.3) developed by the United Kingdom's Department for International Development (DFID) (1999) captured the crucial elements of the "livelihood" concept. The DFID framework reinforces a peoplecentred approach, based around five key elements: assets, transforming structures and processes, vulnerability context, outcomes and strategies. Within the livelihood framework are assets, which consist of natural, physical, social, human and financial forms of capital. Transforming structures and processes involves both public and private sectors and incorporates policy, laws, culture and institutions. Livelihood strategies are the activities employed to generate the means of household survival outcomes (DFID, 2004).

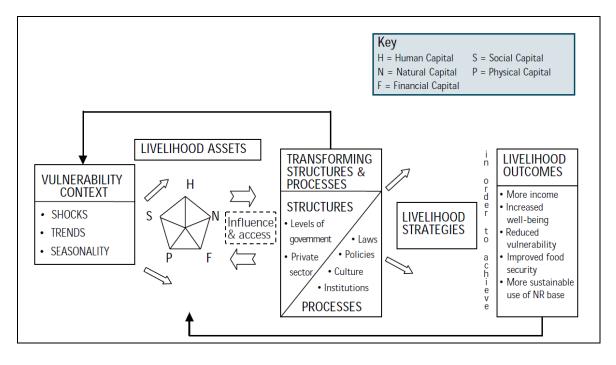


Figure 2.3 The DFID Sustainable Livelihood Framework

Source: DFID (1999)

A key concept of the SL model is the vulnerability context whereby people's livelihoods could be impacted by events largely out of their control (Cahn, 2006, p.27). The events vary with intensity, size, location, duration and character and can be (Glavovic, 2003, p. 290). The events can be external or internal and managing these events is a part of normal day-to-day living. External events are outside the world in which people live in

and includes shocks, trends and seasonality (DFID, 2004) and can negatively affect a poorer community's assets and its choice of livelihoods (Shen et al., 2005). The internal vulnerability context is concerned with how people cope (short term) and adapt (long term) to stresses and shocks. Poor people's livelihoods are often fragile, therefore they have reduced ability to cope with disturbances and adapt to processes over a longer period (Cahn, 2008, p.28). A major example of an internal process affecting local community livelihoods is their inability to adapt to accelerated cultural change due to increased levels of tourism development. Culture shock (Furnham, 1984), acculturation theory (Nunez, 1989), demonstration effect (Gossling, 2002; Fisher, 2004) and cultural commodification (George, Mair and Reid, 2009) are all terms used to describe this cultural change in local communities livelihoods.

Social capital is an important element in the SL framework, as livelihood outcomes improve when there is cooperation between individuals and groups within the community. There is still much debate over the definition of social capital. Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998, p. 243) define social capital as "the sum of the actual and potential resources embedded within, available through, and derived from the network of relationships possessed by an individual or social unit." Within the context of development, social capital is comprised of three key elements: trust, reciprocity and cooperation (Flora, 1998). The adoption of the term by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development in its (2001) executive summary "Well-being of the Nations: The role of human social capital" highlighted the importance of social capital to the tourism sector.

Social capital has only recently found its way into mainstream tourism research and is now playing a large role in the economic growth of the tourism sector (Okazaki, 2008, pp. 515–516). The significance of social capital in developing and managing conflict for host communities has been emphasised in previous research (Savage, Isham & Klyza, 2005; Rupasingha, Goetz & Freshwater, 2006; Magnani & Struffi, 2009). Social capital not only increases productivity through social networks, but it also acts as a lubricant to speed up local community participation in tourism and collaboration between stakeholder groups (Okazaki, 2008, p. 517). An example of this is Park, Lee, Choi and Yoon's 2012 study of factors influencing social capital in rural tourism communities in

South Korea, which found that villages with high levels of social capital act collectively to achieve superior development results.

The social capital concept is not without its critics. Some academics argue that the World Bank endorsed the use of the notion as it allowed development organisations to advance neo-liberal economics that exclude the consideration of the role of the state and substitute for it the role of the civil society (Schuurman, 2003; Adam & Urquhart, 2009). Navarro (2002) questions whether the role of power and politics should be considered, as social capital is modelled on democratic societies found in the USA and Europe. Corruption is a negative manifestation of social capital. Strong networks can also engage in negative activities such as those run by mafias, gangs and cartels, illustrating the potential misuse of the power inherent in all networks (Adam & Urquhart, 2009).

Carney (2002, p. 7) extends the framework laid out by the DFID (1999), Ashley, and Carney (1999) by arguing that there are five normative principles to consider when applying the sustainable livelihood approach: people-centred, empowering, responsive, participatory and sustainable. Carney (2002) believes that the SL approach can help tourism decision-makers to understand the constraints that poor people face, and the broader relevance of these constraints to their livelihoods. The SL approach also opens up opportunities to discuss the power issues that underlie poverty and helps policymakers to appreciate the importance of community participation. Simpson (2009) adds that benefits generated by SL include the creation of employment and economic opportunities, non-financial livelihood impacts such as the development of new skills, improved access to information and the creation of new infrastructure.

Not only has the SL approach been criticised for overlooking the importance of the essential elements of power and politics, but Scoones (2009, p. 180) says that it also overlooks the complexities that exist within communities. Other concerns raised by Scoones (2009) are that the SL framework does not adequately emphasise the need to increase the power and rights of the poor, and that it is extractive, with data collected locally but analysed in a different place. Historically, many researchers utilising the SL framework did not have experience in economics or the private sector, which resulted in a relegation of market and economic issues in SL studies (Carney, 2002). Timur and

Getz (2008, p. 446) argue that the traditional livelihood approach to tourism should include multiple stakeholder perspectives because it allows an intricate web of interests and trade-offs between interacting stakeholders to be explored.

Shen et al. (2005) developed the "Sustainable Livelihoods Framework for Tourism" (SLFT) (Figure 2.4), which explains the essential elements of a tourism livelihoods system. The SLFT system includes assets, activities related to tourism, outcomes, institutional arrangements, vulnerability and circumstance. In the SLFT model, tourism development is seen as the framework, which surrounds, influences and helps form all other assets, outcomes, activities, arrangement and vulnerability within a specific livelihood context.

All stakeholders are interactive, and each group's actions influence individual livelihoods. Therefore, the vertical and horizontal institutional arrangements are significant as they ensure the tourism system runs smoothly. Physical and financial capitals combine into "economic capital". The new institutional capital livelihood asset is introduced to the model and is defined as "providing for people's access to tourism markets, tourism benefits sharing, and access and participation in the policy-making process, and the extent that people's willingness is reflected in political decisions to achieve better livelihood outcomes" (Shen et al., 2005, p. 10).

Tourism Domestic International Institutional arrangements Horizontal Vertical governments national governments regional governments local governments fourism enterprises local community <u>N</u>GOs Tourists S Livelihood outcomes through tourism Sustainable economic development activities Ε Sustainable social development Sustainable environmental development Sustainable institutional development Η Ι Vulnerability context Trends Shocks Seasonality Institutions external market risks Tourism Domestic International

Figure 2.4 Sustainable Livelihood Framework for Tourism

Source: Shen et al. (2005, p. 100)

The vulnerability context of the SL model becomes even more important when introduced into the system because tourism is influenced by external factors (Shen et al., 2005). Calgaro and Lloyd (2008, pp. 228–229) note that the vulnerability of the tourism industry was demonstrated by the impacts of the 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami, the 1997–1998 Asian economic crises, the Bali bombings, and the severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS) and bird flu epidemics of 2003 and 2004. Baker and Coulter's (2007) investigation into the impact of terrorism on the livelihoods of Bali residents highlighted that tourism has since recovered from the initial devastation and that tourists are spending again. Similarly Lean and Smyth's (2009, p. 201) study into the impacts of the Asian financial crisis, avian flu and terrorist threats to Malaysia's tourist arrivals suggest that the effects of shocks on tourist arrivals are only transitory.

Nevertheless, external market risks are extremely unpredictable, and impacts can be detrimental to tourism livelihoods. Vulnerability varies with geographic scale (Shen et al., 2005). Global financial trends are visible on local, regional and national levels, while

natural disasters and seasonality are an immediate threat at community level. Calgaro and Lloyd's (2008, p. 302) research into the impacts of the 2004 tsunami on the small Thai community Khao Lak illustrated that the region's highly marketable image had been ruined as a result of the disaster, and the host population's dependence on seasonal tourism was also highlighted. Tourism in Thailand's coastal areas devastated by the tsunami has since bounced back, again suggesting that although tourism is very vulnerable to shocks, there is long-term resilience (Ghaderi, Mat Som & Henderson, 2012).

Pro-poor tourism is in many ways enmeshed into the SL approach. It is designed to enhance the linkages between tourism and poor people in a way that contributes to poverty reduction and further enables local community to participate effectively in tourism development (Van der Duim & Caalders, 2008). Pro-poor strategies aim to support micro enterprises and rural tourism projects, promote participatory planning, and have measureable outcomes that have clear benefits for the local community (Ashley, Roe & Goodwin, 2001; Mowforth & Munt, 2003). Meyer (2007, p. 577) suggests that the concept of pro-poor tourism has the potential to create linkages between the accommodation sector and "poor" neighbouring communities through employment, sourcing and procurement, small business development and partnerships.

Two recent studies have illustrated that pro-poor tourism development has the potential to be a substantial contributor to the alleviation of poverty but also has numerous limitations. Suntikul, Bauer and Song (2009) found that in the remote village of Viengxay, Laos, there were favourable conditions for pro-poor tourism development, with the local people being open to tourism and motivated to participate; however, a lack of tourism industry linkages posed a large barrier. Zapata, Hall, Lindo & Vanderschaeghe (2011) highlighted that positive economic impacts from pro-poor tourism in Nicaragua are relatively limited, but that social and cultural capital for women, young people, and the community are significantly strengthened.

As with the SL approach, the effectiveness of pro-poor strategies has not yet been proven (Blake, Arbache, Sinclair & Teles, 2008; Goodwin, 2007). It is often the case initiatives are developed without first establishing sufficient demand for them,

producing a large gap between community-based micro-scale business and the global tourism market (Van der Duim & Caalders, 2008). Critics argue that the pro-poor tourism approach is bound by a globalising capitalist economic system, which in turn increases the wealth disparity between foreign-owned tourism companies and local indigenous communities; therefore, tourism is unable to provide proportional benefits to the poor (Chok, Macbeth and Warren, 2007; Scheyvens, 2007; Schilcher, 2007).

Trau's (2012) study on tourism-based approaches to alleviate poverty in some of the least developed villages of Vanuatu suggests that the current international discourse for pro-poor tourism fails to reflect local realities, with community business models struggling to compete in the global market economy and meet local community expectations. Trau (2012, p. 149) proposes that a successful grassroots approach to pro-poor tourism needs to address the complicated processes operating within local communities and to be accompanied by the implementation of broader support structures, mechanisms and networks.

2.4 Community Participation in Tourism

Community participation is seen as a vital component of STD and is deeply embedded in the SL approach (Botes & Van Rensburg, 2000; Cole, 2006; Porritt, 1998; Okazaki, 2008). Arnstein (1969) comments that the objective of participation is to redistribute power amongst stakeholders and to share benefits and costs evenly between groups. Hitchcock, King and Parnwell (2008) note community involvement in the planning stages of tourism development is likely to result in more appropriate decisions and greater motivation on the part of the local people, and can safeguard the environment. Cole (2006, p. 630) adds that local participation is required to obtain community support and approval of tourism development and guarantees that the benefits reflect local community needs. Local knowledge provided by community members regarding local conditions is a valuable resource, and participation can add to the democratisation process and create awareness of local and regional issues (Tosun & Timothy, 2003).

Community participation in practice is hard to achieve for a number of reasons, including residents' lack of tourism knowledge, confidence, time and interest (Cole,

2006, p. 631). Scheyvens (2003) says lack of ownership, capital, skills and resources limit a community's capacity to control their participation in tourism development. Geographical information systems (Hasse & Milne, 2005) and participatory approaches (Hitchcock & Wesner, 2008; Landorf, 2009) to tourism planning have reduced many of the traditional barriers to community participation.

Cole (2006, p. 633) argues that isolated regions of less developed countries face further barriers, including a lack of experience in tourism development, and that developers often believe local people do not have the knowledge to contribute to or be involved in planning. Tourism policy implemented in developing countries is inherently a government-led development exercise, tailored to meet their own social and financial agendas and reflecting centralised decision-making, thereby reducing the opportunities for community involvement (Wang and Wall, 2007, p. 78). For example, Dadvar-Khani's (2012, p. 259) research into local community attitudes towards development in remote rural regions of Northwest Iran found that the tourism planning structure was not well prepared for involving the rural community in tourism development projects, resulting in limited participation by the host population.

Homestay tourism has shown to increase local community participation in the tourism industry. Homestay tourism involves tourists staying in local family homes. Guests eat, cook and do many activities with their host families, allowing parties with dissimilar cultural backgrounds to interact and learn from each other (Peterson, 2004). Stamboulis and Skayannis (2003, p. 38) note that homestay tourism allows tourists to enter into a multifaceted interaction with the host families and the setting of a narrative staged by the local community. Holidays involving staying with an ordinary family in private homes have been identified as a tourism product with high growth potential (Swarbrooke & Horner, 2007), which has led to the increasing popularity of "couch surfing" (staying with locals in their homes) and AirBnB.com.

Homestays are an "alternative" tourism product to "mass" or mainstream tourism and aim to attract a certain segment of the tourist market who desire authentic experiences (Jamal, Othman, Maheran & Muhammad, 2011, p. 5). Research by Musa and Kayat (2010, p. 26) identified that the homestay sector in Malaysia is of growing significance, and they reported there were more than 146 rural communities

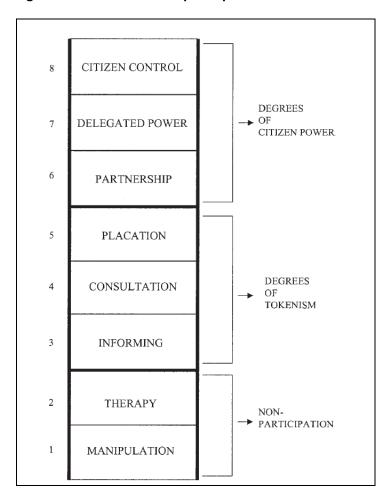
registered to operate as homestay hosts in the successful Malaysian Homestay

Program. This was developed in an attempt to diversify Malaysia's cultural tourism

product and provide economic benefits to the rural population.

Arnstein's (1969) "ladder of citizen participation" (Figure 2.4) helps to identify the current level of community participation in tourism and define the steps required to promote greater involvement. The ladder for citizen participation was developed for planning processes in the United States more than 40 years ago, making its relevance to current economic and sustainable development models questionable. The ladder sounds good in theory but needs to be realistic when applied to settings in less developed countries; for example, each rung on the ladder needs to incorporate local stakeholder perspectives allowing them to understand what is needed to achieve the next rung on the ladder. But it does display the progression of participation, defining three levels starting with non-participation, leading into degrees of tokenism, and finishing in degrees of citizen power. The ladder can be further broken down into eight categories, starting with manipulation and finishing with citizen control.

Figure 2.5 Ladder of citizen participation



Source: Arnstein (1971)

Empowerment is the "top rung" on the community participation ladder, the stage where community members are active in bringing about change, have the ability to solve problems, make decisions, implement strategies and assess management (Cole, 2006). According to Scheyvens (2003), there are four dimensions of empowerment: economic, psychological, political and social. The financial benefits of tourism are evidence of economic empowerment; psychological empowerment comes from pride in culture aided by tourism; and social empowerment results from increased community cohesion when communities band together through a tourism initiative. Sofield (2003) extends Scheyvens's framework on political empowerment, noting that it is a shift in the balance between the powerful and the powerless.

An important component of empowerment is knowledge. Host communities need to have access to a number of different tourism information resources in order to participate in decision-making (Tosun & Timothy, 2003). Community informatics has enabled many local communities influenced by tourism, in both developed and

developing nations, to become more empowered as they have greater access to information and communication technologies (Milne, Speidel, Goodman and Clark, 2005). Cole (2006, p. 631) comments that the first stage of empowerment is knowledge about the tourism industry, which then allows the host community to make informed, appropriate decisions regarding tourism development. In poorer regions of the developing world, community members often have a weak understanding of the tourism industry, which creates a lack of confidence to participate in the tourism decision-making process (Ashley et al., 2001).

There is much debate in literature on the conceptualization of 'tourism' and 'tourist'. This is often confined to theoretical debate and the research literature often neglects to consider that the many researchers and participants may define tourism and tourist differently. Even within the Western literature there is little agreement about what exactly tourism is in any given context (Berno, 1999, p.656).

In Gianna Moscardo's (2008, p. 173) book "Building community capacity for tourism development", she found one of the key in gaps of existing community participation literature in tourism development research was that local communities need to better understand the concept of tourism before they participate in tourism planning decisions. The understanding of tourism and its related impacts assists communities to make informed decisions about whether or not they want tourism to develop in their local area. Sammy (2008, p. 75) extends this notion and highlights that tourism is a culturally defined word, there is often a lack of understanding of what the basic idea of tourism is within the community and what tourism means to cultures that have no equivalent concept. Communities in developing countries need to first identify through their own experiences and understanding the characteristics of foreign travellers compared to local travellers. Becoming more familiar with tourists increases understanding of the concept of tourism and helps the local community better articulate their ideals, values and interests in the tourism planning process.

2.5 Stakeholder Collaboration in Tourism Development

It is well documented that partnership building and collaboration are vital elements in enabling the sustainable development of tourism destinations (Timur & Getz, 2008; Nault and Stapleton, 2011; Moswete, Thapa & Child, 2012). Pretty (1995) asserts that collaboration leads to the pooling of knowledge, expertise, capital and other

resources, greater coordination of appropriate policies, increased approval of policies, and more successful implementation. The stakeholders remain autonomous with independent decision-making powers regardless of the group, within a framework of rules. Collaborative communication is generally a relatively formal process involving regular, face-to-face exchange of ideas, distinguishing it from other forms of participation (Carr, Selin & Schuett, 1998). Maitland (2002) concludes that the creation and development of trust is an important goal for successful partnerships.

Collaboration in tourism development should include multiple stakeholders, both private/public and community/private, cross-sector planning, collective decision-making, and the bridging of cultural differences (Okazaki, 2008, p. 511). Collaboration is a vital component in the tourism-development process, with effective communication being crucial in resolving disputes between stakeholder groups (Gray, 1985 and 1989). Okazaki (2008, p. 514) comments that independent attempts by stakeholders to find solutions to their challenges often end in failure as different groups have their own objectives. Solutions to community-based problems are often found through collaboration – solutions are more likely to be found when stakeholders act together than when they act alone. Collaboration also relieves tension between the community and private sector, permitting all stakeholders to be involved in the tourism decision-making process (Jamal & Getz, 1999).

Tourism collaborations differ depending on several factors: geographic extent, the collaboration is voluntary or legislated, the balance of power between stakeholders, and organisational diversity and size all affect the outcomes of sustainable development (Selin, 2000). Kannapa (2011, p. 72) explains that tourism collaboration in developing nations requires greater levels of involvement from stakeholders than in developed countries, through increased dialogue, exchange of ideas and views and sharing lessons learnt, enabling them to better understand and effectively participate in local tourism development.

Selin and Chavez (1995, p. 848) conceived an "evolutionary model of tourism partnerships" which is helpful to determine how developed tourism collaboration is within a destination or community. The model consists of five stages: antecedents (initial circumstances), problem setting, direction setting, structuring, and outcomes

(i.e. impacts on the domain). They suggest that tourism partnerships begin in a context of environmental forces and evolve sequentially through problem setting, direction setting and structuring phases.

There are some inherent difficulties with partnership approaches to tourism development. For example, the involvement of diverse stakeholders often requires regular meetings (Bramwell & Lane, 2000) and has the potential to be a complex prolonged process (Wray, 2011). Byrd (2007) adds that planners often do not properly collect opinions from all stakeholders involved in the decision-making process, reducing the success of the planning process. Hardy and Phillips (1998) add that the blocking of collaboration by an unequal power relationship between stakeholders, it leads to conflicts between stakeholders resulting in unsuccessful tourism development.

Hall and Jenkins (1995) note that in many circumstances stakeholders may refuse to work with others as it could diminish their own influence, or they may distrust other groups. De Araujo and Bramwell (2002, p. 1139) add that in many tourism settings in less developed countries, there may be no practice of multiple stakeholder participation in decision-making. Previous studies have shown that the participation approach developed for First World countries may be unsuccessful in the socioeconomic, cultural, administrative or political situation of a less developed country (Tosun, 2006; Marzuki, 2008; Nault and Stapleton, 2011).

There are greater challenges for those in economically less developed countries who wish to practise a collaborative tourism-development process compared with those in the developed world (Ashley et al., 2001; Desai, 1996; Few, 2000). Recent studies by Lamberti, Noci, Guo and Zhu (2011) in Shanghai, China, and Aref (2011) in Shiraz, Iran, found that restricted access to decision-making and a lack of resources, knowledge, skills and education were all barriers to community participation in economically less developed countries.

An administrative challenge occurring in many developing countries is that centralised-government controls can mean there is minimal local government influence, resulting in no incorporation of local community perspectives into management schemes

(Tosun, 2006; Ying & Zhou, 2007). In addition, intricate bureaucracies and related jealousies within government splinter tourism development and hinder coordinated policy-making. Businessmen often get special treatment from powerful patrons, and poor communities generally do not have the time to be involved in tourism planning as they are busy working in order to survive (De Araujo & Bramwell, 2002, p. 1141).

De Araujo & Bramwell (2002, p. 1140) believe that there are a number of aspects of tourism-development partnerships that require further investigation. The focus needs to be on collaboration at a regional scale, as most previous studies have examined community or local-level collaboration (Jamal & Getz, 1999; Reed, 2000, as cited in De Araujo and Bramwell, 2002). Milne and Ateljevic (2001) add that understanding the global–local nexus is paramount to building constructive tourism partnerships and a need for embracement by tourism researchers.

2.5.1 The collaborative advantage

The world of collaboration. It is a world in which it is possible to feel inspired. Almost anything is, in principle, possible through collaboration since you are not limited by your own resources and expertise (Huxham and Vangen, 2005, p. 3).

Huxham and Vangen (2005, p. 3), in their breakdown of collaborative arrangements (not in the context of tourism), use the term "collaborative advantage" to describe when something unusually creative is formed (may be a goal is achieved), which no one group could have produced by itself. They add that through the collaboration each group is able to accomplish its own objectives better than it could alone. The purposes of collaboration are in general to advance a strategic and shared vision, with the overall objectives of increasing access to resources, sharing of risk, improving efficiency and seamlessness, and assisting learning (Huxham and Vangen, 2005, pp. 5–7). Hammer (2010, p. 209) adds that collaborative processes "get the whole system in the room", and are well suited to the complex conditions associated with community visioning and planning settings.

Huxham and Vangen (2005) explain their theory of collaborative advantage as a theme-based approach in which stakeholders identify issues that strain collaboration. The themes raised by stakeholders at this stage are generally specific to one group.

Once initial themes are identified, the complexities of the collaboration become

clearer. The final stage is a deeper examination of the data, revealing underlying themes that are common to many groups — in other words, "cross-cutting" themes, mentioned in the discussion chapter of this thesis. In this last phase, tensions that pose barriers to collaboration are uncovered, and the nature of these tensions emerge. At the time of writing this thesis, the theory of collaborative advantage has rarely been applied to tourism research, and there are currently limited examples of it being utilised in a less developed nation context.

Despite collaboration being a recognised problem in tourism policy, research attempts have been hampered by a lack of cohesive thinking and the complexities involved in collaboration in this area. Devine, Boyle and Boyd (2011) applied the theory of collaborative advantage to sports tourism in Northern Ireland. Devine et al. (2011, p. 37) found the approach helpful to explain inter-organisational relationships; however, they noted that no two collaborative settings are the same, that the themes overlap and are interlinked, and that collaboration is both complex and unpredictable.

2.6 CBT Models

Difficulties arise when trying to incorporate all elements into the SL model. Okazaki (2008) created the CBT model (Figure 2.6), which integrates the concepts of host population participation, power redistribution, collaboration and social capital, as described earlier in this chapter. In the CBT model, the joint aim within a community and among the stakeholders is tourism development. The model allows for community status assessment with regard to community participation.

The ladder of participation (Arnstein, 1969), power redistribution, bonding and linking social capital (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000) are centralised around internal and vertical participation within the community. Collaboration theory and bridging social capital describe the external and horizontal interactions with other stakeholders. Internal participation is affected by the external relationships. Alternately, if only one direction is emphasised, other elements fade into insignificance (Okazaki, 2008, pp. 517–518). The two-dimensional graph encompasses all four elements, giving researchers the ability to analyse the current position of the community.

Level of community participation & Bonding / linking Power redistribution to community social capital Citizen control Degrees of citizen Delegated power (b) power Partnership Placation Degrees (c) Consultation tokenism Informing Therapy Nonparticipation Manipulation Collaboration processes to be Bridging repeated progressively social capital (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (1) Antecedents Problem- Direction- Structuring Outcomes (1) (2)setting setting Collaboration processes

Figure 2.6: A model of community-based tourism

Source: Okazaki (2008, p. 513)

The CBT model is a two-dimensional graph displaying the collaboration processes and bridging social capital on the horizontal axis, and Arnstein's (1969) participation ladder, power redistribution and social capital on the vertical axis. The upward slope of the curve reflects five different circumstances:

- (1) if community participation is promoted, power redistribution will be facilitated;
- (2) if the collaboration process does not grow, community participation and power redistribution will not take place;
- (3) if community participation and power redistribution do not progress, collaboration will not be formed;
- (4) inequities in power will destabilise collaboration;
- (5) social capital is established progressively and contributes to improving the sustainability of the destination by fostering synergy within the community, between the community and with other stakeholders (Okazaki, 2008, p. 517).

The CBT model incorporates the S-shaped curve from the tourism life-cycle model (Butler, 1980) which has a local-impact dimension; the host community aspect is

where the two approaches interact. The S-shaped curve in the CBT model displays the relationships among the levels of community participation, power redistribution, collaboration processes and social capital. The final shape of the S-shaped curve will depend upon numerous internal and external factors, such as the stage of tourism development; economic, socio-cultural, political and environmental circumstances in the community; availability and access to resources; community support for tourism development; conflicts or disputes over tourism development; and the facilitator's contribution to the community discussions (Okazaki, 2008, p. 517).

At the start of the process, the community has little power and tourism development is slow to proceed. Similarly, during the final phase when the community is empowered and social capital is high, the rate of tourism development will again be slow (Okazaki, 2008, p. 517). Once "partnership" is reached, the graph can extend in one of three ways: (1) it will continue to move upwards if other stakeholders agree with further community participation and power redistribution to the community; (2) it will remain steady if the community and other stakeholders are satisfied with the level of participation achieved, or (3) it will move downwards if the other stakeholders reject the power swing or if the community is divided (Selin & Chavez, 1995).

One aspect of the CBT model that requires further attention is that it does not adequately take community attitudes towards tourism development into consideration. Gursoy and Rutherford (2004, p. 513) found that it is important that a model identifies significant factors that are likely to influence the host community's attitudes towards development. Community attitudes are integral to Butler's (1980) S-shaped life-cycle model. There are many historical examples in the literature that show that when tourism development is in its infancy it is perceived as beneficial to the community, but as development increases, residents' attitudes can rapidly become negative (Ryan, Scotland & Montgomery, 1998; Smith & Krannich, 1998). Wall and Mathieson (2006) add that the host community has a tolerance threshold for tourists that ultimately results in less support for development.

Despite the CBT model's limitations, it is suitable to use with many remote regions of less developed countries because of its applicability to an early phase of tourism development. The utility of the model in the later stages of tourism development and

in diverse cultural contexts has not yet been investigated (Okazaki, 2008, p. 527). The CBT model has proven effective in exploring local stakeholder participation in tourism destinations in less developed countries. Okazaki (2008, p. 526) notes that the CBT model was helpful in identifying the present position of the Palawan community, in the Philippines in relation to the principal elements of STD. Nault and Stapleton (2011, p. 710) applied the CBT model in Sogoog, Bayan-Ulgii, Mongolia, and they decided that it was helpful at indicating initiatives the community and stakeholders needed to undertake. These initiatives included community support for the local Kazakh Family Development NGO in education and health programmes. There is a need to undertake more studies in settings in less developed countries, which investigate emerging tourism destinations and tourism types. Surf tourism in the Mentawai Islands, Indonesia being a case in point.

2.7 The Evolution of Surf Tourism

The first recorded people to ride waves were Incan fishermen in northern Peru, who rode incoming swells on streamlined bundled-reed *caballitos* as early as 3000 BC Stand-up surfing as we know it today began in the Hawaiian islands around AD 1000, where it was practised widely. Surfboards were made from native hardwood, roughly shaped with an axe then sanded smooth with stones or pieces of coral (Warshaw and Finnegan, 2005, p. xiii). In 1777, Captain James Cook and his crew on board the *Resolution* were the first foreigners to witness Hawaiians surfing. Several decades later, in the 1820s, American Calvinist missionaries viewed surfing as "non-productive, licentious, and dangerous" and banned all surf festivals, leaving the sport to almost disappear (Warshaw and Finnegan, 2005, p. xi).

The first record of surfing on mainland USA was in 1885 when three Hawaiian princes:

David Kawananakoa; Edward Keliiahonui and Jonah Kuhio Kalaniana'ole surfed longboards made of local redwood in Santa Cruz, California. In the early twentieth century, surfing began its comeback at Waikiki Beach on the Hawaiian island of Oahu.

The surfing aesthetic was deemed highly valuable as a destination-marketing tool for the island group (Douglas & Douglas, 1996; Kampion, 2003). At this time, Duke Kahanamoku, George Freeth and Alexander Hume Ford were surfing's most prominent promoters. Ford introduced the sport to Jack London, whose account "A Royal Sport:

Surfing at Waikiki" was published in *A Woman's Home Companion* in October 1907, introducing Middle America to the sport. The following year Ford formed the Outrigger Canoe Club in Waikiki, which was surfing's first organisation (Kampion, 2003; Warshaw and Finnegan, 2005). Between 1907 and 1908, George Freeth was credited as introducing surfing to southern California with a series of demonstrations at Venice, Huntington and Redondo beaches. However, the surfing exploits of the more famous Duke Kahanamoku are better known (Photo 2.1). Duke Kahanamoku gave well-attended surfing demonstrations on both coasts of America as well as in New Zealand and Australia (Warshaw and Finnegan, 2005, p. xiv).



Photo 2.1: Duke Kahanamoku standing with surfboard in Los Angeles, California

Source: Wikipedia (2012a)

The famous break at Malibu was discovered in 1927 by Southern Californian surfers travelling the coast in search of good waves. In 1932, some Californian surfers stowed away to Hawaii on board an ocean liner, representing one of the first cases of modern international surf tourism (Ponting, 2008). Meanwhile in Australia, the construction of heavy surfboards restricted their use mostly to surf lifesaving activities within the

Sydney region (Kampion, 2003). By 1958, surfing had made its way to remote Bells Beach, where Peter Troy and friends established the Bells Beach Board Riders Club (Griggs, 2002, pp. 244–245).

During the late 1950s and mid-1960s, the world went into a surf craze, hyped by music from the Beach Boys, Jan and Dean and surf films such as *Gidget*, *Beach Party* and *Beach Blanket Bingo* (Warshaw and Finnegan, 2005, p. xvii). This resulted in increased crowding of popular surf breaks in California and a reduction in the quality of the surfing experience. Reed explains:

Prior to *Gidget*, a Malibu surfer could pretty much ride any wave he wanted. Crowding was unheard of and every surfer knew every other surfer at the home break. *Gidget* changed that in one season. It made surfing seem sexy and adventurous to millions of movie goers ... One year there were approximately 20 surfers at Malibu, the next there were hundreds (Reed, 1999, p. 16).

In 1963 Peter Troy embarked on a four-year surf trip visiting Britain, France, Spain, Morocco, the Canary Islands, the Virgin Islands, Hawaii, Mexico, El Salvador, Brazil, Peru, Argentina, Syria, Angola and South Africa; his trip would become one of the first highly publicised examples of international surfing tourism (Warshaw and Finnegan, 2005). However, Troy's exploits were soon eclipsed by Bruce Brown's (1966) film *The Endless Summer: In Search of the Perfect Wave* (Figure 2.7) which gave rise to modernday surf tourism. Kampion (2003, p. 98) noted that "it was the epiphany of Cape St. Francis – that perfect, peeling wave ... – that ignited the explosion of surf travel that would shape the sport for the rest of the millennium."

Ponting (2008, p. 44) suggests that *The Endless Summer* film also defined the nature of surfing destinations in economically less developed countries, as well as establishing a stereotype of behaviour for the travelling surfer which was not always positive. Similarly, Barilotti (2002, p. 36) explained that *The Endless Summer*, "with its good natured but patronising tone towards the impoverished villagers they encountered through Africa and South America set the paradigm early of surfers as goofball neocolonialists."

Figure 2.7: The Endless Summer movie poster



Source: Movieposter.com (2012)

Excessive crowding, aggressive confrontations in the water and persecution by the local authorities in urban centres such as Narrabeen, Sydney, and Huntington Beach, Orange County, contributed to the rise of domestic surfing tourism. Surfers travelled to rural regions in search of virgin waves, but these surf breaks soon became crowded too, motivating the first explorers to leave traditional surf destinations in a global search for the perfect wave. Uluwatu on the island of Bali, Indonesia, was one of the first discoveries and featured in the surf film *Morning of the Earth*. It depicted a "fantasy", an untouched mysterious tropical paradise with the freedom of the surf-exploring lifestyle (Ponting, 2008). The unearthing of Uluwatu soon led to other

Indonesian discoveries such as Lagundri Bay, Nias and Garajagan, inspiring another surge in surf exploration.

The discovery of amazing waves even in the most isolated regions in Indonesia, often led to the establishment of a surf resort or surf charter tour (Warshaw and Finnegan, 2005, p. xxi). Commercial surf tourism was born. The first "surf camp" began operation at Garajagan in east Java in 1977–78 (Lueras & Lueras, 1997), providing simple accommodation, food, water, beer and transport from Bali (Warshaw and Finnegan, 2005). Live-aboard yacht-charter tours began in the early 1980s, with Australian Paul King becoming one of the first surf travel agencies specialising exclusively in package deals on charter boats in Lombok and Sumbawa. The Mentawai Islands in Sumatra captured the imagination of the surfing world during the 1990s through advertising campaigns of Rip Curl, Billabong and Quiksilver. By 2000, only six years after the opening up of the market, the Mentawais were supporting a surf charter fleet of more than 30 live-aboard yachts, and operators were rushing to secure land for resort development (Ponting, 2008).

2.8 Surf Tourism Research

Today, surfing's popularity has increased dramatically (Lazarow, Miller and Blackwell, 2007), with an estimated 23 million surfers worldwide (Warshaw and Finnegan, 2005). In 2007, Viejo estimated that the surf industry was valued at US\$7.8 billion dollars, with many of the larger companies such as Billabong and Quiksilver listed on the stock exchange. The recent economic slowdown has taken the wind out of the surf industry's sails. The reduction in consumer spending meant the retail industry went through a rough patch, with surfing apparel taking the heaviest blow between 2008 and 2009. A recent report on the state of the surfing market by Global Industry Analysts (2013) forecast the surf market to recover and reach \$13.24 billion by the year 2017. Surfing is a professional sport, being transformed from an amateur sport by the World Championship Tour, which visits nine different countries and is watched by millions of viewers via a live webcast (ASP, 2009). Surf tourism is global, with new surf discoveries in developing world countries such as Oman, Mozambique, Papua New Guinea and India. Advances in wetsuit technology have also allowed extremely cold surf destinations such as Norway, Iceland and Russia to be surfed.

With industry growth of more than 7% per annum the popularity of surfing, dramatic growth is forecast for the next decade (Global Industry Analysts, 2013). This surge has led to an increase in the number of surfing tourists, resulting in the publication of numerous surf travel guides, histories and surfing autobiographies. However, there has not been a parallel increase in academic research into surfing's associated impacts. Much of the academic research surrounding surf tourism has focused on defining surf tourism. It can be argued that attempts to categorise surf tourism are unproductive, and one may ask does it matter? Ultimately, all surfers are tourists if surfing is their primary reason for travelling whether it be for one day or an entire trip.

Over the last two decades, many new forms of tourism have emerged, making it difficult for academics and researchers to distinguish between the different sectors and subsectors of tourism. Orams (1999) describes "surf" tourism, as a subset of marine tourism. Alternatively, Poizat-Newcomb (1999), and Dolnicar and Fluker (2003b) argue that "surf" tourism is a subset of sport tourism. Buckley (2003) argues that surf tourism is a subset of nature-based adventure tourism, as it has evolved from a recreational activity to a niche tourism sector. Tantamjarik (2004) agrees with Buckley and notes that surf tourism is just one of many niche tourism types that fall under the nature-based adventure tourism banner. By using the classification models designed by Weaver (2001), the relationship between surf tourism and alternative tourism and mass tourism is clearly displayed: surf tourism can be considered as both a subset of alternative tourism and of mass tourism.

Nature-based adventure tourism

Mass tourism

Mass tourism

Surf Tourism

Figure 2.8: The relationship between mass tourism and alternative tourism: The conventional approach versus the emerging approach

Source: Adapted from Weaver (2001)

Surf Tourism

Surfing becomes tourism as soon as surfers travel away from their local surf spot, with riding waves as the primary purpose for travel. Buckley (2002a, p. 414) comments that a surf tourist is a surfer first and a tourist second, a view shared by the researcher and many surfers with whom he has discussed this dichotomy in definition. Surf tourism occurs on a continuum; from die-hard professionals to causal weekend surfers. Boxing these surf tourists into a broad single definition using temporal and spatial parameters does not recognise these subtleties (Orams and Towner, 2012).

Martin and Assenov's (2012) systematic review of surf tourism research between 1997 and 2011 found 156 studies with approximately two-thirds of the research being grey literature. Only 23 of the 42 published academic journal articles were dedicated to surf tourism. Sixty percent of the 156 works being produced in the last five years. This large increase in publication rate is indicative of an emerging field of study (Martin and Assenov, 2012). While research into surf tourism has accelerated over the last decade surfers themselves are still a relatively unknown tourist group. The few studies that have investigated surf tourists have focused on constructing socio-demographic profiles, travel motivations and destination preferences (Dolnicar and Fluker, 2003a and 2003b, Barbieri and Sotomayor, 2013).

Most of the academic literature on surf tourism published over the last decade has focused on examining the relationship between surfing economics and tourism (Scarfe, Healey and Rennie, 2009, p. 541). Studies by Nelsen et al. (2007), Lazarow (2007), Wagner, Nelsen and Walker (2011) and Lazarow et al. (2008) have identified that surf tourism brings certain significant economic benefits to several mature and economically developed world surfing destinations such as the Gold Coast, Australia, and southern California in the United States. Lazarow et al. (2007, pp. 5–6) estimates that the 64,000 visits made by surfers every year to South Stradbroke Island on the Gold Coast generate a total annual spend of approximately AUS\$20,000,000. Wagner et al. (2011, p. 6) note that although Californian surfers generally travel relatively short distances to go surfing, each visit generates a significant spend of between US\$54 and US\$\$70.

Unfortunately, many of these studies failed to identify the community impact dimensions, and their cases were largely limited to economically developed countries. Buckley (2002a) notes a major reason for researchers overlooking the socio-cultural impacts is because surfing tourism is connected to the specific features of the natural landscapes and, although it has strong economic linkages, it is largely disconnected from the cultures of the host communities. The last two years has seen a dramatic increase in the number of studies into a variety of different socio-cultural impacts generated by surf tourism. Studies relevant to this doctoral thesis include: work by Martin and Assenov (2013a and 2013b) on developing sustainable social indicators for surf beaches; research into sustainable surf tourism and the community centred approach in Papua New Guinea (PNG) (Obrien and Ponting, 2013) and research into the consequences of deregulating common pool resources for Fiji's surf tourism industry (Ponting and Obrien, 2013).

Ponting and Obrien's (2013) research is particularly relevant to the Mentawai Islands surf tourism industry due to the current government management and regulation issues. Their study clearly shows that in 2010 when Fiji's government policy changed by cancelling licenses that granted resorts exclusive use of surf breaks there were instant impacts on the local community and longer lasting effects on industry sustainability. Overnight, the government's neo-liberal policy shift boosted surf tourist numbers and disintegrated joint ventures that were profitable for locals. As a result

indigenous communities risk exclusion from the surf tourism industry. The overcrowding of popular surf zones from open access and decreasing surf tourism profits for local community is a major concern for the sustainability of the industry and threatens to compromise Fiji's established title as a premiere surf tourism destination.

Obrien and Ponting's (2013) study in PNG on community centred development offers an alternative view from the neo-colonialist models of surf tourism development exhibited in other developing country surf tourism destinations, such as the Mentawai Islands and the Maldives. PNG, unlike Fiji, is a relatively new surf tourism destination with the Surfing Association of Papua New Guinea administering formalized surfing management plans, which attempt to sustainably manage surf tourism through empowering traditional indigenous communities to make their own decisions about their resources. Obrien and Ponting (2013, p. 170) note unlike remote Indonesian communities who find themselves 'spectators' as surf tourism develops without them, in PNG, communities are active participants involved in the decision-making process before commercial surf tourism even begins.

Research from Buckley (2002a), Ponting, McDonald and Wearing (2005), Ponting (2008), and Ponting and McDonald (2013) undertaken in the Mentawai Islands of Indonesia suggests that surf tourism development has the potential to produce negative socio-cultural impacts on the local community and that current tourism management in the region is unsustainable.

In Mentawai, within a few years of the discovery of a fantastic surf break, it was overrun by foreign-owned live-aboard charter boats operating out of the mainland Indonesian province of Sumatra. Meanwhile, a few hundred metres from where tourism operators were charging US\$50 to US\$500 per surfer, the Mentawai villagers lacked basic infrastructure and were suffering from a 50% infant birth mortality rate. The lack of infrastructure is precisely why the local community was completely by-passed by surf tourism operators, resulting in little benefit for the rural people. The heavily marketed idyllic white sandy beach with sapphire blue waters, exotic waves and all the trappings of a five-star resort at your fingertips, hides a stark reality of a thriving surf tourism industry that generally offers no real benefits to local people at the rural level (Lyons, 2007, p. 45).

2.9 Chapter Summary

Sustainable tourism literature has traditionally focused on contemporary environmental issues which overshadowed earlier studies centred on community-related issues, an important contribution in tourism research. It is important that studies investigating alternative tourism, like surf tourism, have a local community element. These destinations are often in less developed countries, potentially increasing the scope of adverse socio-cultural impacts on sensitive indigenous populations. An understanding of local stakeholder perspectives towards tourism and related developments is vital if the industry is to be managed in a sustainable fashion and to effectively reduce inherent conflict.

There is no "one size fits all" model for assessing local stakeholder perceptions. The SL framework can be replicated and is consistent, flexible and easy to understand and use, particularly where communities and other stakeholders sustain themselves by multiple activities. The SL highlights the importance of community participation through identifying livelihood outcomes from tourism development, both positive (employment and economic opportunities) and negative (social impacts).

Community participation in practice is hard to achieve for a variety of reasons, including residents' lack of tourism knowledge, confidence, time and interest. Isolated regions of less developed countries face further barriers, including a lack of experience in tourism development, and that developers often believe local people do not have the knowledge to contribute to or be involved in planning. Local communities need to better understand the concept of tourism before they participate in tourism planning decisions. Tourism is a cultural defined word; there is a lack of understanding of what tourism is, its place in the community and what tourism means to cultures that have no equivalent concept.

Difficulties arise when trying to incorporate all elements into the SL model. The CBT model, attempts to integrate the concepts of host population involvement, power redistribution, collaboration and social capital, allowing the current status of a community to be assessed with regard to community participation. Both SL and CBT models have weaknesses in overlooking the importance of the complexities that exist

within communities as well as the applicability and appropriateness to a range of different tourism destinations.

While there has been this recent acceleration in academic research into surf tourism, much of the research has focused on economic impacts. Few studies have investigated surf tourism development and its impacts on local communities and more specifically, host population participation in the industry. Similarly, much of the research into surf tourists has focused on constructing demographic profiles, surfer characteristics, travel motivations and destination preferences, overlooking the crucial community dimensions. Most of the studies on surf tourism have either investigated specific surf destinations or single stakeholder groups, leading to oversimplifying the intercomplexities that exist within a much larger tourism system.

Chapter 3: Methodology and Case

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the interpretive paradigm and grounded theory approach used in this doctoral study. Outlining the process of triangulation using multiple methods, including the data-collection techniques of informal observation, online questionnaires and semi-structured interviews. The overall study design is presented, along with the interviewing process undertaken with each of the individual stakeholder groups, and subsequent data analysis. A comprehensive insight to the case study region of the Mentawai Islands being provided by examining the Islands' history, culture, tourism development and the subsequent formation of the surf tourism industry. The last section of this chapter explores the limitations of undertaking fieldwork in the Mentawai Islands and the arduous Indonesian visa application and RISTEK research-permit processes.

3.2 Paradigm Choice

All qualitative researchers are philosophers in that universal sense in which all human beings ... are guided by highly abstract principles (Bateson, 1972, p. 320).

It was essential that the paradigmatic approach chosen for this doctorate facilitate the understanding of different stakeholder perceptions of the development of the Mentawais surf tourism industry. The term "paradigm" was first conceived by Kuhn (1970), who defined it as a basic orientation to theory and research. In general, there are three main alternative approaches to tourism research and the broader discipline of social sciences – positivism, critical theory and interpretivism – with each reflecting different postulations on how to examine and evaluate the world (Neuman, 2011). These three principles contrast beliefs about ontology (What is the nature of reality?), epistemology (What is the relationship between the researcher and the known?) and methodology (How do we gain knowledge of it?) (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 22). The researcher is bound by a combination of epistemological, ontological and methodological premises, which is termed a paradigm (an interpretive framework being made up of a set of beliefs that guides the research) (Guba and Lincoln, 1998, p.

17). Carson, Gilmore, Perry, and Gronhaug et al. (2001, p. 9) point out that the key criteria differentiating between the positivist and interpretivist paradigms:

- In positivism, the researcher is independent, but in interpretivist research the researcher is involved;
- In positivism, large samples may be used whereas interpretivist research uses small numbers;
- In positivism, testing theories predominate whereas interpretivist-type research focuses on generating theories or 'theory building'.

The research paradigm adopted by this study is interpretive, this deemed to be most relevant on all three conceptual levels: ontological, epistemological and methodological. The interpretive approach was suitable on an ontological level because it emphasised the significance of context in understanding stakeholder perceptions rather than generalised insights to the Mentawai surf industry (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). The interpretive epistemology is relevant to this study because it attempts to combine methodological practices and perspectives, adding richness, complexity, depth and rigour (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005).

All research is interpretive; guided by the researcher's set of beliefs and feelings about the world, how it should be understood and studied. Some beliefs may be taken for granted, invisible, only assumed, whereas others are highly problematic and controversial. (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 22)

The term interpretivism, derived from the Greek hermeneutic, meaning, "to interpret" (Blaikie, 1993; Carson et al., 2001). Interpretivist views have different origins in different disciplines: Schultz, Cicourel and Garfinkel (phenomenology/sociology), the "Chicago School of Sociology" (sociology) and Boas and Malinowski (anthropology). According to Burrell and Morgan's (1979) analysis, the interpretive paradigm is "informed by a concern to understand the world as it is, to understand the fundamental nature of the social world at the level of subjective experience" (Burrell & Morgan, 1979, p. 28). Put simply interpretivism is about understanding how people make sense of the world, with human action being conceived of as purposive and

meaningful (Gill & Johnson, 2002). In interpretivism, reality is impossible to research directly, there can be more than one reality and more than a single structured way of accessing such realities.

In interpretivist research, knowledge is expected to generate from value-laden socially constructed interpretations therefore researchers follow more personal and flexible research structures than in the positivist paradigms (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Their research approaches have to be more receptive to meanings in human interaction and capable of making sense of what is perceived as multiple realities (Carson et al. 2001). Interpretivist researchers enter the field with some sort of prior understanding about the study topic but assume that this is insufficient in developing a fixed research design due to complex, multiple and unpredictable nature of what is perceived as reality. The use of such an emergent approach is also consistent with the interpretivist belief of human's ability to adapt, and that no one can gain prior knowledge of time and context bound social realities (Hudson and Ozanne 1988).

Interpretive research does not exclude empirical studies; rather, it extends empirical research towards individualism, while attempting to understand human behaviour from within the researcher's personal frame of reference (Ryan & Bernard, 2000). The flexibility of the methodological approach was appropriate because it allowed various methods and perspectives to be used at different stages of the research, also allowing one perspective to be more dominant when required (Tashakkori & Teedlie, 2006; Neuman, 2011).

Neuman (2011, p. 102) notes that the goal of interpretive research is to develop an understanding of social life and how people build meaning in natural settings, which is relevant as a central theme to this research in gaining insights into the perspectives of different stakeholder groups on surf tourism development. Interpretive tourism studies generally, are conducted as qualitative fieldwork, investigating everyday lived experiences of people in different settings (Neuman, 2011). Traditionally interpretive research in tourism was blamed for missing the principles of good science. There two major reasons for this were that positivism was still the prevailing paradigm in the majority of tourism studies and qualitative researchers often failed to explain

comprehensively their methods, resulting in confusion and misunderstandings (Decrop, 1999)

Recent tourism studies in economically undeveloped countries utilising the interpretive approach have illustrated its suitability for providing insights into the impacts of tourism development on communities: Mbaiwa (2011) found the interpretive approach was an effective method of inquiry for investigating the effects of tourism development on local community livelihoods in the Okavango Delta, Botswana. Gurung and Seeland (2008) also found the interpretive research method helpful in evaluating whether sustainable ecotourism could assist in alleviating poverty in rural communities surrounding conservation areas in Bhutan.

The interpretive approach is relevant to this doctoral study because it is useful in exploratory research and is the foundation for social research techniques, its descriptive nature allowing insights into how others perceive the world (Neuman, 2011, p. 710). Nault and Stapleton's (2011) exploratory study into the community participation process of ecotourism development in the remote rural community of Sogoog, Bayan-Ulgii, Mongolia found the interpretive approach was more than simply an information-gathering exercise. Nault and Stapleton (2011, p. 710) concluded that the research instruments used gave Sogoog community members the opportunity to voice their opinions, bringing a greater awareness to the surface and allowing them to be better understood. Denzin and Lincoln (2008, p. 33) note that findings are generally presented in terms of the criteria of grounded theory or relationships, where language such as credibility, transferability, dependability and conformability replace words such as validity, reliability and objectivity.

3.3 The Grounded Theory Approach

By choosing the grounded theory methodology the researcher was presented with an ontological crisis: How can grounded theory that is a positivist methodology by origin where the researcher is independent, large samples are used and based on testing theories be moved towards interpretivism (closely related to constructivism) which is a polar opposite. The solution to the crisis of ontology can be found through the researcher firstly discerning a personal philosophical position and then investigating which of the divergent ground theories is the most appropriate to the chosen

epistemology. The researchers view is that knowledge is constructed socially by people (individual or socially) rather than being transmitted by another person or source. We take what we know and we add to it – we relate to our current understandings and build on them, which is the basis of constructivism. Therefore, the approach to grounded theory adopted by this thesis is based on constructivist epistemology.

Since the emergence of grounded theory in 1967 when Glaser and Strauss published "The discovery of grounded theory", there have been a number of seminal works on grounded theory (listed below). The major point of discussion being the divergence of a supposed split between Strauss and Glaser following the publication of Strauss and Corbin's text Basics of qualitative research: grounded theory procedures and techniques in 1990. Straussian- grounded theory emphasizes induction or emergence, and the individual researcher's creativity within a clear frame of stages, while Glaserian- grounded theory is interested in validation criteria and a systematic approach. The researcher's view was that Glaserian grounded theory was essentially positivist and that Straussian grounded theory was leaning toward constructivism. This led me to applying the Straussian mode but in an ostensibly constructivist way.

Seminal grounded theory texts:

- Theoretical sensitivity (Glaser, 1978).
- Qualitative analysis for social scientists (Strauss, 1987).
- The grounded theory method: an explication and interpretation (Charmaz, (1983).
- Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory procedures and techniques (1st Edition) (Strauss and Corbin, 1990).
- Basics of grounded theory analysis (Glaser, 1992).
- 'Grounded theory methodology: An overview' in Handbook of qualitative research (1st Edition) (Strauss and Corbin, 1994).
- 'Grounded theory' in Rethinking methods in psychology (Charmaz, 1995).
- Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory procedures and techniques (2nd Edition) (Strauss and Corbin, 1998).
- 'Grounded theory: Objectivist and constructivist methods' in Handbook of qualitative research (2nd Edition) (Charmaz, 2000).

- Situational analysis: Grounded theory after the postmodern turn (Clarke, 2005).
- Constructing grounded theory: A practical guide through qualitative analysis (Charmaz 2006).

In 1995, Charmaz began to publish about constructivist grounded theory building on earlier work by Strauss. Charmaz's work focused on the place of the author in the text, their relationship with participants, and the importance of writing a final text that remains grounded in the data (Charmaz, 2000; 2006). The Sage handbook of grounded theory (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007) discusses what the principle characteristics of grounded theory research design are. The researcher employed the following grounded theory methods: familiarisation; initial coding; constant comparative analysis; theoretical sampling; intermediate coding; theoretical saturation and theoretical integration.

Familiarisation focuses on acquainting oneself with the data, allowing thoughts to emerge, noticing points of interest, and searching for individual perspectives and nuances of language (McCracken, 1988). For this thesis, the researcher listened carefully during the interviews, noted impressions, used his intuition, and then re-read the data transcripts and documentation to locate concepts and links. Initial coding of data was the first step of data analysis and is a way of identifying important words, or groups of words, in the data and then appropriately labelling them. When analysing verbatim quotes from participants using the software vivo, codes are generated when the important words or groups of words are themselves used as the label, while categories are groups of related codes. Categories are theoretically saturated when new data analysis returns codes that only fit in existing categories, and these categories are sufficiently explained (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007).

Theoretical sampling is the process of gathering information to generate theory. The selection of respondents interviewed in this study was controlled not by the research design but by the emerging theory as the study progressed. The data collection was completed once a theoretical saturation threshold was reached; meaning new respondents did not contribute anything new to the concepts emerging (Castellanos-Verdugo et al., 2010, p. 118).

In an attempt to combat the inherent biases in community-based studies, the researcher incorporated best-practice sampling guidelines adapted from Castellanos-Verdugo et al. (2010, p. 118), who have also investigated the perspectives of multiple stakeholders engaged in tourism activities. Participants were selected based on their knowledge and exposure to surf tourism in their region. Priority was given to people who held important roles within tourism businesses, the community and government, or who were close to the frontline of the local tourism industry. Interviewing local village leaders and long-term business operators gave greater historical insights, and provided contrasting views on how surf tourism had impacted the region over a longer time scale. Some of the participants interviewed were recommended by previous participants, creating a "snowball effect". The addition of new interviewees ceased in a certain area when the researcher found that the last two informants had contributed no new data and no new concepts emerged from the interviews.

Key to the grounded theory methods is concurrent data collection and analysis. This process involves the constant comparison of incident-to-incident, incident to codes, codes to codes, codes to categories, and categories to categories. This is termed constant comparative analysis and is a process that continues until a grounded theory is completely integrated. Grounded theory methods are referred to as inductive, in that they are a process of building theory up from the data through successive comparative analyses (Charmaz, 2006). It is this concept that differentiates grounded theory from other types of research design requiring the researcher to collect then subsequently analyse the data and generate theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

... the understanding, which emerged iteratively, using a grounded comparative method, seeks to provide an intensive explanation about the phenomenon (Daengbuppha, Hemmington & Wilkes, 2006, p. 372).

Intermediate coding was the second major stage of data analysis following on from initial coding, however the researcher moves between initial and intermediate coding during the constant comparison. During intermediate coding individual categories are developed by linking sub-categories, reconnecting the data in ways that are conceptually much more abstract than would be produced by a thematic analysis. During the intermediate coding process, the researcher will also select a core category that summarises and explains the grounded theory as a whole. This is achieved

through full theoretical saturation of the core category, its sub-categories and their properties (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007).

The final phase of the grounded theory research design used in this doctoral study was theoretical integration. A grounded theory provides a comprehensive explanation of a process or scheme apparent in relation to particular phenomena. It is comprehensive because it includes variation rather than assuming there is a one-size-fits-all solution to a research question (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Theoretical integration adds explanatory power to the final product of grounded theory research by positioning it in relation to a theoretical body of knowledge (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007).

Grounded theory was appropriate for this doctoral study because it is an iterative process that allows the research to be responsive and data to be collected from multiple sources. Using grounded theory methodology also permits theory to be inductively generated, as there was limited prior research undertaken on surf tourism in the Mentawai Islands. Strauss & Corbin (1998) note that the basis of the grounded theory approach is to extend an inductively derived theory about a phenomenon by combining both qualitative and quantitative research methods, employing logical data-collection and analysis procedures.

The grounded theory approach was also found to be the most suitable method of inquiry for this thesis based on work by Castellanos-Verdugo, Caro-González and Oviedo-García (2010, pp. 116–117). Multiple data sources are used in grounded theory. For example, semi-structured interview, observation, researcher's notes, official documents, websites, web-blogs, magazine and newspaper articles, and academic literature. Grounded theory is especially suited to studies of human behaviour, and is a suitable methodology to adopt in an area (such as surf tourism) where there has been minimal previous research.

In 1999, Decrop noted that the grounded theory approach was becoming more widely accepted in tourism studies, and in the last five years there has been a big increase in the number of studies that have used this analytical framework (Lumsdon & McGrath, 2011; Martin & Woodside, 2008, 2011; Tung & Ritchie, 2011). Mehmetoglu and Altinay (2006, p. 13) state that there is a need for theory-generating approaches that facilitate qualitative data collection in hospitality and tourism research. A review of five tourism

studies by Daengbuppha et al. (2006) concluded that the grounded theory approach had been successful in identifying recurring experiential patterns in particular tourism situations.

The two greatest benefits of the grounded theory approach are its focus on a particular phenomenon and distinct procedures for generating theory. Often, existing literature does not give the researcher much detailed information about the study topic; however, grounded theory methods provide an opportunity to extend new insights with a precise focus (Mehmetoglu & Altinay, 2006). Likewise, Castellanos-Verdugo et al. (2010, p. 127), in their evaluation of the use of grounded theory in tourism research, conclude that it can offer a refreshing vision of tourism phenomena, for instance, they were able to generate new understandings of residents' attitudes to cultural tourism in Santiponce, Spain. Another advantage of grounded theory is that conducting data analysis in line with an overarching research framework contributes to a more consistent and systematic qualitative study (Yin, 2003).

Grounded theory does have its limitations. In particular it is highly dependent on one single analytical approach (the coding process), which can restrict the potential of the data and the creativity of the qualitative analyst (Mehmetoglu & Altinay, 2006). Coffey and Atkinson (1996) claim that the procedures of coding and categorising can lead to a fragmented and de-contextualised qualitative data analysis, while Wells (1995) comments that coding is labour intensive and time consuming. Allan (2003, pp. 7–8) concludes that the coding process can be made difficult if the researcher is unsure of what they are looking for or does not know the importance of certain statements.

Regardless of these challenges, the grounded theory methodology provides a valuable tool for qualitative research, provided the analytical procedures are not followed too strictly and it is not the only research method employed (Charmaz, 2006). Charmaz (2006) adds that a comprehensive qualitative study should combine the strict analytical methods of grounded theory with other techniques such as a case study approach. Mehmetoglu and Altinay (2006, p. 31) state that the quality of qualitative analysis, whether electronic, manual or observant of coding procedures, will always depend on the experience, creativity and theoretical awareness of the researcher.

3.4 The Case Study Method

Frequently research into STD is conducted through case studies, with a focus on comprehensive descriptions and assertions specific to particular cases rather than broader theoretical development (Hardy, 2005). The snapshot dimension of the case study approach refers to the description of a single phenomenon at a single point in time, this description written from the point of view of a detached observer (Rodgers & Jensen, 2001). Yin (2003, p. 13) notes that case studies are applicable to a contemporary phenomenon, allowing its real-life context to be investigated, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clear. Therefore, it was deemed the case study approach was appropriate for this study. It best facilitated the investigation into the surf tourism industry in the Mentawai Islands when there is limited background information on the topic.

Eisenhardt (1989, p. 532) notes that the case study approach is a comparative method for developing grounded theory, and he describes the design as a specific series of procedures for analysing qualitative data. Building theory from case studies is more likely to generate novel theory (Ravenswood, 2011, p. 681). The emergent theory is tested by hypotheses that can be proven false, and the resultant theory is likely to be empirically valid. Eisenhardt (1989, p. 538) explains that "qualitative data is useful for understanding the rationale or theory underlying relationships revealed in the quantitative data or may suggest directly theory which can then be strengthened by quantitative support."

Eisenhardt's (1989) step-by-step process for building theory from case study research (Table 3.1) was the framework for this doctorate. The research began without preconceived theories or hypotheses to test. The population was selected and theoretical sampling was applied to individual cases, contributing to the theorybuilding process. The selection of multiple data-collection methods enhanced the creative potential of the study and increased the likelihood of unexpected findings. Once in the field, the researcher had the advantage of overlapping data analysis and collection and the ability to modify the data-collection process (Ravenswood, 2011, p. 681).

If a new data collection opportunity arises or if a new line of thinking emerges during the research, it makes sense to take advantage by altering data collection, if such an alteration is likely to better ground the theory or to provide new theoretical insight Eisenhardt, (1989, p. 539).

Table 3.1: Eisenhardt's process of building theories from case study research

Step	Activity		
1. Getting started	Definition of research question		
2. Selecting cases	 Identification of Mentawai Islands as the case study and of the grounded theory sampling method 		
3. Crafting research instruments	 Selection of appropriate data-collection methods for capturing insights into multiple stakeholder perspectives Utilising both qualitative and quantitative data 		
4. In the field	 Overlap of flexible and opportunistic data-collection techniques, including observations, field notes and semi- structured interviews 		
5. Analysing data	Within-case analysisIdentification of emergent cross-cutting themes		
6. Shaping hypotheses	 Highlighting the complexities and contrasts that existed between the multiple stakeholders 		
7. Enfolding literature	Comparison with conflicting and similar sustainable tourism development literature and other surf tourism studies		
8. Reaching closure	 Theoretical saturation leading to meaningful contributions to understandings of sustainable tourism development and surf tourism 		

Source: Adapted from Eisenhardt (1989)

Once fieldwork was completed, data analysis began at the most basic level with the objective of gaining a deep familiarity with each case (Eisenhardt, 1989). The case study method offered an alternative approach to traditional hypothesis testing, allowing themes to emerge from the comparison of findings from different stakeholder groups. The research process ended on reaching theoretical saturation.

3.5 The Mentawai Islands

The Mentawai Islands are positioned between 85 and 135 kilometres off the coast of West Sumatra, Indonesia, located between 98°55′ East, 1°20′ South and 100°20′ East, 3°00′ South (Figure 1.1). The archipelago has four islands – Siberut, Sipora, North and South Pagai – which have a combined land area of about 7000 square kilometres (Whittaker, 2006). Siberut, the northernmost and largest of the Mentawai Islands, has a huge rainforest in the interior and a maze of inland waterways, which support diverse wildlife. Sipora, the smallest island, is between Siberut and North Pagai islands. It is home to the administrative capital, Tuapejat (Photo 3.1), and is the base of most government activity and industry for the Mentawais. North and South Pagai, the southernmost islands, are separated by a narrow strait and are the most remote of all the island group, being connected to the other islands via a weekly ferry service.

Photo 3.1: Looking onto downtown Tuapejat



The Mentawai Islands have an estimated population of 70,000 people, comprising of up of 90% indigenous Mentawai (Photo 3.2) (SurfAid International, 2008). There are, however, many other ethnic groups present in the Mentawai Islands, most notably Minangkabau, Javanese and Batak (Persoon, 2003). Siberut receives the greatest interest from non-surfing tourists, researchers, non-government organisations, extractive primary resource-based industries, and Indonesian government agencies (Ponting, 2008).

Photo 3.2: An indigenous Mentawai family outside their home at Madobag



The major towns on the four main islands service the outlying villages. On Sundays, the local food markets attract a flotilla of small dugouts and motor boats from all over the island, with villagers' intent on buying their fresh fruit and vegetables imported from mainland Sumatra. The larger towns are very similar to elsewhere in Indonesia. They have paved roads with hundreds of scooters and small buses rushing around, Internet cafes with children playing games, large mosques and different food eateries full of spicy Padang food.

The majority of inland villages are very different from their coastal counterparts, with the Mentawai people living in traditional small settlements (*uma*) along the banks of rivers within the dense jungle (Figure 3.3). Mentawai people in these isolated areas live a largely hunter-and-gatherer lifestyle; however, they have domesticated chickens and pigs and cultivated perennial crops, with sago, banana and taro being the staple foods.

Employment opportunities in these traditional villages are scarce. The economy is agriculture based, with bananas and copra being the main exports, which are ferried to Padang on mainland Sumatra.





Source: Author fieldwork

Persoon (2003) explains that Mentawai people were described by mainland Indonesians as primitive savages, having intricate tattoo patterns all over their bodies, their teeth chiselled into sharp points and long hair tied in a knot (Photo 3.4). Traditional clothing is basic: men dress in a loincloth made from tree bark, and women have a skirt made out of banana leaves (Bakker, 1999). During fieldwork, the researcher observed that the local people now dress in Western clothes, such as T-shirts and shorts, and have modern products like mobile phones, motorbikes and solar power.

Photo 3.4: Mentawai men displaying a traditional greeting



Source: Wikipedia (2012b)

Traditionally, there was no labour specialisation other than between male and female, with men performing tasks such as canoe construction with women responsible for small children and food production. There are only two specialist roles within the community: the *rimata* and the *sikerei* (village medicine men or shaman). Both these roles relate to *sabulungan Arat*, the traditional belief that divides the world into a world of the physically present and a world of spirits. The *sikerei* (Photo 3.5) communicate with spirits, are responsible for maintaining the balance between the physical and spiritual worlds, and perform extensive rituals in times of death or sickness (Bakker, 1999; Persoon, 2003).

Photo 3.5: A sikerei collecting medicinal plants for a ceremony at Madobag



Relationships between villages within the same catchment area were generally friendly but head-hunting was common until the early 1900s when the Dutch colonial government established a military base and sought to abolish the "savage habits" of the Mentawai people. The Dutch imposed a structured village-head system on the traditional communities (Reeves, 2000). After a short and ineffectual period (1942–1945) of Japanese occupation during the Second World War, the Mentawais were swiftly integrated into the newly formed state, with Indonesian military and civil servants taking control (Persoon, 2003).

The Indonesian government set about developing the Mentawais in the areas they deemed important, such as health, housing and education, and instilling a sense of "Indonesianess". There was no official policy regarding the development of the

Mentawais, but many traditional aspects of the Mentawai culture were viewed as barriers to development (Bakker, 1999). The West Sumatran government quickly adopted policies that would remove the elements that hampered development, including:

- founding larger villages, leading to the destruction of the closed uma structure
- changing the traditional systems of justice and payment of "bride price"
- raising the level of development by, among other initiatives, the introduction of rice cultivation, and
- prohibition of "primitive customs" such as pointing one's teeth, wearing loincloths or leaf skirts, having tattoos or growing long hair (Persoon, 1997, as cited in Bakker, 1999).

During the late 1970s, Siberut's endemic species of monkeys received notable international exposure through documentaries and publications by Schefold (1973, 1974a, 1974b), making conservation on Siberut far more attractive to international conservation agencies. In 1980 World Wildlife Fund (WWF) produced "Saving Siberut: a Conservation Master Plan" (WWF, 1980). The plan was discussed at a symposium in Padang in 1981 attended by government officials, scientists and representatives of Siberut's local community. In the same year, Siberut was declared a UNESCO Man and Biosphere Reserve (Persoon, 1997 and Bakker, 1999). Sadly, these initiatives rapidly waned due to lack of international interest, and WWF withdrew its funding in 1982 (Persoon, 2003, p. 256).

In the 1970s and early 1980s, the Mentawai Islands were heavily logged by large national companies, leaving behind extensive damage to large areas of native forest (Persoon, 2003, p. 256). Surprisingly, in 1993 when renewal of logging concessions were discussed in Jakarta, President Suharto signed an agreement that terminated all logging concessions in the Mentawais. Approximately half of Siberut was nominated to become a national park. Within months, the heavy machinery was shipped back to Sumatra and the logging camps closed down. When Suharto fell from power in 1998, an enormous process of regional autonomy started, with the Mentawais obtaining a new status as a district, implying they could manage their own resources. In early

2001, the Mentawai Minister of Forestry issued concessions to recommence logging operations, with bulldozers, trucks and chainsaws returning to the islands (Persoon, 2003).

The villages on the coast are relatively modern: houses have power, tin roofs and windows. Children play computer games, and men can be found listening to the radio and playing dominos. When the researcher visited the interior of Siberut, he found the traditional villages such as Madobag much less "developed": the traditional thatched houses had no power or windows, and the men, women and children of the village would spend the large part of their days completing daily tasks (Photo 3.6).

Photo 3.6: An indigenous Mentawai woman compacting processed sago into banana leaf containers at Madobag village



Source: Author fieldwork

3.5.1 Surf tourism in the Mentawais

The Mentawai Islands are home to some of the best waves for surfing found anywhere in the world, created by an ideal combination of long-range swell, light offshore winds and coral reefs. The waves break in very shallow water, producing long, hollow, high-performance waves, allowing surfers to complete multiple manoeuvres (Photo 3.7).

Photo 3.7: Perfect waves roll down the reef at a surf break named Hollow Trees at Katiet, Sipora



Source: Author fieldwork

What makes the Mentawais even more marketable is that there are such a large number of good waves in close proximity (Figure 3.1), reducing crowding. The majority of surfers who visit the Mentawai Islands stay at surf resorts or on board charter boats (Surf Travel Company, 2008; Wave Hunters Surf Travel, 2008; World Surfaris, 2008). The surf resorts are located in remote natural environments, areas that have extremely sensitive ecosystems and less-developed indigenous communities — areas that are more vulnerable to socio-cultural and environmental impacts from surf tourism (Buckley, 2002b).

Figure 3.1: The location of the main surf breaks in the Mentawai Islands

Source: Wave Hunters Surf Travel (2012)

Surf tourism in the Mentawais started gradually, with only a small number of surfers making the journey out to the remote islands during the 1980s. This initial period of exploration followed by a gradual increase in the number of charter boats visiting the region during the early 1990s. By 2001, the Mentawai surf industry was booming. It had 27 officially registered surf charter boats, one land-based option operating, and a large number of locally operated boats and homestays (Ponting, 2001). Since the early 2000s, several factors have driven tourists towards land-based options: higher petrol prices have increased the cost of charter boat packages, successful malaria reduction programmes have made land-based options more appealing, and Mentawai government policy has favoured resort development over charter boat operation. From personal observations in 2010, the researcher estimates that there are approximately 50 surf charter boats currently operating in the Mentawais, while land-based resorts have increased to around 20. The number of local homestays and local boats is unknown and difficult to determine, but the researcher estimates the current number of homestays to be around 50 to 60 (Figure 3.2).

Salvage diver Martin Daley explores the Unregulated surf tourism Mentawais. He returns the following 2 years development has meant current thresholds are with charters full of being exceeded. professional surfers - the Approximately 50 secret is out! charter boats, 15 land based resorts, more than 50 homestays and an unknown number of Mentawais first surfed Surf Travel Company local vessels in operation by Sydney surfers Scott and Great Break in the Mentawais. Wakefield Chris International commence Goodnow and Tont live-aboard charters. Fitzpatrick. 1980 1995 2005 1985 1990 2000 2010 The Mentawais captures the surfing world's attention featuring in nearly every surfing magazine, video and website. Jakarta-based surfer Booking agents control Danny Madre was the the sur tourism market first of the second wave and the power struggle Surf tourism in the of surf explorers, between operators followed later that year Mentawais has begins. by Lance Knight. exploded: 27 official charter boats, 1 landbased resort. 4 local boats and several homestays.

Figure 3.2: Timeline of surf tourism development between 1980 and 2010

3.5.2 Marine tourism management in Indonesia

Indonesia has a history of poorly managed marine and coastal resources (Purwaka, 2001). Denying the local community access to resources and the lack of acknowledgment of local residents' needs have resulted in a considerable degree of conflict between government and the community (Down to Earth, 2000). Indonesian government policies have focused on maximising profits and being largely uncoordinated, they often overlap and are incompatible with local-level management schemes. Local governments have minimal decision-making power, lacking clear authority to manage the coastal resources in their regional areas. Compounding the challenges for local governments is their limited mechanisms for raising revenue directly, being solely dependent upon funding from the central government, which maintains its financial and political control (Siry, 2011, p. 470).

Over the last decade, coastal zone management in Indonesia has entered a new phase due to fundamental changes to the Indonesian political situation. Once President

Suharto fell from power in 1998, Indonesia went through a period of rapid reform, and decentralisation emerged as the redesign of central–local government relationships (Siry, 2011, p. 471). The most significant changes being the enactment of two new laws focused on administrative and fiscal decentralisation: Laws 22/1999 and 25/1999. These two laws provided opportunities for a shift in coastal management (Patlis, 2005, p. 455). Law 22 allowed the administrative decentralisation principle to be applied to coastal zone management, with the process of devolving regulatory authority to the individual provinces and districts (Pratikto, 2001).

Under Law 22/1999, provincial governments have authority to manage the coastal zone up to 12 nautical miles from the coastline, while district governments have authority to manage one-third of the provincial management area (i.e. four nautical miles from shore). Provincial and district governments are responsible for the management and enforcement of regulations of the coastal resources within their region. The decentralisation law eliminates the former hierarchical relationship between provincial, district and city governments, giving local governments' greater power to adapt policy to fit local conditions. The law also promotes the integration of the customary laws and local territorial rights into local government policy, as well as encouraging community-based and collaborative approaches to managing coastal resources (Siry, 2011, p. 471).

An example of the impacts of the decentralisation law can be found in North Sulawesi, where the provincial government enacted a new provincial law (*Perdah*) No. 4/2000 to manage the Bunaken Marine National Park through the establishment of an integrated management coordination body (Pratikto, 2001). The Perdah gives the bulk of the revenue collected from entrance fees to the newly created authority, which are used exclusively for joint surveillance, enforcement and conservation programmes within the park. The coastal management act has four goals: to promote the development of village-based marine parks, to empower local communities to protect their coastal resources, to endorse the allocation of local government revenue to finance the implementation of decentralised coastal zone management, and to enforce the provisions for integrated coastal management (Siry, 2011, p.472).

Siry (2011, .476) notes that community-based marine resource management in which the administration is shared between the local communities and government is the most suitable approach to protecting coastal environments in rural Indonesia, allowing a fair balance of power. The central government plays a crucial role in the success of community-based management schemes and must promote and provide training for all levels of government in a decentralised administration (Siry, 2006). Technical assistance is often required for local governments, private enterprises and local non-governmental groups in the planning, financing and management of decentralised functions (World Bank, 2002). Community-based marine resource management empowers the host population, promotes learning and adaptation processes for the community, and allows a broad range of stakeholders to participate equally in negotiation and management decisions (Jentoft, 2006).

The success of any community-based approach is based on the involvement of all relevant stakeholders, shared responsibility (Siry, 2006), stable and trustworthy relationships between the planning authorities and the local tourism stakeholders (Haukeland, 2011), and frequent and effective communications (McCool, 2009). Self-regulation and active participation in management strategies by local communities have not yet materialised in Indonesia; therefore, greater stakeholder involvement and the gradual implementation of a co-management approach is required. Strong intervention by previous centralist governments and the legacy of a controlling administration have made the local population cautious of participation and involvement, hindering the management of coastal resources in the region (Siry, 2011).

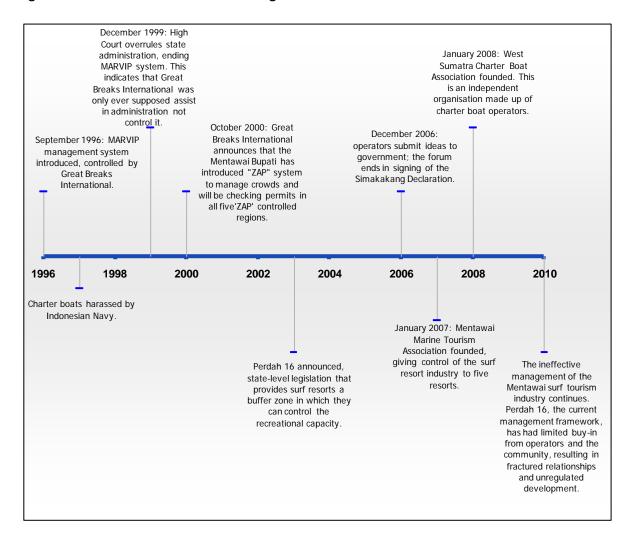
3.5.3 Surf tourism management in the Mentawai Islands

The Mentawai surf tourism industry has been characterised by a power struggle between surf resort operators over who will gain control of the surf tourism market (Figure 3.3) (Ponting, 2008). The result has been a series of public relations battles and attempted management schemes, which have ultimately been unsuccessful for all parties concerned (Global Surfers, 2009a, 2009b; Kurangabaa, 2009a, 2009b; Real Surf, 2009; Warshaw and Finnegan, 2005). The first management scheme implemented was the Mentawai Archipelago Visitor Registration and Approval (MARVIP) tax. The decree gave Great Breaks International's (GBI) partner organisation Mentawai Wisata Bahari

(MWB) the right to limit visitation to these areas and charge all surf tourists a US\$5 per day tax. GBI's second attempt, the Zone Agreement Permits (ZAP), was introduced to manage crowds in three MWB controlled zones – Playgrounds, Lances Right and Left, and Macaronis. The MARVIP and ZAP schemes created a monopoly for GBI and MWB and lacked legal jurisdiction. Therefore, they were not supported by other surf resort or charter boat operators in the region and, as a result, the majority of operators ignored the management systems and continued with business as usual (Ponting, 2008).

In 2003, Perdah 16 was introduced by the Mentawai regional government, providing surf industry operators with exclusive access or at least management rights to surf breaks close to their resorts. Perdah 16 limits surf resorts in the Mentawais by allocating only five licence holders, and surf charter boats are similarly limited to 30 licences. One major point of controversy is that the requirements needed to acquire a licence are out of reach for local people, making local homestays or locally operated boats illegal. As of 2008, Ponting (2008) commented that Perdah 16 had yet to be implemented in a way that provides benefits for tour operators. At the time of writing, from field observations Perdah 16 has not gained any real recognition with the resort and charter boat operators or the local homestay owners.

Figure 3.3: Timeline of surf tourism management in the Mentawais between 1996 and 2010



The Mentawai Marine Tourism Association (MMTA) is a non-profit, financially independent non-government tourism industry association with more than 40 members and an elected management committee. Its first year of operation was 2007, working in partnership with the Mentawai government to implement management of surf and dive resources and to protect the Mentawai reef environment. The MMTA states it is dedicated to raising the standard of living of Mentawai communities, and to supporting both sustainable village-scale enterprise and job creation in remote parts of the archipelago (MMTA, 2010).

The Mentawai surf tourism industry is currently going through a transitional phase from an industry dominated by charter boats to a resort-based industry. Ponting (2008) notes that, historically, conflict between some resort owners and long-standing charter boat operators and the failure of the management systems (ZAP, MARVIP,

Perdah 16) has hindered sustainable surf tourism development in the Mentawais and reduced potential benefits for all stakeholders.

3.5.4 Study sites

The Mentawai Islands were identified as being the most suitable for exploring a wide range of stakeholder perspectives and maximising comparability. The region is easily defined, both geographically and geo-politically: they are an island chain cut off from the main land by a large body of water and are an independent province separate from mainland Sumatra. In the absence of robust socio-economic or other demographic data, the four case studies shown in Figure 3.4 are selected based on the following criteria: relative ease of entry, a large number of local community members, building trust with participants, and data quality (Marshall and Rossman, 2006, p. 69). All four sites were similar in that they consisted of a village in close proximity to the shoreline and affected by surf tourism. The case study villages have experienced different levels of exposure to surf tourism, allowing comparisons to be made and conclusions to be drawn regarding impacts generated by the industry. The geographical isolation of the study villages within the Mentawai Islands created certain limitations associated with sample size and study duration, which must be noted. The sample was restricted to the key stakeholder groups that the researcher had identified on the pilot visit.

1°S Siberut 300 Site1: Ebay Village 200 2°S Site 2: Mapadegat Village Sipora 100 Site 3: Katiet Village 0 North Pagai Site 4: Silabu Village South Pagai 3°S km 20 40 60 100°E 99°E 101°E

Figure 3.4: Mentawai study sites

Source: Wikipedia (2012c)

Study Site 1: Ebay Village

Ebay is a small village consisting of approximately 50 local Mentawai people, who have shifted there from the large Island of Siberut. Ebay is positioned on the northern side of Nyang Nyang Island, which is located 5 kilometres off the southern tip of Siberut Island.

Figure 3.5: Location of Ebay Village



Source: Google Earth (2012a)

Traditionally, Mentawai from villages on Siberut would use Ebay as a seasonal base to harvest coconuts, from which they manufacture copra. In recent times, with the arrival of surf tourism and the decline of copra prices, local Mentawai have turned away from the labour-intensive and poorly paid copra production, instead opening makeshift homestays (Photo 3.8). The residents continue to live in traditional-style huts.

Photo 3.8: An incomplete homestay at Ebay



Photos 3.9 and 3.10 show the idyllic island setting at Ebay of traditional thatched huts surrounded by coconut trees. Field observations revealed a number of half-finished makeshift accommodations with very limited facilities and amenities. In 2010 Ebay featured in the Lonely Planet's Mentawai section and, based on personal observations and informal discussions, this exposure contributed to a large increase in the number of surf tourists staying on land. This has resulted in the construction of approximately 10 new homestays in addition to the several already there. To cater for the increasing number of tourists, new homestays and other facilities are regularly being built. This increase visitor numbers has provided several full-time residents with well-paying employment, running homestays or charter Mentawai long boats. Others have been lucky enough to gain employment at surrounding surf resorts.

Photo 3.9: Surf tourism development: unfinished homestays at Ebay



Photo 3.10: A partially completed homestay, with several surfers already staying in makeshift rooms, Ebay, Nyang Nyang Island



Source: Author fieldwork

Study Site 2: Mapadegat Village

Mapadegat is located on the island of Sipora, 5 kilometres from Tuapejat (Figure 3.6), the administrative capital of the Mentawais. Mapadegat is a large village, home to approximately 1000 residents, both indigenous Mentawai and mainland Indonesians from regions in West Sumatra such as Lake Toba and Padang; making both Muslim and Christian religions prominent.



Figure 3.6: Location of Mapadegat Village

Source: Google Earth (2012b)

Mapadegat has a well-developed village infrastructure, boasting road access, mobile phone and internet coverage, half a dozen homestay options, a dozen shops and eateries, a community health centre and school, paved roads and three churches (Photos 3.11 and 3.12).

Photo 3.11: One of three churches in Mapadegat



Photo 3.12: Mapadegat



Source: Author fieldwork

Mapadegat is often the first stop for surf tourists to the Mentawais, due to the regular ferry schedules in and out of Tuapejat and its close proximity to shops and restaurants. Mapadegat has a long history of contact with surf tourism, as surf charter boats often anchor at Telescopes, a famous wave close by. Although surf tourists made up a large proportion of the visitors, the researcher met many other travellers who had made the arduous 10-hour ferry crossing from the mainland of Sumatra to go tramping in the rainforest and were also interested in the local indigenous traditions and culture. Within the village itself, there are a couple of surf tourism-focused services including accommodations (Photo 3.13) that serve both basic Western and local food, as well as local boat guides who ferry surf tourists to the surf break. However, the majority of local stores and eateries cater for the local population, and at any time of day you could find a dozen or so locals hanging out, smoking clove cigarettes and eating regional fare.

Photo 3.13: Mapadegat boasts the largest range of homestay options in the Mentawais



Source: Author fieldwork

Study Site 3: Katiet Village

Positioned on the south-eastern coast of Sipora's southern tip (Figure 3.7), Katiet is a moderately developed village in comparison to the other study sites. Consisting of a mix of approximately 50 concrete-block and traditional thatched houses, it is home to an estimated 500 residents.

Katiet Village *

Figure 3.7: Location of Katiet Village

Source: Google Earth (2012c)

Katiet is isolated and has no direct ferry service or road access connecting it with the major port of Sioban; but at the time of writing this thesis, a road was under construction. The village lies directly in front of Hollow Trees, probably the most famous surf break in the Mentawais, so has had large exposure to surf tourism (Photo 3.14).

Photo 3.14: Looking back from the ocean at homestays on the shoreline at Katiet



Historically Katiet's principal industries were fishing and farming. Today the making of handicrafts destined for sale to surf charter boats dominates the village's economy. Katiet also receives a small number of land-based surf tourists who stay in the dozen or so local homestays (Photos 3.15 and 3.16). SurfAid has had a significant impact in Katiet, building a health centre which provides employment for locals and carries out varied community-based programmes.

Photo 3.15: A surfer playing with the children from a homestay in Katiet



Photo 3.16: Surfers walk down the main road in Katiet



Source: Author fieldwork

Study Site 4: Silabu Village

Silabu is located 5 kilometres from the coast is set amongst mangrove trees on the western side of North Pagai (Figure 3.8). Compared to the other study sites, Silabu is an undeveloped, poor village. It has approximately 500 residents.

Figure 3.8: Location of Silabu Village



The majority of people in Silabu live in poverty with very little outside influence. They live in small shacks or traditional housing (Photo 3.17) on a subsistence diet. Donations from the local resort and SurfAid have helped with some community projects, including the building of a new church, a new community health centre and irrigation systems (Photo 3.18).

Photo 3.17: Silabu is comprised mainly of small huts with thatched roofs



Photo 3.18: SurfAid signage at Silabu



Source: Author fieldwork

Silabu was severely affected by the tsunami that hit the Mentawais' south-western coast on 25 October 2010. SurfAid reported that the tsunami had killed more than 500 people throughout the Mentawai Islands and destroyed several villages (Photo 3.19). At the time of writing this thesis, no statistics are available on the aftermath of the tsunami and its impacts on specific villages such as Silabu (SurfAid, 2012).

Photo 3.19: Devastation caused by the 25 October 2011 tsunami at Silabu



Source: SurfAid (2012)

3.6 Research Methods

A combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches was used in order to gain greater insights into stakeholder perceptions of the Mentawais surf tourism industry. The qualitative approach used in this study involved gathering detailed information about a small number of cases (Veal, 2006, pp. 98–99). The qualitative research method lent itself to the inductive approach, which attempts to understand reality from an "insider's" perspective. Qualitative techniques were appropriate for this study because they focus on meanings and attitudes, and are exploratory and theory building rather than model testing in a deductive manner (Veal, 2006, p. 99).

The use of qualitative techniques had advantages for this doctoral research because their descriptive nature allowed for deeper penetration of issues in a social context and brought the more subtle and complex themes to the fore. Walle (1997) comments that tourism impacts can be researched quantitatively. However, an understanding of culture, social relationships and objects can only be gained through the local experience – the researcher must spend time amongst their study subjects in order to pick up this qualitative information. Simpson (1993, p. 179) concluded that "local voices are often hardly audible above ... the clamour of methodological and theoretical discussions."

The most significant and lasting contributions have been made by researchers who employed an often loose, qualitative methodology. Not only were their research methods often ill defined and their data unsystematically collected, but even their definition of theoretical concepts, and the operationalisation of the latter, leaves much to be desired. Nevertheless, their often acute insights and the theoretical frameworks in which these have been embodied, provided the point of departure for several "traditions" in the sociological study of tourism, which endowed the field with its distinctive intellectual tension, even as the much more rigorous and quantitative "touristological" studies often yielded results of rather limited interest (Cohen, 1988, p. 30).

The triangulation aspect of the mixed method approach utilised in this study involved five different research techniques – online questionnaires, informal field observations, in-depth interviews, reviews of academic literature, and analysis of online blogs and forums (Figure 3.9) – to aid in confirming the accuracy of each set of results (Gorard & Taylor, 2004). The information provided by each data source was compared, then it

was determined if each set of data contradicted or supported the research question.

This then led to a conclusion being formulated for each specific research question.

Research questions: Online surf tourist 1. To examine the characteristics of surf tourists visiting the Mentawai Islands questionnaire Tourist and to gain deeper insights into how research they perceive the environmental, social questions and economic impacts of their travel. On-site field conclusions 2. To explore how government officials, observations operators, surf journalists and NGO employees perceive tourism and surf tourism development in the Mentawai Islands, and to examine their attitudes Academic Industry towards tourism management, literature research stakeholder participation and the future questions development of the surf tourism. 3. To gain an understanding of how conclusions In-depth Mentawai communities perceive stakeholder tourists and tourism development. What is the host population's view on interviews current surf tourism and participation in Community its development? What benefits or challenges has it brought? research **Analysis of online** 4. To examine the common themes and questions key differences that emerge from the material, e.g. conclusions stakeholder analysis and to identify blogs and forums some potential approaches to enhance the future management in the industry.

Figure 3.9: Triangulation of methods

Source: Adapted from Veal (2006, p. 107)

Melkert and Voss (2010, p. 33) comment that the use of both quantitative and qualitative approaches is complementary, with each adding insights to the overall picture. The use of triangulation in this study enabled the researcher to explore empirical evidence using the inductive process, then answer the exploratory questions and generate theory (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2006). Triangulation also improved the credibility, dependability and objectivity of study findings (Decrop, 1999), by converging data from numerous sources of evidence, as outlined in the following study design section.

3.7 Study Design

The research design employed in this doctoral study followed the grounded theory framework and was both fully iterative and response focused (Figure 3.10).

Mehmetoglu and Altinay (2006) note that when incorporating grounded theory into

research design, the emphasis must be on flexible and opportunistic data-collection methods that allow the researcher to respond to emerging themes and the changing environment during the fieldwork. The initial phase was the literature review, which assisted in defining the subject, identifying methodology, and developing theoretical questions. The data-collection process required the use of numerous research tools in order to both understand the complexities of the surf tourism industry in the Mentawai Islands and build a detailed picture of stakeholder perceptions.

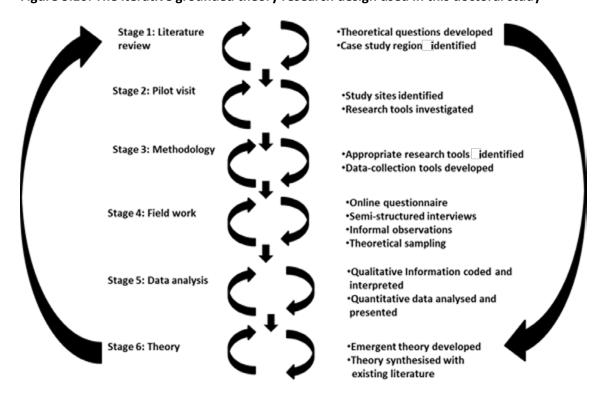


Figure 3.10: The iterative grounded theory research design used in this doctoral study

Data-collection techniques involved semi-structured interviews with surf tourism operators, NGOs, government officials and community members, and an online questionnaire with surf tourists (Table 3.2). The qualitative information collected during the fieldwork phase was coded and interpreted within two months of the fieldwork being completed, while the quantitative data was analysed with computer software packages (NVIVO: Version 9, 2010 and SPSS: Version 18, 2010). The last stage in the research process was adding new perspectives through the application of theory in the Mentawai Islands, and finally synthesising resulting themes and theory with existing literature.

Table 3.2: Specific dates and locations of the three different stages of research and details of fieldwork undertaken

	Location	Date	Numbers of participants
Surf tourist online questionnaire	Online	19 July–24 December 2010	36
Government official and operator interviews	Padang, Telo Islands and Mentawai islands	2 July–24 October 2010	40
Community interviews	Ebay, Mapadegat, Katiet and Silabu villages, Mentawai Islands	8 July–25 September 2010	32

In total, the researcher spent three-and-a-half months conducting interviews with community members. The length of time spent at each village varied: the researcher spent more than one month at Mapadegat, two weeks at each of Katiet and Ebay, and only one week in the Silabu area.

3.7.1 Pilot visit

Before any official fieldwork started, a pilot visit was conducted in July and August 2009 to determine the viability of the proposed doctoral study. Having travelled to many other surf destinations in Indonesia prior to the pilot study, the researcher was well aware of the many challenges the chosen area would provide. However, the researcher had not previously been to the Mentawai Islands, needed to familiarise himself with the local environment. This pilot visit helped to test aspects of the study, and was particularly important for identifying the most suitable villages to include in the study (described in the previous section) (Hall, 2011). It also helped to clarify what medical supplies were needed, accommodation options and the cultural differences the researcher needed to be aware of as a foreigner entering these villages.

A major objective of the pilot visit was to identify both key stakeholders who could assist in gaining support from other stakeholders in the surf tourism industry and introduce key people in the local communities. Gaining entry to sites and accessing participants can be a major challenge for researchers, who often have to negotiate with "gatekeepers" (Marshall & Rossman, 2006). A pilot visit can provide vital information to overcome these potential difficulties. During the pilot visit, the

researcher was introduced to a large network of operators, met several local government officials, and spent time with a number of locals at Ebay and Katiet. This helped the researcher establish some rapport and let people see his face, which in turn increased respondent rates for the interviewing process when the researcher returned eight months later. This visit also clarified what was the best method for sampling surf tourists, with surfers indicating they were not interested in participating in the interviews because they were in the Mentawais to surf. However, they did say they would be willing to complete an online questionnaire once they were back in the comfort of their home.

Veal (2006, p. 276) adds that a key benefit of a pilot study is that it is a great tool for fine-tuning the fieldwork arrangements so the project keeps on schedule and within budget. During the pilot, the researcher familiarised himself with the unreliable local ferry network (Photo 3.20), found out there was no Internet access or automatic teller machines, that mobile phone coverage was limited, and availability of fresh fruit and vegetables poor. It became clear to the researcher that he was going to need to allow extra travel time, would not be contactable for much of the fieldwork, and have to buy most of the food supplies, and withdraw cash, in Padang. After completing the initial pilot visit and experiencing the remoteness of the Mentawai Islands, the fieldwork component of the doctorate seemed quite daunting. The researcher realised a lot of pre-planning would be required.

Photo 3.20: During the pilot study – island-hopping on the local ferries



3.7.2 Interpretation and translation

The language barrier that existed between himself (English speaking) and many of the participants (Indonesian speaking) was a challenge during the fieldwork. Budget, time constraints and unavailability of skilled personnel did not allow qualified or highly skilled translators to be used for all of the interviews. It is acknowledged that a translator's performance can have a large impact on the success of the research (Spencer-Oatley & Xing, 2007; Spencer-Oatley & Franklin, 2009).

However, the researcher had confidence in all the six translators he worked with. Just one translator was used in Katiet, Silabu and Ebay's work commitments, three were used in Mapadegat. Other researchers experienced similar challenges when working

with multiple translators during the data-collection phase of their research. For example, when Jobbin (2004) was conducting fieldwork in Tunisia and Morocco, due to budget limitations he used 10 different local translators; only one was professional, and the remaining nine were project personnel or local students, each having their own individual strengths and weaknesses. Similarly, when investigating ecotourism development in Sulawesi, Indonesia, Clifton and Benson (2006) used a number of different non-professional translators from within the local region. The researcher learnt from these two cases that employing local translators from the proposed research village was a good starting point to avoid cultural difficulties and to minimise distrust and suspicion.

In some study sites, it was not always possible to enlist a local who was fluent in English and so it is recognised there could be some inconsistencies in the data collected. In each of the study villages, all the translators had at least intermediate-level English language skills. Some of the quotes may not be 100% verbatim, but overall the researcher was happy with the consistent and accurate accounts recorded in the field. Responses from local community members were often recorded in short monosyllabic sentences. What may have been missed in verbatim was compensated for with other observational elements such as facial expressions, for instance, was the response said with a smile?

Locating suitable translators was a challenge. In Katiet, it took a week to find an interpreter, because all the locals with adequate English were working on a construction project in another region. The researcher had to wait until the weekend for a person with adequate translating skills to return to the village. Occasionally the researcher was approached by locals offering their services so they could practise their English skills. In two instances, they were used. All translators were required to sign confidentiality agreements (Appendix A). Due to budgetary constraints, translators were not paid but did receive a small token such as a cold drink in exchange for their time.

3.8 Local Community Interviews

3.8.1 Setting up the interviews

Understanding and respecting the local culture was imperative in minimising barriers between the researcher and the study subjects. They were suspicious of an outsider conducting research in their village. Having some awareness of cultural customs and traditions builds trust and respect between the community and the researcher (Tchacos & Vallance, 2004).

Engaging with the communities was crucial as their cooperation and input was essential to the success of the project. As an unknown researcher in the Mentawai Islands, his "getting-in" or "gaining the acceptance of the people being studied" was a vital first move in the data-collection process (Lofland & Lofland, 1984, p. 20). Gaining entry into the community before conducting any research is important and presents many challenges (Marshall & Rossman, 2006). It often dictates how easy it is to implement certain types of methods and the number and type of respondents included in the research (Clark, Riley, Wilkie & Wood, 1998, p. 40). Clark et al. (1998) add that historical examples have shown that to achieve the most effective results, the researcher often has to gain permission from various individuals such as community leaders, understand local conditions, traditions and culture, and assess situations in order to identify the most suitable respondents.

Before the researcher began the community interviews, several "gatekeepers" (Burgess, 1991, p. 47) were contacted in order to identify suitable respondents. Adopting the "pragmatic gatekeeper process" outlined by Stewart & Draper, (2007, p. 14) in their study with First Nations people in Canada helped me to recognise a number of stakeholders who were in some way involved in the surf tourism. Patton (1990) notes that prominent community members can provide useful background knowledge, recommend which individuals to approach, with these individuals offering valuable advice on the best way to conduct research projects in their community. These initial discussions with stakeholders varied between gatekeepers; some operators the researcher meet in the surf, then accompanied them back to their boat for the interview, while villagers were either approached at the beach or the food markets.

In one instance, the researcher developed a good relationship with an interviewee, who in turn became a translator, organising nine interviews for the researcher with other community members in Mapadegat. A firm friendship developed where the researcher spent a considerable amount of time with her and culminated in an invitation to her son's birthday, attended by every child in the village (Photo 3.21).





Source: Author fieldwork

This interpreter arranged a three-day journey to visit her family in their traditional village in Madobag on Siberut; this visit required an interisland ferry ride and four hours in a dugout canoe up an inland waterway. The experience gave me first hand insights into traditional Mentawai village life. While in Madobag, we were invited to be part of a traditional spirit-cleansing ceremony to remove evil spirits from a young man (Photo 3.22).

Photo 3.22: A traditional spirit-cleansing ceremony at Madobag



The spirit cleansing was followed by fortune telling with chicken intestines (Photo 3.23) and a huge feast for the extended family. After his time in Madobag, it was clear to the researcher that life in this part of the Mentawai Islands was very different from his case study communities on the coast.

Photo 3.23: Fortune telling with chicken intestines at Madobag

3.8.2 Conducting the interviews

After gaining access to the community, it was necessary to develop a rapport with and the trust of potential respondents. Fortunately, many locals remembered the researcher from his pilot visit. Outsiders conducting research in foreign cultures are often confronted with trust issues as they can be viewed suspiciously (Jobbin, 2004). Cole (2004) discusses at length the importance of gaining the trust and building

rapport with research respondents in isolated Indonesian communities, and that increased trust leads to richer insights and deeper understandings. At all times during the interview process, I had to be respectful of the participant's culture, religion and traditions. Interviews were never conducted on Sundays in respect of their day of worship or rest.

The researcher found it best to spend several days in the area before conducting any interviews. Walking around the village, observing, visiting cafes and making few friends established a presence at a non-threatening level. In timepeople would approach, curious about my visit, an excellent introduction to a potential interview (Jobbin, 2004, p. 318).

Local community members were identified through gatekeepers (as described in the previous section), observation and informal discussions; the process generally entailed casual walks through the village and discussions with prominent community members about who might be suitable stakeholders. When the most appropriate people were identified, the researcher approached the potential participants to introduce himself and the study. The researcher then gave them the Participant Information Sheet (see Appendix B –English version and Appendix C – Indonesian version) which outlined the objectives of the research. After reading the sheet, they were required to sign the Consent Form (see Appendix D – English version and Appendix E – Indonesian version) prior to the interview commencing. Interviews were conducted on a one-to-one basis with the participant's permission, although occasionally there were other villagers present either in the room or at the table they were intrigued by the research process (Photo 3.24).

Photo 3.24: A daytime interview with a SurfAid employee at Silabu



Interviews were semi-structured, and guided by an interview schedule (refer to Appendix F and Appendix H for more details). The use of open-ended questions in the interviews allowed the views of the participants to emerge naturally, not predetermined by the researcher (Glaser & Strauss, 1999). Veal (2006, p. 199) suggests that conducting a good in-depth interview requires a solid set of skills, primarily listening. It was important that the researcher listened, asked for explanations, avoided asking leading questions, did not interrupt, and checked non-verbal interactions. The researcher also frequently had to ask interviewees to explain themselves in more detail, check words and meanings with his translators, and trust his intuition regarding what questions were too sensitive or inappropriate.

The interview questions investigated the participants' personal history in the Mentawai Islands and their association with the surf tourism industry. Other questions centred on the participants' perspectives on how tourism has developed in their community or region, and what they would identify as the major benefits and limitations of this development. The last set of questions attempted to evaluate the

participants' understanding of other Mentawai stakeholders' perspectives of tourism development, and investigate their viewpoint for future development of surf tourism. The structure of the questionnaire avoided jargon, kept wording simple, avoided ambiguity, and asked single questions, avoiding multi-purpose questions. In the development of the interview guide, it was also important not to blur different concepts such as interaction and involvement. For this study, interaction was considered to be face-to-face actions between individuals, while involvement was on a larger scale and was used when referring to entire communities or stakeholder groups.

The length of the interviews varied, depending on the availability of the participant, the location and the information that needed to be gathered; but generally interviews lasted approximately 60 minutes. In the field, the researcher found he had little control over the style of the interview, direction more dictated by the level of rapport between the participant and himself (Photo 3.25). The informal interviewing style, the semi-structured questions and relaxed atmosphere were designed to make participants comfortable and to facilitate genuine responses to the questions asked (Wengraf, 2001, Rubin and Rubin, 2005).

Photo 3.25: An evening interview with a participant (holding the information sheet), and a local villager observing; Ebay, Siberut



Reciprocity represents an exchange between the researcher and the participant, and can be in the form of information, experience, reflection or money; this exchange requires thoughtful deliberation. Jennings (2005, p. 108) notes that during qualitative interviews, there ought to be a mutual exchange of information and experiences. Fetterman (1989) questions the use of incentives and the value of the information gathered, querying whether it is genuine and dependable or moulded by the nature of the incentive. Many times during the research the researcher asked what was the customary protocol in the Mentawai Islands and weighed up the options for rewarding participants. There was no customary protocol at any of the study villages regarding monetary exchange for the participant's time, and therefore payment needed careful consideration. It was decided no cash payment or other incentives should be given to participants, as it might create jealousy within the community. People were still willing to participate without any remuneration or reward.

Responses and observations were noted with pen and paper, allowing reactions and emotions to be recorded and to facilitate constructive thinking. A digital recorder was also used for data collection. It is important to support key points with meaningful and relevant quotes (Wengraf, 2001). However, due to the villagers' inherent cautiousness of foreign researchers, the digital recorder was used judiciously. On two occasions when interviewing older community members, the researcher observed they were uncomfortable with the recorder, so the device was turned off and removed from the table. The researcher was later informed by a translator that these participants had had a number of unpleasant dealings with local government and worried that the recordings could have future repercussions.

A lot of valuable data came from informal conversations between participants and the researcher, sometimes referred to as "hanging out" (Agar, 1996, p. 58). At the conclusion of the interview, where possible, time set aside to 'hang out', if relevant, extra comments were recorded and some brief notes regarding other gestures, reactions and emotions displayed by the participants were taken. During this additional time, interviewees had more courage to ask questions about this doctoral research, allowing the interview to conclude on a pleasant relaxed note.

The signing of consent forms has been shown to be a contentious issue in developing countries, and researchers are often treated with suspicion due to the concerns about political consequences of giving information (Bulmer, 1993). However, participants responded positively to this researcher's forms and appeared to have no qualms about completing the document (Photo 3.26).

Photo 3.26: An elementary school teacher about to sign the consent form, Silabu, North Pagai



Source: Author fieldwork

3.9 Government and Operator Interviews

Government, operator, NGO stakeholders were deliberately grouped together because of the similar nature of the data that needed to be collected from each group and that it correlated appropriately with the structure of the thesis, having three concise result sections. Initially operators and government officials were contacted for their support and participation in the research through the normal avenues of phone, email and face-to-face conversations. The researcher then gave each potential participant a Participant Information Sheet (Appendix B – English version, Appendix C – Indonesian

version) which outlined the objectives of the research. After reading this sheet, they were required to sign a Consent Form (Appendix D – English version and Appendix E – Indonesian version) prior to the interview commencing. The semi-structured interviews were conducted as per the Interview Guide outlined in Appendix F. The interviews were on a one-to-one basis in a variety of locations and settings, depending convenient for each participant. Charter boat operators' interviews often took place in an informal setting either in a bar or on their charter boat at sea. These were in contrast to interviews of many of the government officials. These were more formal, a presentation 'standard' was required, and interviews had to be pre-booked. Interviews with government officials usually took place in their office where strict formalities such as dress codes had to be abided by (Photo 3.27). In one instance, the researcher was told he could not see the minister of a local department wearing shorts and sandals, and was instructed to return the following morning dressed in appropriate attire.



Photo 3.27: Meeting with the bupati (Local Administrator) of the Mentawai Islands

Source: Author fieldwork

Arranging interviews with stakeholders was challenging due to the boat operators' charter timetables and government officials commitments to public duties. Therefore, interviews usually happened after random meetings or persistent visits to resorts, boats and government offices. In several extreme cases, this meant renting a private speedboat and motoring for half an hour to a remote location to find a certain operator, as was the case with the operator in Photo 3.28. Twice the researcher got to an isolated island after travelling for one hour in a cramped wet outrigger canoe only to be informed the interviewee was not ready for and asked if the researcher would return the next day.



Photo 3.28: Interview with a tourism operator

Source: Author fieldwork

3.10 Surf Tourist Online Questionnaire

As mentioned earlier, an online questionnaire (Appendix G) was considered the most practical data-collection method to gather surf tourists' perceptions of surf tourism development in the Mentawais. The researcher also knew from his own experience as a surfer who has stayed at surf resorts or on charter boats that, after surfing for hours,

the last thing you want to do to is sit down with a university student and do a 45-minute interview. The researcher decided surf tourists would prefer to fill out the questionnaire during their evening at the resort or on the boat, or in the comfort of their home once they had returned from their trip. Online questionnaires were more suited to the geography of the study region than mail-out or in-person questionnaires, due to the remote and scattered nature of the resorts and mobile charter boats.

The online questionnaire asked surf tourists to identify the major impacts of their travel, how they viewed local community participation, what was the nature of their interactions with host population, and their opinions on future surf tourism development in the Mentawai Islands. Also covered were questions relating to the surf tourist's motivations for travelling to the Mentawai Islands, basic demographics, surf trip characteristics and local expenditures.

Based on personal observations, the researcher knew surfers have a propensity to use the Internet, constantly checking weather and swell websites that are updated twice daily, as well as browsing images of exotic new surf locations on websites such as those of World Surfaris and The Surf Travel Company. The researcher assumed that all surf tourists who have travelled to the Mentawais have Internet access in their country of origin, because the majority of surf package holidays are booked online. The online surf tourist questionnaire was in English only (due to budgetary constraints involving translation and analysis of the data). This restricted participants to those who understood English. During his time in Indonesia, the researcher met dozens of surfers from countries such as Brazil, Spain and Japan whose English was limited, likely excluding them from the online questionnaire.

Awareness of the online survey was through posters and business cards left in homestays and hotels in Padang and the Mentawais. The researcher also spoke with many surf tourists personally, outlining his doctoral research and giving them the link to the online survey. A number of resort and surf charter boat operators in the Mentawais emailed the link to the online survey to their guest list from 2010. The remoteness of the Mentawai Islands in itself created an additional challenge in achieving an adequate response rate from the online questionnaire.

3.11 Analysis

Preliminary data analysis was undertaken in the field, with the next phase of data analysis undertaken back in Auckland, New Zealand. Initially the qualitative data was "cleaned" for analysis, which meant tidying up field notes and recordings and preparing supporting literature. It was essential to order the data chronologically by event, allowing the researcher to scrutinise the research process as well as the raw data (Daengbuppha et al., 2006, p. 376). When the data was cleaned and ordered by stakeholder group, the grounded theory process continued with the familiarisation of the interviews, focusing on common words that emanated from the text those interviews (Miles & Huberman, 1994). This was problematic, due to less than one hundred per cent accuracy of the translations.

The next stage was the coding process, consisting of initial and intermediate coding. Initial coding started in the field by examining, line by line, the text of the interview transcriptions and field notes. Codes were assigned to meaningful statements that were central to the research topic, the goal being to generate the widest collection of codes possible. The large number of codes were then grouped to form conceptual value clusters, allowing similar instances of phenomena to be compared and contrasted and, where similar, to check they had been coded consistently (Douglas, 2003, p. 47). The process of constant comparison allowed for increased confidence and assurance in the previously generated codes (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 24).

Intermediate coding followed the initial coding phase, which was predominantly carried out at Auckland University of Technology when the researcher had returned from data collection in Indonesia. This phase identified incidents that had an interrelationship. Much of the intermediate coding was indirectly done during the initial coding phase as codes were generated and developed (Goulding, 2002). During intermediate coding, the open codes that were most directly interconnected and that supported the evidence were grouped together, adding to the explanation of the phenomena being studied (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

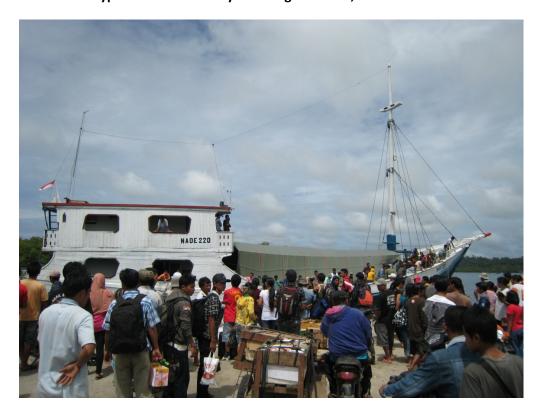
The final stage of the data analysis was theoretical integration, the main aim being to choose categories that could be used in the integration and development of both the specific topic of surf tourism and the broader subject of sustainable tourism

development (Daengbuppha et al., 2006). The "core categories" representing the main themes of the study were identified, and from these the researcher was able to view patterns in stakeholder perceptions of the Mentawai surf tourism industry. Theory building is continually occurring throughout this final phase, the challenge being to deduce the meaning of concepts from the data and to juxtapose them against one another in order to identify relationships and interactions (Galal, 2001). Once the main themes from the different stakeholder groups had been established, common themes to all stakeholder groups (cross-cutting themes) were identified and overlaid.

3.12 Fieldwork Challenges

The logistics of undertaking fieldwork in the Mentawai Islands presented a major obstacle to the fieldwork. The geographically isolated position of the island group combined with the lack of air services meant a long and arduous overnight ferry to the main island of Sipora and from there a smaller Mentawai long boat was required to access specific study sites. The ferries that operate between Padang on mainland Sumatra and the Mentawai Islands are overcrowded and have questionable safety standards (Photo 3.29). The scheduling of ferries is irregular, with sailings often postponed or cancelled due to bad weather, poor diesel supply or religious holidays. Other important communication infrastructure was not accessible, mobile phone and Internet being out of the coverage area at the study sites. Irregular transport linkages and lack of communication services meant data collection required significantly more time than expected. As mentioned earlier, in the field, it was difficult to timetable interviews and organise accommodation and transport.

Photo 3.29: Typical Mentawai ferry boarding at Maura, Siberut



Maintaining good health was a priority for the researcher due to poor medical facilities and the level of work required to complete the research in the given time. It is not recommended that any researcher undertake fieldwork in a high-risk region such as the Mentawai Islands without the correct precautions (see Appendix J – Researcher Safety Protocol). Researchers are exposed to tropical diseases during their fieldwork, with death being a very real prospect considering the distance to medical help. Malaria is prevalent, and the researcher took the precautionary approach of taking preventive medication as well as using a mosquito spray/net and wearing long clothing in the evenings. Water from the local wells was unfit for consumption, bottled water had to be brought in from Padang. Poor nutrition from a lack of fresh fruit and vegetables and low-protein food, combined with poor sanitary conditions, also increased the chance of contracting a tropical illness. The researcher fell ill in the sixth week of his sixmonth-long fieldwork trip, and after being bedridden for three days with fevers; his immunity was low for the next three months. However, the researcher continued with his data-collection endeavours, albeit at a slightly slower pace. Research in remote locations is not for the faint hearted.

As fieldwork progressed it became evident that the men of the villages were the dominating sex. The challenge was not to allow them to dominate the interviewing process. In all four study villages, women were marginalised, although not entirely excluded from the interview process. In most cases, it was inappropriate for a male to interview a woman alone, therefore, the researcher would ask the men of village to invite women along to meet the researcher and attempt to arrange a suitable public place to conduct the interview. Hood, Mayall and Oliver (1999) stress the importance of making all voices heard, and that both gender and age have the potential to create bias in research. Oliver (2003) notes that males in Indonesia have more power and social status, and therefore dominate research findings and overshadow contributions from females, children and the elderly. Results from his own research supported these findings, with 70% of the sample made up of males and just 30% females.

3.13 Ethics and Indonesian Research Permit

The Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC) granted ethical approval for the interviews and the online questionnaire on 28 May 2010 under application number 10/92 (Appendix I).

Undertaking research in Indonesia requires the researcher to obtain the correct visa and research permits. This was a time-consuming process, taking more than three months of correspondence prior to arrival in Indonesia. Once the researcher had his Indonesia research visa (Appendix K) issued by the Indonesian embassy in Wellington, he could enter Indonesia and apply to State Ministry of Research and Technology (RISTEK) for a research permit. But first, needed to fulfil a number of requirements. The three main ones being to provide a letter of support from a research supervisor (Appendix L), a letter of support from a research counterpart in Indonesia (Appendix M), and a certificate of health from a doctor. When the researcher had his RISTEK research permit (Appendix N), he was then required to obtain the correct paperwork from various Indonesian government departments.

It took another week in Jakarta and much patience from his Indonesian research counterpart, Budy Wiryawan, to obtain a letter of authorisation from the Department of Home Affairs and a research travel permit. Budy Wiryawan is a professor in the Faculty of Fisheries and Marine Sciences at Bogor Agricultural University, and his

support was vital in navigating the RISTEK research-permit process. A key component of collaborating with an Indonesian counterpart was the exchange of information. In return, this researcher presented a research seminar to his faculty at Bogor Agricultural University (Photo 3.30).

Photo 3.30: Presenting research in front of Budy's faculty at Bogor Agricultural University, Java



Source: Author fieldwork

Budy also introduced me to his research counterpart, Dr Arlius, from Bung Hatta University in Padang. He assisted this researcher in preparation for my fieldwork in the Mentawai Islands through printing appropriate documentation and organising necessary ferry tickets.

Chapter 4 : Surf Tourists and Their Perceptions of Surf Tourism Development

4.1 Introduction

This chapter is the first of three results chapters analysing different stakeholder perceptions of surf tourism development in the Mentawais and builds a profile of surf tourists who visit the Mentawais Islands, with a specific focus on travel motivations and expenditure. The chapter also provides an in-depth insight into tourist perceptions of surf tourism-related impacts, local community involvement and the future development of the tourism industry. Even though the sample size is relatively small and not representative, it provides valuable insights nevertheless.

4.2 Surfer Characteristics

Data on surfers who visit the Mentawai Islands can provide a better understanding of the surf tourism industry and can help clarify the different challenges and issues that it faces. Of the 36 surf tourists who completed the online questionnaire 94% were male. This reflects the researchers own experience in the Mentawais, that female surfers are rare. Indeed, during the period of his fieldwork, the researcher met more than 500 surfers – just six were women. These findings were supported by Dale and Ford (2002), who found that surfing is dominated by males; their survey of 366,200 Australian surfing participants revealed that only 8% were female.

Nearly half (49%) of the respondents were aged between 31 and 40 years (Figure 4.1). The remaining portion was spilt, with 35% being 41 years or older and 17%, 30 years or younger. A reason for the low number of younger surfers is explained by Buckley (2002b, p. 408), who notes that for the majority of surfers in their teens and early 20s, the high prices of surf packages in the Mentawais is unaffordable. These findings were supported by conversations the researcher had when on charter boats and at the resorts, where the bulk of surf tourists appeared to be between the ages of 30 and 50 years and were professionals who could afford the more expensive accommodation options. This was reinforced during interviews with charter boat and resort operators,

who noted that their clientele were usually in the 31–40 years age group, saying they generally had higher incomes and discretionary time.

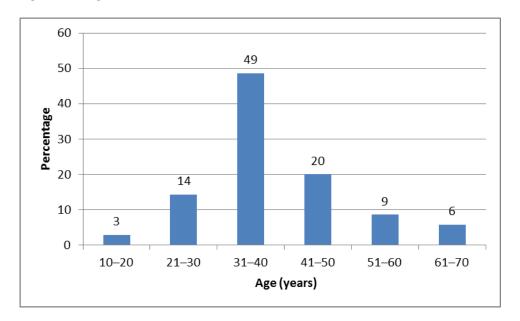


Figure 4.1: Ages of the surf tourists (n = 36)

The majority surveyed were Australian (69%), followed by Americans (22%), with Japanese, New Zealanders and Venezuelans making up the remainder of the sample (Figure 4.2). While undertaking fieldwork in the Mentawais, the researcher spoke and surfed with more than 500 surfers from approximately 15 other countries who were not represented in this sample, including Brazilian, French, Portuguese, German and Spanish surfers. The researcher expected Brazilians would have completed the online survey, as he met many charter boats with Brazilian surfers on board and there were also many staying at homestays; however, as the questionnaire was in English, this could explain their lack of participation.

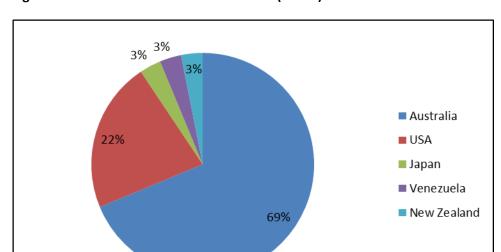


Figure 4.2: Nationalities of the surf tourists (n = 36)

The annual income of respondents was spread across the range, with 65% of the surf tourists' personal income being US\$60,000 a year or more. Both low-income and high-income earners were represented, with 14% of participants earning less than US\$20,000 and 11% earning more than US\$200,000 (Figure 4.3). Most visitors were in the US\$100,000 to US\$150,000 income bracket.

During his fieldwork, the researcher observed two different types of travellers: independent travellers staying in homestays, and tourists on more expensive packages that cost US\$4000 (or more). The independent travellers were most likely to have personal incomes of less than US\$20,000, and based on informal conversations they did not appear to be immediately concerned with careers or full-time employment. Tourists travelling on packages are at the other end of the continuum; usually professionals earning good salaries but can only afford to take two weeks off each year and want a more luxurious travel experience.

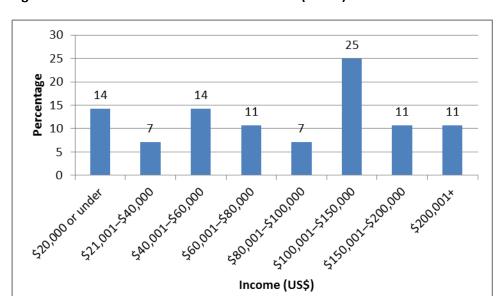


Figure 4.3 Personal incomes of the surf tourists (n = 36)

It is important to investigate tourists' educational background because it can influence how they perceive certain issues, especially in relation to the environment and sustainability, when they travel (Falk, Ballantyne, Packer & Benckendorff, 2011). Education level is consistently one tourist characteristic that positively relates to environmental attitudes and awareness, as well as support for the protection of the natural environment (Uysal, Jurowski, Noe & McDonald, 1994). The level of education among participants in this research was very high, with 82% of all respondents having studied at university. Just under half of the respondents (48%) had received a bachelor's degree, with another 24% having obtained either a master's or other professional degree (Figure 4.4).

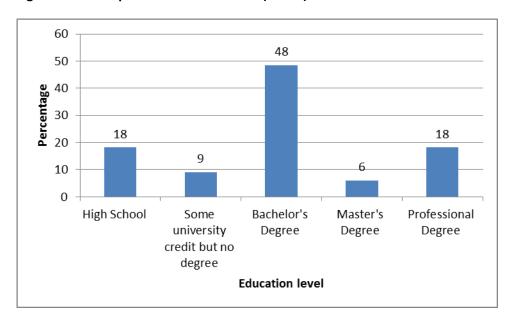


Figure 4.4 Participant level of education (n = 36)

Surf tourists were asked about their perceptions of sustainable travel, and the tourists' awareness of the impacts of surfing holidays and their sense of personal responsibility. Approximately two-thirds (67%) of the surf tourists believed they were sustainable travellers, while the remaining 33% responded that they were not. There was a general feeling among the 500 surf tourists with whom the researcher spoke, that being a sustainable traveller to the Mentawais involved cultural sensitivity and being conscious of the local community and their traditions.

"A large part of being a sustainable traveller is self-education about where you are travelling to. Creating an awareness of the fragile indigenous culture and respect for local people."

Australian, male, aged 40–49 years, charter boat accommodation

One Australian female respondent surveyed took the cultural aspect of sustainable travel to the next level and actively engaged with the local community. This female surf tourist was staying in homestay accommodation, and she commented that she was able to inform local operators of the host population's concerns and thoughts on management issues related to surf travel. This comment was, however, an isolated one and no other respondents actively interacted with locals with the hope of assisting them.

"That I was able to speak the language and could listen to concerns of the locals. That my money went wholly to locals and not foreign operators. I was able to give feedback to local operators as well as other surf travellers on

cultural and business management issues. I made good friends and offered ongoing relationships."

Australian, female, aged 40–49 years, homestay accommodation

A male participant staying on a charter boat helped the local people by providing earthquake victims with clothing and donating funds to community projects, illustrating that several surf tourists were willing to support the local Mentawai community and that donations of money and goods may be the most appropriate method for assisting the host population.

"Helping the local people is what being a 'sustainable traveller' is all about. We brought clothing for earthquake victims as well as money going to SurfAid for basic medical relief and education."

Australian, male, aged 30–39 years, charter boat accommodation

In summary, the profile of the surf tourist found in this study is very similar to that found by Dolnicar and Fluker (2003a), who investigated surf travel characteristics in Australia and concluded that the demographic group "luxury surfers" was aged between 30 and 35 years, had the highest incomes, , and was the most willing to spend money on their holiday. Similarly, Buckley (2002a, p. 408) comments that "older, cashrich, time-poor surfers are prepared to pay for high-quality, uncrowded waves during their brief holidays." Buckley adds that these clients of surf package holidays were in their mid-30s and are successful tradesmen, businessmen or professionals.

In conversation with guests on the luxury yachts, they often commented that 'this was their one trip of the year', and 'they only had two weeks off so they were going to live it up and not spare any costs'. Conversely, conversations with other (usually younger) surfers residing at the local homestays revealed the opposite. They were often on long round-the-world trips so were looking to save every cost possible.

This research identified that surfers travelling to the Mentawais ranged from the "diehard big-wave chargers" to "relaxed cruisers". For both groups of surfers, the primary reason for travel is to surf waves, although it may not be the sole purpose of their travel. Laarman and Durst's (1987) classification of "hard" and "soft" ecotourism (Figure 4.5) is incorporated into the surf tourism definition, and refers to the level of dedication that the tourist has to surfing while travelling. "Hard" surf tourists can, therefore, be considered to be more specialised and require an increased level of

dedication, while "soft" surf tourists generally enjoy surfing as part of a broader tourism experience. Both groups of tourists have surfing as the primary reason for their travel to the Mentawai Islands, but they differ in the degree of risk they expose themselves too.

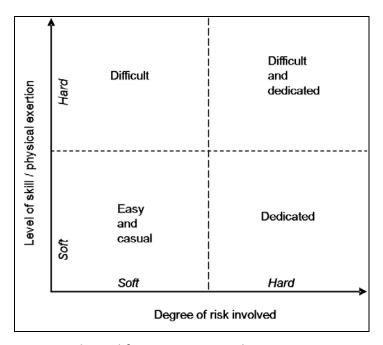


Figure 4.5: Hard and soft surf tourism

Source: Adapted from Laarman and Durst, 1987

Two-thirds of the surveyed surf tourists (66%) stayed on surf charter boats. These range in quality and size, from locally made wooden boats that are comfortable but basic, to foreign-made steel-hulled boats with a range of luxury amenities (Photo 4.1). One operator has equipped his surf charter vessel with a helicopter and jet skis, earning his boat the nickname "Death Star".

Photo 4.1: Mentawai surf charter vessel The Addiction



Slightly more than one-fifth of the respondents surveyed (21%) stayed at land-based surf resorts, including Macaronis (see Photo 4.2). Accommodation at the resorts in the Mentawai Islands typically costs approximately US\$300 per day. The properties are of a very high quality, catering for the top-end market, with the amenities one would expect in a modern resort including wireless Internet, air conditioning and catered food.

Photo 4.2: Macaronis Resort, North Pagai



Only 13% of surf tourists surveyed stayed in local homestay accommodation, which generally consists of a small simple wooden bungalow with a thatched roof (Photo 4.3) and a very basic, shared Indonesian-style bathroom (*kamar mandi*).

Photo 4.3: Pak Esar homestay at Katiet



The Mentawai surf tourism industry is dominated by package surf tourism, independent travel is less common. Buckley (2002a, p. 407) notes that independent surf tourists plan their own trips, use their own equipment, and stay in local accommodation; this is in contrast to package surf tourism, where operators take care of all logistical components of the trip, including transport, accommodation and food.

The tourists surveyed for this thesis stayed a minimum of eight days and a maximum of 200 days (Figure 4.6). There is considerable variation in the number of days spent in the Mentawais by surf tourists. During his stay, the researcher met about 30 surfers who had set up "long term" in, intending to stay for three to four months. However, the researcher did met several groups of surfers who had hired speedboats in Padang and were only staying a couple of days. This is uncommon, though, because the journey from Padang involves an arduous overnight boat ride, often in very rough conditions. Most tourists would not consider 2 days long enough to justify the unpleasant ferry trip.

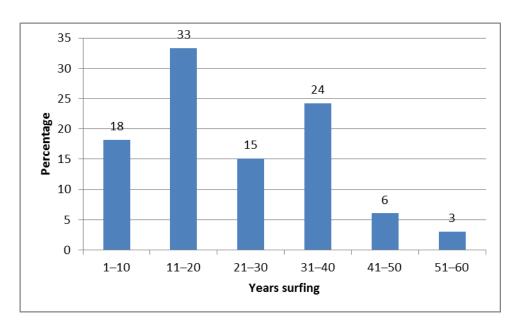


Figure 4.6: Number of nights spent in the Mentawais by surf tourists (n = 36)

4.3 Travel Motivations and Satisfaction Levels

It is important to understand the motivations and satisfaction levels of surfers travelling to the Mentawais, so that future regulations and management approaches can appropriately reflect these characteristics. Tourist motivation is "a meaningful state of mind which adequately disposes an actor or group of actors to travel, and which is subsequently interpretable by others as a valid explanation for such as decision" (Dann, 1981, p. 205). Dann (1977, 1981) further suggests that a person's desire to travel is influenced by both the attraction of the destination – the "pull factors" – and their psychological needs, or "push factors." Pull factors are associated with the destination and refer to tangible features such as accommodation, attractions and the beach, whereas push factors are origin-related and refer to intrinsic motives like the yearning for escape, rest, and relaxation (Klenosky, 2002; Uysal & Jurowski, 1994).

The majority of motivations discovered in the sample of surf tourists were pull factors, with surfing good-quality waves (39%) being the primary motivation for the surveyed surfers travelling to the Mentawais (Figure 4.7). From his many conversations with the surfers, it quickly became apparent that, for most of them, if the waves in the region were not of such a high standard, then the arduous journey out to the Islands would not be warranted. Three comments made by Australians staying on charter boats

indicated that they would only travel to destinations with world-class surf and that the Mentawais had the best surf in the world and that was their reason for travelling there.

"The surf in the region is the best quality and variety in the world for such a small area to travel in."

Australian, male, aged 30–39 years, charter boat accommodation

"The main motivation for me to travel to the Mentawais was to surf a large variety of good-quality waves. This is important because I've spent nearly 20 years enjoying different waves in different countries and I know what a world-class wave is when I see it."

Australian, male, aged 30–39 years, charter boat accommodation

"Surfing has been my lifelong passion and encourages me to travel to locations I wouldn't consider unless they offered good surf."

Australian, male, aged 40–49 years, charter boat accommodation

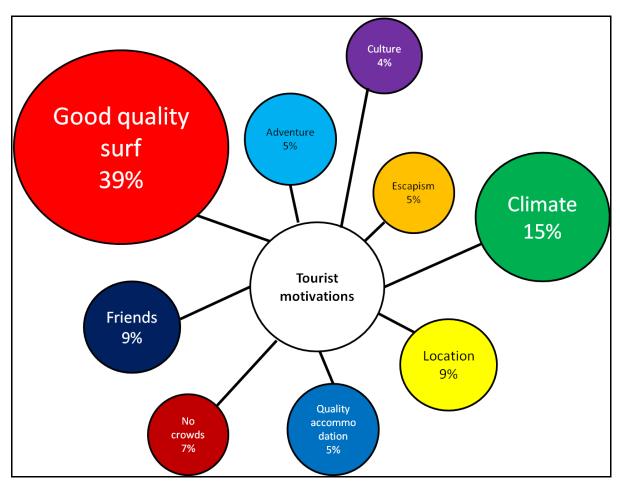


Figure 4.7: Travel motivations of the surf tourists (n = 36)

Note: This diagram represents a categorisation of written answers and the core themes that emerged.

The tropical climate and balmy water temperature were a common theme in people's comments. A comment made by a young New Zealand female highlighted that for her the biggest motivating factor was the climate.

"I despise the weather in NZ over the winter and have no motivation to surf when it's freezing. So the climate in Indonesia was my biggest motivating factor to spend the time there."

New Zealander, female, aged 20–29 years, homestay accommodation

The concept of escapism deals with the need to relax in peace in a quiet setting, where one's thoughts are taken away from day-to-day life, enabling an escape from civilisation and from routine and responsibility (Crandall, 1980). Many of the pull factors such as climate and good-quality surf were interrelated with the escapism concept. The two comments below, made by middle-aged Australian males, epitomise the feeling of escapism.

"We live in a country (Australia) where the waves aren't multiplying, but the people riding them are! To be able to go somewhere and be guaranteed good waves with few people is a massive draw card."

Australian, male, aged 30–39 years, charter boat accommodation

"Good waves. Working 9 to 5 in Sydney, it is often hard to surf as much as I would like. A dedicated surf trip gives me the chance just to focus on surfing with my mates. A good surf trip needs good quality, consistent waves. I thought the Mentawais would deliver."

Australian, male, aged 30–39 years, charter boat accommodation

Culture and local people were raised by two respondents as motivating factors to travel to the Mentawai Islands. Surfers are generally very focused on surfing, and the surfers the researcher met were not particularly influenced to travel to the Mentawais by the opportunity to interact with the local people. Indeed, interacting with the host population and learning about local culture were not mentioned as a complementary or secondary motive by those interviewed. Below is a comment from a respondent that best summarises surf tourist motivations to the Mentawais.

"The biggest reason I wanted to go to the Mentawais was to surf quality waves in a warm tropical climate without too much of a crowd."

Australian, male, aged 40–49 years, resort accommodation

Motivational factors could be explained by employing Dunn & Iso-Ahola's (1991) concept of motivational dimensions of leisure behaviour by categorising tourists as either "seekers" or "escapers". The findings from this study would indicate that surf tourists to the Mentawai Islands are seekers, as they search for good-quality, consistent, relatively uncrowded surfing in a tropical climate. However, it would appear that many of the surf tourists are also "escapers", wanting a break from their nine-to-five workdays and ordinary Western lives, as well as their average, cold, crowded home surf breaks. These pull factors need to be maintained and protected if surf tourists are going to continue travelling to the Mentawai Islands. Buckley (2002b, p. 427) notes if the number of surfers becomes too great in any one of these offshore islands, then it will lose its competitive advantage over mainland surf destinations.

An important point to note is that even though local culture was not recognised as a major motivating factor by surf tourists, once on their holiday in the Mentawais, surfers expressed a desire to learn about the local culture and wanted greater opportunities to interact with the host population. Many of the surfers the researcher spoke with said they would have not come to the Mentawais if it had not been for the amazing surf; however, once they had seen a Mentawai community member first hand, they became intrigued and expressed an interest in learning more about both their culture and lifestyle.

Half of the respondents had previously been to the Mentawais on a surf trip. The high percentage of actual or anticipated repeat visitation indicates strong destination loyalty (Ninnies & Riley, 2003; Cladera & Alegre, 2006).

When participants were asked to rate their overall experience in the Mentawais, there was a high level of satisfaction. Three-quarters (74%) rated their trip as "excellent", none rating their experience as "very poor" (Figure 4.8). This high level of consumer satisfaction can be directly linked to the quality of surfing and the warm tropical weather, backed up by the quality of services at resorts and on charter boats.

When asked whether they would come back to the Mentawai Islands on a surfing holiday, an overwhelming portion (94%) of those surveyed responded "Yes", while only 6% said they would not return. The researcher had several conversations with surf

charter boat operators who said the bulk of their business was made up of returning clients.

"The number-one influence was the quality of the accommodation. Surf is variable and I accept that as part of my love of it. So to base a decision about where to go based on surf conditions, you can make a best-case choice but it is never guaranteed so I am happy to take the chance (increased chances in Mentawais, of course). However, make the leading decision factor be how I will enjoy the trip based on controllable factors such as the quality of the resort."

Australian, male, aged 40–49 years, charter boat accommodation

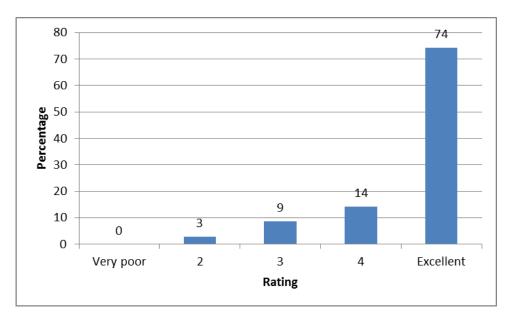


Figure 4.8: Trip satisfaction (n = 36)

4.4 Tourist Expenditure

The large majority of the survey respondents (84%) travelled to the Mentawai Islands on prepaid surf packages. The two most common price brackets of prepaid surf packages (excluding international flights) to the Mentawais were US\$3001–\$4000 and US\$4001–\$5001 (both 30%), followed by packages between US\$5001 and US\$6000 (23%) and US\$2001 and US\$3000 (17%) (Figure 4.9). The average price for a 10-day surf charter in this survey was approximately US\$4000; this represented almost a 50% price increase from Buckley's (2002a, p. 409) study on the Mentawai surf tourism industry, who noted that a typical 10-day surf charter cost around US\$2750.

Only 16% of survey respondents were independent travellers, booking their own travel and staying in local budget accommodation. The five individual travellers who

completed the online questionnaire is statistically a small number to work with and creates a bias in the sample; however, the results of a larger number of package tourists reflects the current situation of surf tourism in the Mentawai Islands.



Figure 4.9: Prepaid package price (n = 31)

Surf tourists staying at surf resorts or on surf charter boats on package tours had only a slightly lower daily local expenditure (US\$21) per trip in the Mentawai Islands than independent travellers staying at local homestays (US\$22) (Table 4.1). This local expenditure included everything that was not prepaid, such as handicrafts and recreation and entertainment. A range of studies (Britton, 1982; Brohman, 1996; Scheyvens, 2003 Mbaiwa, 2005; and Lacher & Nepal, 2010a) has shown that tourists staying at enclave resorts or on prepaid all-inclusive tours generally spend very little money outside their resort because all their needs are catered for.

That resort and charter boat surf tourists had a local expenditure of US\$21 a day was not surprising. US\$21 per day is a small amount and could easily be accounted for by miscellaneous costs such as handicraft purchases. In addition, not all packages are the same in terms of their inclusivity. Surf charters catering to the budget sectors do not include beverages such as alcohol or soft drinks whereas the luxury charters include all alcohol. Two tourists staying on charter boats spent US\$300 and US\$700 on alcohol, possibly for a celebration. When staying at the local homestays, the purchases tend to

be small. Accommodation is US\$5 per night and a beer is US\$3 – it would be difficult to spend US\$700 on alcohol.

Table 4.1: Daily local expenditure (US\$) by surf tourists

Component of total expenditure	Local homestay (US\$) (<i>n</i> = 5)	Surf resort and surf charter (US\$) (n = 31)
Local transport	4	2
Local accommodation	4	3
Food/supplies	10	3
Handicrafts	0	3
Alcohol	1	5
Activities	1	1
Recreation and entertainment	1	2
Other	0	2
Total	22	21

The respondent below perceived the surf tourism industry to be providing the local community with no benefits. The results from the expenditure analysis, however, clearly indicate that they do receive economic profits, even if they are minimal compared with the surf charter boats.

"The most obvious negative impact from my travel here in the Mentawais is that it seems as there is almost nil revenue for the local economy as it all goes to the boat operator."

Australian, male, aged 40–49 years, charter boat accommodation

Mbaiwa (2005, p. 160) notes that tourism destinations that have high levels of inclusivity exhibit increased leakage due to foreign ownership and the importation of overseas goods. For those tourists travelling on charter boats, there are significant tourism dollars that do not reach the local economy (foreign leakage). Fuel, food, beverages, and other supplies are purchased in Padang on mainland Sumatra by a foreign boat owner. However, despite this, charter boat tourists had a reasonable daily expenditure made up of alcohol and handicrafts. However, if linkages are not promoted, substantial economic development will not be produced, whereby resentment and alienation could be cultivated in the local community (Lacher & Nepal, 2010b).

On four occasions, the researcher observed charter boat and resort operators actively encouraging clients to buy handicrafts and other items and to visit the villages. One

operator praised the standard of the local handicrafts, telling surfers he was confident they would like it in their house as a memory of their surfing holiday in the Mentawai Islands.

"Mate, you should see the little wooden surfboards the guys in Katiet are making these days. They are super high quality and would look unreal on the wall of your house. If you look closer they have carved all the surf spots that you have surfed on this trip."

Personal observation, charter boat captain

Surf tourists staying at surf resorts and on charter boats spent more on handicrafts, alcohol, recreation and entertainment than independent travellers staying at homestays (Table 4.1). The researcher was unsurprised by the results. Many of the guests he met had professional careers and therefore greater amounts of disposable income. One evening he had a barbeque with a boatload of Brazilians, and discovered three were surgeons and two were lawyers. Older, cash-rich, time-poor (Buckley, 2002a, p. 408) surf tourists on the commercial tours have more disposable income and purchase more locally made souvenirs, pay for Mentawai cultural performances (generally commoditised traditional dances organised by the operator and performed at the resort's restaurant), and spend more on alcohol. Similarly, Mehmetoglu's (2007, p. 213) research into tourist expenditures found nature-based tourists who had high incomes tended to be heavy spenders.

Non-package surf tourists staying at local homestays spent considerably more on food and supplies than package tourists did; the large majority bought their basic supplies at local stores in the village in which they were residing (Photo 4.4). Results from the online questionnaire, however, suggest that independent travellers only spent marginally more on local transport and local accommodation than those staying on surf charter boats or at resorts. This result was unexpected, and the researcher believe it may be a result of misinterpretation of the online questionnaire.

Photo 4.4: Non-package surf tourists purchasing goods from a local store, Katiet, South Sipora



Source: Author fieldwork

The critical message from the analysis of local expenditure is that there is not a great deal of variation in terms of on-the-ground spending between package and non-package surf tourists in the Mentawai Islands. For both types of surf tourists, the local expenditure is still relatively low, highlighting that surf tourists are bringing minimal economic benefits to the local communities. However, the results do illustrate that some money is likely to find its way into the pockets of the local community, and these profits are significant when compared with average Mentawai household incomes. Areas such as handicrafts generate significant profits from the package surf tourists; an example of this spend is six tourists surveyed from charter boats who spent US\$100 on handicrafts. They are produced from locally sourced materials and bring direct benefit to the local community; hence, the economic linkages between the surf tourists and host population are strong.

Scheyvens (2002, p. 145) notes that financial benefits produced by luxury tourism in the developing world seldom filter down to be of any worth to people at the

community level, and local communities would receive greater benefits from increased participation in budget tourism. For the high-end resort tourist, the portion of their spend that remains in the country is a very small percentage of their total spend, whereas for those staying in local accommodation, a high proportion of their spend remains within the host community. Both resort tourists and independent travellers bring benefits to the local economy. A key challenge is to increase the linkages between both groups of tourists and local businesses, especially the well-heeled resort tourists who have money to spend. His findings support other Third World studies by Wilson (1997, p. 68), who found that the local Tourism Ministry in Goa, India, thought high-end resort tourism was the right direction as independent travellers did not spend enough money.

4.5 Local Community Involvement

When asked whether the local community has limited involvement in the Mentawai surf tourism industry, 14% of respondents strongly agreed while a comparatively small number of 3% strongly disagreed (Table 4.2). Most visitors were unsure, sitting in the middle of the continuum (responding with either a 3, 4 or 5 on a 7-point scale). It should be noted that tourists' perceptions of local community involvement were based on their perspectives of the Mentawai surf tourism industry. The results illustrate that surf tourists were not convinced of the local community's participation, indicating that surf charter boats were dominating the industry and that the local community was struggling to be involved and therefore could not reap the potential benefits. One comment made by a survey respondent acknowledged that it was very difficult for the local community to gain benefits from the surf tourism industry when their involvement was so limited.

"Better involvement with the local community is needed with the locals if they are to gain ownership in the industry and receive any real benefits – we didn't even really leave the boat."

Australian, male, aged 40–49 years, charter boat accommodation

Another comment was:

"In the Mentawais there needs to be less number of total boats or a limit on foreign boats and a few from boats owned by the local community. This would give more local control leading to increased benefits."

One individual offered an alternative view, commenting that there was in fact high involvement between surf charter boats and the local community. Also noted was that the charter boats have local Mentawai staff working on them and this assists the local community.

"I think as long as there is involvement between the boats, villages and locals it will work well. I do believe and have seen that government can take their share from the boats, come on board and impose fees. Who does that go to? However, the boats employ and also help the locals. It's a balance that needs to be equal, not unlike many other tourist regions in the world."

Australian, male, aged 30–39 years, charter boat accommodation

Table 4.2: Surf tourists' perspectives on local community involvement in the Mentawai surf tourism industry (n = 36)

	Strongly						Strongly	
	disagree	2	3	4	5	6	agree	Unsure
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
Local community have limited								
involvement in the Mentawai								
surf tourism industry.	3	11	14	20	11	20	14	6

More than two-thirds of the tourists (69%) said they had interacted with the indigenous people in close proximity to the surf breaks on their trip to the Mentawai Islands. Several of the popular surf breaks have a large number of local surfers and more developed villages, which allow for increased interactions. In Katiet, the researcher observed tourists having a lot of contact with the local population. Many of the surfers from charter boats would venture onshore and buy supplies from the local store and for a village visit, or the villagers would paddle their canoes laden with handicrafts out to the charter boats in hope of a sale.

When surf tourists were asked about village visits, they said the visits provided those staying on surf charter boats with a unique opportunity to experience a colourful insight into the local Mentawai lifestyle (Photo 4.5).

"Toured an island on Sunday and walked to all the churches and donated money, bought some snacks from locals. Walked through another village when we stopped to fuel the boat, spoke English with the kids and bought them some candy. Helped a grouper fish farmer catch and feed his fish in pens."

American, male, aged 30–39 years, charter boat accommodation

Photo 4.5: Surfers visiting the village of Katiet



Source: Author fieldwork

When asked their opinion on the statement "There is a large amount of interaction between surfers and members of the local community", more respondents strongly disagreed (11%) than strongly agreed (0%) (Table 4.3). The remaining 89% were evenly distributed across both the positive and negative responses. The fact that there was not a single reply in the strongly agree column was interesting, as none of the non-package surf tourists staying with local families strongly agreed, further indicating that surf tourists believed that there was not a large amount of host–guest interaction occurring.

There was a clear difference between package and non-package surf tourists, with surfers staying on charter boats and in resorts being more likely to disagree with the statement. These findings were expected, as the majority of respondents stayed on charter boats or at surf resorts where there are limited opportunities for interacting with the local community. A comment made by a New Zealand female staying in

homestay accommodation indicated a greater amount of interaction did occur with the local community when staying in homestays even if it was basic such as buying supplies or playing with the kids. Interacting with local kids was something that the researcher witnessed a lot while staying at the homestays; the older members of the community were often withdrawn and kept to themselves, while the children were much more eager to interact with the tourists. Whether it was playing with the local children, buying coconuts from them or showing them pictures of our home on the digital camera, it was an important part of the homestay experience.

"The nature of our interactions with the local community was limited; we did the normal stuff like saying hello to people as we walked through the village and played in water with kids and we also brought a lot of goods from people in the village."

New Zealander, female, aged 20–29 years, homestay accommodation

Table 4.3: Surf tourists' perception of whether there is a large amount of interaction between surfers and local community in the Mentawai Islands (n = 36)

	Strongly disagree %		_	4 %	5 %	6 %	Strongly agree %
There is a large amount of interaction between surfers and local community in the Mentawai							
Islands.	11	20	17	14	9	29	0

Eight respondents commented that the sole interaction they had with local community members was buying handicrafts from locals who paddle out from their villages to the back of the surf charter boats to sell their goods (Photo 4.6), highlighting a critical sector to develop linkages. The following comment made by a surf tourist staying on a charter boat emphasises the relatively business-like nature of these connections; he felt as if they were more of a financial exchange than a broader-based interaction. These are interactions nevertheless, giving the opportunity for locals to sell their products and are probably valued by community members far more than swapping stories with foreign surfers. Regardless of the authenticity of these interactions, both the local handicraft sellers and surf tourists from the charter boats would enjoy bargaining for a good price, in many cases adding memorable experiences to the surfer's holiday to the Mentawais.

"The only interaction I had with the community was when local people came to the resort and provided a display of their cultural dancing. They also came to offer handicrafts for sale which was pretty cool; it was fun trying to get a good deal from them."

Australian, male, aged 40-49 years, charter boat accommodation





Source: Author fieldwork

Two middle-aged Australians staying on charter boats commented on the limited nature of the interactions that surf tourists were having with locals from surrounding villages, and that there was a real desire to be of assistance to the local community.

"We could have visited the villages and we could have had some direction from the operator on how we could contribute rather than just sitting in the boat buying their shells."

Australian, male, aged 40–49 years, charter boat accommodation

"When the surf conditions weren't very good, we could have visited the nearest village with one of our staff as an interpreter to discuss their way of life

and anything we could do to help improve living conditions. I'm particularly interested in sanitation and potable water supplies."

Australian, male, aged 30–39 years, charter boat accommodation

Two participants staying on charter boats noted that the interactions they had with the host community were facilitated by the fact they were both sharing the same waves and surfing together. In many cases, it seemed that surfing provided the initial stimulus for conversation between surfers and locals, and the shared passion for their sport enabled a bond to be built.

"The interactions we had with the villagers were limited to talking with the local surfers in waves, and talking with a few of the younger teenagers who could speak English and talking with resort staff when visiting land camps."

Australian, male, aged 60–69 years, charter boat accommodation

"Surfing with the locals was our main point of contact with the local community and on our visits we said hello to people in towns."

Australian, male, aged 30–39 years, charter boat accommodation

Having spent more than three months moving between the four study villages during his research, the researcher regularly witnessed foreign surfers befriending local surfers. On four occasions, tourists left locals a T-shirt or a pair of boardshorts, a sign of friendship as described in the following comment. Photo 4.7 shows an image of a young Mentawai surfer with a surfboard that had been gifted by a passing tourist, which reinforces the fact that impacts of surf tourism on the locals are not just economic. The young children get the surfers staying in the village to cut out the middle section of the board and then fibreglass the board back together, making a smaller board perfect for learning. This raises the interesting issue of surfing and the demonstration effect (Gossling, 2002; Fisher, 2004), as the local Mentawai did not have the means or the knowledge to ride waves before surf tourism arrived in the Islands.

This is reinforced by community interviews; for example, older men in the village of Katiet often commented that they only started surfing once they had observed the tourists riding waves and were given surfboards. Before that, the men said, the ocean was used only for swimming and fishing, with the waves being a distraction to work.

"While in the Mentawais the main interactions we had with the community was really simple, just talking to the local surfers at the breaks and we also gave away some surf goods."

Japanese, male, aged 30–39 years, charter boat accommodation





Source: Author fieldwork

A clear majority of surf tourists (77%) responded that they would have been interested in having a greater opportunity to interact with the host community and only 23% of respondents to the survey were ambivalent about meeting with the host population. These findings were in contrast to results from Figure 4.7, which shows that only 4% of the respondents identified Mentawai culture as primary motivation for their travel. This indicates that surfers are drawn to the Mentawais by the quality of the surf, not the opportunity to be immersed in local indigenous culture; nevertheless, they would be interested in incorporating cultural aspects into their trip, complementing their overall holiday. This point is critical, as it is an area where linkages between the surf tourism industry and local community can be built and developed, especially when there are days when people cannot surf, for various reasons.

There does appear to be a clear distinction in the interest taken in the Mentawai culture between tourists who decided to stay on board a surf charter boat and those on land at a local homestay. Non-package tourists staying within the local villages frequently immersed themselves in the Mentawai culture, consuming traditional food at homestays and local eateries, and doing simple things like strolling through the villages and striking up impromptu conservations villagers. The researcher spoke with three surfers staying in homestays who were trying to speak Indonesian, reading historical books about the area, and learning the local culture.

Photo 4.8: Monica homestay at Mapadegat



Source: Author fieldwork

Surfers on charter boats, tended to be much more focused on the waves. For many of them, it was their only two-week holiday of the year and it had cost them a lot of money, so they were going to surf until they were exhausted, leaving minimal time to do anything else. Once you surf perfect waves for six hours in the tropical sun, you are so dehydrated, hungry and tired, the last thing you feel like doing is a village tour.

"Yes, would have been good to interact more with the local villagers but didn't really have time as waves were good the whole time ... would be good to know more about the history of Mentawai people, etc. or if there was some sort of 2-to 3-hour tour or info session run by locals that might be worth seeing."

Australian, male, aged 30–39 years, charter boat accommodation

The following comments, made by participants staying on both charter boats and at resorts, epitomise the interest of many surf tourists to learn more about the local culture and the desire to understand what their lifestyle is like.

"I didn't really get a chance to meet any locals; we were just surfed out all the time. However, it would have been great to have increased interactions with the locals as it would have allowed us to learn more about their community."

American, male, aged 30–39 years, charter boat accommodation

"While here in the Mentawais I guess it would have been good to have a better opportunity to understand how the local community live. Some locals came to perform a traditional dance at our resort but that's different."

Australian, male, aged 10-19 years, resort accommodation

One middle-aged Australian staying on a charter boat commented on the positive impact that non-government organisations such as SurfAid appeared to be having in the region, and that it would be great if they could facilitate a way for surf tourists from the charter boats or resorts to contribute.

"I have personally seen first hand the endeavours of the nongovernment organisations in the Mentawais and been able to have a structured morning or afternoon helping out in some capacity."

Australian, male, aged 30–39 years, charter boat accommodation

Another participant provided an alternative perspective, believing locals should be left alone to go about their lives without the pressure of surfers. This comment was an isolated case.

"I would rather leave them alone and not influence them with Western ways."

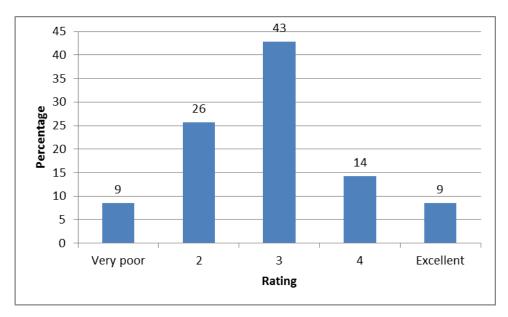
Australian, male, aged 50–59 years, charter boat accommodation

When respondents were asked to rate their ability to meet with indigenous Mentawai people and learn about their way of life, the results were evenly spread across the continuum. Forty three percent of surf tourists rated their ability to meet with locals at three out of five, indicating that respondents found it difficult to meet indigenous people and learn about their way of life. Surf tourists staying on charter boats identified that village tours or some other capacity that lets tourists share an experience with the host community would be complementary to their overall experience in the Mentawais. These findings highlight a potential gap in the operators' service and provide a link between the community and operators, thus increasing host–guest interactions.

"If the village had tours, something different for the days when you don't want to surf, like they do in Fiji or other Pacific islands. People are interested in the culture and I think it would be good to have the choice to go in and pay for an 'experience' with the villagers. Saying that, we had a ball with them!"

Australian, male, aged 30–39 years, charter boat accommodation

Figure 4.10: Tourists' ability to meet with indigenous Mentawai people and learn about their way of life (n = 36)



4.6 Mentawai Surf Tourism Management

Thirty four percent said they were unsure, when asked to indicate their level of agreement with the statement "The MMTA provides adequate protection and satisfactory management of the Mentawai surfing resources". This shows many surf tourists were unaware of the Mentawai Marine Tourism Association (MMTA) or its effectiveness in managing the surf tourism industry in the Mentawais. These findings were as the researcher expected, because MMTA does not advertise through signage or provide information at any of the surf locations. The few surfers the researcher spoke to about the MMTA commented that they were only aware of it and its function through discussing surf tourism management with resort and surf charter operators. The researcher was interested to see how tourists perceived the MMTA because current surf tourism management in the region is attracting attention from a number of media outlets within the surfing community. The different forms of media range from online forums and mainstream surf magazines such as *Tracks*, *Waves* and *Australian Surfing Life* to academic journals.

This survey also explored whether respondents thought the MMTA provided adequate protection and satisfactory management of the surfing resources in the region. The responses were divergent and spread across the scale. No one strongly agreed while six per cent strongly disagreed, however, overall responses leaned more towards disagreement: 28% selected 2 or 3 on the 7-point Likert scale, while 15% were more in agreement at 5 or 6 on the scale (Table 4.2).

Table 4.4: Surf tourists' perception of the effectiveness of MMTA's management (n = 36)

	Strongly disagree (%)	2 (%)	3 (%)	4 (%)	5 (%)	6 (%)	Strongly agree (%)	Unsure (%)
The MMTA provides adequate protection and satisfactory management of the Mentawai surfing resources.		44	47	44	44	0	0	34

In December 2007, the MMTA imposed a US\$5-a-day fee to all surfers travelling to the Mentawais on charter boats or staying at resorts. Out of that US\$5, US\$3 goes directly to Mentawai government while the remaining US\$2 goes to the MMTA. Ninety per cent of the US\$2 that the MMTA receives, being earmarked for community

programmes, whereby village officials are consulted by the MMTA and asked to present proposals for community projects for funding. Respondents were unsure whether the Mentawai surf tax was an effective method for offsetting their negative impacts. This highlighted that surf tourists visiting the Mentawais are not properly informed about the surf tax. Further conversations showed the majority were concerned about where the funds were directed: they believed the money was not making it back to the local communities where it was needed most.

4.7 The Impacts of Surf Tourism

Questions about the impacts – both positive and negative – that they thought their surf holiday might be having on the Mentawai Islands, gave me valuable information on the degree of awareness these tourists had of travel-related impacts. More than one-third of respondents perceived providing locals with some income (36%) as the largest positive impact generated by their travel to the Mentawai Islands, followed by cultural interaction (15%) and local employment (11%); 15% felt there was no benefit from surf tourism. However, respondents surveyed recognised that tax, medical supplies and education were other positive impacts of their travel to the Mentawai Islands (Figure 4.11).

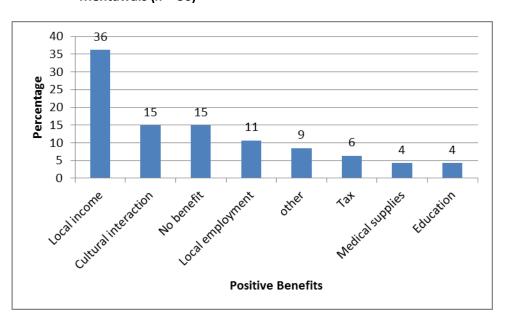


Figure 4.11: The positive impacts perceived by surf tourists from their travel to the Mentawais (n = 36)

More than half of those surveyed believed that their travel to the Mentawai Islands had no negative impacts (52%) (Figure 4.12). It is understandable that many surfers

believed their surf holiday had limited negative impacts – being largely confined to a charter boat or a resort and thus removed from where many of the adverse impacts were occurring it was hard for them to see how surf tourism could be affecting the local community or the environment.

"The main positive impacts from this trip are to provide some income for locals and hopefully the Mentawai surf tax goes towards improving things for Mentawai people. However, being on a charter boat the environmental impact is low. Therefore I would have to say there are no negative impacts on the environment or locals in the villages."

Australian, male, aged 30–39 years, charter boat accommodation

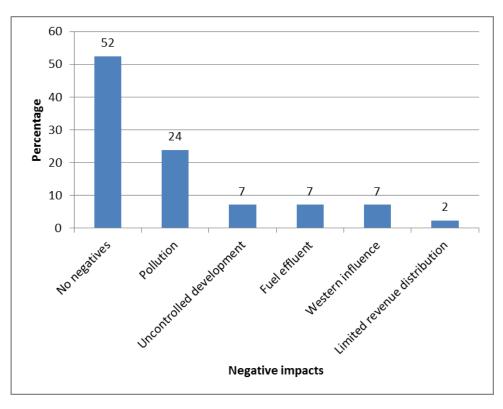


Figure 4.12: The negative impacts perceived by surf tourists from their travel to the Mentawais (n = 36)

Roughly one-quarter (24%) of the surf tourists said that their trip produced some form of pollution, such as untreated sewage and increased amounts of rubbish. Participants also commented that uncontrolled development, fuel effluent, Western influence and limited revenue distribution were other negative impacts produced by their travel to the Mentawais. Several of the older land-based surfers with whom the researcher spoke in Katiet told me that for more 10 years there was only one homestay accommodation option in the village, but now it seemed like every local in Katiet was

building a wooden hut and calling it a homestay to rent out to surfers. A number of other respondents voiced their concerns about the negative impacts of unplanned development and Western influence on the communities.

"I'm concerned about the rate of unplanned development that seems to be occurring. The Mentawais run the risk of becoming another Bali (depletion of natural resources, rubbish and the erosion of local culture). My trip contributed to the unsustainable development of the region."

Australian, male, aged 30–39 years, charter boat accommodation

"Possibly the biggest negative impact created by surf tourism is that it introduces expectations and Western customs that are not helpful to the development of the community."

Australian, male, aged 50–59 years, charter boat accommodation

"Yes, surf travel produces extra waste and maybe it adds to the negative view of Western women that the locals have in that I didn't cover shoulders and knees at all times."

New Zealander, female, aged 20–29 years, homestay accommodation

4.8 Future Development

Those completing the survey were asked to rate whether they agreed or disagreed with the statement "In 10 years the Mentawai Islands will be an attractive option for a surf holiday." More than one-third of participants (36%) either strongly disagreed or disagreed with the statement, while only 9% strongly agreed or agreed (Table 4.5). Almost one-fifth of all respondents (18%) were unsure of the future direction that surf tourism in the Mentawais would take. The high percentage of responses in the middle of the scale and the number of "unsure" participants highlighted that many surf tourists were not convinced of the efficacy of the current management and regulation.

Table 4.5: Surf tourists' perception of whether the Mentawai Islands will be an attractive option for a surf holiday in 10 years (n = 36)

	Strongly disagree (%)	2 (%)	3 (%)	4 (%)	5 (%)	6 (%)	Strongly agree (%)	Unsure (%)
In 10 years the Mentawai Islands will be an attractive option for a								
surf holiday.	18	18	18	18	3	6	3	18

When participants were asked how they would like to see the Mentawai surf tourism industry develop in the future, 40% stated that they believed limiting tourist numbers was important (Figure 4.13). The high number of comments surrounding the everincreasing number of surfers visiting the Mentawais illustrates that visitors were aware that if too many people came, then the destination would eventually become overcrowded and spoilt. However, when speaking with surf tourists, it seemed they were more worried that their future surfing experiences in the Mentawai Islands would be diminished, rather than having genuine concern that the community's livelihoods would be negatively impacted.

"More regulation is needed to stop it getting out of control and overcrowded; if not then you'll lose the reasoning behind most people's interest for coming here which is for the good-quality relatively uncrowded waves."

Australian, male, aged 40–49 years, charter boat accommodation

"Ensure it does not grow too big. I understand there are more land camps opening up. When combined with more boat operators and you will have an over population of surfers."

Australian, male, aged 40–49 years, charter boat accommodation

However, one comment by a surf tourist did acknowledge that future surf tourism development could possibly erode the traditional way of life for local Mentawai communities.

"I wouldn't like to see it develop. It is a long way to travel to hassle for waves. I am also not convinced that surf tourism will lift the local standard of living in a positive way. The Mentawai communities have been sustainable for a long time – introducing a Western way of life will disrupt their balance."

Australian, male, aged 30–39 years, charter boat accommodation

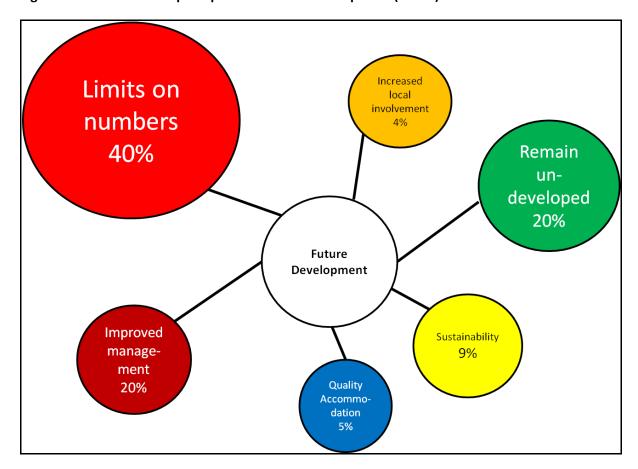


Figure 4.13: Surf tourists' perceptions of future development (n = 36).

Note: This diagram represents a categorisation of written answers and the core themes that emerged.

Six participants desired better management and protection of the Mentawais to stop it becoming another Kuta Beach or Bukit Peninsula in Bali. Bali was used by a number of respondents as an example of a surf tourism destination that has developed without controls or limits, with negative consequences for coastal settings (Knight, Mitchell & Wall, 1997), and cultural resilience (Robinson & Meaton, 2005, Picard, 2008).

"Management of the charter boat fleet is essential to the ongoing development of the area, otherwise it will become another Bali and lose its appeal for many."

Australian, male, aged 40–49 years, resort accommodation

Three participants expressed their concern over the environmental impact resort development is having in the Mentawai Islands and other issues of sustainability. On several occasions while in the field, the researcher had unprompted discussions with concerned surf tourists who were alarmed at the environmental degradation occurring at many surf locations.

"The Mentawai Islands are a beautiful place. I would like to see them controlled in a way so that there are no overcrowded surf breaks and the negative impacts to the environment are minimised."

Australian, male, aged 30-39 years, charter boat accommodation

At several surf resort sites, the researcher observed deforestation for resort accommodation buildings and the removal of sand from the beaches for construction purposes. In an extreme case, one resort had removed coral and cleared a significant number of mangroves to create a channel large enough for resort boats. Ponting (2008, p. 263) notes that the natural succession of surfing tourism development – from "feral" surfers camping, to simple homestay development, to local infrastructure investment ending in significant foreign investment and development – at many surf tourism destinations throughout Indonesia results in environmental degradation.

4.9 Chapter Summary

Based on a relatively small seasonal sample, this study found the general demographic profile of surfers travelling to the Mentawais were Australian or American, well-educated middle-aged males with high discretionary income. Field observations made while the researcher was surfing at more than two dozen Mentawai surf breaks and spending time in both surf resorts and local villages support this surfer profile. There were, however, a number of surfer nationalities missed from the sample, including Brazilian, Swiss, German, French, Moroccan and Canadian.

Sixty-seven per cent of visitors described themselves as sustainable travellers. Most stayed either on charter boats or at resorts; very few of the participants were independent travellers opting to stay in local homestays. The tourists sampled commonly travelled in groups, stayed for an average of 12 nights, initially led to the Mentawais by a personal recommendation and experienced high levels of satisfaction with their holidays. The majority of surf tourists travelling to the Mentawais can be classified as "seekers", motivated by pull factors such as surfing high-quality waves, and the Islands' warm tropical climate and isolated remote location. Very few were motivated to travel to the Mentawai Islands to learn about or experience the indigenous culture.

The local expenditure analysis revealed two distinct subgroups: independent surf tourists staying in local accommodation, and those travelling on prepaid packages. Most in the survey travelled on inclusive package deals, with the average package price being approximately US\$4000. Surf tourists on package holidays had only a slightly lower daily al expenditure (US\$21) than independent travellers (US\$22); however, they spent more on alcohol, activities, handicrafts, recreation and entertainment. This survey result was inconsistent with what the researcher had observed while in the field – rarely did he see charter boat guests land at any of study villages to purchase alcohol or inquire about activities, recreation and entertainment.

Surf tourists generally perceived income for the local community as the main positive impact produced by their stay, with other benefits identified as cultural interaction and employment. The negative effects included pollution, uncontrolled development and Western influence – and each of these effects presents a major challenge to surf tourism in the Mentawais. In general, surf tourists felt the MMTA did not provide adequate management and protection of the Mentawai marine resources, and they were sceptical about the surf tax getting to the local community.

Generally, surf tourists thought local participation in the industry was low, with the majority of businesses foreign owned and receiving a biggest share of the benefits. Surf tourists staying on charter boats and at resorts felt their interactions with the host population were shallow and limited to buying handicrafts, conversations in the surf with local surfers, and village visits. In contrast, independent travellers staying at homestays commented that they had developed strong bonds with some villagers and spent long periods of their day hanging out with community members. Overall, surf tourists expressed a desire to interact with the community.

 Many surf tourists expressed concern over the future development in the Mentawais, with the common view being that the industry would not be sustainable. Surf tourists were concerned about the increasing number of surfers and felt effective management was crucial to limiting crowds.

Chapter 5 : Operator, Government and Other Stakeholder Perceptions of Surf Tourism Development

5.1 Introduction

The findings in this chapter stem from semi-structured interviews with operators, government officials, NGO employees and surf journalists. The purposes of this chapter are to construct a brief profile of a typical surf tourism operator and to assess how industry stakeholders in the Mentawai Islands perceive tourism and sustainable development. It also provides a detailed insight into how these tourism industry stakeholders perceive impacts generated by surf tourism, stakeholder challenges, community participation, and future development of the industry.

5.2 The Stakeholders

Surf charter boat operators were the most represented stakeholder group (45%) interviewed, while resort operators represented 25% of the sample. The government stakeholders interviewed (18%) comprised a diverse mix of representatives from tourism, commerce, fisheries, transport and logistics departments. Government officials were from Padang, West Sumatra, Tuapejat, and the Mentawai Islands, providing a local and regional perspective on surf tourism development. The surf journalists (8%) were included because they have a unique understanding of the development of surf tourism in the Mentawais Islands. One of the three surf journalists had been on some of the original surf charters to the Mentawai Islands, travelling from either Australia or the United States to document these early explorations, and this interview gave the researcher detailed historical insights into surf tourism in the area. Non-government organisations (5%) also provided an important perspective, as they are working "hands on" with several of the study communities.

5.2.1 Surf tourism operators

The largest proportion (36%) of the surf tourism operators interviewed had started their businesses in the Mentawai surf tourism industry between 1996 and 2000. One-third commenced business between 2001 and 2005, and only 9% commenced operations before 1995 (Figure 5.1). It should be noted that local Mentawai homestay owners were not included with these resort and surf charter operators because they were grouped as "community" stakeholders. Findings from their interviews are outlined in the following chapter.

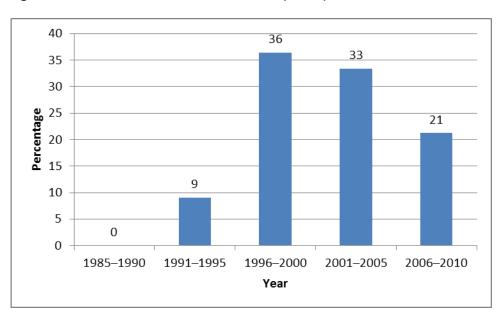


Figure 5.1: Year of business commencement (n = 28)

Most operators interviewed became involved in the Mentawai surf tourism industry for surfing (38%) or lifestyle (31%) reasons (Figure 5.2). When speaking more generally with surf charter boat operators, many said they began their business because of lifestyle choices – they were in the Mentawais because of the amazing surf and their love for the ocean – not just business reasons.

From his observations, the resort and charter boat operators were similar. They were surfers who wanted to have the dream lifestyle surfing the best waves in the world and making a few dollars if they could. Similarly, when researching the lifestyle characteristics of surf tourism entrepreneurs in Ireland, Marchant and Mottiar (2011, p. 181) found that they were influenced by the desire to live in a particular place that enabled them to do what they wanted to do with their lives and gave them the opportunity to surf. Very few operators the researcher interviewed said they aspired to make a fortune from the surf tourism industry.

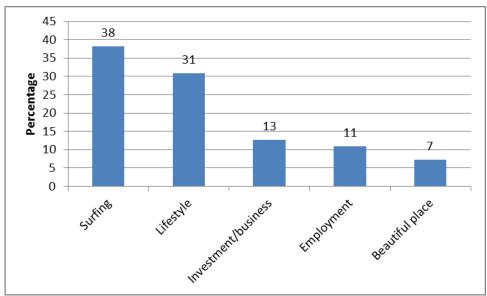
"The two main influences for me to become involved in the Mentawais surf tourism industry were surfing and the awesome lifestyle. I was totally fed up with the LA [Los Angeles] lifestyle."

American, male, aged 30–39 years, charter boat operator

"Starting a surf charter business up here in the Mentawai Islands was all about the good waves and lifestyle, not the money."

Australian, male, aged 30-39 years, charter boat operator

Figure 5.2: Factors that influenced the operators to start their business in the Mentawais (n = 28)



Only 13% of operators emphasised investment opportunities as a driving force (Figure 5.2). During the interview process, three operators made it clear they were there to make an income as well as enjoy the lifestyle. Interestingly, not one of the operators mentioned a desire to create employment for locals or help the communities as motivation for their business. It appeared their only motives were surfing and lifestyle.

"Of course I was influenced to become involved with the Mentawais surf tourism industry because of the surf and for the lifestyle, as well as hopefully making some dough while doing it."

Australian, male, aged 20–29 years, charter boat operator

5.3 The Meaning of Surf Tourism and Sustainable Tourism Development

What do the phrases "surf tourism" and "sustainable development" mean to operators, government officials and other stakeholders groups? Answering this question is important to the sustainable management of a destination, because a

stakeholder's understanding of basic tourism concepts can enhance the success of sustainable development through a more coordinated vision (Bornhorst, Ritchie & Sheehan, 2010). A little more than one-half (56%) of the stakeholders actually used the term "surf tourism" in everyday conversation.

The following comments indicate the term surf tourism has a range of meanings to the different stakeholders. For operators it was taking groups of people on surf trips, while for an NGO employee it meant surfing away from your local surf break. The second comment was interesting because it brought up the concept of spatiality, a key component in the current attempts to define surf tourism.

"Surf tourism is about taking other people surfing, marketing surfing for profit and selling the dream."

Australian, male, aged 30-39 years, charter boat operator

"To me surf tourism means surfing somewhere outside your home area."

Australian, male, aged 30–39 years, NGO employee

"Guys going on surf trips to exotic locations, that's what surf tourism is all about."

Australian, male, aged 40–49 years, charter boat operator

The words most frequently used in the interviews to describe sustainable tourism development were "local", followed by "community", "environment" and "long term" (Figure 5.3). This would suggest industry stakeholders believe these concepts to be the central components of STD. Other words associated with STD, included "low impact", "sustains", "giving back", "culture" and "benefits", which highlight that the industry stakeholders appear to have a reasonable awareness of the underlying principles of sustainable development (Hanai, 2012).

Figure 5.3: Most frequently used words by operators, government officials and other stakeholders to describe "sustainable tourism development"

all balance beautiful benefits common goals

community

continue controlled critical Culture degradation don't know eco-friendly economic

education enjoy environment future giving

back good government lasting limits livelihood OCa long

term low impact maintains managed micro next generation not depleting

ongoing Operators overcrowding people perpetuate positive protection

quality regulations remote resource spoiled support sustains togetherness win

Six operators noted community benefits, long-term thinking and environmental protection as being essential to sustainable tourism development.

"It's all about community and environment. Firstly, sustainable tourism development should not detract from the ecosystem, leaving no visible impact. Secondly, the tourism development should be supported by the local community, it should be long term and the community should gain benefits." American, male, aged 30–39 years, resort operator

"Creating infrastructure that can perpetuate into the future without shooting itself in the foot. The resource shouldn't be degraded, otherwise it will lose its uniqueness, but in reality changing the way people do things is hard and expensive."

American, male, aged 30–39 years, charter boat operator

One local Mentawai government official appeared to have a good understanding of sustainable tourism development.

"Sustainable development is not just thinking about economic benefit for the short term, it's about thinking about the long term, especially nature and the environment. It has to be eco-friendly, low-impact tourism. Tourism development almost seems to be a contradiction with the environment; we want to make Mentawais sustainable."

Indonesian, male, aged 30–39 years, government official

When operators, government officials and other stakeholders were asked to describe surf tourism development in the Mentawais, the most commonly used word was "unregulated", then "exploded", followed by "not good" and "out of control" (Figure 5.4). The following quotes indicated that resort operators and charter boat operators felt surf tourism had developed too rapidly, risking sustainability.

"The scale of surf tourism development is increasing exponentially; initial development was slow but has grown rapidly year by year. I am worried about the speed of development and lack of systems. How long can the industry sustain itself?"

Australian, male, aged 20–29 years, resort operator

"The surf tourism industry in the Mentawai Islands has just boomed; it has grown exponentially and now has ended up being crazy."

American, female, aged 40–49 years, charter boat operator

"Development here has not been organised or regulated, what so ever. The surf industry in the Mentawais has been developed by pioneers. It needs regulation."

American, male, aged 40–49 years, resort operator

Figure 5.4: The most frequently used words by operators, government officials and other industry stakeholders to describe surf tourism development in the Mentawais

exploded exponential got
greedy increasing many more popular not good organic
out of control pioneers positive rapid resource safer too fast
unchecked unorganised

unstructured
unsustainable

The words "cowboy style", "pioneers" and "Wild West" were used in comments by two Australian NGO employees to describe tourism development in the Mentawais. Barilotti (2002, p. 36, as cited in Ponting et al., 2005, p. 142) also alluded to the "Wild West", commenting that surf charters in the Mentawais are the surfing equivalent of nineteenth-century "Gentlemen Adventurers" shooting buffalo from railcars as they sped across the vanishing frontier.

"The surf tourism industry in the Mentawai Islands has grown haphazardly, in an unplanned cowboy style."

Australian, male, aged 20-29 years, NGO employee

"Surf tourism in the Mentawais has developed in a vacuum, zero-management free for all – like the Wild West."

Australian, male, aged 30–39 years, NGO employee

One operator highlighted greed for control over the industry and desire to gain exclusive use of surf breaks as a major reason why development will become unsustainable.

"Surf tourism in the Mentawais has developed not how operators would have wanted it to. Over the last four years the industry has taken a turn for the worse as operators become more and more greedy."

Australian, male, aged 30–39 years, charter boat operator

There was an underlying feeling among some operators and the journalists that the original operators did not realise how quickly surf tourism would develop in the region, nor did they have the knowledge or skills to control the imminent development. There was also widespread recognition that without the hard-core adventurers exploring the area and starting businesses, the surf tourism industry would not be what it is today. Ateljevic and Doorne (2000) note that lifestyle entrepreneurs (such as these pioneer surf operators) are instrumental in the creation and introduction of innovative products to the wider industry and stimulate regional development and reproduction of niche-market products.

"The surf tourism industry here in the Mentawais was started originally by adventuring Aussies with no cooperation from locals and has grown exponentially, resulting in more and more crowds."

American, male, aged 30-39 years, charter boat operator

"[The] Surf tourism industry has developed without structure; it started off as an adventure then grew out of control. Now it is all about money and it's definitely not sustainable."

American, male, aged 30–39 years, charter boat operator

5.4 Mentawai Surf Tourism Development

Approximately one-half (51%) of the participants believed surf tourism in the Mentawais had developed in a negative manner, while only 23% believed the industry had developed in a positive fashion. These results aligned with the most frequently used words to describe tourism development, none of which was positive. Results from the cross tabulation between perception of surf tourism development and stakeholder group (Table 5.1) show there was variation between industry stakeholders' responses to surf tourism development.

NGO employees and government officials felt the surf tourism industry had developed in a negative fashion, with only one out of nine participants responding positively. During interviews with both NGO employees and government officials, it became clear that they perceived the industry to have developed in a way that was not benefiting either the local government. Government officials often referred to charter boats as "ghost ships", believing they were operating in the Mentawais without giving back to the community and they were hard to regulate and tax. NGO officials, especially, felt many of the communities were intentionally excluded from the industry by operators

of the larger resorts because the establishment of local homestays and surf guides would threaten the exclusivity of the resorts' business. Local homestays introduce a low-cost alternative, whereas before there had been limited choice.

Table 5.1: Cross tabulation between Mentawai surf tourism development and stakeholder group (n = 40)

		Mentawai surf tourism development								
		Positive	Negative	Neutral	Total					
Stakeholder:	Resort operator	3	5	2	10					
	Boat operator	4	8	6	18					
	Surf journalist	1	1	1	3					
	NGO	0	2	0	2					
	Government	1	4	2	7					
Total		9	20	11	40					

Of the stakeholder groups, resort operators had the most optimistic view of tourism development with three of the 10 participants replying positively. Resort operators felt the local community were receiving many benefits from the surf tourism industry.

"The industry is developing well. It has seen huge changes and overcome heavy opposition, but most important of all it has produced benefits for locals."

Australian, male, aged 40–49 years, resort operator

"It's been positive. Surf tourism has introduced Sumatra to overseas surfing community and has provided income and other benefits for many local Mentawai villages."

American, male, aged 50–59 years, resort operator

Despite the four positive responses by charter boat operators, eight participants responded negatively. Six charter boat operators gave neutral responses, indicating that they believed the surf tourism industry is currently at a crossroads. These neutral responses could be attributed to those stakeholders the researcher spoke with having a "wait and see" attitude. They thought the "jury was still out" on whether or not the industry had developed sustainably.

When asked how they felt about surf tourism in the Mentawais, nearly two-thirds (61%) of all operators, government officials and other stakeholders believed it had developed unsustainably. Surf charter boat operators, NGO employees and surf journalists emphasised that the unsustainable development was because individuals are focused on immediate financial gains, rather than a long-term sustainable tourism

strategy. Operators often stressed the importance of long-term planning, regulation and structure. As Ponting et al. (2005, p. 151) explain, stakeholders do not share a coordinated vision about the management of surf tourism in the Mentawais.

"There is no long-term plan for the surf tourism industry here in the Mentawais. In my opinion it's about to fall apart."

American, male, aged 30-39 years, charter boat operator

"Running a surf charter boat started off as an adventure, and then the surf tourism industry grew with no structure or sustainability because operators and local governments were focused on money."

American, male, aged 40-49 years, surf journalist

Less than one-third (31%) of all industry stakeholders thought the industry had developed in a sustainable manner; this group was largely made up of government officials and resort operators. Interestingly, both following comments highlight that although surf tourism in the Mentawais had originally developed sustainably, the interviewees felt that it now needed tighter government control and effective management.

"Yes, in my opinion the Mentawai surf tourism industry has developed very sustainably; all marine tourism such as surfing, snorkelling and diving are sustainable. There are, however, now problems with government management as many operators do not want to apply to Mentawai law."

Indonesian, male, aged 40-49 years, government official

"The surf tourism industry in this region is sustainable through natural attrition and initially expanded without thought. Now camps are exploding out of control with both quality and profitability decreasing. We need government control."

Australian, male, aged 40–49 years, resort operator

The remaining 8% of participants were undecided if surf tourism had developed sustainably or not. One resort operator thought that even though the present situation of surf tourism in the Mentawai Islands was not ideal in terms of regulation and management, it was a lot better than Nias, which is a surf tourism destination in northwest Sumatra (Indonesia), known as a "surf slum". Surf Slum refers to a mature surf destination that has been degraded by surfers over several decades, resulting in undesirable impacts such as prostitution, a local community indulging in alcohol and drugs, and increased levels of rubbish. Ponting (2008, pp. 24–25) explains that Lagundri Bay on the island of Nias is an example of a destination that has developed

outside of tourism regulations or management, with surfers paying less than US\$1 per day to stay in small-scale locally built and managed accommodation. The development of surf tourism in Lagundri Bay has significantly catalysed rapid and significant changes to the lifestyle of local communities and their environment.

"There is no regulation up here in the Mentawai Islands. If the current growth of the surf industry continues unchecked there will be serious implications for the industry but it's still better than Nias."

American, male, aged 30–39 years, resort operator

The majority (75%) of participants believed surf tourism in the Mentawais has reached a threshold where negative impacts are starting to occur, while 20% thought the industry had not reached that threshold (Figure 5.5). Operators believed excessive surfer numbers were responsible for increasing local aggression towards tourists and escalating conflict between surf tourism operators. However, throughout the five-and-a-half months the researcher spent in the Mentawais observing interactions, he never encountered an aggressive attitude by locals towards tourists, and their relations appeared to be friendly and respectful.

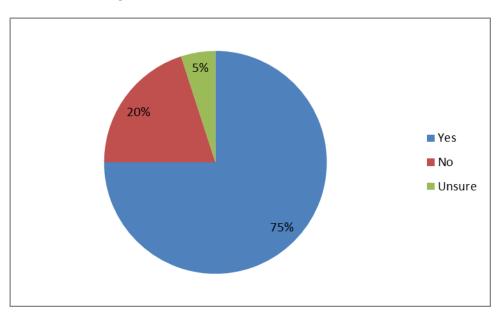


Figure 5.5: Is the Mentawai Surf Tourism industry at a threshold where negative impacts are starting to occur? (n = 40)

Charter boat operators were concerned about the increasing number of surfers, which in their opinion was leading to conflict between certain operators.

"There are many negative impacts starting to occur, the most obvious being increased crowds and there has been dirty politics leading to conflict between operators."

Australian, male, aged 40-49 years, charter boat operator

One resort operator in the Mentawais said that aggression between operators and locals was escalating, which until recent times had not been an issue. During his fieldwork, it was clear to the researcher that relationships were strained between local homestay owners and surf resorts owners, particularly where the two accommodation options were close to one another.

"Yes, it's definitely reached a threshold. There is friction between certain operators and locals resulting in aggression towards foreign surfers, which was unheard of a few years ago."

Australian, male, aged 30–39 years, resort operator

Surf charter boat operators cited the surfing regions of Playgrounds and Macaronis as having reached a threshold where negative impacts were starting to occur.

Playgrounds is a region comprising several waves around Karamagat Island, located off the southern tip of Siberut, and Macaronis – or Maccas as it is more commonly known – is a world-class wave found on the island of North Pagai. More than a dozen charter boat operators said the resort operators at Macaronis were stifling the whole industry by trying to gain exclusive control of the area and were limiting the opportunities for the host population. During his stay in the Mentawais, the researcher had discussions regarding the situation at Macaronis with surf tourists and charter boat operators. One individual alleged an operator had dropped diesel in the water at Macaronis in retaliation for being forced to leave the surf break by resort employees who were threatening them with machetes. Individuals were quick to voice their disgust and outrage at what they dubbed "the attempted privatisation of a surf break".

"The situation at Macaronis is bad; there are many negatives already occurring. The locals are just not aware of the potential benefits of tourism."

Australian, male, aged 20–29 years, charter boat operator

"The fiasco at Macaronis is out of control; it is wrecking the surf charter industry."

South African, male, aged 30–39 years, charter boat operator

Surf charter operators were very concerned with the growing number of surfers in the Playgrounds area. Over the last 10 years, it has been the centre of a lot of resort and

homestay development, and there are now five to ten surf resorts and well over a dozen new homestays. This increased land-based pressure, combined with the existing charter boats whose clients often surf the waves in the region, has produced heavy crowds at the surf breaks. Surf charter boat operators felt they were being squeezed out by the land-based operators (both surf resorts and local homestays), which have increased their accommodation capacity.

"The threshold has been reached at Playgrounds; it's getting ugly. It's not far from breaking point and it's only going to take something small."

Australian, male, aged 30–39 years, charter boat operator

"Yes, definitely look at the Playground areas. The land camps have exploded and it is out of control, which has decreased both the quality and profitability."

Australian, male, aged 40–49 years, charter boat operator

5.5 Management and Consultation

Participants had a solid understanding of the MMTA and its role in managing Mentawai surfing resources. Overwhelmingly, operators, government officials and other stakeholders (88%) believed that the MMTA did not provide sufficient protection of surfing resources; with just 6% believing it did. These results support criticisms that the MMTA has received on numerous blog sites (Global Surfers, 2009a, 2009b; Kurangabaa, 2009a, 2009b; Real Surf, 2009). Several academic publications have also indicated existing management strategies are ineffective, unmonitored and uncontrolled (Ponting et al., 2005 and Ponting, 2008).

... there is currently no limit on the number of operators in the archipelago and no foreseeable plan to limit new entrants into the market. Lack of legislation coupled with complex enforcement issues and overwhelming non-compliance of suggested schemes has hampered efforts to introduce industry-wide management plans (Ponting et al., 2005, p. 151).

When the researcher met with government officials from the fisheries, logistics and tourism departments in the Mentawais, they informed him that they regularly patrol the region for unlicensed boats. However, during his fieldwork the researcher never once witnessed a government boat patrolling for unlicensed tourism vessels. Charter boat operators said that inherent corruption in Indonesia plagued management attempts; for example, they alleged that funding for patrols was siphoned off at

central government level meaning there was no fuel to operate the patrol boats, and that their encounters with authorities often resulted in corrupt practices like bribes.

Several operators who had been involved with the MMTA since its inception believed the intentions of the MMTA were inherently noble and it could have been a positive force, but had been let down by certain individuals who let personal agendas come before the good of the industry. Respondents felt there was a real need for an effective tourism-management system but that the local government had not delivered.

"The MMTA was created to be something different than what it eventually ended up as: it had support from the local Mentawai government "Perdah 16" as it collected taxes. In return, MMTA was in sole charge of registration and zonation."

American, male, aged 30–39 years, resort operator

"I am totally against the Mentawai Marine Tourism Association because they wanted 5% of my business and the organiser was a complete dickhead. It meant that only five guys were getting rich, so therefore the rest of the other boats were getting left out."

Australian, male, aged 20-29 years, charter boat operator

Comments made by three charter boat operators highlighted their belief that individuals in positions of power became greedy, which resulted in disenchanted members leaving the association.

"The MMTA regulation model, if that's what you want to call it, had great merits but was let down on certain points of the plan and those who were involved obviously became very greedy."

Australian, male, aged 40-49 years, charter boat operator

"[The] Idea ... behind the creation of MMTA was on the right track; however, the personalities involved have put people off as it was for personal gain/greed."

Australian, male, aged 30-39 years, charter boat operator

"Aspects of the MMTA's proposed management plan were good for the community but managers and leaders became greedy, which resulted in the scheme becoming defunct."

Australian, male, aged 30–39 years, charter boat operator

Consultation between the stakeholders (inter-group networking) was low, with just 17% of participants having regular consultation with other groups. Involvement in the tourism planning process by operators, government officials and other stakeholders

was similarly low, with only 19% of participants being involved in the regional tourism planning process. Surf charter boat operators had the lowest involvement in the tourism planning process, with many highlighting they were in the Mentawais to surf and take tourists on surf trips and had no desire to be involved in the bureaucracy of the industry. One comment made by a surf charter operator with a long history in the area emphasised that there was no forum or regularly scheduled meetings to discuss concerns, that cooperation between different stakeholders groups was poor, resulting in stressed relationships.

"The greatest challenge for stakeholders is to be able to sit down, work together and agree as an industry, be supportive of each other. It seems too fractious."

Australian, male, aged 50-59 years, charter boat operator

The general response from participants was that there is limited regular consultation between different stakeholder groups. Boat operators pointed out, however, that they often talked over concerns amongst themselves in an informal setting such as out on the ocean or over a beer at a bar. Consultation between community and operators seemed to be irregular and random, while consultation between operators and government officials was avoided unless necessary.

"Only really have regular consultation with the other boat operators. Generally only communicate with community or government when there is an issue."

Australian, male, aged 40–49 years, charter boat operator

"The only regular consultation we have as operators is with the owners and captains of other surf charter boats."

Japanese, female, aged 30-39 years, charter boat operator

Three surf charter boat operators said their association – the West Sumatran Charter Boat Association (AKSSB) – looked after consultation with other stakeholders. Similarly, two surf resort operators believed their local Indonesian business partner (a requirement under Indonesian law) was effective in articulating tourism interests on their behalf so they felt they did not need to be directly involved.

"I don't have direct consultation with other stakeholders, but the West Sumatran Charter Boat Association tries to communicate my thoughts with other stakeholders."

Australian, male, aged 40-49 years, charter boat operator

Another surf charter boat operator believed that the current tourism association (MMTA) did not fairly facilitate discussion on important issues such as taxes, anchorages and management strategies, and believed there needed to be a holistic communication process where all voices were heard. In reality, creating a platform where all stakeholders are able to articulate their views would be almost impossible in the Mentawais due to the geographic isolation of certain stakeholders and the logistics of getting all groups in one place at one time.

"There is not a committee or forum to discuss issues; there needs to be a tourism association with an even playing field."

Australian, male, aged 40-49 years, resort operator

Comments from Mentawai government officials indicated that their involvement in the tourism planning process was low, but they wished to be involved and learn about the process. While a tourism officer expressed a need to have more dialogue with the host communities, recognised it was logistically difficult because of the remote location of many villages.

"I am not involved in the tourism planning process but I would like to know what goes on and how it all works."

Indonesian, male, aged 30-39 years, government official

"I have only limited consultation with local operators not the whole industry, but I would like more communication with the local community but it is difficult. I think that the industry will benefit from it."

Indonesian, male, aged 40-49 years, government official

One interviewee stated he was extremely enthusiastic about getting involved in tourism planning and had been trying unsuccessfully for five years. During informal discussions, resort and charter boat operators said that in 2006 the government asked them to submit ideas for an upcoming forum. However, after the meeting, there had been no contact or feedback regarding the outcome, and many of their suggestions had been overlooked.

"There is no involvement in tourism planning; I have tried for over half a decade."

American, male, aged 30–39 years, resort operator

5.6 Community Participation

The level of involvement with the local communities varied greatly between industry, government and NGO interviewees. Not surprisingly, NGO employees had the highest levels of interaction, with community members at all four study sites noting that NGO employees were in regular contact with the local community. Resort operators also had a lot of contact with the local population, with eight out of ten respondents indicating high involvement. Government officials recorded the least involvement with the local community, with five out of seven having no contact; two of these officials with no involvement were from Padang on mainland Sumatra, and the other three were from the Mentawais. Boat operators had little interaction with the host population. Fifteen out of 20 boat operators had low involvement with the local community (Table 5.2).

Table 5.2: Cross tabulation between local community involvement and stakeholder group

		Local community involvement							
		High	Medium	Low	None	Total			
Stakeholder:	Resort operator	8	1	1	0	10			
	Boat operator	0	1	15	2	18			
	Surf journalist	0	0	0	3	3			
	NGO	2	0	0	0	2			
	Government	0	1	1	5	7			
Total		10	3	17	10	40			

Interactions were restricted to the occasional meeting or chance purchases of fresh supplies like bananas or seafood. Any other interactions between local community and boat operators was when their guests visited a village to purchase handicrafts, then the operators may take the opportunity to buy more supplies from villagers.

"Our involvement with the local community is limited, just random meetings; I encourage guests to buy handcrafts even though I feel I'm impacting them in a negative way. We also employ a few locals that work on the boat."

American, male, aged 20-29 years, charter boat operator

"I have very sporadic interaction with the local community. Guests go to the villages occasionally, communicate with the logistics bureau for port clearance."

Australian, male, aged 20–29 years, charter boat operator

One surf charter boat operator claimed a major reason for limited involvement with the host population was that his clients were not interested in the local community. This comment supports findings in Chapter 4 that surf tourists were focused on the surfing dimensions of the holiday. In his experience, although the surf charter boat operators were very happy to take clients on village tours, there were limited opportunities to do so because the waves are often good and between surfs, their clients were recovering from the physical exertions of surfing. There are a number of charter boats that target the less-explored areas of the Mentawais, and on boats, there is even less chance for the surfers to interact with the host community because there are very few villages close to the surf breaks as many of the breaks are on offshore islands.

"Not much involvement with the local community; tourists are just not interested in the community, just surfing. We do buy goods from local people, like coconuts and crabs."

Australian, male, aged 30–39 years, charter boat operator

Resort operators tend to have a greater involvement with host communities than surf charter operators and have intentionally developed deeper relationships with the surrounding villages. Many of the resort operators try to keep the peace with local villagers out of necessity rather than altruism.

"At the resort we have a lot of contact with the local community. I am the representative to the community and we often buy fish and other produce from them."

American, male, aged 30–39 years, resort operator

"Our involvement with the local community is very high and we maintain great relationships."

American, male, aged 30–39 years, resort operator

The level of involvement with local community raises the issue of benefit versus negative impact. Clearly, boat operators have lower involvement with the local community, but they are also less intrusive on the host population's day-to-day life. It is debatable whether the limited contact is positive or negative for the host population. The mobile nature of surf charter boats means they are not in the same area for more than two days, and many of the surf breaks accessed are on remote offshore islands without villages. Resorts, however, are the polar opposite: they have high levels of involvement with the local community due to their need for staff to

operate a resort, which is often located near a village. One boat operator thought that resorts had far greater and longer-lasting impacts than the more temporary surf charter boats.

"Charter boats don't change the face of the Mentawai Islands. Resorts totally change and often destroy the local pristine environment. Resorts in the region have cut down native trees, cleared or altered large areas of mangroves and have dynamited reef to create access."

American, male, aged 30–39 years, charter boat operator

Ponting et al. (2005, p. 151) commented that the live-aboard charter-based industry has had limited impacts, but that there was potential for more significant negative impacts with the development of larger-scale luxury resorts "just around the corner". One boat operator said he deliberately limited contact with locals so as not to negatively influence their culture and lifestyle. Several surf charter boat operators said they felt their contact with the local community was invasive and not always welcomed, hence they were discrete. However, avoiding contact with the host population reduces the economic linkages with the local community. Given the relative wealth of their guests, operators need to facilitate some form of economic connection with the local Mentawai community, for instance, giving the surfers opportunities to buy exotic fresh fruit and seafood to stimulate the multiplier effect.

"On our surf trips we have very limited involvement with the local community in order to minimise our impacts on their lives. I think it's better to let them be, being as unobtrusive possible."

Australian, male, aged 30–39 years, charter boat operator

Consultation between government officials and local communities appeared to be the weakest of all of the stakeholder groups'. Government officials indicated that they did not have scheduled meetings with the host population, and most of their communication was on an informal and irregular basis. Community involvement in the tourism decision-making and planning process with stakeholders was similarly low, with only 21% of participants involving the local community in the process.

Industry stakeholders identified education (21%) as the most effective way that local communities could increase participation in the surf tourism industry, followed by increased opportunities for the host population (18%) through increased local business, learning English and tourism industry experience (Figure 5.6). The possibility

of employing local Mentawai to work on their charter boats was frequently mentioned by boat operators. The charter boat operator quoted next explains that although he wanted to employ local men to crew his boats, it was necessary to maintain a skilled staff base, and a few of the local Mentawai people were appropriately qualified.

"Increasing the number of Mentawai working on boats and in resorts would be a great way to improve local community participation. This is, however, hard in practice – when running a business as you need high-quality staff."

American, male, aged 30–39 years, charter boat operator

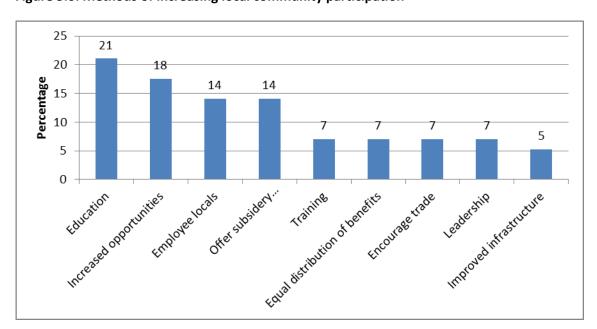


Figure 5.6: Methods of increasing local community participation

The Mentawai Tourism Department has promotional material for surfing and trekking in the Mentawais (Photo 5.1), which informs tourists on such issues as the best surfing locations and what to expect when trekking on Siberut. The pamphlets do attempt to encourage tourists to interact with the host population, but there is limited information or interpretation about the local community or the individual villages such as Ebay. Moreover, the brochures and pamphlets were not accessible to tourists, being located in the Mentawai Tourism office, which is 15 kilometres away from the ferry terminal and the main town where tourists arrive from mainland Sumatra.

Photo 5.1: Mentawai tourism staff displaying promotional material



Source: Author fieldwork

Surf charter boat operators thought the tourism services provided by local Mentawai people need to be diversified if visitor yield is to be increased. Currently, local Mentawai people only offer budget homestays, handicrafts and basic supplies (food, fuel and water). There is a potential market for such services as cultural evenings, locally prepared meals and provision of fresh fruit and vegetables. These services require limited specialised skills and have minimal start-up costs. Development of tourism services provided by the local community would make the products they are offering more attractive to not only independent land-based travellers but also the larger and more lucrative charter boat tourists.

5.7 Perceived Positive Impacts of Surf Tourism

Industry stakeholders identified SurfAid (18%) as the largest positive socio-cultural impact associated with surf tourism in the Mentawais, followed by knowledge of the outside world (16%), education and increased health benefits (both 15%) and contact with Western society (13%) (Figure 5.7). These findings suggested that SurfAid (Photo 5.2) has a large following among industry stakeholders through its solid media presence online, its involvement in various charity events, and from working alongside

a number of well-known celebrities. Surf journalists and resort operators had the most positive comments regarding SurfAid's achievements in the Mentawai Islands.

"SurfAid has been of huge benefit to the indigenous communities of the Mentawai. They have decreased diseases such as malaria and improved health."

Australian, male, aged 30–39 years, resort operator

"The major positive to come from surf tourism in the Mentawais is SurfAid. It has helped with a range of issues in everyday village life from health and sanitation to education. I believe that SurfAid has really given back to many villages in the Mentawais."

American, male, aged 40-49 years, surf journalist



Photo 5.2: SurfAid headquarters at Tuapejat

Source: Author fieldwork

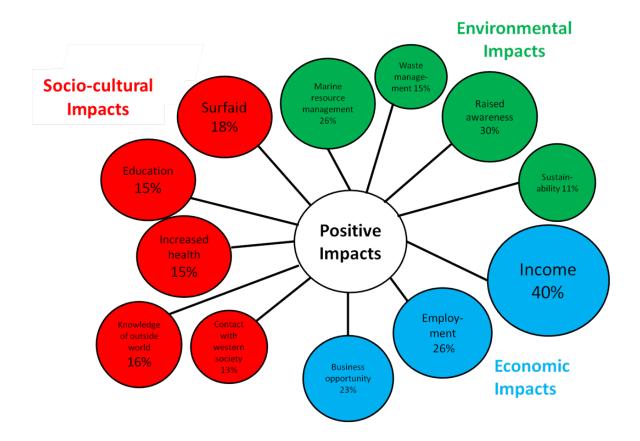
Operators felt that raised environmental awareness among the local community (30%) was the largest positive environmental impact generated from surf tourism in the Mentawais. Industry stakeholders identified marine resource management (26%), waste management (15%) and sustainability (11%) as other significant positive environmental impacts produced by the surf tourism industry (Figure 5.7). Participants believed that raising the awareness of the host population's knowledge of key environmental issues has led to better marine resource management, increased

consciousness of the concept of sustainability, and improved waste-management systems.

"I guess the main positive environmental impact is the increased environmental awareness which has led to more sustainable management of community resources."

Australian, female, aged 30-39 years, charter boat operator

Figure 5.7: Positive impacts, as perceived by operators, government officials and other industry stakeholders.



Note: This diagram represents a categorisation of written answers and the core themes that emerged.

One resort operator believed he had taught local seafood suppliers how to better manage their marine resources, while a captain said he had explained to local fishermen why it is important not to take the female crabs that are carrying eggs, thus enabling the population to reproduce. A number of surf charter boat operators the researcher spoke with had spent a lot of time on the ocean, with many previously having been employed on fishing boats. Therefore, they thought they had a sound understanding of marine resource management and hence were in a position to

educate locals. On one occasion during his fieldwork, the researcher overheard the captain of a surf charter boat telling local villagers who were supplying him mud crabs not to deplete one river but to collect mud crabs from a number of different rivers.

"The greatest positive for environment that the surf tourism industry has generated here in the Mentawais is that many operators have educated local seafood suppliers on marine resources management."

Australian, male, aged 30–39 years, resort operator

The protection of coral reefs from damage associated with surf tourism was a prominent concern of respondents, with four government officials and five resort operators commenting on the increasing degradation of coral reefs at many anchorages in the Mentawais. Participants wanted to safeguard the pristine coral reefs, not only because they are central to the operation of a surf tourism business but also to safeguard the resource for the benefit of the local community. One resort owner said that in their locality, there was a real concern for the health of the reefs and they had tried to stop illegal fishing practices such as reef dynamiting.

"The biggest positive for the environment created by the surf tourism industry is we have tried to stop illegal fishing and reef dynamiting; reefs are the next biggest resource aside from waves."

American, male, aged 40–49 years, resort operator

The environmental organisation Mentawai Mooring Movement (MMM) has helped to increase awareness of environmental issues on the international stage. The MMM (and its website www.mentawaimooringmovement.org) was established to stop unnecessary anchoring on coral reefs. It has recently released videos and posted blogs outlining the ongoing devastation that dynamite fishing is causing to coral reefs in the Mentawai Islands (Mentawai Mooring Movement, 2011). Below is a blog post by Christie Carter of the MMM, highlighting the serious threat that dynamite bombing poses to the reefs and the depressing reality that there is no government department patrolling of the region.

On December 13th, the reefs in northern Mentawai were attacked by dynamite fishermen of unknown origin. By 9:30 a.m., evidence had been caught on tape, and the Siberut Navy and Mentawai Fisheries patrol were alerted to the exact location of the terrorists. Siberut Navy said that they could not patrol because they do not have any boats, and the Mentawai Fisheries said they could not

patrol because they did not have enough fuel. Therefore, these pirates spent all day bombing our reefs and went home with a boat full of fish, sure to tell others that in Mentawai it is open season for any illegal activities (Mentawai Mooring Movement, 2011).

5.8 Perceived Negative Impacts of Surf Tourism

The negative impacts of surf tourism in the Mentawai Islands as identified by stakeholders are broadly grouped into socio-cultural, environmental and economic influences. The most commonly identified adverse socio-cultural impact was negative Western influence (26%), followed by tourists being seen as a source of money (16%) and degradation of local culture (13%) (Figure 5.8). There was concern amongst boat operators that the Mentawai community would have trouble adjusting to the great changes in their traditional lifestyle caused by surf tourism development. The differences in lifestyle are plain to see and were frequently discussed by boat operators and visiting surfers. Examples given include the desire for labelled clothing and the latest cell phones, wanting to "be cool" like Western surfers and smoke marijuana and drink alcohol. Surf charter boat operators also highlighted the competition between locals for homestay guests.

Boat operators spoke about the huge changes that had occurred to the traditional Mentawai lifestyle in the villages exposed to surf tourism. They expressed their concern about how the host population would cope with increased tourist numbers. They believe it is important for locals to keep their cultural identity, to promote mutually beneficial trade and not to teach them a handout mentality. Some were genuinely concerned about the local culture being transformed; but there was also an element that just wanted to protect their business by reducing tensions with locals.

"The largest challenge for local Mentawai people is to keep a balance between tourism and tradition, teaching them that there are no handouts."

Australian, male, aged 30–39 years, charter boat operator

"Adapting to the future and change in the industry is a major obstacle for the community. Getting more benefits and need to identify opportunities."

Australian, male, aged 30–39 years, charter boat operator

Further comments from the boat operators indicated they felt it was essentially an issue of understanding between the Western culture of the surf tourists and the Mentawai traditions of the host community. They made the point that surf tourists

and the local community needed to learn more about each other's culture, thereby reducing misunderstandings and misguided relations, which in turn would lead to more meaningful and positive interactions. One boat captain with a lot of experience in the Mentawai Islands believed it was the tourists that need to be educated about local customs. If the host population feel disrespected, it can potentially lead to negative socio-cultural impacts.

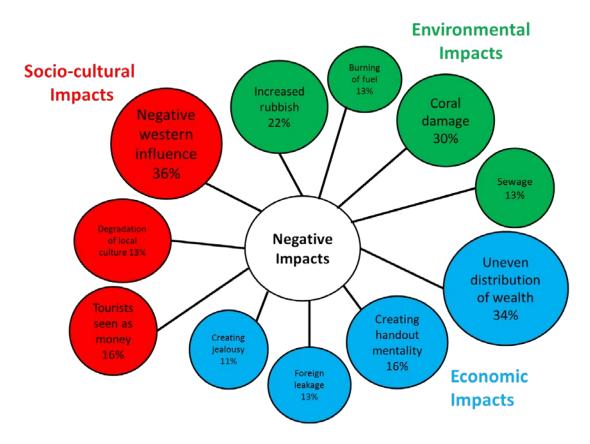
"Tourists do not understand the local culture or local traditions and do things such as wearing bikinis around the village. This gives the local community a wrong perception of Western culture and can ultimately end up with drugs and prostitution."

Australian, male, aged 30-39 years, charter boat operator

"Surfing has had a huge influence on expectations. Locals see, then want but do not have the means to sustain it. This disparity has led to disruption of village life."

Australian, male, aged 30-39 years, charter boat operator

Figure 5.8: Negative impacts, as perceived by operators, government officials and other stakeholders



Note: This diagram represents a categorisation of written answers and the core themes that emerged.

Chatting with charter boat operators, the researcher felt there was an underlying belief that negative Western influence had led to a deterioration of traditional values and local culture. They also recognised there were negative spin-off effects occurring due to surf tourism development, such as greed, the altering of village structures, locals wanting handouts, and prostitution, theft and corruption. Several boat operators and a surf journalist said that certain individuals in the Katiet and Ebay local communities had learnt to drink alcohol and smoke drugs after contact from travelling surfers.

"Local communities here in the Mentawais have been shown negative Western culture and learn drinking, smoking drugs, swearing, which has led to change of traditional values. Many of the villages have changed a lot from the local fishing culture."

Australian, male, aged 30–39 years, charter boat operator

"The main impacts from surf tourism are that the local Mentawai villagers have been shown the wrong perception of Western culture by certain individuals. This has led to negatives like selling drugs and prostitution."

Australian, male, aged 30–39 years, surf journalist

"Over the past 10 years I have seen surf tourism tear apart local villages. Their traditional culture and everyday lifestyle has changed as locals have seen the dollars, which has created greed, corruption and theft amongst local people."

American, male, aged 30–39 years, charter boat operator

A local Mentawai government tourism official believed the host population were becoming "commercialised" and were losing their cultural identity.

"A big problem with surf tourism in the Mentawais is the locals in many villages such as Katiet rely on tourist dollars. Many of these local people have been commercialised; tourists have become easy to get money from and therefore they don't care about their local culture."

Indonesian, male, aged 40–49 years, government official

Unequal distribution of wealth was the most frequently (34%) recognised negative economic impact from surf tourism in the Mentawais, followed by creating a handout mentality (16%), foreign leakage (13%) and creating jealousy between certain individuals within the community (11%), which in turn is linked to an unequal distribution of wealth. Comments from charter boat operators regarding unequal distribution of wealth highlighted that there was only a small number of Mentawai community members participating in the surf tourism industry and this involvement was generally restricted to the younger males of the village.

"Income is for a select few suppliers, mechanics and deckhands. The greater community is overlooked; needs to be infrastructure in place so there are many more opportunities."

Australian, male, aged 30-39 years, charter boat operator

"Surf tourism is creating issues of jealousy between locals because of the uneven distribution of income. It is having an influence on village structure as certain individuals working at the resort earning good money are moving up the social ladder."

Australian, male, aged 30-39 years, charter boat operator

"There is a large unequal distribution of income in the surf industry. For example, supplies are bought in Padang and not in the Mentawais; therefore the money does not stay in the Islands."

Australian, male, aged 40–49 years, charter boat operator

A surf journalist felt that the negative economic impacts currently occurring in many of the Mentawai villages are a result of low levels of local community participation in the surf tourism industry.

"The minimal amount [of] local community involvement has caused a lot of negative economic impacts in the Mentawais. No partnerships between locals and surf tourism operators have been created which has led to weak operator contributions and lack of transparent business transactions occurring."

Australian, male, aged 30–39 years, surf journalist

5.9 Changes to Katiet

After investigating participants' views of the positive and negative impacts generated by surf tourism, the researcher was interested to explore how they perceived Katiet had changed in the face of surf tourism development. Katiet was chosen as the study village to examine in more detail with this group of stakeholders because it has been an international surfing spot for more than two decades – it is home to HTs, which is one of the most photographed breaks in the world. Due to this media exposure, Katiet has received the greatest number of surf tourists in the Mentawais. Several government officials and certain resort operators located in the Playgrounds region in the north of the Mentawais had not been to the more isolated village of Katiet and therefore had no comment and were not included in the analysis.

The majority of participants interviewed identified cultural change (27%) as the factor that had the greatest impact on the lives of locals in Katiet, followed by increased incomes (17%), and the introduction of the handicraft industry (15%) (Figure 5.9).

There were two opposing views among participants on how surf tourism had changed life for local people in Katiet. The conflicting opinions regarding surf tourism development in Katiet appeared to be influenced by whether or not stakeholders had actually been to the village. The majority of the surf charter operators who had a much more intimate relationship with Katiet thought that surf tourism development had been negative, breaking down traditional structures and creating greed amongst certain individuals to the detriment of village life. They also perceived Katiet to have undergone more cultural change through surf tourism development than any other village in the Mentawai Islands. An overview of comments made by operators would suggest that they perceive Katiet's culture as transforming from one based on a fishing and subsistence lifestyle to one that is dependent on tourism and greatly influenced by Western culture.

"Katiet was originally located away from the surf break; now it is a permanent village next to the break. The locals have identified that surf tourism is an easy income; therefore their time is spent accommodating tourists instead of in traditional businesses like fishing."

Australian, male, aged 40–49 years, charter boat operator

"The livelihoods of the local community in Katiet have gone through a large culture change. They have more income that enables them to connect with the outside world and provides a window to Western culture. SurfAid has also been very beneficial."

American, male, aged 30-39 years, resort operator

Government employees also believed that surf tourism has been positive, creating numerous opportunities increasing benefits for the local population at Katiet.

Government officials thought that the surf tourism industry has brought a range of new benefits to Katiet, including increased business opportunities for the local community and better education for their children.

"Surf tourism has given Katiet a new life. They have benefited more than any other village, which is to do with proximity to the surf. A lot of people also stay on land at Katiet in *homestays* and buy food and beer; this is big business and I believe they are making a decent wage and able to send their kids to school."

Indonesian, male, aged 30–39 years, government employee

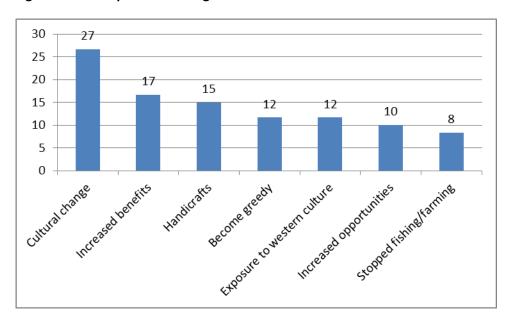


Figure 5.9: Perceptions of change to Katiet

Two stakeholders with very different backgrounds but with long histories in the industry commented that although there have been numerous positive impacts generated, such as increased income; it had come at a cost to the traditional way of life.

"The lives of the local community have changed hugely; although there has been increased income for locals, it has been not positive in my opinion. They have lost access to resources and have drifted to the new Western ways away from their tradition Mentawai values."

Australian, male, aged 30-39 years, surf journalist

"The local community at Katiet have a lot more money. Surf tourism has transformed Katiet from a small fishing village to carving handicrafts but the locals have become lazier, don't work as hard."

Australian, female, aged 30-39 years, charter boat operator

Surf charter operators with a history of visiting Katiet over a 15-year period believed there had been a considerable change in the observed work ethic of local villagers, saying they now rely on tourists for income and are not prepared to undertake traditional work such as fishing or subsistence farming. In general, boat operators thought the surf industry in the Mentawais had spawned a large handout mentality amongst local villagers, that they did not want to trade but were intent on trying to suck money out of the surfers, which is foreign to the Mentawai culture.

"Locals in Katiet have become much greedier, constantly expecting surfers staying on surf charter boats to buy handicrafts from them or give them

something. Villagers have such big expectations of Westerners which seem to have distorted their views."

American, male, aged 30–39 years, charter boat operator

"The lives of local people in Katiet have changed drastically; certain individuals within the village are making a lot more money and they are becoming more westernised. The change has not necessarily been better for the local population as tourist dollars are slowly corrupting them and Katiet is losing its sense of community."

Australian, male, aged 20-29 years, NGO employee

"Katiet has undergone huge changes due to surf tourism. Today the locals are just too spoilt. Too many of the local guys at Katiet want freebies; they always want something for free."

American, male, aged 40–49 years, resort operator

Generally, tourism operators, government officials and other industry stakeholders believed that the recent development of the production of handcrafts was positive for Katiet. Charter boat operators with first-hand experience of guests purchasing handicrafts commented it generated increased income (a direct benefit to the local community) and promoted the notion of reciprocal exchange. Two stakeholders who have observed the development of the handicraft industry from its early stages believed that it was heading in a positive direction as it encouraged trade and provided much-needed income for the local community.

"Katiet has seen a huge positive change from surf tourism; they have had the greatest impact in the Mentawais. They made the decision to sell handicrafts which has stimulated a lot of business."

Australian, male, aged 40-49 years, charter boat operator

"There is more household income but not across the board, more of a trickle-down effect. Handicrafts have been positive, really positive; it encourages an amicable exchange between the surfers and the locals which is far better than a compulsory donation."

Australian, male, aged 30–39 years, NGO employee

5.10 Challenges to Participation in the Mentawai Surf Tourism Industry

Based on their experiences, operator stakeholders considered that the major challenge (23%) for operators was regulation of the industry (Figure 5.10). Regulation was expected be a significant obstacle to operators, as Ponting (2008) notes that historically the management of the surf tourism industry in the Mentawais has been a

progression of unsuccessful attempts by certain individuals (in conjunction with local government) who had vested interests in controlling the industry. The failure of previous proposed frameworks to manage surf tourism has resulted in numerous regulation changes that operators said was their biggest concern with current management.

"The major challenge for operators in the Mentawais is working in a region that doesn't have a tourism regulation framework. This results in rules being changed and corruption comes in, too."

Australian, male, aged 40–49 years, charter boat operator

"Increasing numbers of tourists leading to overcrowding is a real concern for operators. Constantly changing laws and regulations meaning it's hard to get a clear picture of how the industry is going to deal with the issue of carrying capacity."

American, male, aged 30-39 years, resort operator

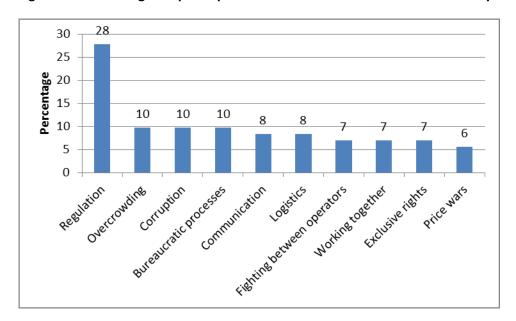


Figure 5.10: Challenges to participation in the Mentawai surf tourism industry

Four charter boat operators alleged that certain individuals have attempted to create a monopoly over the industry by claiming exclusive use of designated surf breaks. The operators believe that if this practice continues, it could ruin future industry prospects. Operators were dubious about future management schemes, as the previous MARVIP and ZAP and current Perdah 16 regulatory frameworks have given advantages to certain land-based operators to control visitor numbers in the buffer zone around their resorts.

"Operators need to preserve the surfing resources of the Mentawai surf industry on a fair playing field without monopoly and also greed by operators is a major obstacle."

Australian, male, aged 30-39 years, charter boat operator

"The greatest challenge that the operators face is resort owners trying to get exclusivity of surf breaks. Operators act very selfishly, only thinking about their own businesses not the industry as a whole."

Australian, male, aged 40-49 years, charter boat operator

One comment from a charter boat operator highlighted the lack of long-term thinking involved in the existing government management plans.

"The biggest challenge for operators is that the government is always changing the laws, which makes operators confused especially when they cannot see the long-term picture."

Japanese, female, aged 30-39 years, charter boat operator

5.11 Operators' Perceptions of Ways Government Could Improve Their Involvement

Local Mentawai government officials acknowledged that they had very little involvement in the surf tourism industry (as discussed earlier in this chapter); therefore, this question sought to identify ways that operators thought the government could improve their performance. Predictably, industry stakeholders identified the regulation and management system (31%) as the biggest challenge for government (Figure 5.11). Myriad of comments made by respondents reflected their disappointment with the existing management scheme. Both resort and surf charter boat operators indicated that for the government to be successful at managing the surf tourism industry in the Mentawais, it was important for all relevant stakeholders to provide input.

"Regulation and management are by far the biggest challenges for the government. Regulations need to be on a fair playing field between boat and resort operators and other examples of tourism don't apply to Indonesia."

Australian, male, aged 30–39 years, resort operator

"The government needs to learn how to control the taxation of surf tourism operators and also the current ad hoc management of the industry is a real concern."

American, male, aged 30–39 years, charter boat operator

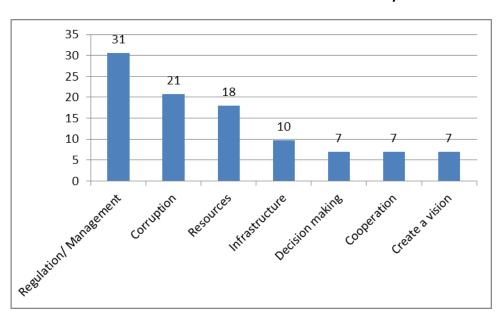


Figure 5.11: Operators' perceptions of how local government could improve their involvement in the Mentawai surf tourism industry

Surf tourism operators allege that corruption is a major challenge for the government trying to develop tourism. The topic of bribery was not expanded on in terms of who or what was corrupt; it was more a feeling of ingrained corruption in Indonesian society and the hopelessness of the situation. Operators felt that both Mentawai and Padang government officials and staff were not committed to those actions necessary to prevent corruption, with their inactions being advantageous to certain individuals. One surf charter boat operator believed the corrupt practices undertaken by the authorities were not out of the ordinary in Indonesia and that it was just the way things are done.

"The main problem is 'Indonesia' – they are doing nothing wrong by their standards, they are just acting the same as everyone else, so I guess corruption just isn't an issue."

Japanese-Australian, male, aged 30–39 years, charter boat operator

Four operators claimed that a major problem with the current management framework was that the government personnel making decisions did not have the skills or training, resources or experience needed to carry out their tasks effectively. Similarly, Elliott (1983) noted that the limited resources available to officials and the relatively low wages or limited education of many government staff were reasons for ineffective government management.

"A real concern for operators is that the people in the government have not much tourism experience and they don't like to get involved."

Australian, male, aged 30-39 years, charter boat operator

"Sustainable management practices are very new to many tourism officials; here in the Mentawais they need new skills and direction. It is also important the government look at case studies from other countries otherwise the situation here will get out of control."

Australian, male, aged 30-39 years, charter boat operator

A comment by an NGO employee indicated that the local Mentawai government officials had limited enthusiasm to improve current management schemes, and it was far easier for them to relax and not put in the extra effort required.

"The problem for the government is human resources: there is a lack of capacity to build effective frameworks and there is also no desire from individuals to change the current processes as it easier to just work nine to five."

Australian, male, aged 30–39 years, NGO employee

Industry stakeholders believed that generating the finance required to fund the expensive task of compliance monitoring throughout the island chain is a considerable challenge for the government. Krutwaysho and Bramwell (2010) said that often in large centralised-government structures, much of the funding needed by local government is inappropriately managed by officials, taking the problem of resourcing out of the hands of local government. Two resort operators thought that without sufficient funding for policing of the Mentawais, regulation would remain ineffective and uncontrolled development could explode.

"There needs to be some regulation. Just look at the situation in Ebay and the Playgrounds area – it is out of hand, there is very limited management. The local government just aren't involved enough: there is no budget, not even enough for fuel to come visit."

American, male, aged 40–49 years, resort operator

"A major issue for the government here in the Mentawais is regulation: there is no funding for the local authorities to control who comes in and who goes out."

Australian, male, aged 40–49 years, resort operator

5.12 Future Development

Almost one-quarter (24%) of all stakeholders felt the development of the industry over the next 10 years depended heavily on increased government involvement and

support (Figure 5.12). The opinion of an internationally established surf journalist with vast experience of the region, epitomised the general view held by these stakeholders – which the future direction of the surf tourism industry in the Mentawais rests on the shoulders of the local government.

"The local government need to see the value in surf tourism and consolidate under one umbrella; at the moment it is just too fractious. With the right action the Mentawais could be an exclusive high-quality surfing experience. Without the required government control it will end up like Nias, the surf ghetto (the Euro-trash version of surfing)."

American, male, aged 40-49 years, surf journalist

Interestingly, both surf operators and those from the local community identified increased government involvement as being vital to the growth of the industry (see Chapter 6).

Operator-led regulation has been unsuccessful so the responsibility for developing an effective management scheme lies with the Mentawai government's ability to consult with stakeholders and with industry compliance. Recent government efforts to introduce industry-wide management plans have been fraught by complex enforcement issues and widespread non-compliance by both operators and locals. However, when talking with government authorities during the data-collection phase, the researcher observed that even if they had adequate funding and non-corrupt staff to monitor the region, there appeared to be no motivation or the correct set of skills to carry out the required tasks. There is no incentive for the Mentawai government employees who are paid from a fund that is subsidized by the central government in Jakarta so they do not need to perform in order to receive their wages. The government employees interviewed in the Tourism Department did not have a background in tourism but fields, like accounting.

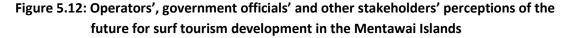
Two comments by operators highlight the need for government to regulate the industry in order to allow the local community to maximise opportunities for themselves and protect them from manipulation of operators.

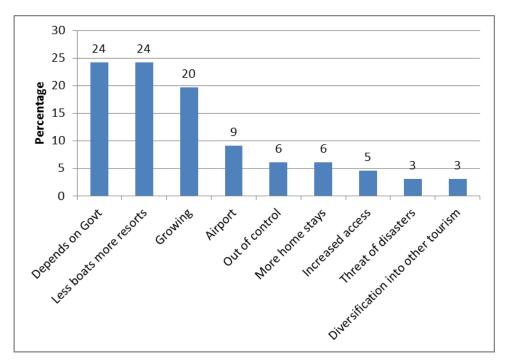
"Depends on government; the industry needs their input and hopefully a change of leadership. If there is no regulation, it will get out of control and resort owners will use locals in order to manipulate their own needs and wants."

American, male, aged 30–39 years, charter boat operator

"It all depends on the government – it could be great or a disaster. They need to figure out how to maximise the natural resource while maximising benefit to the local community and tax because there are minimal opportunities except for surf tourism."

American, male, aged 40–49 years, resort operator





One-quarter of stakeholders (24%) believed that over the next decade the surf charter fleet would slowly diminish, making way for land-based options. They also believed the industry would continue to grow (20%). The researcher observed evidence of this trend between his pilot visit and subsequent fieldwork trip one year later, at similar times during the surf season. It seemed to be less charter boats, while land camps and luxury resorts were under construction on nearly every island with a quality surf break nearby. This move toward resorts was advocated by the MMTA when it publicised its backing for investment companies committed to land-based development. On its website, the MMTA states that one of its reasons for supporting resort development is due to conflict between foreign boat owners and local investment companies, which has historically led to a poor investment climate (MMTA, 2010). During the research interviews charter boat operators mentioned the dwindling number of vessels which would eventually make way for land-based options that are more easily accessed.

"Hopefully the surf industry here in the Mentawais will stay as it is now. But realistically land camps will dominate over charter boats through better infrastructure such as an Internet booking system for the ferry."

American, male, aged 30–39 years, charter boat operator

Boat operators were concerned that the current management scheme (Perdah 16) had not been fully implemented and was not effective at regulating the number of local homestays. They noted that unrestrained development could be detrimental to the whole industry. It was more desirable to have higher-yielding tourists visiting the Mentawais. Again, evidence of self-interest - restricting the number of locally owned homestays, thereby reducing opportunities for the Mentawai community while securing the market share for their own businesses.

"There will be increased homestays and a decrease in the number of boats; it could turn into Nias if not done properly and poorly manage[d]. It's always going to be crowded because it's the 'mecca' for surfing."

Australian, female, aged 30–39 years, charter boat operator

Three respondents thought an international airport would open the Mentawais to mass tourism, and when asked whether they thought this would happen, they said they believed it was only a matter of time. Several participants believed the increase in tourists would have a lasting effect on surf tourism, removing the romance of adventure that is associated with a trip to the Mentawais.

"It's growing, it will always be growing. The Mentawais need better access; an airstrip has the potential to change the whole destination."

Australian, male, aged 30–39 years, resort operator

Stakeholders' outlooks for the future of surf tourism development in the Mentawais was uncertain, with almost half of all respondents (49%) recording a neutral comment. Although 19% had a positive outlook, nearly twice as many were pessimistic – 32% had a negative view of future development. Results from the cross tabulation (Table 5.3) indicate a wide range of opinion. Negative views were most evident from operators and employees of NGOs, with only one operator replying positively. During discussions with both charter boat and resort operators, it was clear they had concerns local government and the MMTA could manage the industry well enough to ensure a secure future for their businesses.

"We need government management limits to boats and camps; it comes down to sustainability. I hope over the next 10 years it is a much better place than it

is now, with everyone on a fair playing field without power lords. Again it comes down to the government and their licensing system."

Australian, male, aged 40–49 years, charter boat operator

Table 5.3: Stakeholder outlook for future surf industry development over the next 10 years (n = 40)

		Industry development over the next 10 years					
		Positive	Neutral	Negative	Total		
Stakeholder:	Resort operator	1	6	3	10		
	Boat operator	0	12	6	18		
	Surf journalist	2	1	0	3		
	NGO	0	0	2	2		
	Government	4	2	1	7		
Total		7	21	12	40		

NGO employees had a very pessimistic view of surf tourism development. Several employees the researcher spoke with felt the industry had potential to be a positive influence on local communities but the potential had failed to materialise, and they could not see the situation changing over the next 10 years. A comment from an NGO employee with a long history in the Mentawais said he believed the industry would spiral out of control making the Mentawai Islands an unattractive destination.

"The glass is half empty I'm sorry to say: the current development in the Mentawais is following the classic 'surf slum' model of other Indonesian destinations such as Nias, Sumbawa and Bali. There are no sustainable patterns in Indonesia, development is out of control – for example, one homestay quickly turns into 10 homestays. Then there is a price war and waves get crowded. We have seen this happen all over Indo and we do not want it to happen here in the Mentawais."

Australian, male, aged 30-39 years, NGO employee

Conversely, most Mentawai government officials were optimistic about the future of the industry over the next decade, with four out of the seven responding positively and only one providing a negative response. The optimistic view for the future surf tourism was apparent in many comments made by government officials, with one respondent believing surf tourism was the last resort before the production of palm oil takes over the islands.

"I want the surf tourism industry to become more developed over that next 10 years. It is the great hope that the Mentawai people can live off tourism. We need to protect our people from palm oil plantations."

Indonesian, female, aged 40-49 years, government official

"I hope tourism can be a good source of income for the local community and the government, similar to the situation in the Maldives. The marine resources for tourism activities are key for development."

Indonesian, male, aged 40–49 years, government official

Surf journalists were also positive about the outlook of the Mentawai surf industry over the next 10 years, believing that with the support of the government, small-scale land-based resorts could be a viable option.

"Over the next decade surf tourism has the potential to be part of the solution here in the Mentawais; it does need to be large scale. Obviously there needs to be a shift from water to land and the government needs to promote land [-based] resort development. Boats have had their chance to develop the industry but have made no difference, only paid lip service and haven't acted in the best interest of the Mentawais."

Australian, male, aged 30–39 years, surf journalist

5.13 Chapter Summary

Operators, government officials and other industry stakeholders appeared to understand the basic concepts of sustainable development, often citing the three underlying pillars of community, environment and long-term focus (Hanai, 2012). Industry stakeholders were unified in their response regarding surf tourism development, believing that it was growing rapidly and in an unregulated manner. There was a consensus by charter boat operators that the growth of the industry was hampered by greed and now resembled the "Wild West". Government officials and charter boat operators thought the industry had developed in an unsustainable manner, this belief reinforced by their perception that the MMTA had failed to effectively manage the region. Conversely, resort operators and surf journalists considered that the surf tourism industry in the Mentawai Islands had developed sustainably and was well within carrying capacities.

There was a strong sense among the charter boat operators the industry had reached a threshold where negative impacts were starting to show, especially in the areas of Playgrounds and Macaronis. Operators, government officials and other industry stakeholders thought the main negative impacts on the Mentawai Islands were negative Western influences, unequal distributions of profits, creation of a handout mentality, and coral reef damage. The major positive impacts identified were the establishment of SurfAid, increased incomes, employment, business opportunities and

improved marine resource management. Katiet village was the location most influenced by surf tourism development out of the four study sites, making it important to study it in more detail. Participants identified cultural change, increased incomes and the establishment of a handicraft industry as the main aspects of village life that have been affected by the surf tourism industry.

Operators overwhelmingly thought their greatest challenge in the Mentawai surf tourism industry was regulation, outlining that the failure of previous management frameworks has resulted in poor "buy in" from operators. Operators identified the major challenges for government as corruption, implementing an effective management system, and human resources. The majority of operators believed even if the government was not corrupt and had the necessary financial resources, there just was not sufficient drive or desire by government staff to implement an effective management system.

Overall, operators, government officials and other industry stakeholders had limited involvement with the local community; however, there was differences between the subgroups, with resort operators and NGO employees having higher levels of involvement than surf charter boat operators and government officials. Consultation between industry stakeholders and the local community was generally limited; as was, community involvement in the tourism planning and decision-making. Operators, government officials and other industry stakeholders identified increased opportunities, education and the employment of locals as the greatest means of increasing community participation in the Mentawai surf tourism industry.

There is considerable uncertainty about the future development of the industry. All subgroups were relatively pessimistic, except for government officials who were adamant that surf tourism has the potential to be a major contributor to the Islands' economy. Operators believed that the future of the industry depended on the local Mentawai government's ability to effectively manage surf tourism in the region. The consensus was that due to the government's current support for land-based accommodation options, there would be more surf resorts, fewer boats and large industry growth.

Chapter 6 : Host Communities' Perception of Surf Tourism Development

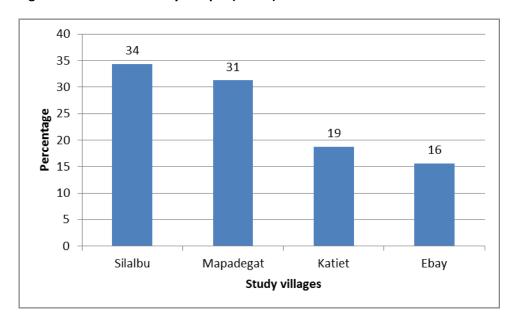
6.1 Introduction

The y purpose of this chapter is to examine how the four local case study communities in the Mentawai Islands (Ebay, Mapadegat, Silabu and Katiet) perceive tourists and tourism. A detailed picture is built, showing how the host population views surf tourism development impacts on their community. Local participation in the planning, management and consultation processes and future development of the industry are investigated. Each thematic section uses "local community" as a collective term for the stakeholder group, but then moves into specific study villages where variations in the data start to emerge. These emergent differences are discussed in more detail, leading to deeper insights into the nuances that exist within the local communities affected by surf tourism development.

6.2 The Study Villages

Most of those interviewed (21 out of 32 participants) came from the villages of Silabu and Mapadegat, with approximately one-third of the total interview sample from each. A lower percentage came from the villages of Katiet (19%) and Ebay (16%) (Figure 6.1). The difference in sample size is due to various factors, including time spent in each locality, village size and the number of community members with tourism experience. Access to the Silabu, Ebay and Katiet villages was more challenging than Mapadegat — their geographical isolation meant more time and funds were for interviewing participants. In both Silabu and Mapadegat, the researcher was introduced to a local community member who helped him with entry into the community and translation. Katiet and Ebay are much smaller villages, with approximately 50 to 100 individuals each, compared with Mapadegat and Silabu. This meant the number of suitable participants was limited and more time was needed to identify and trace the appropriate subjects.





In each of the study villages, the local community's perceptions and attitudes towards surf tourism development could be gauged by their degree of interaction with tourists (Vargas-Sánchez, Plaza-Mejía & Porras-Bueno, 2009 and 2011). The level of tourism exposure was evaluated and split into the three categories of low (Silabu), medium (Mapadegat) and high (Ebay and Katiet villages). The level of exposure was gauged by the distance between the surf break and the local village, and the number of surf tourists the area received. Katiet (Photo 6.1) and Ebay were both categorised by me as two villages highly exposed to surf tourism: both villages are located approximately 500 metres away from a key surf break (Hollow Trees and HT's for Katiet, and Ebay break for Ebay village) and have high surf tourist numbers.

Photo 6.1: The village of Katiet, located in the coconut trees on the left, lies directly in front of the famous surf break HT's



Source: Author fieldwork

In the more remote region of North Pagai, the village of Silabu (Photo 6.2) has the smallest number of surf tourists. It is also more removed from the surf tourism industry, being located several kilometres away from the surf break, therefore experiencing less interaction with surf tourists. Villagers the researcher spoke to said it was often months between tourist visits. During these informal discussions with Silabu villagers, they said there were now more tourists surfing at Macaronis, but not many of them make the effort to walk to the village. The breakdown of responses by village allows variations between communities to be explored; however, Katiet and Ebay are grouped together in some instances because they have similar numbers of visitors and tourism exposure.

Photo 6.2: Arriving at Silabu by boat, access is through a maze of mangroves

Source: Author fieldwork

6.3 Local Communities' Perception of Tourists and Tourism

Figure 6.2 displays the most frequently used words from the community interviews to describe a tourist. The two most frequently used words were "good" and "friend", and it was interesting for local community members to say they are friends with surf tourists even though, in most cases, they did not speak the same language. Cole (2006, p. 363) notes that knowing foreigners brings pride in many Indonesian societies, and it is important to many villagers to have a "friend" from another country.

"Tourists are important and every tourist is good; even though I cannot communicate very well, I can still make friends."

male, aged 30–39 years, boat driver, Mapadegat

Most of the words used to describe tourists in the Mentawais were positive, with few negative words recorded. Many of the comments related to the behaviour of the tourists themselves and contained such words as "happy", "polite", "friendly" and "no problem". The researcher was unsure if this was what the local community really thought about tourism, or if they were just trying to be polite and give the "right"

answers to his questions. In some cases when interviewing local homestay operators, the researcher felt they were only giving positive answers so he would stay with them at their accommodation. The comment below by a farmer in Mapadegat village shows while not all individuals are directly benefiting from the surf tourism industry, they still felt tourists were good for their village. The following quote backed up field observations the researcher made in Mapadegat, where farmers working in the fields or builders repairing homes would stop work, wave and attempt a brief conversation with passing tourists.

"Tourists are good people and do not make problems. They make me happy because they are like a teacher and help me with English and other learning." male, aged 40–49 years, farmer, Mapadegat

Figure 6.2: Most frequently used words by local community members to describe a "tourist"



One interesting theme to come out of Figure 6.2 was the use of words such as "family" and "brother" to describe tourists. These descriptions came particularly from 12 homestay operators, indicating that strong relationships were built between the tourists and their hosts. Having stayed in many homestays during his time in the field, the researcher always felt accepted into the host family's home, sharing many special times, like extended dinners and playing games with the children.

"Surf tourists are all good and when they stay at my homestay they are accepted into the family."

male, aged 50-59 years, homestay operator, Ebay

"I would describe tourists as my friends, they are like my brother." male, aged 30–39 years, homestay operator, Katiet

Looking back through his field notes and listening to the recorded interviews, the researcher could not find any mention of racial or ethnic words in the interviews. This was interesting because research by Erb (2000, p. 718), who looked at how the Manggaraian people on the island of Flores in Eastern Indonesia viewed tourists, found consistently the notion that tourists were "white". This standardised view of a Western tourist was also commented on by Bakker (1999) when studying the social impacts of trekking tourism on the local Mentawai people of Siberut. When Bakker was conducting fieldwork, a *sikerei* (medicine man) commented to his interpreter, "What do you mean, he is not a tourist? Of course, he is a tourist! Look at him, he is white, has a big nose and a camera. He certainly is a tourist."

"Tourism" was described using very similar language to "tourist", with the most frequently used word being "good" and the next most frequently used word being "economy", highlighting that tourism is a significant contributor to the local economy and is viewed as constructive. Mainly positive words used to describe surf tourism in the Mentawais. The common theme of money was evident in the most frequently used words — "business", "donations", "income" and "jobs" and few negative words were recorded (Figure 6.3). There was obvious variation between the study villages Katiet and Ebay, which experience high levels of tourism exposure, and the other two villages. Interviewees from Katiet and Ebay showed enthusiasm, focusing on economic impacts and other positive benefits that surf tourism has brought to their community. They also displayed a solid understanding of surf tourism.

"Surf tourism is when surfers come to Mentawai to do surfing. Surf tourism brings many tourists to Katiet, making villagers happy and is also good for economy and good for business."

male, aged 30-39 years, homestay operator, Katiet

"Surf tourism is happy and brings many tourists; it is good for the economy and good for business."

male, aged 30–39 years, homestay operator, Katiet

Figure 6.3: Most frequently used words to describe "tourism"



The words "don't know" and "not sure" were used frequently, indicating a limited understanding of the phenomenon of tourism or alternatively demonstrating the villagers' politeness and reluctance to offend. The following two responses, from villagers in Silabu, reinforce these frequently used words and clearly display that many local community members from those villages that experience low tourism exposure have limited knowledge of surf tourism. Villagers' knowledge of tourism comes from their experience, which at all study sites is predominately based on direct contact with surfers.

"I don't know about surfing tourism or what it means; however, it helps the community so it must be good."

male, aged 20-29 years, NGO employee, Silabu

"Not sure but tourists do come and go surfing."

male, aged 30–39 years, resort security, Silabu

Being located inland away from the surf breaks, many Silabu community members appeared to be unsure of the foreign concept of travel for leisure. This became even more apparent when walking through Silabu, as many villagers would avoid me and other surf tourists staying in their homes. It was a very different situation from Katiet,

where homestay operators and handicraft sellers would be constantly approaching you to see if you were interested in their accommodation and merchandise.

6.4 Community Change

An overwhelming proportion (84%) of the community participants interviewed believed surf tourism had changed their life in a positive way. Villagers from Ebay and Katiet were more supportive of surf tourism than participants from Silabu and Mapadegat. Ritchie and Inkari (2006, p. 31) note that when investigating residents' attitudes towards tourism development, researchers are in agreement that people who have the highest levels of involvement with tourists have the most positive attitudes. Similarly, the more a community is economically dependent on tourism, the more likely it will support tourism development (McGehee & Andereck, 2004).

Positive responses to surf tourism development were recorded from 27 of the 32 community members interviewed, with only two individuals believing surf tourism development had been negative (Table 6.1). This largely positive view of community change persisted evenly across all three levels of exposure to tourism. The findings from the cross tabulation were supported by comments made by local community members and by informal observations the researcher made while undertaking the fieldwork. When the researcher chatted with locals, they would praise surf tourism for the positive changes it was bringing to their villages, such as financial benefits, employment opportunities and learning the English language.

Those from Katiet quickly pointed out the numerous positive impacts, usually financial, that they were receiving from surf tourism.

"Surf tourism has grown in the village and changed life for good. Villagers in Katiet used to be coconut farmers making small money and now they make handicrafts and sell many other things to tourists and make much more money."

male, aged 40–49 years, homestay operator, Katiet

Table 6.1: Cross tabulation between community change and level of exposure to tourism (n = 32)

		Community change					
		Positive	Negative	Neutral	Total		
Level of exposure to tourism:	Katiet and Ebay	10	0	1	11		
	Mapadegat	9	1	0	10		
	Silabu	8	1	2	11		
Total		27	2	3	32		

The positive perception of surf tourism was not shared by all the community. While undertaking his fieldwork, two mothers from Silabu complained to the researcher about the bad influence surf tourists were on their children. One person from Silabu and one from Mapadegat, thought that surf tourism had developed in a negative manner, while the remaining 9% of the sample believed that surf tourism had not changed life in their community at all. The three neutral comments again came from respondents from Silabu and Mapadegat villages, which receive only small numbers of surf tourists.

"There has been little change to our village from surf tourism, maybe benefited one or two local people who have homestays but not the whole community. There just hasn't been enough business opportunity."

male, aged 20–29 years, police, Mapadegat

"There has been no real change in our village, no benefits from surf tourism except maybe for the kids at the school through donations and one or two workers at the Macaronis resort. Local people from Silabu village need more involvement."

male, aged 20–29 years, NGO employee, Silabu

6.4.1 The local community's perceptions of the positive impacts of surf tourism development

The impacts on the community, whether positive or negative, are what shape residents' attitudes towards tourism development (Kayat, 2002; Ko & Stewart 2002; McGehee & Andereck, 2004). Positive benefits to residents have a greater influence on the attitude towards tourism development than the negative effects (Vargas-Sánchez et al., 2009 & 2011), and positive economic effects such as the creation of employment and increased wealth have the greatest influence (Dyer, Gursoy, Sharma & Carter, 2007). Therefore, it was not surprising that more than one-third of participants

interviewed identified employment opportunities (24%) and income (12%) as two of the largest benefits they receive from surf tourism. Next was learning about the world outside their own sphere (15%), then English language acquisition (10%) (Figure 6.4). The majority of comments centred on the perceived positive economic gains.

"Local people in Mapadegat get many positives from surf tourism. They get the knowledge about the world, learn how to surf the waves, local people now have good business: like the boats that take tourists out to the surf break and many have built restaurants and homestays that provide income."

female, aged 30-39 years, government position, Mapadegat

"Surf tourism is good for locals. They sell many things to tourists that stay on charter boats like fresh fruit, fish and handicrafts. Also, many sick people from the village get help from tourists; many bad cuts can be helped with medicine from the surfers that stay in the village."

male, aged 30–39 years, homestay operator, Katiet

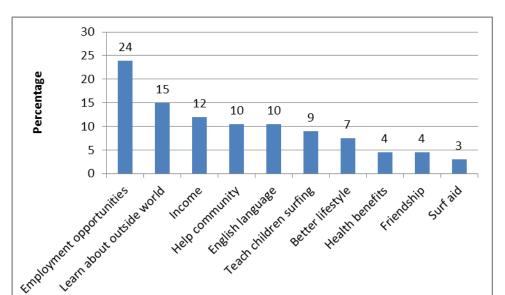


Figure 6.4: The local community's perceived positive impacts of surf tourism development (n = 32)

Typically, residents of a host community identify with travellers through two processes: the demonstration effect (Gossling, 2002; Fisher, 2004) and acculturation (Nunez, 1989). The demonstration effect is when members of a host community mimic visible aspects of tourists' culture such as clothing, hairstyles and music (Woosnam, Norman & Yin, 2009, p. 247). Gossling (2002, p. 543) found this to be the case among young Zanzibari children, who identified with tourists and their lifestyles by wearing Western sunglasses and T-shirts. The researcher observed a similar phenomenon occurring at Katiet. It was not uncommon to see local teenage males wearing the latest

brands like Billabong or Quiksilver, carrying an expensive surfboard and listening to their iPod or mp3 player.

All sites identified learning English as a significant benefit from surf tourism. The researcher noted many people were not only fluent in English, but were familiar with other languages including Portuguese, French and Japanese. Greetings like "G'day mate" with a perfect Australian accent were frequently heard. Many of the younger children had a surprisingly good knowledge of the English language, learnt through interaction with the surfers (Photo 6.3). Similarly, Leo (2007, p. 352) found residents expressed a willingness to learn a second language, particularly English. This quote emphasises the importance community places on speaking the English language.

"Tourism is benefiting me greatly: I am learning the Western influence and benefit from this knowledge as it helps with my English language so I can talk with tourists therefore I can make more profit."

male, aged 40-49 years, homestay operator, Ebay

"Tourism has been good as local people are now learning English from tourists at the resort and sometimes when they come to the village. The children are also starting to learn and those who speak English have greater opportunities for jobs in the future."

male, aged 50-59 years, resort employee, Silabu

Photo 6.3: Young children playing with a surfer, while an older boy opens a coconut at Katiet



Source: Author fieldwork

The local population felt surf tourism gave them an opportunity to learn about foreign cultures. Sitting in his homestay or while eating meals, the researcher was often approached by members of the local community, enquiring about life outside the Mentawai Islands. Simple questions like where he was from; what his job was; who his family were; and what music and food he liked. It was a great way to immerse himself in the local community, and the researcher enjoyed these exchanges. Once, the researcher drew a map of the world showing where he had travelled from (Photo 6.4), showed pictures of the his local beach (Piha) and his house, and told them about simple things like the different food eaten, something which always made the children's eyes open wide. In another Indonesian example, Cole (2006, p. 363) noted that tourists' visits were welcomed by the local community on the island of Flores, as it gave them a chance to find out about the world and, through conversations with tourists, the villagers were able to learn about life outside their region.

"The main benefit the locals of the village receive from surf tourism is that it opened their minds. Before surfers came to Mapadegat many people had never met tourists or learnt about the world outside Mentawai."

male, aged 40-49 years, village administrator, Mapadegat

Photo 6.4: A school visit at Silabu, North Pagai



Source: Author fieldwork

6.4.2 The local community's perceptions of the negative impacts of surf tourism development

More than two-fifths of the interviewees identified disrespect for local culture (44%) as the most significant negative impact the local community faces from surf tourism, with another proportion of comments in relation to clothing worn by tourists (17%) (Figure 6.5). Many locals felt tourists were disrespectful, particularly the females who wore bikinis on the beaches and around the village. However, the women were quick to cover themselves once they were informed of the proper village protocol. In one situation witnessed during the fieldwork, a young Australian woman wearing her bikini was physically threatened by an aggressive villager, but the elderly man stopped once she put on more culturally appropriate clothing (namely, a skirt and singlet) (Photo 6.5).

"The change in our village from surf tourism has not all been good. Slowly the increase of Western culture from surfers is creating bad influences especially the girls in the bikini."

male, aged 20-29 years, resort chef, Silabu

Photo 6.5: Female tourist wearing sufficient clothing while walking down the main street of Mapadegat



Source: Author fieldwork

When participants were asked about the adverse impacts of tourism on their community, there were plenty of negative responses. This is interesting because when locals were initially asked how they would describe tourism, responses were entirely positive. Words such as "disrespectful", "drunk" and "bad influence" show the adverse picture of tourism. From personal observations, surfers were generally considerate of the local community and did not drink alcohol in public places within the village setting – alcohol was consumed in the surfers' homestays, tucked away from the sight of the wider local community. Unfortunately, there was a minority who drank beer openly throughout the day and strolled through the villages intoxicated and making a scene. These comments were made by younger, educated community members from

Mapadegat and Silabu, villages with moderate and low exposure to surf tourism exposure respectively, and reflect their concerns about negative impacts created by surf tourism.

"Tourists are being disrespectful and creating problems in our village in three ways: firstly they are sometimes drunk and walk around drinking beer; secondly, they go into homes with no permission; and thirdly, they take coconuts without asking – big problem."

male, aged 20-29 years, police, Mapadegat

"There are no real negatives in Silabu from tourism, but tourists that come to the village need to respect locals with clothing – for example, bikinis are not good – and drinking alcohol all the time is bad."

female, aged 20-29 years, midwife, Silabu

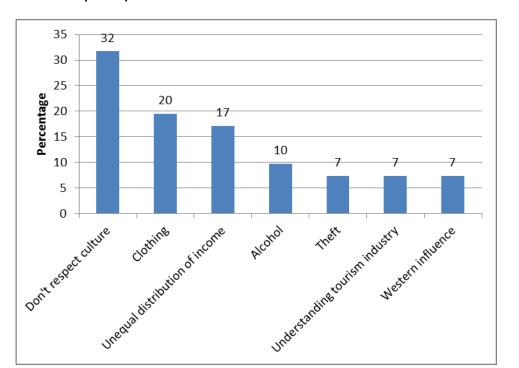


Figure 6.5: The local community's perceived negative impacts of surf tourism development (n = 32)

While interviewees believed the lack of respect for local culture was a concern, there was a belief this negative aspect of tourism could be addressed. Two homestay operators from Mapadegat said cultural education is a mutual process and both locals and tourists need to be informed by operators of the differences between the two cultures and that this could be done in a simple discussion before arriving in the Mentawai Islands.

"I don't want to see my guests getting affected; for example, villagers need to be educated on cultural issues. Also, guests need interpretation on things like girls in bikini; it can get operators in trouble but all that needs to happen is to tell guests about culture."

male, aged 20–29 years, homestay operator, Mapadegat

"In Mapadegat we do not have problem with surfers but the tradition between Mentawai people and the tourist is different. Clothing is different but there is no problem once tourists have been educated about local tradition."

male, aged 40–49 years, homestay operator, Mapadegat

On several occasions, the researcher observed local villagers at Katiet and Ebay imitating negative behaviours from the surfers, such as using English swear words and drinking beer. Correspondingly, Nunez (1989) comments that unfortunately the demonstration effect comes at a cost to the host community, through the loss of native culture. Walpole and Goodwin's (2001, p. 163) study of local attitudes towards tourism around Komodo National Park, Indonesia found that one-third of local community members believed that tourism was damaging their culture. Both Hottola (2004) and Wilson and Richards (2008) note that culture shock by foreign tourists on indigenous communities is generally more prevalent in isolated, heavily religious communities that have limited contact with Westerners.

As well as socio-cultural impacts, villagers were concerned about the unequal distribution of economic benefits (17%). Three of the comments about unequal distribution of economic benefits were made by males from Silabu and Mapadegat (both villages with limited surf tourism exposure). The unequal distribution of benefits was very evident in Silabu where the translator was keen to point out the village administrator's house, which was modern, had satellite dishes, glass windows and corrugated iron roof (Photo 6.6), while telling me that before the local surf resort started giving donations, the house was a traditional thatched house similar to other homes in Silabu. Conversely, in Katiet and Ebay villages, where community members experience greater economic benefits, there was very little mention of profits being distributed unfairly.

"The benefits are not significant. Only a few people in the village, like the community leader benefit. Surfing tourism does not benefit the whole community."

male, aged 20-29 years, NGO employee, Silabu

"If you know how to manage surf tourism you can get some income such as homestay owner, [or] local boat driver. However, that is only for one or two local people not the whole community, therefore not everybody gets a business opportunity."

male, aged 20-29 years, police, Mapadegat





Source: Author fieldwork

Walking through the other study villages (Mapadegat, Ebay and Katiet), it appeared that tourism's benefits were not equally spread through the communities, with most homestay operators having big modern houses made from concrete blocks, iron roofing and glass windows, while the average resident has a modest timber house with a traditional thatched roof. In Ebay there was a big difference between those benefiting from the surf industry – such as local surf guides, resort employees and boat operators – who were wearing new expensive clothing, and the coconut farmers who wore torn old clothes. Likewise, Mitchell and Reid (2001, p. 137) explain that individuals involved with island tourism in Peru, such as guides and boat owners, reap a greater share of the economic returns and the current trend of individualism is negatively affecting community unity.

The research shows petty crime within the village of Ebay was not a major perceived negative impact from surf tourism development. Two homestay operators in Ebay were concerned about the amount of theft occurring; but more often it was committed by persons from outside the village. While conducting fieldwork in Ebay, the researcher was warned to ensure his valuables were secure. Local homestay owners had advised that an iPod and money had been stolen from a tourist's room.

"There are not many negatives from surf tourism in Ebay except small things like theft. Sometimes boardshorts get stolen from outside the homestay and once a camera was taken."

male, aged 30–39 years, homestay operator, Ebay

"No problem with surfer in the village, but some locals are unhappy that other villagers from outside the area come and steal things from guests staying at homestays in Ebay village."

male, aged 40–49 years, homestay operator, Ebay

6.5 The Local Community's Perception of Tourist Numbers

Slightly more than one-half (56%) of the participants interviewed considered there were too many tourists travelling to the Mentawai region, while 34% of local community members thought there were not enough. The remaining 9% of the sample were neutral. These results were in contrast with the earlier word clouds (Figure 6.2 and Figure 6.3) which demonstrated the local community felt tourism and tourists were "good" for the Mentawai Islands. There was a clear difference in opinions between local community members from villages with high exposure to tourism (Ebay and Katiet), and those that had moderate or low levels of exposure (Mapadegat and Silabu).

Table 6.2 displays the relationship between Katiet and Ebay villages with high exposure and believe there are not enough tourists, and Mapadegat and Silabu communities, with moderate or low exposure but still feel they have too many tourists.

Table 6.2: Cross tabulation between whether there are too many tourists travelling to the Mentawais and level of tourism exposure (n = 32)

		Too many tourists travelling to Mentawais			
		Yes	No	Unsure	Total
Level of tourism exposure:	Ebay and Katiet	1	9	1	11
	Mapadegat	8	2	0	10
	Silabu	9	0	2	11
Total		18	11	3	32

The difference between the enthusiastic comments from Katiet and Ebay and the pessimistic response from Mapadegat and Silabu support previous tourism studies in Indonesia by Wall (1996). This found that in rural Balinese villages, the local community generally viewed tourism positively, with a desire to receive more tourists. There was little attention paid to the negative effects of tourism development. The following opinions from homestay operators at Katiet and Ebay are typical of responses from business operators in villages that experience high-level tourism exposure. The two men felt the more tourists the better – indeed, they sounded like they were part of a tourism promotion.

"Yes of course, I want more tourists to come to Katiet. You can't get too many tourists."

male, aged 30–39 years, homestay operator, Katiet

"More tourists the better, I want more tourists at the village, I want thousands more."

male, aged 40–49 years, homestay operator, Ebay

Villagers from Silabu and Mapadegat, which are further away from surf breaks, had a markedly different view on tourist numbers. Silabu villagers said too many surf tourists were arriving and they were not yet set up to accommodate the ever-increasing number of visitors. Two participants also noted the disparity between the number of tourists on boats and those coming into their villages. They believed there were too many surfers on the charter boats and not enough staying in the villages.

"No, we don't want any more surf tourists to come our village, because our infrastructure and other facilities are not developed enough yet."

male, aged 40–49 years, village officer, Mapadegat

"Mapadegat needs more homestays with better facilities like clean flushing toilets so more tourist stay in villages and not on the charter boats. I think we need to reduce the number of charter boats coming to Mentawai because there is not any benefit for us."

male, aged 30–39 years, shopkeeper and homestay operator, Mapadegat

"There are a lot of tourists staying on the charter boats but there are not a lot of them that come on land and visit the community. I would like to see more tourists coming to Mapadegat and staying in the local homestays in our village."

male, aged 40-49 years, farmer, Silabu

6.6 Planning, Management and Consultation

All participants interviewed believed their village had not been involved in the tourism planning process. During his fieldwork, the researcher frequently was told about their community's attempts to become involved in the process, and they wished to have an avenue to express their opinions on the future direction of that development. One interviewee from Mapadegat gave information to the tourism department outlining his thoughts on tourism in the region but had heard nothing back until over three years later. Three community members interviewed also expressed their eagerness to be involved in the tourism planning process. In isolated indigenous communities such as the Mentawai Islands, tourism planning is even more crucial because the strong traditions and cultural values are sensitive to Western influence.

"I want the government to work with me; I want to get involved and learn the plan."

male, aged 30-39 years, homestay operator, Mapadegat

"No, we are not involved with tourism planning but myself and many other people from Mapadegat wish to be. I have given them a tourism proposal for our village and the surrounding area but have not heard back from them for a very long time."

male, aged 40-49 years, village administrator, Mapadegat

Based on the community interviews, government support for community involvement in the tourism planning process seems to have been overlooked. Every community member interviewed (100%) felt there had not been enough government planning and management of the surf tourism industry. A homestay operator from Ebay said there

was a disparity between the amount of support that the government gives the foreignowned resort operators and the local homestay owners.

"No, there has been limited government support. The government supports the resorts more than the homestays in the village; they don't support me like they support the resorts."

male, aged 40–49 years, homestay operator, Ebay

Residents also commented on the difficulty of obtaining a government homestay operating permit. They felt frustrated, especially in Ebay where numerous new homestays are under construction. They believe the process and requirements for gaining a homestay permit (Photo 6.7) are too complicated for many, making it nearly impossible to operate a homestay. One I commented:

"I want locals to be making money but government never care for local just themselves, very selfish. Government say we need permit but local cannot get permit, we just report and pay."

male, aged 40–49 years, homestay operator, Ebay

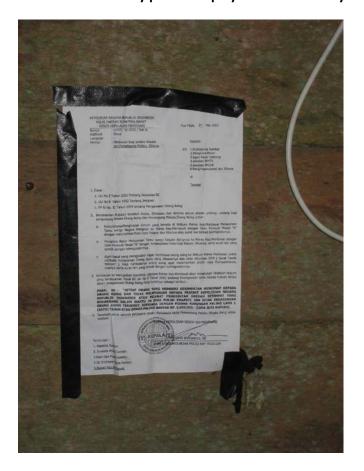


Photo 6.7: Homestay permit displayed on a homestay in Ebay

Source: Author fieldwork

Two blunt comments made by residents of Silabu and Ebay in relation to government input into surf tourism management highlighted the belief there had been little or no help with tourism management. There is resentment and bitterness towards the government, but it is not clear if the villagers' distrust of the government is from historical dealings or through tourism-related contact.

"The Mentawai government don't help the locals; the government here in the Mentawais is no good."

male, aged 30-39 years, farmer, Silabu

"The government has not helped us at all none what so ever. I do not believe in the government."

male, aged 20-29 years, surf guide, Ebay

The belief that the current management plan (Perdah 16) did not address the needs and interests of the host population, and there was limited priority placed on regulations to accommodate the livelihood requirements of indigenous communities was expressed by interviewees.

"Local and government are different; government never care for local – just say this but they are selfish. Government say we need permit but it's too difficult and local cannot get permit, we just report to them and pay."

male, aged 40-49 years, homestay operator, Mapadegat

All those interviewed said there had been very limited tourism-related consultation between locals and either operators or government officials. Consultation between local community and government stakeholders was sporadic and fragmented.

Participants claimed if the government wanted something from them, they would contact the village administrator and organise a one-off community meeting, but they would not receive any feedback. This showed limited or no consultation was occurring between the two stakeholder groups. Likewise in the villages with more tourists: villagers from Silabu and Katiet confirmed tourism consultation with government was extremely limited.

"No, there has been no contact with the government or operators concerning surf tourism. I can only remember just one meeting ever with government that was about tourism."

male, aged 30-39 years, village officer, Silabu

"No, we never have meetings with the government for tourism. Consultation between our village and the government is very irregular; there have only been a few meetings that I can recall."

male, aged 30–39 years, homestay operator, Katiet

Interviewees emphasised that communication was poor consultation with operators was poor, which led to ill feeling and stressed relations between the parties. Villagers from Ebay claimed operators of the neighbouring resort had imposed unfair rules on them, restricting them from meeting with the tourists staying at the surf camp and preventing them from using their traditional land. This, from residents of villages with a foreign-owned surf resort within 500 metres of where other local homestay accommodation is located.

"No, there has been no contact with operators. We have had talks with the local resort but not stable, many problems."

male, aged 30-39 years, NGO employee, Katiet

"The relationship between locals at our village and the resort look good but actually not so good: we cannot build on our land; locals are not allowed on resort grounds and resort is angry if locals talk with guests. It's better if tourists stay in homestay in village as they can meet locals."

male, aged 40-49 years, homestay operator, Ebay

Some shopkeepers said although consultation with operator and government stakeholder groups was limited or in many cases non-existent, there were still a number of informal community meetings and discussions occurring. This is an interesting point because our Western concept of consultation involving large meetings with many different individuals is very different to how the local Mentawai appear to perceive it. Their view on consultation seemed to be more intimate, involving lengthy discussions with a smaller group restricted to key local villagers such as the village administrator and prominent business owners. Community members said it was uncommon to have meetings with other stakeholder groups outside their immediate village.

"No, there has been no government input of any kind but we do have meetings within our own village."

male, aged 30-39 years, shopkeeper, Mapadegat

"I talk with the Kepala Desa very often about tourism matters but he is the only person consult I with. I do not talk to other stakeholders except for tourists who come and buy goods from my shop."

male, aged 30-39 years, shopkeeper, Katiet

6.7 Community Participation

More than one-quarter of the local community members interviewed identified education and training (27%) as the most effective way to increase local participation in the surf tourism industry (Figure 6.6). There was limited education available in the study villages – all had only primary school education available, with secondary school a long boat ride away, which many families could not afford. There are no tertiary institutions that offer tourism courses in the Mentawai Islands or government-run workshops offering tourism industry training. This situation was very frustrating for many of the local community, as it was clear the majority involved in the surf tourism industry wanted more training and education but were unable to access it. Comments made by local community members from two different study villages highlighted that the need for increased education and tourism industry training was universally important.

"There is not enough education and training. Locals in our village cannot get involved with tourism due to their lack of education and language skills. We need to give more people hospitality training."

male, aged 20-29 years, NGO employee, Silabu

"Local people do not understand the benefits from surf tourism. If locals from our village are going to be more involved with tourism, they need more education."

male, aged 40-49 years, village administrator, Mapadegat

The need for a community surf tourism association was a prominent belief in Mapadegat. Nine local community members (seven from Mapadegat) thought a local surf tourism association, or some type of community-based tourism officer, would increase their control and ownership in the industry. Community associations are an important aspect of the Mapadegat community, and the researcher observed a number of associations or organised groups during his time in the village. Two in particular were a youth association where young students could get together for

support for education and a Mentawai culture association where younger members of the Mapadegat community could learn traditional dances.

"The best way to get more involvement in the surf tourism industry is we need to make a surf association and manage the industry at a local level; therefore we will be able to get all the benefits."

male, aged 40-49 years, village administrator, Mapadegat

"Currently the industry is broken for locals, it needs to be fixed. We need to make a surf association and organise boats and guides. We can manage local area and divide up responsibilities and jobs between the association."

male, aged 30–39 years, boat driver, Mapadegat

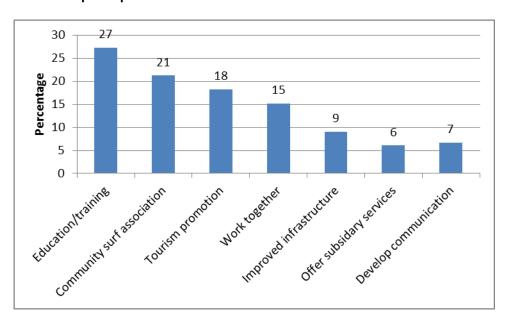


Figure 6.6: The local community's perceptions of methods to increase community participation

Studies by Palmer (2006) and Stone and Stone (2011) have shown that community associations and affiliated community liaison officers can be a positive move to increase host population involvement in tourism. Research by Palmer (2006) on the Kyrgyz Community-based Tourism Association found that by linking 10 groups across Kyrgyzstan, rural people had more input in Kyrgyz tourism. The Stone and Stone (2011) study on community participation in community-based tourism enterprises suggests that the appointment of a community liaison officer would assist local people in managing tourism.

The promotion of their own village was an idea mentioned by several local community members from Katiet. Villagers felt that the government did little to promote the

individual villages, especially those a substantial distance from the surf breaks. Local community members did concede West Sumatra was being promoted as an international surfing destination. Two homestay operators from Katiet believed that the promotion of their village and its world-class surf could increase their community's participation in the industry.

"Our community's involvement in the tourism industry would be increased if our village was promoted; therefore more guests come to our village."

male, aged 30–39 years, farmer and homestay operator, Katiet

"We need to promote information about Katiet village (both the waves and the homestay) to many other countries around the world."

male, aged 40–49 years, village administrator, Katiet

These comments in reference to the need for intra-village unity and working together as a community if local villages are going to be successful in operating tourism businesses:

"Progress is very fast here at Ebay; we are always moving ahead. The village must unite and push to the top."

male, aged 20-29 years, surf guide, Ebay

"Tourism is hard for locals because hard business, strong will survive and weak will fail. Locals need to work together and not be greedy."

male, aged 40–49 years, homestay operator, Mapadegat

There was a belief amongst participants that foreign-owned surf charter boat or surf resort operators pose a barrier to their community's participation in the surf tourism industry. This was substantiated by informal discussions the researcher had with local villagers from Mapadegat, who complained about the charter boats being ghost ships that come to their region but do not involve the locals. Similarly, community members from Ebay would frequently mention how difficult surf resorts made it for them to participate in the industry because it is controlled by wealthy foreigners. Tosun's (2006, p. 503) study on community participation at specific tourist destinations in Turkey found that the focus on the high-end market and the large number of international tour operators acted as external barriers to local involvement in tourism. Tosun (2006) also found that community participation was not part of the business models for many large multinational business companies or domestic firms.

6.8 The Local Community's Perception of Future Surf Tourism Development in the Mentawai Islands

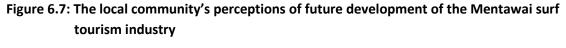
To ensure that future tourism development is acceptable and appropriate to the host population, the local community's current perceptions regarding future growth need to be evaluated, articulated, respected and acted upon (Stewart and Draper, 2007). To the best of his knowledge, this has not happened in the Mentawais. One-quarter (25%) of the community members identified government help as the most important factor in the future success of surf tourism development in the Mentawai Islands (Figure 6.7). There was a strong feeling among the host population that they needed the local government to provide them with support that would enable them to fully participate in the industry and reap greater benefits. Yet there were expressions of despair amongst participants regarding assistance from the government, leaving them uncertain of the future direction of the surf tourism industry.

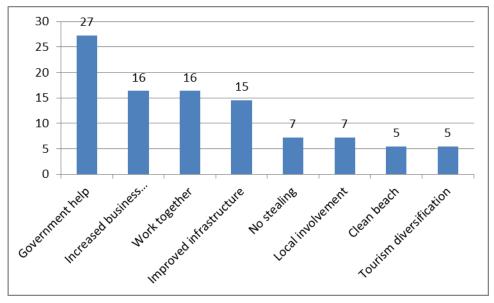
"If the surf tourism industry in the Mentawais is to develop, we need help from government; help is very important for our community to develop."

male, aged 30–39 years, NGO employee, Katiet

"I want the Mentawai government to help me; there has to be government support to regulate social issues. I heard that in Bali everyone is currently advancing so we want progress, too. I know that for progression we need everything to be clean and want improved infrastructure. The Mentawai Tourism Board also needs to work together with locals so we can progress together."

male, aged 40-49 years, homestay operator, Mapadegat





During his time in the field, the researcher did not observe any governmental support with communities in relation to tourism management. This was reinforced during informal discussions with locals, who confirmed that they had not had any visits from officials to their village or received any assistance from the government. Niezgoda and Czernek (2008) found that even when local authorities worked with residents, the host population was still not satisfied with the local government as far as fulfilment of their needs was concerned.

Comments from community members in the more isolated villages of Ebay and Katiet indicated they felt the government was responsible for providing additional services like the installation of cellular phone networks. This does not fall within the scope of local government functions but is the responsibility of the service providers, which are profit orientated; however, tourism does increase the importance of telecommunications access.

"For the future of surf tourism in the Mentawais I would like better infrastructure such as increased communication through improved or new cell phone tower and good radio."

male, aged 40-49 years, homestay operator, Mapadegat

Overall, the local community members interviewed were optimistic about the future success of surf tourism development in the Mentawai Islands. The locals' enthusiastic comments on surf tourism development came from their belief that it would bring

increased business opportunities such as handicraft production (Photo 6.8), improved infrastructure, community cooperation, and greater environmental awareness and protection. All interviewees at each village believed their villages would develop at any cost and the faster the better. There was limited mention of negative impacts from possible surf tourism developments.

"I think that tourism here in the Mentawais will grow. In Ebay it has already grown a lot; there must be progress."

male, aged 20-29 years, surf guide, Ebay

"It will be good many tourists come and economy will be good and Mentawai people will be better. More people equal more homestays and more fruit selling so more development is good."

male, aged 30–39 years, farmer and homestay operator, Katiet

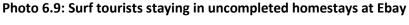
Photo 6.8: Local craftsman carving wooden handicrafts at Katiet



Source: Author fieldwork

The pervasive ideology towards tourism development held by many of the local community members interviewed in this study has also been identified by Cole (2006, p. 367) in other regions of Indonesia. He found that local community members in various villages in Nusa Tenggara Timor were able to grasp concepts of progress, saying that development involved being like city people, having money, electricity and health care, and their children wearing clothes. During fieldwork, the researcher

observed the continual push for development, as described by Gellert (2010), by many Mentawai people. Photo 6.9 shows half-finished structures in Ebay, where locals told him the rate of development was increasing. Resort owners in these regions were particularly concerned about proper waste management and disposal. Sanitation was an issue at many of the new homestays that had insufficient toilet facilities. Guests had reportedly been using the bush and ocean instead.





Source: Author fieldwork

Two homestay operators from Katiet raised the issue of the seasonality of surf tourism. One older respondent involved with village administration was concerned about being too dependent on surf tourism, and acknowledged the need to strengthen their tourism product by diversifying into other forms of tourism. Tourism diversification can increase a community's involvement in the tourism industry. It also helps reduce the negative effects of seasonality and dependence on just surf tourism (Britton, 1996), and vulnerability in the sustainable tourism livelihood context (Shen et al., 2005; Simpson, 2009). Alternative forms of tourism such as trekking, wildlife and cultural

tourism have already proved successful at providing another source of income (Persoon, 2003) and could potentially offer another activity for surf tourists.

"For tourism to develop in our village I would like to see a tourism centre built for other types of tourism like trekking and tourists could come off the surf charter boats for the day."

male, aged 40–49 years, village administrator and homestay operator, Katiet

Surfers generally travel to the islands during the surf season, which occurs between the months of April and October.

"Surf tourism in the Mentawais is seasonal; the flow of tourists to our village is not constant. They only come in the surf season from April to October but we need a constant supply of tourists all year round."

male, aged 30–39 years, homestay operator, Katiet

During the off-season, the Mentawais receive few visitors and the local community can become increasingly disgruntled, especially in peripheral areas that tend to be marginalised by the core and suffer from relative remoteness (McKercher & Fu, 2006). Higham and Hinch (2002) note that in some cases sport events could combat seasonality. However, in the Mentawai Islands case, surfing events would not be run in the off-season because high-quality conditions could not be guaranteed.

6.9 Chapter Summary

Interviewees at all the study villages said they thought tourists were a very positive force in their region, focusing on the economic benefits produced the surf tourism industry. Generally tourism was viewed as being good for them, producing multiple positive impacts. There was, however, variation between the study villages' understanding of tourism. Those from Silabu and Mapadegat, which fewer tourists, did not fully comprehend the concept of tourism, having less practical experience in the industry.

The majority reported that surf tourism had changed their village in a positive way, creating increased employment opportunities, economic benefits and the opportunity to learn English. However, Western influence was a contentious issue: responses split between the desire to learn about the outside world, versus the negatives of Western society, particularly alcohol and drugs. The same respondents who reported that surf

tourism was positive also noted a number of negative impacts associated with it. What this shows is the very intricate ways in which tourism affects communities. Initially people might be supportive of tourism development because one of their family members obtains a job, but when they reflect more deeply, they think of the less positive things such as jealousy and locals earning a lower wage than a foreigner doing the same job does.

Other negative influences identified by the host population included unequal distribution of profits and disrespect for traditional culture, and tourists wearing inappropriate clothing and drinking alcohol being major issues. This showed the double-edged sword of surf tourism the "wonderful" and a positive influence but also the negative aspects that accompany it. An interesting phenomenon emerged when locals were asked if they thought there were too many tourists. Katiet and Ebay villages, which both receive high tourist numbers, felt there were not enough tourists visiting, while Silabu and Mapadegat, which receive fewer visitors, felt there were too many. This supported the notion that those communities that are most closely associated to surf tourism are more likely to support it.

The host population at each study site were unanimous in their belief they were not involved in the tourism planning process, despite there being a general desire to be involved. They were also united in their feelings towards the current tourism management structure and regulations: a high level of dissatisfaction and resentment directed at local government. Consultation between local community and other stakeholders was infrequent and informal, resulting in fractured relationships and increased tension.

Local community members thought education and training was the most effective way to facilitate participation in the industry. Other suggestions about how community involvement in the surf tourism industry could be improved varied between the different villages: participants from Mapadegat identified community surf associations, community members from Katiet said promotion of individual areas was an issue, and villagers from Ebay said that greater cooperation within the village was needed.

Chapter 7 : Discussion of Cross-cutting Themes

7.1 Introduction

This thesis has investigated stakeholder perceptions of the development of the Mentawai surf tourism industry. A number of underlying themes have emerged from the research that cut across the multiple stakeholder groups. These emergent themes are: the need for communication between stakeholders; the inadequacy of current tourism-management strategies; the importance of local community participation; and the need for more sustainable surf tourism development practices.

This chapter examines those cross-cutting themes by discussing in depth the common ground and the key differences between stakeholder groups. This discussion reveals some of the factors that underlie stakeholder perspectives. Common ground running through these themes is the limited level of collaboration between stakeholders. The research findings show there is value in finding solutions to improve collaboration between these groups, following Huxham and Vangen's (2005) model of collaborative advantage. The chapter concludes by addressing how stakeholders with such variant perspectives can find common ground, then collaborate and exchange information to each participant's benefit.

7.2 The Need for Communication Between Stakeholders

The findings of this thesis indicate that stakeholders involved in the Mentawai surf tourism industry all believe there is a need for shared communication to aid current and future development of tourism. The current lack of an organised consultation initiative, with sporadic uncoordinated communication between stakeholder groups is detrimental to all participants in the industry. All stakeholders agreed that communication between groups was limited and could be improved. Weak communication between stakeholders reflects and reinforces low participation in tourism planning and management processes, especially for those from the local community.

Government officials were the least involved in all the inter-stakeholder consultations, formally and informally. Direct communication between government and operators was very low, with operators indicating that they avoided consultation with government officials unless it was necessary. Boat operators felt their organisation (AKSSB) was a more effective means of articulating their concerns to the relevant government officials, so their membership of this umbrella organisation obviated any need for individuals to communicate directly with government officials. The researcher was able to attend an AKSSB meeting, when in transit in Padang between field trips. Members of the AKSSB told him belonging to an association and acting as a collective group gave them more chance their opinions would be heard by government. Surf charter boat operators are well represented in the membership of AKSSB; although few were at the meeting the researcher attended.

Charter boat and resort operators perceived their communication with local community differently: land-based resorts reported they had high levels of strong productive consultation with the host population, whereas the majority of charter boat operators viewed their communication with local community as limited. However, two charter boat operators did claim they had developed good relationships with some locals over the years and would make an effort to meet up with them each time they were in the area. In one case when the researcher was on board a charter boat conducting an interview, an old Mentawai fisherman from Silabu paddled out on his dugout and sold mud crabs; the captain said the fisherman had been doing it for years and that the guests loved the fresh seafood.

Resort operators, on the other hand, believed their communication with the host population to be relatively strong and productive; saying they consult with community on a variety of issues such as land use, employment of local people, and cultural education in order to maintain strong working relationships between the two parties. As the quote below indicates, it would appear that relations between one resort operator and the local community were friendly and cooperative. The issue of fractured and stressed relations apparent in the community interviews failed to surface during interviews with the resort operators. Their responses perhaps masked the underlying tension between the two groups and the issue of restricted access to ancestral land.

The majority of community members interviewed showed an opposing viewpoint. They said they had low levels of communication with land-based operations. For example, the management from the now-defunct HT Villas at Katiet village had a number of clashes with locals regarding access to the beach and trespassing.

The comment below from a homestay operator at Ebay highlights that relations between locals and a nearby resort were not as they would appear on the surface. Villagers at Ebay felt the resort operators would have their guests and other surf tourists believe everything was 'great' when in fact, communication between them had ceased. This was due to the resort's policy of barring interaction between locals and guests and preventing locals' access to traditional resources on resort grounds.

One key finding from this section on resort operator and local community communication is that, although the two different groups had opposing viewpoints about their current levels of communication, both groups see a need for communication to be improved. Resort owners want to build on what they say are already high levels of communication with the local community, whereas local community say communication needs to be improved because their current communication with resort operators is strained and infrequent.

Government stakeholders recognised that their consultation with the local community was low, but they were enthusiastic about increasing those levels of communication. Inadequate staffing and financing within local government are ever-present problems, with one high-level member of the Mentawai Tourism Department admitting there was a lack of experienced and well-trained individuals who would be able to facilitate effective communication between the various stakeholder groups. The same official also noted there were insufficient financial resources to implement successful tourism consultation. Moreover, communication is weak even within the local government because the inter-departmental communication systems between the three departments involved in surf tourism in the Mentawai Islands (tourism, marine and transport) are poor.

Interviewees in all study communities felt their communication with government stakeholders in the industry was sporadic, informal and largely ineffective.

Communication between community and the local Mentawai government has been

dogged by corruption. Locals are distrustful, even fearful of those in positions of authority. A long-held tradition of suspicion and mistrust has further separated the host population from government officials, restricting the success of consultation attempts. In general, government consultation with community had been limited to one-off meetings, from which local participants rarely received any feedback.

It is clear that consultation between government and community in the Mentawai Islands is almost non-existent. Communication between the two stakeholder groups needs to go beyond sporadic uncoordinated meetings and become part of a flexible and dynamic process that evolves over time, enabling community stakeholders to address their concerns. Nault and Stapleton (2011, p. 695) note that close and sustained collaboration between trusted community leaders and knowledgeable outside stakeholders is required for the long-term viability of any community-based tourism development in a remote area.

A significant finding of this thesis is that both community members and government officials want increased levels of communication with each other, showing there is common ground on which to build. Local community members desire greater involvement in the tourism planning and development consultation process, while government officials showed enthusiasm for increasing their levels of communication. The interviews also revealed that there must be some reconciliation between the parties before progress can be made in improving communication and consultation between the two groups. Specifically, government officials need to address the historical distrust felt by local community. At the time of writing this chapter, the researcher found some encouraging information regarding multiple stakeholder collaboration and positive community development outcomes. The Mentawai Rip Curl Pro is now in its third year of competition and is producing tangible benefits for the local community. In Silabu, Rip Curl raised enough money to buy and install toilets in each of the 121 households in the village. The project received additional funding from Macaroni Resort's Mark Loughran, who raised another 30 million rupiah (NZ\$3,600) to help purchase materials and oversee the proper installation of the toilets and septic system. Rip Curl are also working with the NGO a Liquid Future to support their teacher-training programme, a school in Katiet. They too are assisting with the installation of toilets in the schools in both Sioban and Katiet villages (Rip Curl, 2013).

Photo 7.1: Silabu Village leader accepting a donation from Rip Curl.



Source: Rip Curl (2013)

Tourism forums in the shape of an annual summit in Tuapejat (the capital of the Mentawai Islands) would provide a platform for effective communication, where relevant tourism stakeholders could discuss concerns about surf tourism development, management and marketing. A successful tourism forum in the Mentawai Islands would require identification and representation of all appropriate stakeholders involved in the surf tourism industry. Studies from other developing countries have shown that consultation between the local community and other tourism industry stakeholders can relieve tension (Jamal & Getz, 1999) and lead to rich insights that can guide future development (Spencer, 2010, p. 684; Grybovych & Hafermann, 2010, p. 354).

Forums that incorporate the multiple stakeholder approach allow the views of all relevant community, government, operators and NGO groups in the surf tourism industry to be fully communicated (De Araujo & Bramwell, 2002; Larson & Poudyal, 2012). Greater recognition of local perspectives would help other stakeholders understand the challenges they face in becoming more actively engaged in the industry (Tosun & Timothy, 2003). Tourism forums could potentially assist previously

marginalised communities to achieve a sense of empowerment (Okazaki, 2008) and help improve communication lines between themselves, local government and surf operators.

An example of a successful tourism forum is one held in rural Eastern Indonesia in 2003 when Cole, as part of the dissemination of her thesis findings, organised a one-day tourism seminar with local tourism industry stakeholders (Cole, 2006). Local stakeholders involved in the tourism industry were present including 15 villagers, the local guides, four officials from the Department of Tourism and three members from the Department of Education and Culture. The high stakeholder turnout was achieved through official invitations from the Department of Tourism and villagers' travel expenditures were covered by the government. The outcome was very positive, with the Department of Tourism agreeing it was a useful process and should be repeated. The public forum gave the villagers a feeling of empowerment, allowing them to speak out against the government and to raise ideas and issues in a public forum, an important first step in the transfer of knowledge to the local community (Cole, 2006, pp. 638–640).

In theory, this type of tourism forum sounds achievable, but in a geographically isolated region such as the Mentawai Islands, the logistics and expenses involved in getting all representative stakeholders together are significant obstacles. Other impediments include a lack of experienced people available to facilitate a successful forum and the existing mistrust between community and government, which has led to difficulties in reaching mutually agreed-upon outcomes. To make a large multistakeholder tourism forum feasible it would require that both the Sumatran and Mentawai governments take a leading role in supporting stakeholder consultation, providing both financial and managerial assistance.

7.3 The Need for Sustainable Surf Tourism Development in the Mentawai Islands

This research showed that whilst all stakeholders felt the surf tourism industry in the Mentawai Islands needed to be more sustainable, there were differing opinions if it had developed in a sustainable manner to date. Operators, tourists and government officials believed the industry is currently at a threshold where negative impacts are

starting to appear. Most Mentawai and West Sumatran government officials believed that surf tourism had developed unsustainably and that the local community were not receiving significant benefits from the industry.

Again the reference to "ghost ships" (Photo 7.1), which officials said were operating in the islands without contributing to the area. They were also difficult to regulate and tax.





Surf charter boat operators felt that the development of the industry was unsustainable due to unregulated growth and poor management, with many believing the industry had developed like the "Wild West". Internet threads have also mentioned this Wild West mentality. A forum thread on www.realsurf.com was named "We find 'em virgins and we leave 'em whores". Some surf charter boat operators leverage Mentawai resources and communities for their own economic benefit, resulting in unsustainable development because of foreign leakage and a dramatic change to traditional livelihoods.

I think the term "surf colonialism" is accurate when applied to the independent surf charter boat operators. They are behaving like true colonial pirates with very little if any respect for local communities (Kurangabaa, 2009a).

However, this media portrayal of unsustainable charter boat operation contradicted what the researcher experienced on board the boats he travelled on. When discussing social issues with boat captains, they all expressed an awareness of cultural sensitivities that needed to be respected such as correct clothing and no excessive consumption of alcohol while in the villages. Twice the researcher witnessed guests being warned to behave, and operators were actively encouraging surfers to spend their tourist dollars on handicrafts.

The majority of surf tourists believed their trip was sustainable and felt they were creating minimal negative impacts on locals and their environment. Some who had previously visited the Mentawais did, however, think that if the current development continued unabated, surf tourist numbers "explode" and the area could quickly turn into another congested Indonesian surf destination like Bali.

Further discussion revealed surfers' concerns about sustainability were borne of self-interest. They were more worried about crowds affecting their surfing experience than the potential effects on the community and environment. These comments from surfers about crowds and tourist numbers are important finding. It identifies the issue of carrying capacity and how many tourists may be appropriate for the Mentawai Islands. The situation in the Playground and Macaronis region where surfer numbers have reached a level where aggression in the surf between tourists is occurring, is a warning to the Mentawai region. The key to preventing this, as noted by Buckley (2002b p. 440), is to get stakeholders to agree on a suitable surf tourist quota and its allocation.

During interviews, community members were asked to define what sustainability was. Some had difficulty answering. Possibly the translators did not correctly translate the term, or that the word does not have an exact translation in the local dialect. However, the researcher noted during his stay, the Islanders do understand the value of sustainability. Based on their way of living, the Mentawai concept is different to the Western concept: sustainability for many Mentawai people was not if they could send

their children to a good university one day but focused on shorter-term, day-to-day, existence.

Those making a living from the industry in Ebay and Katiet said they were determined that surf tourism development would continue in their villages. However, there was limited recognition of the wider consequences that development could have on future generations; and this lack of awareness was probably due to their inexperience with tourism development. Community concerns over Western cultural influences, for example, were discussed less than the tangible economic benefits of surf tourism.

In Silabu and Mapadegat, with the lower levels of tourism exposure than Ebay and Katiet, the locals were more inclined to express caution about surf tourism and were more concerned about community issues previously discussed - the influence of Western culture and the unequal distribution of tourism profits. As the majority of community members at Silabu and Mapadegat were not benefitting from surf tourism, they focused on the adverse outcomes.

Yet, many tourists are conscious and respectful of the host communities' religion and culture. Photo 7.2 shows a birthday party of an independent traveller at a local homestay in Mapadegat. Although the guests are drinking, it is within the confines of their accommodation and all the women are wearing culturally appropriate clothing. The researcher did observe it was tourists from charter boats who often showed a lack of awareness of local mores: they would visit villages on their day off from surfing, which often included the consumption of alcohol in public. These tourists could have benefited from a lesson in local customs and village etiquette before going ashore. Perhaps a task for the charter boat operator?

Photo 7.3: Visitors drinking alcohol at a homestay



That the Katiet community were more positive towards tourism development than those from Silabu and Mapadegat could be a result of the length of time they have been exposed to and involved with surf tourism. They saw their first surf tourists in the early 1980s, whereas Silabu's introduction is relatively recent. The resort development at Macaronis was built in 2000. In Katiet, numbers of locals now speak English, facilitating increased communication with tourists. Others have learnt new skills manufacturing handicrafts and had the benefit of improved health care through SurfAid's community health centre.

SurfAid is an example of sustainable surf tourism development. The positive impacts associated with this NGO are most commonly mentioned by operators, but less so by the local community. Resort and charter boat operators have positive views of SurfAid. The success of its malaria-reduction campaign was especially important to resort owners as it made land-based accommodation options safer, therefore more marketable to potential guests. Their support for this organisation could be attributable to operators' involvement with community health care programmes and SurfAid's high-profile aid efforts during the aftermath of tsunami between 2006 and 2011 in Indonesia.

Many community members were not so positive about SurfAid. They said the NGO had good intentions but often let itself down on delivery and implementation of projects. The health centre at Katiet (shown in Photo 7.3): at the time, the photo was taken, it was not a functioning health centre – it was being used by locals as a scooter repair shop.

Photo 7.4: A SurfAid health centre at Katiet



Of the four study villages, Katiet and Ebay – the two most exposed to surf tourism – have the greatest economic benefits, the profits were not evenly distributed in the community. In Katiet, locals with properties adjacent to the surf break have set up homestays and others work selling or producing handicrafts but further into the village there is little evidence of surf tourism. This was verified during the interview process. Unsurprisingly, even fewer jobs had been created in the two villages less exposed to surf tourism. Nevertheless, Silabu and Mapadegat are gaining some benefits from the industry: interviews and informal discussions showed that for Silabu and Mapadegat that improved health care and education were the most positive outcomes from surf tourism.

The seasonal nature of surf tourism and the communities' reliance on it makes the Mentawai Islands economically vulnerable and is a major concern. Three long-term charter boat operators said Katiet and Ebay villages were becoming increasingly reliant on surf tourism revenues for their communities' survival. They believe the change in traditional village lifestyle from subsistence-based to one dependent on tourism earnings, has contributed to the communities' vulnerability. Especially in Katiet, where some are so involved in surf tourism running homestays, food preparation and handicraft production that they have given up all traditional daily tasks like cultivation of cassava and other vegetables. These people have little incentive to maintain traditional work as the income they derive from surf tourism far surpassed their previous earnings so they feel they have no need to supplement those earnings with the traditional skills. Field observations and interviews show the production of handicrafts that are sold to surf tourists dominated the economy of Katiet village. Many of the men involved sourcing the native timber then carving and painting the wood. The young boys paddle out to the charter boats to sell the items. Surf charter operators felt that locals at Katiet are becoming reliant on handouts from tourists and are not working as hard as they did prior to the arrival of surf tourism.

The findings point to a need for a sustainable tourism strategy that emphasises the common ground within the cross-cutting themes discussed in this chapter. It is a considerable challenge for one strategy to cover myriad perspectives held by different stakeholders. Therefore focusing on themes common to all the groups would engender a more appropriate and acceptable result for all parties. The most effective tourism strategies come through forums where relevant stakeholders can formulate a long-term approach to management, marketing, planning and sustainable development. Developing a shared vision for the Mentawai surf tourism industry is central to the sustainable planning approach of the region, effectively placing the future of the industry in the hands of all the relevant stakeholders (Zapata, and Hall, 2012).

Previously implemented government surf tourism management strategies (MARVIP and ZAP) have failed because certain groups were disadvantaged and had limited operator buy-in. Implementing a sustainable strategy would facilitate communications and aid in relationship building between stakeholder groups (Haukeland, 2011, p. 133). It would also assist in creating synergy between Indonesian government political

ideologies, sustainable development and local community factors (Dinica, 2009). The main objective is to foster mutually beneficial outcomes for all groups involved; the difficulty is in getting stakeholders to agree on a vision that benefits all groups equally.

7.4 The Inadequacy of Current Tourism Management Strategies in the Mentawai Islands

All stakeholders believed the current regulatory framework was inadequate to protect the marine resources that the surf tourism industry is based on. The failure of the MMTA and the Mentawai government to implement the previous three management schemes has left many stakeholders concerned about the future development of the industry.

Government stakeholders readily acknowledged the MMTA and Perdah 16 are not successfully guiding management of the industry, yet they still felt the current management was adequate. Representatives of the Mentawai government also admitted they did not have the appropriate tourism training, education, experience or human resources to regulate the industry, so they turned to the MMTA for guidance.

Operators felt that the surf tourism industry is being poorly managed by the government. Both resort and charter boat operators were concerned over the future of their businesses with tourism management-related laws constantly changing and were doubtful the regulating authorities would be able to make any real progress towards developing a sustainable industry. They also felt that government officials lacked enthusiasm for achieving successful management outcomes and they complained of the corruption ingrained in Indonesian society. They saw both these factors as potentially insurmountable obstacles to effective regulation of the industry. These concerns are verified up by research: Transparency International believes endemic corruption stemming from high-level government officials has made implementing sustainable management strategies at the local level impossible (Transparency International, 2011), while Henderson and Kuncoro say endemic corruption is widespread throughout a number of regions within Indonesia (Henderson & Kuncoro, 2011, pp. 164–165).

Therefore, there is a need to adequately incorporate the influence of factors such as corruption into the SL model (Shen et al., 2005). The results identified many stakeholders who perceived corruption in all levels of government (both in the Mentawai Islands and West Sumatra) to be a major factor shaping the surf tourism industry and the livelihoods of the local community. The influence of corruption cannot be overstated and is one of the main contributors to the vulnerability of tourism in the region because it thwarts efforts to manage and regulate the industry.

Charter boat operators believed that current regulation was favouring resort development over charter vessels. As at Macaronis, where some resorts were using their influence in regional government to restrict surf charter boats from accessing the surf break. Surf charter operators complained that they were being squeezed out of the industry and that this would be their last season operating in the Mentawais. However, for every charter boat leaving the Mentawais two new boats were arriving. Therefore, boat numbers were still increasing, albeit at a slower rate than resort development. While this is detrimental for boat operators, it would benefit locals who have greater participation in land-based resorts.

Local community were not convinced any management scheme under the current government would be favourable for them as existing policies penalised them. Perdah 16, favours resort development and opposes the establishment of local homestays. This policy encouraged foreign investment in resort development and secured their market by outlawing homestay competition, stifling local business ownership.

Tourists, when asked their opinion of this policy were unsure if it was positive or negative. Those who had travelled to the Mentawais previously were dubious of the current regulatory framework, believing corruption was a significant barrier to the successful management of tourism. Some had experienced their vessels being boarded by armed and threatening regulatory authorities and had been made to pay large bribes. Surf tourists felt the Mentawai surf tax was one positive aspect of the existing management system and a constructive method for generating funds for monitoring and regulation of the industry. Again, corruption was a factor because many tourists were sceptical if the tax ended up where it was intended.

Ultimately, operators, surf tourists and local community all identified that government corruption has led to failure of the current surf tourism management. To improve current management there is a requirement for transparent third-party compliance monitoring by an external agency. Bearing in mind the ingrained government corruption and attempts by individual operators to place restrictions on surf breaks, external monitoring would need to operate independently of the surf tourism industry. Font (2002) says third-party monitoring is more expensive but more reliable and has proved successful in assisting with the management of marine tourism industries in other countries.

The proposed annual forum could provide the means for collaboration between government, industry and local community stakeholder groups with the goal of conceiving a co-management approach that integrates government policy, sound business practices, customary laws and local territorial rights.

As discussed earlier in the thesis, marine resource management shared between different stakeholder groups was recognised as the most suitable approach in rural Indonesia (Siry, 2011). An external agency of hired tourism consultants responsible for regulatory monitoring, payment of taxes and non-compliance penalties would help to alleviate stakeholder concern about government corruption. However, due to the limited available funding and the large geographic area to be patrolled, the Mentawai government would still have to play the largest role, supported by external agencies, community and operators.

An example of a suitable co-management model is the World Tourism Organization's adaptive management approach, which was recommended for Machu Picchu, in Peru. Like the Mentawai surf tourism industry, the Machu Picchu tourism industry must consider the views of multiple stakeholders like the Peruvian government, international conservation organisations, foreign tourists, private tour operators, regional authorities and indigenous communities (Larson & Poudyal, 2012, p. 917). This model provides a medium for each group to be heard and allows their different requirements to be synthesised into a workable management strategy (McFadden, Hiller & Tyre, 2011; Allen, Fontaine, Pope & Garmenstani, 2011).

Like the co-management approach in Indonesia of the Bunaken Marine National Park in Manado Bay, North Sulawesi. An integrated coordination body was established in 2000 to oversee the management of the park (Pratikto, 2001). The coordinating body being responsible for the collection of funds, monitoring and conservation activities as well as joint surveillance, enforcement and conservation programmes within the park. More recently, in 2009, Indonesia adopted the Manado Ocean Declaration (MOD), showing leadership in embracing an integrated ocean- and coastal zone-management approach. MOD highlights the importance of joint management of ocean and coastal areas, with the objective of increasing benefits for all stakeholders involved (Siry, 2011, p. 472).

The main challenge for co-management approaches in Indonesia is ensuring that greater stakeholder involvement in coastal zone management results in improved sustainable livelihoods outcomes for local communities. In the Mentawais, there are many culturally and socially diverse stakeholder groups spread throughout the island chain. Many have limited experience in managing natural resources and the decision-making process involved. An in-depth understanding of the factors influencing local community is necessary before suitable levels of community involvement in devising appropriate co-management strategies can be determined (Thorburn, 2002). Siry (2011, p. 472) notes that the devising of co-management strategies involves significant collaboration between community and the other stakeholders involved in managing coastal resources. Other challenges to implementing co-management in the Mentawai Islands includes the coordination of limited government resources, securing the trust of stakeholders, and incorporating local community customary ecological knowledge into the management framework.

7.5 The Importance of Community Participation in the Surf Tourism Industry

Charter boat operators felt community participation in the industry was low, with locals restricted to running homestays or selling handicrafts. This, due to their limited tourism industry training. Nevertheless, resort operators argued that the local communities surrounding their resorts had high levels of participation, with a number of villagers being employed at resorts.

Charter boat operators said they would prefer to employ local staff rather than workers from Padang, but that Mentawai villagers did not have the required specialised skills or experience. They felt there were opportunities available to these communities that had not been explored, such as cultural/history talks, sports massage and fresh meals for their clients. If boat operators were prepared to work with the locals, who do not necessarily understand the wants of tourists, both parties could benefit.

However, some boat operators felt encouraging community involvement in the industry was irresponsible, because the influence of Western surfers was a negative influence on traditional lives. They believed local Mentawai communities should be left alone to go about their lives without the pressure of surf tourism. This was an interesting perspective as it showed that some charter boat operators deemed that the negative socio-cultural issues experienced in some villages outweighed the positive economic impacts of the surf tourism industry.

Interviews with host populations at the study sites mirrored the views expressed by other stakeholders. Local community involvement in surf tourism was limited lack of industry knowledge and inadequate tourism experience. A study by Cole (2007) on tourism development in a number of East Indonesian communities identified similar findings, a lack of tourism understanding, confidence and education act as barriers to the potential benefits of being involved in the industry. Tosun (2006, p. 503) also found that the degree to which indigenous communities participate in tourism development is largely determined by their level of tourism knowledge and education.

The researcher noted the remoteness of host communities contributed to their lack of tourism-specific skills and negligible experience, meaning the majority of locals employed at resorts were in poorly paid, unskilled positions. Most jobs that required tourism industry expertise and competence were filled by Indonesians from mainland Sumatra or by foreigners. Operators and government could provide assistance in education and training for the indigenous population, creating a workforce with a larger skill base. Educating locals for the skilled positions such as chefs, engineers and managers would greatly increase the host populations' ability to actively participate in the surf tourism industry.

The Mentawai government's lack of support for homestays has hindered local operators' ability to participate fully in surf tourism, resulting in high levels of resentment towards the local government. Sebele (2010) maintains that a community can only become active participants if they have support from the government. This must be backed by enabling policies and frameworks that maximise the full potential of local communities. Similarly, a study by Lai and Nepal (2006, p. 1117) on local perspectives of ecotourism development in Tawushan Nature Reserve, Taiwan found that relationship issues between government and community needed to be addressed if local community participation in ecotourism was to be successful.

Okazaki's CBT framework (2008) was employed to graphically illustrate the status of the study villages' participation in the surf tourism industry (Figure 7.1). Plotting the four study villages of Silabu, Mapadegat, Ebay and Katiet on the framework shows the gap in participation between Katiet and Silabu. Silabu village had the lowest levels of community participation in the tourism process and locals were unhappy with the lack of revenue distribution from payments made by the resort to the village chief.

According to Arnstein's ladder of community participation (on the *y*-axis of Okazaki's model), Silabu is currently at the non-participatory stage of manipulation. Mapadegat was slightly higher on Arnstein's ladder of community participation than Silabu but that was largely due to local's participation in the homestay industry, which was not directly linked to surf tourism but the broader backpacker market. Katiet and Ebay villages form a cluster on the ladder around the stages of informing and consultation.

All the study villages had limited involvement in the collaboration process during tourism planning, although Ebay and Katiet have marginally higher levels of involvement than Silabu and Mapadegat.

Level of community participation & Bonding / linking Power redistribution to community social capital (a) Citizen control Degrees of citizen Delegated power power Partnership Placation Degrees (c) Consultation tokenism Informing Therapy Nonparticipation Manipulation Collaboration processes to be Bridging repeated progressively social capital (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (1) Antecedents Problem- Direction- Structuring Outcomes (1) (2)setting setting Collaboration processes Silabu Mapadegat Ebay Katiet

Figure 7.1: A model for assessing community-based tourism

Source: Adapted from Okazaki (2008).

Using (Selin & Chavez 1995) evolutionary model of tourism partnerships, Silabu is the only community at the antecedents stage, as the community members had only identified the crisis and initiatives and had not taken the next step towards problem setting. Mapadegat, Katiet and Ebay had started to appreciate the interdependencies that exist among local communities and other stakeholders and realized that problem resolution will require collective action. The participants from these villages recognized many of the central issues surrounding surf tourism development and had tried to communicate their concerns. Several community members had written letters and discussed concerns with charter boat and resort operators. However, the problem-setting stage had not yet developed into the desired avenue for dialogue and collaboration among stakeholders, a necessary outcome if they are to remain committed to the process of partnership development.

When the four study communities were plotted on Okazaki's (2008) community based tourism model they did not fit Butler's (1980) traditional curve of tourism development offered by the model. The Mentawai Islands has not followed a linear curve of community participation like other historical European and North American destination examples which Butler's curve is based on.

One important parameter of the model is the desired outcome of increased social capital. Okazaki (2008, p. 516) notes that many communities in developing countries are rich in social ties and have strong connections between communities (bonding social capital) but they have relatively weak external networks (bridging social capital). Applying the CBT model to the four study villages, shows Katiet has the greatest level of participation in the tourism collaboration process and as a result, has been able to bridge social capital through forming networks with the other stakeholder groups. In contrast, Silabu's remote location from the surf break means it has the least participation in both the surf tourism industry and the tourism collaboration process, thereby limiting its opportunities to form linkages with other stakeholder groups.

Tourists perceived community participation in the surf tourism industry was limited but could be improved. A majority of surfers said their interactions with the host population were relatively "shallow" and largely limited to buying handicrafts. This did not just apply charter boat tourists – independent surfers staying at homestays also felt their connections with the host population were relatively weak. Staying at a homestay within the community, immersed in the Mentawai culture did, however, increase interactions between tourists and locals.

Approximately one-third of surf tourists indicated they would have appreciated the opportunity to learn more about the local culture and have more meaningful interactions with the host community through, for example, assisting with community projects. Therefor this is part of the surf tourism experience that could be explored and increase community participation in the surf tourism industry.

As this study and others by Li (2003) and Yang and Wall (2009) have shown, independent travellers make their presence more visible in villages where opportunities increase for interactions between the surfers and the local community. Because the majority of surf tourists travelling to the islands are not independent — they are on charter boat package tours, the responsibility for building ties between the industry and local economy falls to the boat operators.

Stimulating interest in interactions between surf tourists and the host population would require operators to take more time to provide guests with information on Mentawai culture and to use local guides who have good social relationships with the

host communities; these practices would enrich the mutual experience between visitors and residents (Jensen, 2010, p. 615). Van der Duim and Caalders (2008, p. 109) argue that establishing links between the local community and the private sector is often the most effective method of ensuring that tourism initiatives are commercially successful.

Charter boat captains and resort-based surf guides are the obvious link between tourists and the host population, given their familiarity with the culture and Indonesian language skills. Yet it was clear that operators were not promoting those opportunities. An obstacle to increasing linkages with community is the lack of options (village visits and cultural performances) available that promote local cultural experiences. Local communities need to look beyond the current tourism services offered and consult with operators about other products they could provide to surfers; for example, carving workshops, culturally appropriate massage, or traditional cooking classes are suitable services that a host population could easily sell.

The concept of authenticity is reviewed in another research paper on Mentawai cultural tourism. Bakker (2007) notes that tourists fascinated by Siberut's indigenous headhunter tribes did not feel they had authentic experiences with the host community. Yang and Wall (2009, p. 236) argue that authenticity is not an absolute notion, but rather a relative, interpreted, and socially constructed concept that changes with context and individual perspectives.

MacCannell's (1973) continuum of authenticity, based on the concept of "front" and "back" stages, is very applicable to the Mentawai surf tourism industry. The majority of surf tourists staying at resorts or on charter boats are removed from the local community and only see the "front" stage, where visitors witness staged authenticity through experiences such as cultural performances reproduced for tourists.

Independent surfers spending extended periods within the community have greater access to the "back" stage, where tourists experience authentic interactions simply by walking through the villages or relaxing in their homestay, observing the local way of life. Homestays and volunteerism could promote more authentic interactions while simultaneously increasing current levels of community participation, again adding to a more sustainable surf tourism industry.

One important finding of this thesis is that there are numerous forms of surf tourism occurring in the Mentawai Islands, each with different levels of interaction between surf tourists and locals. During fieldwork, the researcher frequently witnessed surfers staying on charter boats, observing the local community from a distance with the only interaction occurring when they were approached by local handicraftsmen who had paddled out to sell their products. There were also of "staged" interactions (MacCannell, 1973) between surfers and locals, such as cultural nights at resorts where local Mentawai men performed rehearsed traditional dances for tourists and dinner banquets show cased regional cuisine (Photo 7.3).





However, not all interactions between surf tourists and the host populations are staged. When staying in the study villages during his fieldwork, the researcher

commonly witnessed direct and apparently genuine contact between surf tourists and the host population. As previously mentioned, these interactions are relatively rare with surfers on commercial package tours and more common with independent travellers. One type of surf tourism that does provide direct and genuine interactions with the host population is community volunteerism undertaken by surfers during their trip. The best option for sustainable surf tourism development in the Mentawai Islands is to encourage a mix of different kinds of surf tourism. Not all surf tourists want to sacrifice some of their surfing holiday to work with the community and a cultural performance may be more interesting and realistic form of interaction for those them. Providing diverse surf tourism products that offer a range of different interactions with the local community strengthens the sustainability of the industry by attracting a wider target market.

7.6 The Future Development of the Surf Tourism Industry

Government and local community interviewees were generally enthusiastic about future development of the industry despite the various problems and concerns outlined in the preceding sections. Both stakeholder groups acknowledge it is one of the only remaining possible sources of viable income and economic independence for the Mentawai Islands. Overall, residents from the study villages were optimistic about future development, believing it would bring increased business opportunities and improved infrastructure such as mobile phone coverage.

Government officials shared the generally positive view of surf tourism shown by the villagers from Katiet and Ebay. They too were enthusiastic about future development of the industry because they believe it offers the greatest economic potential for the region. Having witnessed the slowing of the local fishing and copra industries, many Mentawai government officials were concerned that palm oil plantations would take over the islands and reduce the population to poorly paid work. Surf tourism offers an alternative industry to palm oil production, which is far less damaging to the environment but also generates higher paid employment. For these reasons surf tourism was preferred by government officials as a future development direction for the Mentawai Islands.

The managing director of one of the world's biggest surf tourism wholesalers reflected the findings of this thesis: that operators wanted clarification of Perdah 16, the current Mentawai government management policy for surf tourism. This industry leader felt that the government's position regarding charter boat licensing needed to be properly interpreted and officially documented in court, clarifying the laws so operators could more effectively run their businesses. The catch, however, as discussed in earlier sections of this chapter, is even when the laws are clearly outlined by the government, its management system falls over when there is corruption, inadequate regulation and insignificant penalties for non-compliance.

I have been closely following the MMTA progress from a distance and I am hearing conflicting information everywhere. So I can be clear on this, would you be kind enough to please provide me with a copy of the official government document confirming the government appointment of the MMTA board and confirming the laws and bi-laws regarding the licensing of Mentawai charter vessels. Once people see official documentation that would stand up in a court of law then they can get on with getting surfers stoked! Hope to hear from you soon (Mentawai Investigator, 2012).

Tourists were uncertain of the future of the Mentawai surf industry, with many feeling it was in the balance. Visitors expressed fear the Mentawai Islands would remain an unspoilt tourism destination, given the industry's current direction, with the increasing numbers travelling to the region. They believed effective management was crucial to limiting crowds. They wanted less surfers to keep surf breaks uncrowded, a view diametrically opposed to locals who wanted more tourists. These surf tourists wanted fewer surfers for their own benefit, with little regard that such restrictions could harm the local homestay industry, on which a number of Mentawai livelihoods relied.

A clear way forward for surf tourism development in the Mentawai Islands is to emphasise an approach that increases the monetary yield of surf tourists. Surfer numbers need to be low enough so the overall surfing experience is not compromised and visitor expenditure needs to be increased to provide sufficient income for operators and the local community.

However, it seemed stakeholders wanted to extract more benefits from the surf tourism industry whilst avoiding the costs. Therefore, a yield-driven strategy would meet the needs of all the stakeholders and so create more sustainable outcomes,

focusing on increasing the economic benefit per visitor by placing the emphasis on strengthening economic impacts rather than simply increasing visitor numbers.

Chapter 8 : Conclusions

8.1 Introduction

The overall aim of this doctoral study is to uncover stakeholder perceptions of surf tourism development in the Mentawai Islands, to better understand the issues affecting these stakeholders, surf tourism and STD in the region. This final chapter presents conclusions drawn from the analysis of the case study (Mentawai Islands, Indonesia), and discusses the implications of multiple stakeholder perceptions for development of surf tourism. The chapter addresses the four main research questions and presents a summary of the research's theoretical contributions to the fields of surf tourism and sustainable community development. These new insights are used to inform the further development of theory associated with sustainable livelihoods and community-based tourism. The chapter concludes with recommendations for future research.

8.2 Research Questions

8.2.1 To examine the characteristics of surf tourists visiting the Mentawai Islands and to gain deeper insights into how they perceive the environmental, social and economic impacts of their travel.

This study found the general demographic profile of surf tourists travelling to the Mentawais was Australian or American, well-educated middle-aged males with high discretionary income, commonly travelling in groups and staying for an average of 12 nights. Most travelled on inclusive package deals, with very few being independent travellers opting to stay in local homestays. Those on package holidays had a marginally lower daily local expenditure (US\$21) than independent travellers (US\$22). The majority of surf tourists travelling to the Mentawais could be classed as "seekers", motivated by pull factors such as surfing high-quality waves, the warm tropical climate and the islands' remote location. Very few were motivated by a desire to experience the indigenous culture, although they did say it was a dimension of their surf holiday they would be interested in exploring.

Surf tourists generally perceived income and employment for the local community as the main positive impact produced by their visit; the benefit of cultural interaction also mentioned. The negative effects tourists identified included pollution, uncontrolled development and Western influence, and each of these was perceived as a major challenge to the industry. Generally, they perceived community participation in the surf tourism industry to be low, seeing the majority of businesses were foreign owned with profits going offshore. Surf tourists staying on charter boats and at resorts reported shallow interactions with the host population, limited to buying handicrafts, conversations in the surf with local surfers, and village visits. Enthusiasm was expressed for the opportunity to interact with the local community on a deeper level.

8.2.2 To explore how government officials, operators, surf journalists and NGO employees perceive surf tourism development in the Mentawai Islands, and to examine their attitudes towards tourism management, stakeholder participation and the future development of the surf tourism.

Industry stakeholder perceptions were mixed regarding surf tourism development in the Mentawai Islands. Government officials and charter boat operators thought the surf tourism industry had developed in an unsustainable manner, due to the failure of the MMTA and government corruption, which did not effectively manage the region. Conversely, resort operators perceived the surf tourism industry had developed sustainably and was well within carrying capacities.

Charter boat and resort operators overwhelmingly thought the greatest barrier to creating a more sustainable surf tourism industry was the current inadequate regulation by the local Mentawai government. Other obstacles identified were corruption, the logistics required to implement an effective management system, and limited human resources.

Resort operators and NGO employees had higher levels of involvement with the local community than did surf charter boat operators and government officials. Operators, government officials and other industry stakeholders identified increased opportunities, education and the employment of locals as the greatest means of increasing community participation in the industry. Communication between industry stakeholder groups was generally low, limited to informal one-off meetings. There is considerable uncertainty about the future development of the Mentawai surf tourism

industry, with stakeholders believing that it will depend on the local government's ability to implement an effective system.

8.2.3 To gain an understanding of how Mentawai communities perceive tourists and tourism development. What is the host population's view on current surf tourism and participation in its development? What benefits or challenges has it brought?

Local community members interviewed at all four study villages thought tourists were a very positive force in their communities due to the economic benefits produced by their travel. There was, however, a variation in the study villages' perceptions of tourism development. The study sites with the highest level of engagement in the surf tourism industry had more positive attitudes towards surf tourism development than those sites with lower levels of tourism exposure. These findings build on previous studies by Ritchie and Inkari (2006, p. 31) and McGehee and Andereck (2004), who found that communities that have the highest levels of involvement with tourists and are economically dependent on tourism have the most positive attitudes towards development.

Local community thought that their participation in the industry was limited and identified education and training as the most effective ways to increase their involvement. Each village had their own ideas about what they needed to do to improve their participation in the industry: locals from Mapadegat village believed it would be beneficial to set up community surf associations; those from Katiet village thought they needed to work on promoting individual surf areas; and villagers from Ebay identified a need for greater cooperation within their village.

Interviews showed that the development of surf tourism has had an impact on the culture and lifestyle of the communities at each village. Surf tourism has brought the four study communities the benefits of improved health care, increased employment and higher incomes. The results also show that the higher profits procured from surf tourism have the potential to increase the associated negative impacts of greed, unequal distribution of economic benefits, and jealousy within the local village structure.

Katiet village, because of its level of engagement in the surf tourism industry has undergone the most significant change in its traditional lifestyle. The community

members who are involved in the industry are now heavily reliant on tourist dollars and the success of surf tourism in the area. Western surf tourists have also influenced the Mentawai culture at Katiet, reflecting the demonstration effect (Gossling, 2002; Fisher, 2004) and acculturation theory (Nunez, 1989).

8.2.4 To examine the common themes and key differences that emerge from the stakeholder analysis and to identify some potential approaches to enhance the future management in the industry.

A number of underlying themes emerged from the research that cut across the multiple stakeholder groups. These emergent themes are: the need for communication between stakeholders; the inadequacy of current tourism-management strategies; the importance of local community participation; and the need for more sustainable surf tourism development practices. The commonality running through these themes is a limited level of collaboration between stakeholder groups. This essential element of collaboration needs to be developed and improved if the stakeholder groups are to work together successfully to develop a way forward. Creating tourism forums, diversifying local tourism products, using a co-management framework and formulating more sustainable tourism strategies were identified as potential approaches to enhance the future management of the surf tourism industry.

8.3 Contributions

This doctoral study adds a large amount of empirical data to the existing literature on surf tourism (Buckley, 2002a and 2002b; Nelsen et al., 2007; Lazarow, 2007; Ponting, 2009, Scarfe et al., 2009; Wagner et al., 2011; Martin and Assenov, 2012). More specifically this thesis contributes to the sparsely researched area of surf tourism development and its impacts on local communities (Ponting et al., 2005; Ponting, 2008; Martin and Assenov, 2013a and 2013b) and their participation in surf tourism (Ponting and Obrien, 2013; Obrien and Ponting, 2013). Methodologically this study has pioneered a new method of data collection (online questionnaire) on a relatively under researched tourist group and tested out the applicability and suitably of the CBT model (Okazaki, 2008) and the SL model for tourism (Shen et al., 2005) in the context of surf tourism development in the Mentawai Islands. Distinct contributions have been made to the growing literature on the value of exploring multiple stakeholder collaboration

in sustainable tourism development (Aref, 2011; Kannapa, 2011; Nault & Stapleton, 2011).

The thesis follows a predominantly qualitative approach (using grounded theory and a case study) that examines multiple stakeholder perceptions of surf tourism development in the Mentawai Islands. Grounded theory proved a suitable research approach as it highlighted the importance of understanding local stakeholder viewpoints in a complex cultural and political context and was useful given the limited background research on the topic. The main strength of the grounded theory approach was its ability to allow important commonalities and differences between groups to surface during the analysis process. This led to the emergence of the key cross-cutting theme: improving communication and collaboration between stakeholder groups.

By adopting a multiple stakeholder perspective and examining the views of both major stakeholder groups (government, operators, community and tourists) and non-traditional tourism stakeholder groups (NGO employees, surf journalists) shed new light on our current understanding of surf tourism development. Studies by Ponting and Obrien (2013) and Obrien and Ponting (2013) have provided overviews of both the Fijian and Papua New Guinea surf tourism industries using a similar approach however the data set collected in this study is far broader. The ability to have the power to combine all the detailed data of the numerous stakeholder groups meant that the smaller valuable pieces of information assisted in forming a comprehensive and accurate picture of surf tourism development in the Mentawai Islands.

An important contribution of this research is that it filled a gap in knowledge on the sparsely researched area of surf tourism development and its impacts on local communities (Martin and Assenov, 2012). The thesis examined four villages all at different levels of surf tourism exposure, the results clearly display that surf tourism development has had a range of impacts on the four Mentawai study communities, bringing both opportunities and costs to the community members involved. Surf tourism has provided the highly exposed villages of Katiet and Ebay with much greater income than traditional industries do, as evidenced by the improved living standards and disposable income of local tourism service providers. However, those involved have now become dependent on surf tourism and the influence of Western surfers has

affected the local communities' culture and livelihoods. In contrast, surf tourism has had few impacts on Silabu, the least exposed village, and except for a select few individuals employed at the local surf resort, the local community remains largely unchanged.

This study echoes previous research (Andereck, Valentine, Knopf & Vogt, 2005; Tosun, 2006; Stewart & Draper, 2007; Yang, Ryan & Zhang, 2013) that has emphasised the importance of adequately incorporating the views of the local community in the research approach. This was crucial in the Mentawai context, as the Islands' remote location and the locals' limited tourism experience have meant that they have been largely excluded from the decision-making processes of the surf tourism industry. One important contribution from this study was that it assisted in better understanding how local communities perceive the concept of tourism and tourists (Moscardo, 2008). This was a key part of the research, as tourism and tourists are culturally defined words (Sammy, 2008) and for Mentawai culture there was no equivalent concept. Understanding how the local Mentawaiian community define these concepts allowed the researcher to investigate potential methods for better articulating their ideals, values and interests in the tourism planning process and gaining greater participation in the industry.

The thesis contributes to the body of knowledge associated with local community participation and sustainable surf tourism (Ponting, 2008; Ponting and Obrien, 2013; Obrien and Ponting, 2013). This study builds on work by Siry (2011, p. 407) in Indonesia illustrating that the barriers local communities face to improving their participation in the surf tourism industry are magnified when government policies and management do not reflect the needs of the host population. This thesis provides an important comparison to Obrien and Ponting's (2013) case study in Papua New Guinea in which sustainable tourism plans reflect the traditional resource management of the indigenous community thereby increasing their participation. Alternatively, Perdah 16, the current Mentawai tourism policy that deems local homestays illegal, has been detrimental to local communities achieving greater participation in the industry. Mentawai tourism authorities need to consider this when creating future tourism strategies.

This doctoral research builds on studies by Dolnicar and Fluker (2003a and 2003b; Barbieri and Sotomayor, 2013) by investigating surf tourist demographics, motivations and destination preferences. This study filled a large gap in literature by providing detailed qualitative information on surf tourist's perceptions of the environmental, economic and social impacts of their travel, community interaction and participation, management and sustainable surf tourism development. Methodologically this thesis significantly contributed to surf tourism research through testing a new contemporary data collection technique of an online questionnaire on surf tourists, which are often difficult to sample due to the roaming characteristics of their travel. The findings highlighted the importance of using different research techniques to reach various stakeholder groups and conducting the appropriate due diligence during pilot studies.

The research also significantly contributes to our understanding and use of the Community-Based Tourism (CBT) model (Okazaki, 2008). To date there are very few examples of applying the CBT model to multiple study communities, the researcher was testing an in depth application of the model in the context of the Mentawai Islands. The application of the CBT model proved effective at assessing the local community's participation in multiple study villages that were in different stages of tourism development. This fills a gap in the models utility as Okazaki (2008, p. 527) concluded that it had only been applied to single villages of a study region at an early phase of tourism development.

Another area of contribution to the application of the CBT model (Okazaki, 2008), is that the position of the study villages is based on the perceptions of not just the local communities themselves but multiple stakeholder groups including: surf tourists, government, surf operators, journalists and NGO employees. Many of the non-community stakeholders perceptions of community participation are primarily made up from their experiences travelling in developed countries therefore may not be realistic for developing world destinations such as the Mentawai Islands. To assist in reducing any biases the researcher incorporated additional research techniques such as personal observations, photography and informal discussions (instead of relying on just interviews alone in the case of Okazaki (2008)) which helped to more accurately represent the four study communities' level of participation in the surf tourism industry.

The research makes several practical contributions to the literature on sustainable livelihoods (SL) for tourism (Shen et al., 2005). Utilising multiple data sources in conjunction with the SL model (as opposed to using the SL model alone which normally relies on one data source), enabled a deeper understanding of the effects that tourism initiatives have had on the communities and their livelihoods. The study highlighted the SL model's strengths in identifying the vulnerability of the Mentawai surf tourism industry at both local and global levels. The externally the Mentawai Islands are vulnerable to the surf seasons, political instability, natural disasters and global financial trends. The internal vulnerability context is even more significant, with a range of events threatening community livelihoods: ineffective regional tourism policies, cultural commodification, unequal profit distribution and tropical disease.

Distinct contributions are also made to the growing literature on the value of exploring multiple stakeholder collaboration in sustainable tourism development (Aref, 2011; Kannapa, 2011; Nault & Stapleton, 2011). This study showed that collaborative theories designed for non-tourism sectors (Huxham and Vangen, 2005; Devine, Boyle and Boyd, 2011) could be applied to tourism in the Mentawai setting. The major contribution to stakeholder collaboration theory was that it not only provided insights into how different stakeholders perceived development, but also took the analysis to a deeper level and found common ground upon which stakeholders could collaborate and exchange information to develop a way forward. Specifically the findings emphasised that stakeholder groups wanted to derive more benefits from the surf tourism industry but were not prepared to take on the associated costs without some direct input into the development process. Therefore, a yield-driven strategy would best fit the needs of all stakeholders and would create more sustainable outcomes.

8.4 Dissemination of Findings

Academics who have conducted research in less economically developed regions often overlook the concept of reciprocity – failing to distribute results and feedback to study participants (Stewart & Draper, 2009, p. 132); this should be a fundamental part of the research process. Stewart, Jacobson and Draper (2008, p. 363) and Stewart and Draper (2009, pp. 132–139) outline a number of feedback mechanisms including mailing short

written reports back to participants, setting up a poster in the community detailing the initial findings, and creating an interactive weblogs for wider community access.

Many feedback methods are not feasible in the context of this doctoral study, and therefore it was determined that the most appropriate method for disseminating findings would be a brief 10-page report in English, Indonesian and Mentawai. This report will focus on how the host population can diversify their tourism product, become more involved in the tourism visioning and co-management processes, and create stakeholder forums to improve communication with other groups. The Mentawai Tourism Department and SurfAid have both offered to assist in the interpretation and distribution of findings to community leaders in each of the study villages, charter boat operators, resort operators, and to employees of NGOs and Mentawai government departments. There is, however, no guarantee that this will eventuate due to the considerable costs involved in the translation, production and dissemination of the final reports.

Some industry stakeholders indicated they would like to see the research findings online; this would also allow managers and developers from other surf destinations to learn from the findings. Therefore, a viable option would be to have the study findings posted by the New Zealand Tourism Research Institute on their website www.nztri.co.nz.

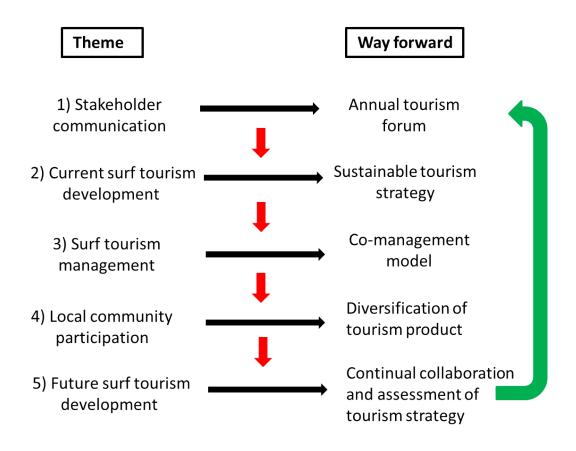
8.5 Summary and Future Research Agenda

This doctoral thesis has illustrated the complex challenges that stakeholders face in attempting to enhance the sustainability of surf tourism development in the Mentawai Islands. Despite the many obstacles facing various sectors of the industry, one central cross-cutting theme that should be noted: all stakeholders showed enthusiasm to work together to ensure the Mentawai Islands became a more sustainable destination. One suggestion stemming from this contribution is a way forward can be developed through stakeholders finding common ground after collaborating and exchanging information. The previous chapter clearly showed that stakeholders had divergent views of what a sustainable surf tourism industry Mentawai should look like; for example, surfers desired uncrowded clean waves while local community wanted more money from tourism.

Figure 8.1 displays potential future directions for sustainable development of the surf tourism industry in the Mentawai Islands. The directions have been generated through a deeper analysis of each of the cross-cutting themes discussed throughout the conclusions chapter. The model helps to stimulate thinking at this final stage in the research process and shows how the various elements relate to the overall contributions of the thesis (see chapter eight). The proposed way forward is a systematic process, requiring each stage to be completed before moving on to the next. The model has five stages: tourism forum; sustainable tourism strategy; comanagement model; diversification of tourism product and continual collaboration and assessment of tourism strategy.

The first stage outlined in the model (Figure 8.1) is the implementation of an annual tourism forum where relevant stakeholders can convey their viewpoints regarding surf tourism development on an equal platform. Staging the forums in a mutual setting with third-party facilitation would help previously marginalised stakeholders to feel more comfortable about openly discussing their concerns regarding tourism development. Forums conducted in this fashion would act as a vehicle for opening communication channels, helping to reconcile historical distrust and foster improved relationships between groups. The forums will provide direction for a sustainable tourism strategy, highlighting the common ground between stakeholders.

Figure 8.1: The way forward



It is recommended that future studies examine the feasibility of implementing ways for stakeholders to communicate effectively with each other and the practicalities of developing productive 'tourism forums' that include all relevant stakeholders. These tourism forums would provide an appropriate platform for stakeholders to establish common ground and develop the most suitable way forward for their industry. It is vital that research now be focused on the mechanisms that could facilitate such forums. This thesis has pointed to a range of constraints from geographic isolation and transportation through to corruption and lack of trust that will be challenging to overcome – but has also highlighted important common points of agreement and interest that can be explored and developed further. Questions that need to be answered include: How might these forums be operationalised? Who would drive them? How would they be funded?

Another important dimension of this research that requires further attention is the idea of what a "genuine" experience means to both tourists and the local community in the context of the Mentawai Islands. The results showed that a proportion of surf tourists wanted more meaningful interactions with the host community than could be offered through just buying handicrafts or meeting locals in the surf. By diversifying their tourism product into other areas such as cooking local food or giving cultural

talks, indigenous Mentawai communities could offer surfers genuine host–guest interactions, leading to richer tourism experiences. This in turn opens up the door for higher yield visitors and could form the basis of a strategy that focuses on yield per visitor rather than simply increasing the numbers of surf tourists.

Diversifying the tourism product beyond surf tourism into other sectors is an area that requires further research. Cultural tourism, trekking tourism, homestay tourism, nature-based tourism, ecotourism and volunteerism are all possible tourism products that could be offered in the Mentawai Islands. Diversification into other forms of tourism allows quantitative tourism growth without direct impacts on the quality of the surfing experience and would help combat the extreme seasonality inherent in the Mentawai surf tourism industry.

The Mentawai Islands have reached a threshold where carrying capacities are threatening to be exceeded and negative impacts are starting to occur, there is a real urgency to implement more effective management practices. As one respondent noted, "this may be the Mentawais' final chance to develop a sustainable industry." The limitations of sustainable tourism management in the Mentawai Islands are rooted deep in Indonesian culture. Indonesians' pervasive drive to extract economic benefit is focused on short-term gains without sufficient regard for the longer-term consequences of development. This practice on the part of the Indonesian people (Gellert, 2010) has had negative environmental and socio-cultural impacts in the Mentawai Islands, a theme that has emerged from research undertaken in other regions of Indonesia (Cole, 2006). This thesis has provided detailed data on key stakeholder groups and their attitudes that will help the Mentawai surf tourism industry to move forward and be managed more sustainably, providing real benefits for the Mentawai people, improving visitor experiences, and assisting tourism managers and government to plan and regulate development of the industry.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Confidentiality Agreement



Confidentiality Agreement

Research Supervisor: Dr Simon Milne
Researcher: Nicholas Towner

O I understand that all the material I will be asked to transcribe/type is confidential.
O I understand that the contents of the notes or recordings can only be discussed with the researchers.
O I will not keep any copies of the transcripts nor allow third parties access to them while.
Transcriber's signature:
Transcriber's name:
Transcriber's Contact Details (if appropriate):

Project title: Surf tourism development in the Mentawai Islands: A multiple stakeholder analysis.

Date:Researchers Supervisor's Contact Details:

Dr Simon Milne. Ph +64 9 921 9245 or email simon.milne@aut.ac.nz

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on dd/mm/yy AUTEC Reference number

Note: The Transcriber should retain a copy of this form.



Date Information Sheet Produced:

dd mmmm yyyy

Project Title

Surf tourism development in the Mentawai Islands: A multiple stakeholder analysis

An Invitation

As a local Mentawai community member you are invited by the researcher Nicholas Towner to be part of doctoral research into the Mentawai Surf Industry. Participation is entirely voluntary and you will in no way be disadvantaged should you choose not to take part. This study aims to deepen our understanding of surf tourism development in the Mentawai Islands. The discussion will take approximately 60 minutes to complete.

What is the purpose of this research?

This doctoral study investigates surf tourism development in the Mentawai Islands. The research will give a better understanding of the economic, environmental and social impacts that the surf tourism industry has on the Mentawai Islands. It will provide valuable information to policymakers, tourism developers and tourism industry stakeholders so that they will be more conscious of the factors that influence surf tourism development.

How was I identified and why am I being invited to participate in this research?

Your community has been identified as a key local community in the Mentawai Surf Industry by the researcher, SurfAid and previous studies investigating surf tourism. We are inviting up to 10 key individuals from your community to take part in the interviews.

What will happen in this research?

This study involves interviews with key stakeholders in the Mentawai Surf Tourism Industry. It will focus on gaining a better understanding of the perceptions held by key stakeholders in the Mentawai Surf Tourism Industry. The interview will be conducted as an unstructured and informal discussion. Your contribution to this study is valuable as it will help give a broader picture of the views of current key stakeholders within the Mentawai Surf Tourism Industry.

What are the discomforts and risks?

You may feel uncomfortable telling us about problems or challenges that have faced your community. You may be concerned that you or the community you are involved with may be able to be identified as a result of the research.

How will these discomforts and risks be alleviated?

All questions are optional, and you may choose not to answer some questions. All answers are confidential and your answers cannot be linked to you personally or your community. Your responses are confidential and will be stored anonymously in a database.

What are the benefits?

The research will help provide the Mentawai surf tourism industry with a clearer picture of the issues and challenges which face the different stakeholders. The findings and related research resources will be available to organisations within the tourism sector and key stakeholders involved.

How will my privacy be protected?

Your details will be confidential and not distributed to anyone other than the researcher. The results will be presented in aggregate and no individuals will be identified in any of the publications relating to this research. There is the possibility that participants may be identified given the small and intimate nature of the surf tourism community in the Mentawai Islands and nature of the participants.

What are the costs of participating in this research?

There is no cost to participate in the research apart from approximately one hour of your time.

What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation?

We will contact you to invite you to participate in the interview, and if you agree, we will arrange a convenient time for the interview. You will have time to consider the invitation before accepting. The interview will be recorded but only with your written permission.

How do I agree to participate in this research?

To participate in this research, simply confirm an appointment time when we contact you. The researcher will ask you to sign a Consent Form (copy attached) that gives us your written consent to participate in the interview.

Will I receive feedback on the results of this research?

An executive summary will be sent to your community and the results of this research will also be available on www.nztri.org in mid-2012.

What do I do if I have concerns about this research?

Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Project Supervisor, Simon Milne, <u>simon.milne@aut.ac.nz</u>, phone +64 9 921 9245.

Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary, AUTEC, Madeline Banda, *madeline.banda@aut.ac.nz*, 921 9999 ext 8044.

Whom do I contact for further information about this research?

Researcher Contact Details:

Nicholas Towner, email: ntowner@aut.ac.nz, phone +6421802024

Project Supervisor Contact Details:

Simon Milne, simon.milne@aut.ac.nz, phone +64 9 921 9245.

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 25/05/2010, AUTEC Reference number 10/92.

Appendix C: Participant Information Sheet – Indonesian Version

Selebaran Informasi Peserta



Tanggal produksi selebaran informasi:

28/5/2010

Judul Skripsi

Pengembangan pariwisata surfing (berselancar) di Kepulauan Mentawai: Analisa para pihak

Undangan untuk berpartisipasi

Sebagai anggota masyarakat Mentawai anda diharapkan untuk berpartisipasi dalam penelitian studi S-3 untuk industry surfing Mentawai. Partisipasi anda sepenuhnya atas azas sukarela dan anda tidak akan dirugikan jika tidak berkenan untuk ikut ambil bagian dalam penelitian ini. Sasaran dalam penelitian ini adalah untuk memperdahlam pemahaman pengembangan pariwisata surfing di kepulauan Mentawai. Diskusi ini diperkirakan memakan waktu 60 menit.

Apa tujuan dari penelitian ini?

Penelitian S-3 meneliti pengembangan pariwisata surfing di kepulauan Mentawai. Penelitian ini akan memberikan pemahaman tentang dampak ekonomi, lingkungan, dan social industri pariwisata surfing di kepulauan Mentawai, dan menyediakan informasi penting untuk pengambil kebijakan, pelaku pariwisata dan pihak terkait lainnya agar mereka lebih menyadari berbagai faktor yang berpengaruh pada pengembangan pariwisata surfing.

Bagaimana dan kenapa saya di pilih untuk berpartisipasi dalam penelitian ini?

Anda dianggap sebagai nara sumber yang layak sebagai anggota masyarakat kunci untuk industry surfing di Mentawai oleh peneliti studi ini, SurfAid dan penelitian sebelumnya yang berhubungan dengan pariwisata surfing. kami mengundang sampai dengan 10 anggota kunci di komunitas anda untuk turut serta dalam wawancara.

Apa yang akan terjadi dalam penelitian ini?

Penelitian ini melibatkan wawancara dengan pelaku kunci dalam pariwisata industri surfing di Mentawai, dan akan berfokuskan pada pemahaman persepsi

dari para pihak kunci untuk industry pariwisata surfing di Mentawai. Wawancara ini tidak terstruktur dan merupakan diskusi tidak formal. Kontribusi anda dalam penelitian ini sangat berarti dan memberikan gambaran yang luas tentang pandangan mengenai para pihak di industri pariwisata surfing Mentawai.

Apa saja resiko dan ketidaknyamanan dalam apabila saya berpartisipasi?

Anda mungkin saja merasa tidak nyaman memberitahu tentang berbagai masalah atau tantangan yang ada dilingkungan masyarakat anda. Anda atau kelompok masyarakat anda mungkin merasa khawatir akan dikenali sebagai hasil penelitian ini.

Bagaimana ketidaknyaman dan resiko – resiko ini dapat ditangani?

Semua pertanyaan adalah optional, yang artinya anda tidak harus menjawab beberapa pertanyaan apbila anda tidak merasa nyaman. Semua jawaban anda dijamin kerahasiaannya dan akan disimpan dalam suatu database yang aman.

Apa saja manfaatnya?

Penelitian ini akan membantu industry surfing di Mentawai untuk mendapatkan gambaran yang lebih jelas mengenai semua isu dan tantangan yang dihadapi berbagai parapihak. Temuan dan berbagai macam sumber penting yang terkait dengan penelitian akan di umumkan kepada berbagai organisasi pariwisata dan para pihak kunci yang terkait.

Bagaimana kerahasiaan saya akan terjaga?

Semua detail anda and dijamin kerahasiaannya dan tidak akan dibagikan lagi kepada peneliti yang lain. Hasil dari anda akan ditayangkan secara gabungan dan tidak akan ada individu yang akan diidentifikasi dalam publikasi yang terkait dengan penelitian ini.

Berapa biaya yang dibutuhkan seseorang untuk berparisipasi dalam penelitian ini ?

tidak ada biaya bagi anda untuk turut berpartisipasi dalam penelitian ini kecuali mungkin waktu anda yang dibutuhkan sekitar satu jam.

Bagaimana saya untuk dapat berpartisipasi dalam penelitian ini

Untuk berpartisipasi dalam penelitian ini, silahkan mengkonfirmasi janji pertemuan ketika kami menghubungi anda. Peneliti akan menanyakan anda untuk menandatangani formulir persetujuan (seperti yang terlampir) untuk mendapatkan persetujuan tertulis anda untuk diwawancara.

Apakah saya akan mendapatkan masukan tentang hasil dari penelitian ini?

Sebuah ringkasan eksekutif akan dikirim ke pada anda atau kelompok masyarakat ditempat anda dan hasil penelitian akan ditampilkan di www.nztri.org pada pertengahan2012.

Apabila saya mempunyai keraguan tentang penelitian ini?

Keraguan apa saja untuk penelitian ini diharapkan dapat segera member tahu Project Supervisor, Simon Milne, simon.milne @aut.ac.nz, telp +64 9 921 9245.

keraguan mengenai pelaksanaan penelitian untuk segera di laporkan kepada Executive Secretary, AUTEC, Madeline Banda, *madeline.banda@aut.ac.nz*, 921 9999 ext 8044.

Siapa yang saya hubungi lebih jauh mengenai penelitian ini?

Kontak lengkap peneliti

Nicholas Towner, email: ntowner@aut.ac.nz, phone +6421802024

Project Supervisor Contact Details:

Simon Milne, simon.milne@aut.ac.nz, phone +64 9 921 9245.

Disetujui oleh Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee pada 28/5/2010, AUTEC Reference number 10/92.

Appendix D: Consent Form - English Version

Consent Form

Project title: Surf tourism development in the Mentawai Islands: A multiple stakeholder analysis.

Dr Simon Milne

Research Supervisor:

Participant's signature:

.....

Participant's name:

Date:



Researcher: Nicholas Towner 0 I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated. 0 I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered. 0 I understand that notes will be taken during the interviews and that they will also be audiotaped and transcribed. 0 I understand that I may withdraw myself or any information that I have provided for this project at any time prior to completion of data collection, without being disadvantaged in any 0 If I withdraw, I understand that all relevant information including tapes and transcripts, or parts thereof, will be destroyed. 0 I agree to take part in this research. 0 I wish to receive a copy of the summary from the research (please tick one): YesO NoO

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on AUTEC Reference number

Participant's Organisation:

.....

.....

Note: The Participant should retain a copy of this form.

Appendix E: Consent Form - Indonesian Version

Formulir Kesepakatan



Judul Penelitian: Pengembangan Pariwisata Surfing di Kepulauan Mentawai: A multiple stakeholder analysis.

Supervis	or Penelitian:	Dr Simon Milne						
Peneliti:		Nicholas Towner						
0	•	ca dan memahami informasi yang tersedia mengenai proyek penelitian pada si (Information Sheet dated).						
0	Saya telah mendap	atkan kesempatan untuk bertanya dan mendapatkan jawabannya.						
0	•	ahwa catatan akan dibuat selama wawancara dan juga ada rekaman audio linan dari wawancara ini.						
0	berikan untuk proy	ahwa saya dapat berhenti atau menarik kembali semua informasi yang saya yek penelitian ini pada waktu kapan saja sebelum berakhirnya masa , tanpa dirugikan dengan cara apapun.						
0	•	rik diri, Saya memahami bahwa semua informasi terkait termasuk rekaman u bagian daripadanya, akan dihancurkan.						
0	Saya setuju untuk t	turut ambil bagian dari penelitian ini.						
0	Saya mengharapka TidakO	n mendapatkan kopi dari rangkuman penelitian ini (Silahkan pilih): YaO						
Tanda ta	angan peserta: .							
Nama p	eserta:							
Organisa	asi peserta:							
Tanggal	Tanggal:							
Diizinka number		niversity of Technology Ethics Committee on 28/5/2010 AUTEC Reference						

Catatan: Peserta agar menyimpan kopi formulir ini.

Appendix F: Indicative Discussion Guide for Interviews with Industry Stakeholders





Surf tourism development in the Mentawai Islands: A multiple stakeholder analysis.

Indicative discussion guide for interviews with operators, government, NGO's and industry experts.

Interview time approximately 1 hour

Mentawai Surf Industry Background

10 Minutes

Can you please tell me a little bit about your history in the Mentawais?

What were you doing previous to coming to the Mentawais?

What does surf tourism mean to you?

Is this a term you use?

What is your association with the Mentawai surf tourism industry?

When did you first become involved?

What influenced you to become involved?

Over this initial period where there any significant events that come to mind?

What does sustainable tourism development mean to you?

Is this a term you use?

Surf Tourism Development

30 Minutes

How do you feel surf tourism has developed in the Mentawais?

In your opinion has the Mentawai Surf industry developed in a sustainable manner?

Do you think that the industry has reached a threshold where negative impacts are starting to occur?

Are you aware of the Mentawai Marine Tourism Association?

Are you aware of the role of the Mentawai Marine Tourism Association?

Do you believe that the Mentawai Marine Tourism Association has provided sufficient protection of the Mentawai surfing resources?

What aspects of the current management system would you like to see changed?

What would you identify as the main positive impacts caused by surf tourism in the Mentawais?

o Cultural/Social

eg. Better health/living standards

o Environmental

eg. Waste-management systems/recycling

o **Economic**

eg. Increased employment and income

What would you identify as the main negative impacts caused by surf tourism in the Mentawais?

o Cultural/Social eg. Change of traditional values

Environmental eg. Increased pollution

Economic eg. Pressure on traditional resources

Any thoughts on what needs to be changed in order to reduce the negative impacts?

Surf Tourism Stakeholders

15 Minutes

Do you believe that all stakeholders are equally represented in the Mentawai Surf Tourism Industry?

Ownership of industry

Participation

The way that they influence development

Do you have regular consultation with other stakeholders?

Are you involved in the regional tourism planning process?

What are the major challenges faced by stakeholders?

- Operators
- o Government
- o Community

0

What is the nature of your involvement with the local community?

Do you have regular consultation or is it informal and irregular?

Do you involve community in the tourism decision-making and planning process?

What do you think could be done to increase local community participation in the industry?

How do you think the lives of local people have changed in Katiet/ Silabu Village?

Future Outlook 5 Minutes

How would you like to see the industry develop over the next 5 years?

Where do you think the industry will be at in 10 years?

Thank you very much for contributing your time to this research which will greatly assist the development of the Mentawai Surf Tourism Industry.

Appendix G: Online Questionnaire for Surf Tourists

Surf tourism development in the Mentawai Islands: A multiple stakeholder analysis

SURFERS WEB-SURVEY

Information for participants –28/05/2010

This is your chance to be part of research into the Mentawai Surf Industry. As a surfer who has recently visited the Mentawai Islands in 2010 you are invited to be part of research that aims to deepen our knowledge of surf tourism development in the Mentawai Islands. This research will result in a better understanding of the economic, environmental and social impacts that the surf tourism industry has on the Mentawai Islands. The findings will provide valuable information so that policymakers, tourism developers and tourism industry stakeholders will be more conscious of the factors that influence surf tourism development. The survey will take approximately 15 minutes to complete.

Participation is entirely voluntary and you will in no way be disadvantaged should you choose not to take part. To participate in this research, simply click on the www.nztri.org/surftourismresearch/ button below. The survey asks a number of questions where you simply use your mouse to click on your answer from a selection given. Some questions ask you to type your comments in your own words into the box provided. All questions are optional. The survey will run until Friday 17 December 2010. You may complete the survey at any point during this time. All answers are confidential and your answers can in no way be linked to your personal details. By taking the survey you are giving consent to be part of this research.

www.nztri.org/surftourismresearch/

Thank you for your participation.

Results of this research may be used in journal and conference publications. The results of this research will also be available on www.nztri.org in early-2012.

For further information about this research contact:

Researcher: Nicholas Towner, email: ntowner@aut.ac.nz, phone +6421802024

What do I do if I have concerns about this research?

Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Project Supervisor, Simon Milne, simon.milne@aut.ac.nz, phone +64 9 921 9245.

Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary, AUTEC, Madeline Banda, <u>madeline.banda@aut.ac.nz</u>, phone +64 9 921 9999 ext 8044.

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 28/05/2010, AUTEC Reference number 10/92

Surf Tourist Questionnaire

tilis your first	visit to the Mentawai Islands?
0	Yes
0	No
ow many night	ts did you spend in the Mentawai Islands?nights
Vhat the main t	type of accommodation you stayed in? (tick one)
0	Surf Resort
0	Surf Charter Boat
	Local Home stay
	Local Boat
0	Other accommodation (please specify)
n this trip to th	ne Mentawai Islands you travelled: (tick one)
0	By myself
0	With friends
0	With partner/spouse
	With children
	With other family members
0	Other (please specify)
	ne three most important things that motivated you to come to the
Mentawai Isla	ınds:
	23

What was the main source of information initially led you think of going to the Mentawai Islands? (*Please tick one*)

- Word of mouth/personal recommendation
- o Been before

why it is so important to you:

0	Travel Agent Magazine DVD's Internet				
Please list thre Mentawai Isla			ribed your fee	lings about surf tra	avel to the
Please list thre Mentawai Isla			lescribe your t	feelings about surf	travel to the
Have you visite	ed other surf	destinatio	ns away from	your home countr	y?
	Yes No				
				her surf destinatio periences in the M	-
1	2	3	4	5	
Very Poor					Excellent
Expenditure					
Did you travel to	the Mentawa	ai Islands d	on a prepaid p	ackage?	
_	Yes No				
If yes, what did t	he package ir	nclude? <i>(pl</i>	ease tick as m	any as apply)	
	Flights -Inter				
	Accommoda Meals Transfers Mentawai Su Other (pleas	ırf Tax)		
What was the	total cost US	\$ of your t	ravel package	to Mentawai Islan	ds?
How did you boo	ok your packa	ge?			

Excluding money paid on packages please estimate your **total local expenditure in** during your time (us\$) in the Mentawai Islands:

Local Transport	
Local Accommodation	
Food/Supplies	
Handicrafts	
Alcohol	
ctivities	
ecreation/ Entertainment	
ther expenditure(please specify	
)	

Mentawai surf tourism development

What does sustainable travel mean to you?

Are you a sustainable traveller?

- o Yes
- o No

What do you think the positive impacts of your travel to the Mentawai Islands were?

Do you think your travel to the Mentawai Islands created any negative impacts? Please indicate your agreement with the following statements:

	Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree	Unsure
The Mentawai islands are a								
sustainable Surf Tourism								
destination.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
The Mentawai islands are								
clean and well managed.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
The Mentawai Islands are								
overcrowded with surfers.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
There is a large amount of								
information available on the								
surfing in the Mentawai								
Islands.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
The surf tourism industry in								
the Mentawai Islands is locally								
owned.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Charter boat operators								
receive the most benefit from								
Mentawai surf tourism								
industry.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

Local community have limited								
involvement in the Mentawai								
surf tourism industry.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
There is a large amount of								
interaction between surfers								
and local community in the								
Mentawai Islands.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
The Mentawai Marine								
Tourism Association provides								
adequate protection and								
satisfactory management of								
the Mentawai surfing								
resources.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
The Mentawai surf Tax of US								
\$5 per day is a good way to								
offset the negative impacts of								
surf travel to the Mentawai								
Islands.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
In 10 years the Mentawai								
Islands will be an unspoilt								
beautiful surf destination.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

How do you believe the surf tourism industry in the Mentawai Islands could be better managed?

Tourism Stakeholders

While on your surf trip to the Mentawai Islands how much involvement did you have with the following stakeholder groups:

								Unsure
	Little						Lots of	
	Involvement						Involvement	
Surf Resort operators	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Surf Charter boat operators	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Local operators	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Non-Government	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

Organisations								
Local government	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Local community	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Surf Tourists	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

	Surf Tourists	1	2	3	4	5	6	7			
,	While in the Mentawai Islands did you interact with the indigenous communities that were in close proximity to the surf breaks?										
	YesNo										
If	If yes, please describe the nature of the interactions										
	Would you have been interested in having a greater opportunity to interact with indigenous community?										
	o Yes o No										
If	If yes, how could you of had a greater opportunity to interact with indigenous communities?										
	Overall how would you rat learn about their way of life	-	to me	et with	n indig	genous	s Men	tawai people a	ınd		
	1 2	3	4			5					
]		- 🗆		
	Very Poor						Exc	ellent			
F	uture outlook										
٧	Will you return to the Mentawai Islands?										
	o Yes										
	o No										
٧	Vhat is your reason?										

How would you like to see surf tourism develop in the Mentawai Islands over the next decade?

About You

What is your gend	er? (tick <u>one</u> only)
-------------------	----------------------------

- o Female
- o Male

Which age group do you fit into? (tick one only)

- o 20 years or younger
- 0 21-30
- 0 31-40
- 0 41-50
- 0 51-60
- 0 61-70
- 0 70+

In which country do you live? (Please specify)

Which of the following groups most accurately describes your income in US\$? (tick <u>one</u> only)

- o \$20,000 or under
- o \$21,001 \$40,000
- 0 \$40,001 \$60,000
- o \$60,001 \$80,000
- o \$80,001 \$100,000
- o \$100,001 \$150,000
- o \$150,001 \$200,000
- o \$200,001+

Please indicate your highest level of education completed (tick one only):

- High School
- o Some university credit but no degree
- o Bachelor's Degree (e.g. BA, BSc)
- o Master's Degree (e.g. MA MS, MEd)
- o Professional Degree (e.g. MD, LLB, DDS)
- o Doctorate Degree (e.g. EdD, PhD)
- o Other (please list):_____

How would you describe your level of surfing? (tick one only)

- Learner/ Beginner
- o Cruiser

- o Intermediate
- o Advanced
- o Professional

How many years have you been surfing for? (Please specify)

Additional Comments

Thank you for participating! If you would like to be sent the link to read the full report once the research has been completed, please fill in your name and contact email address.

Remember, these details are in no way linked to your survey answers, are confidential, and will not be used for any other purpose.

Appendix H: Indicative Discussion Guide for Interviews with Local Community Members





Surf tourism development in the Mentawai Islands: A multiple stakeholder analysis.

Indicative discussion guide for interviews with local community members.

Interview time approximately 1 hour

Community Background

10 Minutes

Can you please tell me a little bit about your community's history in the Mentawais?

What does surf tourism mean to you?

Is this a term you use?

What is your community's association with the surf tourism industry?

When did your community first become involved?

What influenced your community to become involved?

During this early period, where there any significant events that come to mind?

Surf Tourism Development

30 Minutes

How would you describe a tourist?

How has surf tourism changed everyday life in your community?

What would you identify as the main benefits that your community receives from surf tourism?

What would you identify as the main challenges that your community faces from surf tourism?

What does the word 'sustainable' mean to you?

Do you believe the Mentawai Surf industry has developed in a sustainable manner?

In your opinion are there too many surf tourists travelling to the Mentawais?

Has there been enough government management and planning?

What would you like to see changed in the way the surf tourism industry is developing?

Surf Tourism Stakeholders

15 Minutes

What level of participation does your community have in the surf industry?

Do you have regular consultation with other stakeholders?

Is your community involved in the tourism planning process?

What do you think could be done to increase your community's participation in the industry?

Future Outlook

5

Minutes

How would you like to see the surf tourism industry in the Mentawais develop over the next decade?

What position do you think your community will be at in 10 years?

Thank you very much for contributing your time to this research which will greatly assist the development of the Mentawai Surf Tourism Industry.



MEMORANDUM

Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC)

To: Simon Milne

From: Madeline Banda Executive Secretary, AUTEC

Date: 28 May 2010

Subject: Ethics Application Number 10/92 Surf tourism development in the Mentawia Islands: A

multiple stakeholder analysis.

Dear Simon

Thank you for providing written evidence as requested. I am pleased to advise that it satisfies the points raised by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC) at their meeting on 10 May 2010 and that I have approved your ethics application. This delegated approval is made in accordance with section 5.3.2.3 of AUTEC's Applying for Ethics Approval: Guidelines and Procedures and is subject to endorsement at AUTEC's meeting on 14 June 2010.

Your ethics application is approved for a period of three years until 28 May 2013.

I advise that as part of the ethics approval process, you are required to submit the following to AUTEC:

- A brief annual progress report using form EA2, which is available online through
 <u>http://www.aut.ac.nz/research/research-ethics</u>. When necessary this form may also be used to
 request an extension of the approval at least one month prior to its expiry on 28 May 2013;
- A brief report on the status of the project using form EA3, which is available online through
 <u>http://www.aut.ac.nz/research/research-ethics</u>

 This report is to be submitted either when the
 approval expires on 28 May 2013 or on completion of the project, whichever comes sooner;

It is a condition of approval that AUTEC is notified of any adverse events or if the research does not commence. AUTEC approval needs to be sought for any alteration to the research, including any alteration of or addition to any documents that are provided to participants. You are reminded that, as applicant, you are responsible for ensuring that research undertaken under this approval occurs within the parameters outlined in the approved application.

Please note that AUTEC grants ethical approval only. If you require management approval from an institution or organisation for your research, then you will need to make the arrangements necessary to obtain this. Also, if your research is undertaken within a jurisdiction outside New Zealand, you will need to make the arrangements necessary to meet the legal and ethical requirements that apply within that jurisdiction.

When communicating with us about this application, we ask that you use the application number and study title to enable us to provide you with prompt service. Should you have any further enquiries regarding this matter, you are welcome to contact Charles Grinter, Ethics Coordinator, by email at ethics@aut.ac.nz or by telephone on 921 9999 at extension 8860.

On behalf of the AUTEC and myself, I wish you success with your research and look forward to reading about it in your reports.

Yours sincerely

Madeline Banda

Executive Secretary

Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee

Cc: Nicholas Towner ntowner@aut.ac.nz

Appendix J - Researcher Safety Protocol

Researcher Safety

To ensure that the researcher remains safe at all times during fieldwork in Indonesia the following measures will take:

- Local Indonesian research counterparts, Dr. Ir Arlius from University of Bung Hatta, Padang and Dr. Budy Wiryawan, Bogor Agricultural University will be aware of the researchers travel plans and interview schedule.
- Local research counterparts or a translator will accompany the researcher on the majority of the stakeholder interviews. In the case that the researcher is not accompanied he will report back to the local research counterpart at the end of the interview.
- The researcher has made a solid network with surf travel operators and government officials in the Mentawai Islands that will be able to assist the researcher if an unforeseen situation arises.
- When visiting local communities, the researcher will ensure he acts in culturally and socially sensitive way, acknowledging that the local community are doing the researchers the favour by agreeing to participate and share their community.
- Lastly the researcher could be exposed to emotional participants due to the passion that exists among surf tourism industry stakeholders in the Mentawais. If this situation arises and researcher feels that external help is required the following action will be taken:
- The researcher (Nicholas Towner) will report the circumstances to the supervisor (Simon Milne).
- If Nicholas Towner deems help is necessary, arrangements will be made for confidential counselling session/s with professional counselling services available to AUT staff members.
- 3. In a worst case scenario the researcher can always leave.

Researcher Health

Maintaining strong health is a major concern for researchers in Indonesia however precautionary measures such as medication and education can nullify serious illness such as malaria. In order to be fully confident that the researcher is fit and healthy, a full medical examination was undertaken (see attached health certificate). The researcher has also seen a travel doctor who specialises in travel to tropical destinations and has received the necessary vaccines and antibiotics. The travel doctor gave detailed instructions on what to do if the researcher was to become ill while conducting research in the field in Indonesia.

Appendix K: Indonesian Research Visa

KEMENTERIAN HUKUM DAN HAM RI DIREKTORAT JENDERAL IMIGRASI JL. HR. Rasuna Said Kav. 8-9 Jakarta Selatan

Jakarta, 19/05/2010

Kepada Yth,

KEMENTERIAN NEGARA RISET DAN TEKNOLOGI SEKRETARIAT PERIZINAN

PENELITI ASING GEDUNG 2 BPPT LT 8 JL MH THAMRIN NO 8 JAKARTA FUSAT

PEMBERITAHUAN

Sehubungan dengan permohonan saudara untuk mendatangkan - warga negara asing dengan nama seperti tersebut dibawah ini :

NO.	NAMA	L/P	KEBANGSAAN	LAMA TINGGAL
	NOMOR PENGUASAAN	TGL LAHIR	NO. PASPOR	NO. FILE
1	TOWNER NICHOLAS DONALD	L	NZL	8 BULAN
	IMI.2.GR.01.06.03.8608CJ.315	19/08/1982	LA132023	IM2JAC09380

.a dengan ini kami beritahukan bahwa permohonan saudara dimaksud telah dikabulkan dengan penguasaan Direktur Jenderal Imigrasi kepada

Perwakilan R.I di

: WELLINGTON

Jenis Visa

: VISA TINGGAL TERBATAS

: 19/05/2010 [anggal

Demikian, agar maklum

AN. KEPADA SUBDIREKTORAT VISA TINGGAL TERBATAS

ZAHLUL SIREGAR, SE NIP. 196103131983031001

- * PERSETUJUAN INI BERLAKU SELAMA 2 (DUA) BULAN SEJAK DITANDATANGANI
- * PEMBERITAHUAN INI BUKAN UNTUK PENGAMBILAN VISA
- * PENGUASAAN VISA DIKIRIM TANGGAL :

24 MAY 2010

Appendix L: Letter of Support from Simon Milne (Research Supervisor)





Letter of Support - 25 March 2010

Nick Towner

It is a great pleasure for me to be able to write a letter of support for Nick Towner. I first met Nick in early 2008 and was immediately impressed by his intellect and keen desire to learn. I agreed to supervise his PhD studies and he has made excellent progress since he commenced the degree in early 2009. Nick is widely read and has a strong knowledge of tourism, community development and the political economy of developing regions/localities. His experiences in living and travelling around the globe have given him a perspective on the world that very few people have at his age.

Nick's intelligence, willingness to grapple with complex concepts and issues, and overall commitment to improving people's lives, will serve him well in his proposed field research in Indonesia His planned research is both timely and innovative and should generate information that will be of value to those that wish to develop, and benefit from, sustainable local livelihoods generated through tourism.

The proposed work will address multiple stakeholder perspectives on the development of surf-tourism and will generate tools, approaches and outcomes that can be applied elsewhere. I feel confident that the proposed research will be completed in a timely manner. Nick's passion for the work is shown by the fact he has already committed both time and money to make a pilot visit to the research site in mid 2009. Nick has also been honing his community research and Indonesian language skills through courses and his work at NZTRI. As you may have gathered by now I think very highly of Nick Towner. I would rank Nick among the top 30% of the 25 or so students I have supervised at the PhD level since 1989 (McGill, Victoria, AUT). I have absolutely no hesitation in recommending Nick Towner to Budy Wiryawan and Bogor University.

Sincerely

Simon Milne (PhD Cambridge)

Professor of Tourism & Director NZTRI Auckland University of Technology

Appendix M: Letter of support from Budy Wiryawan (Indonesian research counterpart)



Bogor Agricultural University
Faculty of Fisheries and Marine Sciences
Department of Marine Fisheries Management and Technology

Gedung Marine Center, Jl. Lingar Akademik Kampus IPB Darmaga, Bogor 16680, Indonesia

Bogor, March 28th, 2010

Invitation

Referring to the Letter of Support for Mr. Nicholas Towner from Prof. Simon Milne, PhD of Aucland University of Technology dated 25 March 2010, I welcome Mr. Nicholas Towner as the PhD research student working in cooperation with our Department in the Faculty of Fisheries and Marine Science, IPB and our counterpart in field Dr. Arlius (Bung Hatta University, Padang, West Sumatera), who will conduct reaearch on the development of Surfing Industry and Marine Tourism in Mentawai, West Sumatera during May- December 2010.

We offer him the opportunity to work on his tasks within the framework of collaboration research as guest researcher with his Indonesian partner. For this research collaboration in Indonesia, the Indonesian counterpart is Dr. Budy Wiryawan, based at the Faculty of Fisheries and Marine Sciences Institut Pertanian Bogor (IPB), and he will work in the field with Dr. Arlius, based in Bung Hatta University in Padang.

Sincerely,

Dr. Budy Wiryawan

Head of Department of Marine Fisheries Management and Technology Faculty of Fisheries and Marine Science.

Appendix N: RISTEK Research Permit



KEMENTERIAN NEGARA RISET DAN TEKNOLOGI SEKRETARIAT PERIZINAN PENELITI ASING

Jl. M.H. Thamrin No. 8, Jakarta 10340 - Gedung 2 BPPT, Lantai 8 Telepon (021) 316-9293 Faksimil (021) 39836180 Homepage: <u>www.ristek.go.id</u> Email: frp@ristek.go.id

SURAT IZIN PENELITIAN

Nomor: 0125/SIP/FRP/SM/VI/2010

Kementerian Riset dan Teknologi dengan ini menerangkan bahwa berdasarkan rapat Tim Koordinasi Pemberian Izin Penelitian Asing (TKPIPA) Nomor : 04 /TKPIPA/FRP/SM/III/2010, tanggal 23 April 2010, telah diberikan izin untuk mengadakan penelitian di Indonesia kepada peneliti berikut :

Nama : **Mr. Nicholas Donald Towner**Tempat dan tanggal lahir : Auckland, 19 – 08 – 1982

Warga Negara : Selandia Baru

Jabatan : M.Sc. Student

Institusi : University of Auckland

Email : ntownwe@ant.ac.nz

Alamat : 10 Glenesk Road, Piha, Auckland 0772, New Zaeland

Nomor Paspor : LA132023

Judul Penelitian : "Surf Tourism and Sustainable Community Development in the South

Pacific Islands"

Tujuan Penelitian : Meneliti dampak sosial, ekoomi dan lingkungan yang terkait dengan

turisme (sufr tourism) pada masyarakat

Bidang Penelitian : Ekologi dan Pariwisata (Ecotourism)

Lama Penelitian : 08 (delapan) bulan, mulai 28 Juni 2010

Daerah Penelitian : Sumbar (Kep. Mentawai)

Mitra Kerja : Fakultas Perikanan dan Ilmu Kelautan IPB (Dr. Budy Wirawan) dan

Universitas Bung Hatta (Dr. Airlius)

dengan ketentuan sebagai berikut :

 Melaporkan kedatangan dan maksi setempat serta instansi pemerinta segera setelah ia tiba ditempat t meninggalkan daerah penelitiannya keamanan dan instansi pemerintah

