

Kontestasi Pemanfaatan Ruang Taman Nasional Komodo: Perspektif Akses dan Eksklusi***Contestation of Spatial Utilisation in Komodo National Park: Access and Exclusion Perspectives***Nur Hannah Muthohharoh^{1,*}, Endriatmo Soetarto², Soeryo Adiwibowo²¹ Program Studi Sosiologi Pedesaan IPB, Bogor 16680, Indonesia² Dosen di Departemen Sains Komunikasi dan Pengembangan Masyarakat IPB, Bogor 16680, Indonesia*E-mail korespondensi: nur_hannahm@apps.ipb.ac.id

Received: April 29, 2021 | Revised: September 29, 2021 | Accepted: October 1, 2021 | Online publication: October 2, 2021

ABSTRACT

The idea of biodiversity conservation emerged to overcome the ecological crisis. However, its implementation has created various social impacts such as alienation, conflict, and poverty. There is a political relationship between humans and nature, one of which is about access to resources or space. This study aims to analyze who can get access or exclusion, and through what mechanisms they access or exclude space in Komodo National Park (KNP). Qualitative methods with the case study strategy are applied. The results are as follows: Firstly, different actors emerge due to shifting conservation governance from the ecological-based conservation (EBC) perspective to the market-based conservation (MBC). Secondly, as an implication, a new bundle of power with different actors emerged in each type of conservation period. During the EBC period, the unbalanced power occurred between local people on the one hand and the KNP office and conservation NGO on the other hand. Juridical power becomes the source of the power of the latter. Meanwhile, during the MBC period, market and juridical power are power sources. Thirdly, both the EBC and the MBC periods led the way to the exclusion of the local people.

Kata kunci: Access, Biodiversity Conservation, Exclusion, Power, Komodo National Park**ABSTRAK**

Ide konservasi keanekaragaman hayati muncul untuk mengatasi krisis ekologi. Namun, implementasinya tidak terlepas dari berbagai dampak sosial seperti alienasi masyarakat, konflik, dan kemiskinan. Dalam pengelolaan konservasi terdapat hubungan antara manusia dan alam yang bersifat politis, salah satunya mengenai akses terhadap sumber daya atau ruang. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis siapa yang mendapat akses atau mengalami eksklusi dan melalui mekanisme apa mereka mendapatkan akses atau mengalami eksklusi dari ruang Taman Nasional Komodo (KNP). Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan strategi studi kasus. Hasil penelitian ini adalah sebagai berikut: Pertama, pengelolaan konservasi yang semula berbasis ekologi (ecological-based conservation/EBC) bergeser menjadi berbasis pasar (market-based conservation/MBC) mengakibatkan adanya perubahan aktor. Kedua, sebagai implikasinya, terdapat sekumpulan kekuasaan baru, dimana setiap aktor dengan sekumpulan kekuasaan yang berbeda muncul pada setiap tipe periode konservasi. Pada periode EBC, terjadi ketimpangan kekuasaan antara masyarakat lokal di satu sisi, dengan pengelola KNP dan LSM konservasi di sisi lainnya. Aspek yuridis menjadi sumber kekuasaan yang terakhir. Sementara pada periode MBC, sumber kekuasaan berupa pasar dan yuridis. Ketiga, baik pada periode EBC maupun MBC, terdapat kekuatan yang mengakibatkan eksklusi terhadap masyarakat lokal.

Kata kunci: Akses, Kekuasaan, Konservasi Kehati, Eksklusi, Taman Nasional Komodo

Content from this work may be used under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International. Any further distribution of this work must maintain attribution to the author(s) and the title of the work, journal citation and DOI.

Published under Department of Communication and Community Development Science, IPB University and in association with Ikatan Sosiologi Indonesia

E-ISSN: 2302-7525 | P-ISSN: 2302-7157

INTRODUCTION

The conservation agenda was first introduced in *The World Conservation Strategy* in 1980 to respond to the ecological crisis (IUCN, 1980; McCormick, 1986). However, conservation practices have created problems such as people's alienation (Cinner & Aswani, 2007), conflict with society (Carranza et al., 2020; Hauzer, Dearden, & Murray, 2013), and caused new poverty in society (Adams, 2004). Social impacts of conservation implementation happen due to the gap between science discipline (Adams & Hutton, 2007). Initially the ideas of conservation were more influenced by natural scientists (Kareiva & Marvier, 2012). Meanwhile, social scientists more often criticize the failure of conservation governance dominated by the natural science (Vaccaro, Beltran, & Paquet, 2013). Political ecology then developed the understanding of the political dimension of conservation (Robbins, 2012).

Political ecology, which appeared in the 1970s and developed in the 1980s, was first aimed at explaining land erosion problems (Blaikie, 1985). The political ecology lens analyses the environmental condition or ecology as a product of political and social processes, from the local scale to the global (Bryant & Bailey, 1997). In the context of conservation governance, there is a political relation between humans and nature, one of which is related to rights and access to resources (Adams & Hutton, 2007). Ribot & Peluso (2003) mentioned that the concept of access is attached to power. Power imbalance in utilizing resources or space often happens (Bryant & Bailey, 1997), and it is potential to create exclusion against the weaker party or power (Hall, Hirsch, & Li, 2011).

UU No 5/1990 mentioned that a national park as one form of biodiversity conservations can be used for research, science, education, cultural support, tourism and recreation. Of the many uses of the national park, tourism has triggered a complex problem because it involves a conflict of interest and power. The use of a conservation area for tourism has developed massively worldwide (Benjaminsen & Bryceson, 2012). The government issued PP No 50/2011 which contains guidance for tourism development, one of which is developing the National Tourism Strategic Area (NTSA). One NTSA which is being developed is Komodo NTSA and its surrounding area.

Komodo NTSA and its surrounding development started in 2015 (Permenpar No 29/2015). Since the stipulation of NTSA, the tourism sector in Komodo National Park (KNP) and its surrounding area has developed massively. The income from the Non-Tax Government Revenue from the tourism sector in KNP area also increased drastically (BKNP, 2018). The potential of developing the tourism area in KNP and its surrounding has then attracted various parties to make use of the resources and space in KNP. Based on the description, this research aims to analyze the following: 1) who can get access and exclusion from KNP space; and 2) through what mechanism and power they can access or exclude space in KNP.

METHOD

This research used a critical paradigm to understand the reality. The critical paradigm has been chosen because of the assumption of Marxist ontology, which says that reality is suspected to be a pseudo-reality formed from the historical process and the power of social, cultural, and political economy (Agusta, 2012). The critical paradigm was considered more appropriate for understanding the roots of the problems of a phenomenon, in this case, the utilization of KNP space. The research method used is qualitative with a special case strategy. The qualitative method is appropriate for this research because it can ask open questions and understand the meaning of each emerging phenomenon. This research was carried out from January 2019 to May 2021, covering desk study to collect the secondary data and field research to collect the primary data. The primary data were collected from the August–September 2019 research location in Komodo Village, Komodo District, Manggarai Barat Regency, Nusa Tenggara Timur Province.

The technique used for collecting data in this research was the triangulation strategy, which includes triangulation in the method, data triangulation, and triangulation of research informants. The triangulation strategy has been chosen because of the assumption that no measurement in the social sciences can measure a social construction perfectly, since there is an error and bias that attaches to the measurement (Heath, 2015). Data in this research include primary data and secondary data. The researcher collected primary data while he was at the research location. These data were obtained through a triangulation technique, which included in-depth interviews and observation. Informants were chosen using purposive and snowball methods. The purposive technique is used to determine the informants from the conservation area, local government, NGO, and key informants in the community, namely village officials and the traditional leader. After the key informants in the community are known, a snowball technique is used to determine other informants. The

research instrument to collect primary data is a guide for in-depth interviews. The secondary data were obtained through literature study by tracing through the internet or by asking the related sources directly. The secondary data can be journals, proceedings, books, statutory regulations, government reports, NGO reports, news, and other documents relevant to the research.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Characteristics of Komodo Village

Komodo Village is located in Komodo Island, which is administratively under the Komodo District, Manggarai Barat Regency, Nusa Tenggara Timur Province (Figure 1). The altitude of Komodo Island is about 735 m above sea level (BKNP, 2016), while Komodo Village is 5 m above the sea level. The total area of Komodo Island is 311.59 ha (BKNP, 2019), whereas the area of Komodo Village is 34.76 ha (Pemdes Komodo, 2017). The average temperature in Komodo Village is 300 °c. The characteristics of Komodo Village's topography are located in the coastal area, where there is a river. A small part of Komodo Village is limited to forest (3.24 ha) and mangrove forest (3.01 ha) (Pemdes Komodo, 2017). Komodo Village is located in an archipelago that has a high potential for fishery. Some main fish products in Komodo Village waters are, among others, tuna/skipjack, snapper, mackerel, mullet, squid, yellow tail fish, grouper, sea cucumber, shrimp, and shellfish. In addition, forest product is also used by the people in Komodo Village, among others, bee honey (4,500 litres/year), tamarind (200 tons/year), and srikaya fruit (25 tons/year) (Pemdes Komodo, 2017).

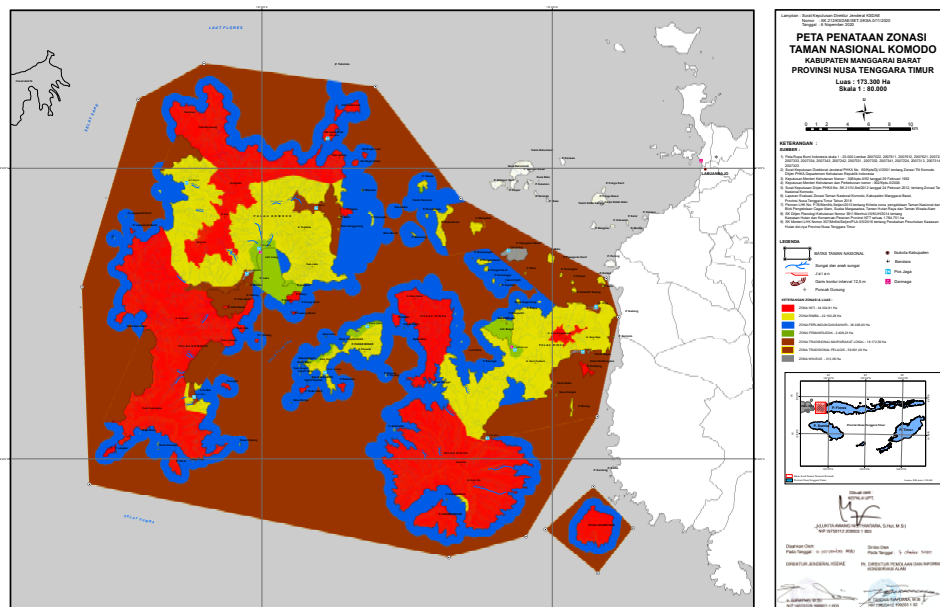


Figure 1. Zonation map of Komodo National Park, 2020

Source: Decree of the Director General of Natural Resources and Ecosystem Conservation No: SK.212/KSDAE/SET.3/KSA.0/11/2020 concerning Zoning of Komodo National Park, West Manggarai Regency, East Nusa Tenggara Province

Characteristics of Komodo Villagers

Anthropologists debate over the existence of people in Komodo Village (later called Komodo community), whether they can be categorized as a tribe that is self-reliance or not (BKNP, 2019)¹. In spite of that, Komodo community consider themselves as a tribe that can stand by itself because they develop a typical language, and according to Koentjaraningrat (2002) language is an element of culture. Komodo community call themselves

¹ Debate on the name of Komodo Tribe is related to the characteristics of the Komodo community which was a mixture of various tribes. Bezemer (1921) and Verheijen (1982) as quoted by Needham (1986) mentioned that the original inhabitants who lived in Komodo Island were only a few people who were isolated: convicts, slaves, and prisoners who were under the control of Bima Kingdom.

as “*Ata Modo*”, which means “Komodo people”. BKNP (2019) mentions that the existence of Komodo community cannot be separated from Bima Kingdom which used to dominate the Komodo Island area. Komodo Island (and the whole Manggarai area) set free from Bima Kingdom in 1929, and later became under the authority of Timor Province (Haris, Zuhdi, & Wulandari, 1997).

Previously the people in Komodo Island experienced several resettlements, and finally established a permanent village. This phenomenon is a part of the village formation process, as is said by Soetarto & Sihalo (2013). There are several versions of Komodo community history. One of the most popular versions in the community is given by H. Amin (65 years, a member of the traditional institute of history). Around the seventeenth century, the first settlers in Komodo Island lived in the area of Ara Mount, and they developed a traditional system led by a group head called *Ompu Najo*. The population of Komodo Island was at first about 20 people, and this did not increase significantly, since there was no knowledge about baby delivery. Once upon a time the daughter of Ompu Najo (named Epa) would give birth to a baby, and at the same time a group of Sumba Tribe who were stranded in Komodo Island gave assistance to Epa’s delivery. From the delivery, Epa had a twin with different forms, namely a human and a dragon. Until now, Komodo community have believed that komodo animals are their siblings; therefore, they can live together.

Because of the assistance of Sumba Tribe to Epa’s delivery, Ompu Najo permitted Sumba Tribe to live in the area of Komodo Island. Within a short time, there were three other tribes who came to Komodo Island, namely Suku Welak (Manggarai) who live in Watu Pajung, Suku Ambon who live in Loh Liang, and Suku Kerapu (Flores) who live in Loh Sebita. Those three tribes claim themselves as the first settlers in Komodo Island so that it caused a conflict. Ompu Najo who was aware of the conflict then acted to make a resolution to the conflict by giving every newcomer an area, which include the following: 1) Sumba Tribe was given the largest land in the area of Loh Lawi, Loh Wahu, and Tanjung Besar; 2) Welak Tribe occupied Watu Pajung until Torong Gudu; 3) Ambon Tribe occupied Loh Liang until Tanjung Kuning; and 4) Kerapu Tribe occupied the area of Loh Sebita until Gili Lawa.

Needham (1986) mentioned that the community population of Komodo Island which used to be small has developed vastly with the newcomers who generally came from Manggarai. In 1930 the number of population in Komodo Island was about 143 million people (Needham, 1986), and then 503 people in 1977 (Verheijen, 1982 quoted by Needham, 1986). In the context of conservation, the issue of population growth in Komodo Island became important for the governance. In 2000s, the population in KNP area increased by 800 percent in the last sixty years (Pet & Yeager, 2000). The number of Komodo Village population in 2017 was 1,751 people, consisting of 862 males and 889 females. The majority of Komodo villagers are the young, namely 5-10 years (20.8%), 11-15 years (15.7%), and <5 years (12.7%) (Pemdes Komodo, 2017). The load ratio of Komodo Village in 2017 was 90.53. This number was considered high; it means that every 100 people bore 90 people. The high load ratio was supported by the high unproductive age of the young (0-14 years).

People in Komodo Village have changed livelihood several times, among others, hunting and gathering (from the 17th century until 1980s) (Margono, Sutjaja, Yadnya, Santoso, & Sudipa, 1987), gardening (1950s to 1970s), subsistent fishermen (1970s to 1980s), commercial fishermen (1980s to 2000s), semi-subsistent fishermen (2000s until now) and tourism sector (2015 until now). Kogeta (2019) quoted by BKNP (2019) mentioned that in 2019 the majority of Komodo villagers work in the tourism sector (60.36%), selling souvenirs (28.69%), sculptors (12.95%), naturalist guide/Komodo ranger (5.18%), tourist guide (4.98%), tour boat providers (3.78%), homestay providers (2.59%), and souvenir kiosks (2.19%).

Komodo National Park

History of Establishing KNP

The idea of conserving Komodo animals appeared based on research carried out by Peter A. Ouwens, Director of Bogor Zoology Museum in 1911-1912 (P3EBNT, 2018). Efforts to protect Komodo animals were then put forward in 1912 when the area of Komodo island was still under the Bima Kingdom. This policy was supported by *Netherlands Indies Society for the Protection of Nature* (Ping, 2006). The political conflict between Bima Kingdom and The Dutch Government happened, where Manggarai area (including Komodo Island) was officially separated from Bima Kingdom in 1929, and then it became a part of Timor Province (Haris et al., 1997). The shift of power to the Dutch Government made the management of Komodo animals also change to

the Dutch Government. In this case it is under the Manggarai Kingdom, through Zelfbestuur van Manggarai No.32/21 September 1938 which regulates the hunting ban.

Post Indonesian Independence, the policy to protect Komodo animals changed to become penetapan Suaka Marga Satwa Pulau Komodo pada tahun 1965 melalui Surat Keputusan Menteri Kehutanan No.66/Dep.Keh/1965 concerning Penunjukkan Pulau Komodo sebagai Suaka Margasatwa seluas 31.000 Ha (BKNP, 2016). Following the establishment of Komodo island as a wildlife reserve, Padar Island and Rinca Island were also designated as a natural sanctuary area based on the Governor Decree KDH Tk. I Nusa Tenggara Timur No.32 in 1969. In 1977, Komodo Island and its surrounding area were chosen as Cagar Biosfer Komodo (*A Man and Biosfer/MAB Reserve*) (BKNP, 2016).

Later in 1980, Komodo Island and its surrounding area were officially opened as the Komodo National Park (KNP) with an area of 75,000 ha by the Ministry of Agriculture on 6 March 1980. The Ministry of Forestry then issued a Surat Keputusan No. 46/Kpts/VI-Sek/1980, expanding the area to become 219.322,5 ha covering mainland and waters. KNP was also designated as one of the world heritage sites by UNESCO in 1991 (BKNP, 2016). Later in 1992 the Ministry of Forestry issued the Decree No.306/Kpts-II/92 concerning the changes in the function of the wildlife sanctuary of Komodo Island, Rinca Island, and Padar Island as much as 40,728 ha and the waters area surrounding it as much as 132,572 ha. In summary, the history of the establishment of KNP is presented in Figure 2.

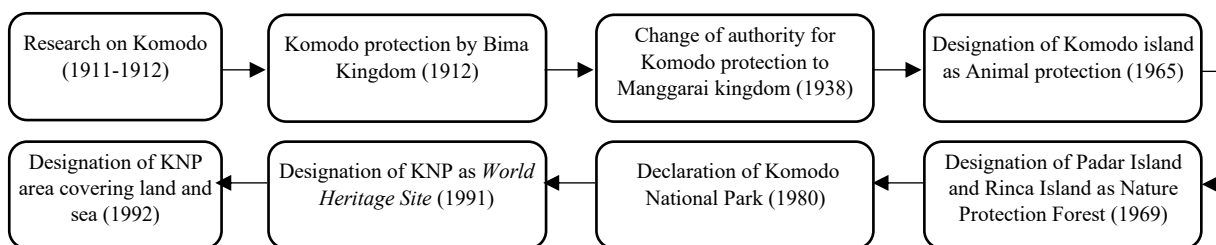


Figure 2 Historical View of the establishment of KNP

Milestones of Using KNP Space

A modern approach to conserve natural resources and environment has undergone changes (Adenle, Stevens, & Bridgewater, 2015; Rice, 2017). In Indonesia, the initiation to conserve nature appeared since the Dutch Government pioneered by Dr. Sijfert Hendrik Koorders in 1912 (Yudistira, 2014). The terminology that has developed since the Dutch Government is “Nature Protection”, and then in 1960s it was influenced by a preservation ideology so that the term became “Protection and Preservation of Nature/PPN” (Yudistira, 2014). The word conservation was first popularized in *The World Conservation Strategy* in 1980 (IUCN, 1980; McCormick, 1986). The political ecologists consider conservation as a result of constructing a variety of institutions (often it owns a strong power) (Vaccaro et al., 2013). Some literatures show that a conservation approach has undergone a change and it can be distinguished into three stages (ideal forms) (Wilshusen et al. 2002 quoted by Vaccaro et al., 2013), namely *fortress conservation* (Büscher, 2016); a variety of co-management forms (Cox, Butler, Webber, & Young, 2020; Jones & Murphree, 2004; Meyer, Klingelhoetter, Naidoo, Wingate, & Börner, 2021); and neoliberal conservation (Apostolopoulou et al., 2021; Igoe & Brockington, 2007).

In general, *fortress conservation* is indicated by an exclusive approach and it often causes local community shifting (Adams & Hutton, 2007; Brockington, 2002; Vaccaro et al., 2013), and the people are separated by landscape and ecosystem (McGregor et al 2015; Rai et al 2021). Then *fortress conservation* approach is closely related to modernity narration (Vaccaro et al., 2013), indicated by the implementation of the state bureaucracy (Pemunta & Mbu-Arrey, 2013), and its development was dominated by natural scientists (Kareiva & Marvier, 2012). In this approach nature is not only considered as something to be conserved, but also as a strategic commodity to be traded in various international agreements (Brockington, 2002; Vaccaro et al., 2013). There are many failures in the *fortress conservation* approach that encourage conservationists to reconsider the effectiveness of the approach (Jones & Murphree, 2004). Conservation discourses develop a co-management approach (and its varieties), one of which is influenced by the development of a sustainable developing concept that focuses on the relation between social and ecological aspects.

At a certain extent the conservation governance started to think of the sustainability for financing the conservation governance (Vaccaro et al., 2013). This then becomes the justification for developing tourism in the area of conservation, with the involvement of financial aid from NGO and companies (Igoe, 2010). Büscher, Sullivan, Neves, Igoe, & Brockington (2012) proposed a change for understanding the neoliberal conservation, which initially focused on how nature was used in and through capitalism expansion to become how nature is conserved in and through capitalism expansion. In the exchange context, neoliberal conservation practices often cause a local community alienation (Igoe & Brockington, 2007), territorialization and privatization of land (Benjaminsen & Bryceson, 2012).

KNP is one of the oldest national parks in Indonesia which was declared in 1980. Historically, the KNP governance approach has undergone a change; it was found that there was a change of characteristic from *fortress conservation* to become neoliberal conservation. This writing focuses on the dynamics of land use of Komodo Island since it was declared as a national park in 1980. There has been a change of perspective of KNP governance which was previously based on ecology (*ecological-based conservation/EBC*) to become a *market-based conservation/MBC*.

The EBC period can be divided into two stages, i.e. the first stage from 1980 to 2000s and the second stage from 2000s to 2015. At the beginning of the EBC period, it had a *fortress conservation* characteristic, whose implementation was dominated by natural science and tended to separate the biophysical management from human beings (Brockington, 2002; Kareiva & Marvier, 2012; Vaccaro et al., 2013). In the last stage of the EBC period, the KNP governance was carried out by cooperating with an NGO, that is *The Nature Conservancy* (TNC). In the implementation of this cooperation there was still a form of *fortress conservation* where the natural scientists and the local community alienation still dominated the governance. Besides, the governance cooperation also initiated the development of tourism for financial self-support. This shows that there was an influence of neoliberal conservation approach. In the meantime, the massive orientation shift towards tourism development occurred in 2015 when the government designated Labuan Bajo area and its surrounding as KSPN (during the MBC period). The orientation of this tourism development is one of the characteristics of neoliberal conservation (Igoe & Brockington, 2007). The different characteristics of space utilization during the period of EBC and MBC are presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Changes in the characteristics of KNP space utilization

Aspects	EBC ^a Period		MBC ^b Period
	Early stage (1980-2000s)	Final stages (2000s to 2010s)	>2011
Orientation	Komodo and ecosystem at KNP become the subjects of biodiversity conservation	Komodo and ecosystem in KNP become the subjects of biodiversity conservation, collaborating with NGO	Komodo and ecosystem in KNP become objects of global-scaled tourism
Importance of space utilization	People's economic activity (majority fishermen)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People's economic activity (majority fishermen) • Tourism (very little) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People's economic activity (tourism and fishermen) • Tourism (massive)
Biophysics issues	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Excess catchment • Destructive Fishery • Degraded forest and water resources • Deer hunting 	Destructive fishery	Tourism supporting sources
Social issues	Exclusion threat to people from their residence	Coercive approach: fishermen exclusion and rights violation (shooting fishermen)	Exclusion threat to people from their residence
Implications on zonation	Zonation consisting of three zones: core, jungle, and utilization	Revised zonation in 2001: reduction of jungle zone and increase of utilization zone; change from 3 to 9 types of zones	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Revised zonation in 2012: change of tourism utilization zone in Padar Island and Tatawa Island • Site design in 2012 assumed to encourage investment development in KNP

Notes:

^a *Ecological-based conservation*

^b *Market-based conservation*

In the early EBC period some biophysics issues that appeared are, among others, destructive fishery (Pet & Yeager, 2000), excessive catchment (especially target species of charts) (Ping, 2006); high pressure on forest resources like fire woods and water due to the increase of citizen population (Pet & Yeager, 2000); and pressure on deer population that is still hunted (Pet & Yeager, 2000). Meanwhile, the social issue that appears is an exclusion threat for community from their living space in Komodo Island (Robinson et al. 1982 quoted by (Goodwin, Kent, Parker, & Walpole, 1997). In the last stage of EBC period, the government and TNC arranged a governance planning of KNP area for 25 years (2000-2025); however, it was only implemented for five years (Cochrane, 2013). The issue of destructive fishery was still around, and the approach used to overcome the problem tended to be coercive. There were two fishermen from Sape who were shot by the patrol officers. The total of homicide within the period of 1980-2022 was 12 fishermen (Kontras, 2003).

The shift of the governance orientation of KNP and its surrounding to become tourism-based (during the MBC period) was initiated by the confirmation of KNP as one of the *New 7 Wonders of Nature* in 2011. This confirmation has attracted interest to invest in the area of KNP. In 2012 seven companies proposed a license to develop tourism business in the area of KNP, but only two managed to meet the administration requirements (Sunspirit, 2018a) namely: (1) PT Komodo Wildlife Ecotourism (KWE) to get a *Business License for the Provision of Nature Tourism Facilities* (BLPNTF) in an area of 426.07 ha located in Padar Island (271,81 ha) and in Komodo Island (154.6 ha), with the Decree from the Ministry of Forestry Number: SK.796/Menhut-II/2014 dated 23 September 2014; (2) PT Segara Komodo Lestari (SKL) to get a business license IUPSWA in an area of 22.1 ha in Rinca Island, with the Decree from The Head of BKPM Number: 7/1/IUPSWA/PMDN/2015 dated 17 December 2015. Nevertheless, up to now both companies have not taken any action to build the natural tourism facilities in the KNP area.

The government also massively promoted the potential of KNP area and its surrounding for tourism, one of which through *Sail Komodo*² activity in 2013. Then in 2015 the government designated Labuan Bajo and its surrounding area as a National Tourism Strategic Area (NTSA) designation of KNP area and its surrounding as an NTSA adds to the complexity of governance. P3EBNT study (2018) showed that some tourism activities in KNP area have exceeded the carrying capacity of the environment. The social issue that appears is the living space vulnerability of the people in Komodo Island. In 2019, the NTT Governor, Victor Bungtilu Laiskodat, talked about relocating the Komodo villagers as a part of KNP revitalization. Although the orientation of KNP governance has turned to tourism development, it seems that the NTT Governor was still influenced by the paradigm of conservation governance that tends to separate ecosystem from (*fortress conservation*). His statement is as follows: 1) the NTT Governor mentioned that the Komodo people as squatters (Dale, 2020). 2) in his statement the NTT Governor also mentions “*It’s called Komodo Island, so it’s for the Komodo not for humans. There will be no human rights there, only animal rights*” (Henscke & Wijaya, 2019).

KNP revitalization which has been planned by the NTT Governor includes the rescue of Komodo and its habitat, improvement of KNP governance, and limitation of the number of tourists (Bere, 2019a). Although the aim seems to be an effort to conserve the ecosystem, some parties including NGO activists and local people have a suspicion that the plan is based on the motive of increasing the economic growth through tourism development. One of the statements made by the NTT Governor concerning the plan for developing an exclusive tourism is as follows, “*We need 50,000 rich people from all over the world to visit Komodo Island, with a note that everyone should spend US\$1000 a year*” (Bere, 2019b). The governor also seems to be interested in taking over the authority to manage KNP, as what he said further, “*if it is managed by the central government there will be a little problem because of the distant control. If it is handed over to the province, in 2019 we will budget it as much as 100 billion rupiah.*” (Bere, 2019b).

To respond to the Governor’s statement concerning the movement of people from Komodo Island, the Ministry of Environment and Forestry formed an integrated team through the Decree of SK No. 354/MENEF/SET.JEN/KSA.3/5/2019 concerning the Formation of Integrated Team to Study the PNK Governance as an Exclusive Natural Tourism Area. Based on the decree the integrated team would study the

² *Sail Komodo* is able to increase the popularity of tourism in KNP area and its surrounding, but there are some criticisms: 1) the *Sail Komodo* activities have too much control from the Central Government and minimum participation of the Local Government in the aspects of planning and strategic policy; 2) *Sail Komodo* is considered not to give direct benefits to lower class community. It, in fact, hurt the fishermen due to the ban for catching fish during the preparation and implementation of *Sail Komodo* (“False Report at the top of Sail Komodo,” 2013).

KNP area an exclusive natural tourism area. Actually, the idea proposed by the NTT Governor was the revitalization of KNP governance, one of which was to relocate the people of Komodo Island. Bere (2019a) report showed that in January 2019, the NTT Governor met the Minister of EF to put forward the plan for revitalization of KNP. Then on 8 April 2019, the NTT Governor conveyed the plan to close Komodo Island to President Joko Widodo. Later, on 15 August 2019, the Integrated Team formed by the Ministry of EF visited Komodo Island. The visit was greeted with a protest from Komodo people who expressed their rejection to the idea of relocation. Based on the result of the study, the Integrated Team recommended not to close and relocate the Komodo people.

In spite of that, the plan to develop an exclusive tourism as has been echoed by the NTT Governor was still accommodated by the Central Government. On September 30, 2019 the Minister of EF, Ms. Siti Nurbaya, explained that Komodo Island would be rearranged together by the Central Government and the NTT Province as a *world class tourism* and investment (CNN, 2020). The Minister of EF also published a new ministerial regulation No P.8/MENEF/Setjen/KUM.1/3/2019 containing regulation on the process of Nature Tourism Business Permit (NTBP) through *online single submission* (OSS) system in order to accelerate and increase capital investment. The idea to increase the price of entry tickets into the KNP area as much as US\$ 1000-2000 was delivered by the Coordinating Minister for Maritime Affairs and Investment in October 2019 (Sandi, 2019). On 20 January 2020, President Jokowi and a number of high officials had a limited meeting in Labuan Bajo to discuss the plan for developing the ‘Super Premium’ tourism (Natalia, 2020). The first project to realize the plan of super premium tourism is building a geopark known as ‘*Jurassic Park*’ at Rinca Island starting in September 2020 (Bahfein, 2020).

The shift of KNP governance also had an implication on the KNP zonation. Since its establishment, the KNP zonation system has undergone several changes. The first zonation system was made in 1990, and it changed in 2001, and then in 2012 and 2020 (Table 2). The basic change happened during the zonation in 2001, that is the expansion of the KNP area from 169,800 ha to 173,300 ha. The total area of KNP as a whole did not have a change until the zonation revision in 2020. Initially, a variety of zonation in the zone system in 1990 only consisted of three types of zone, namely the core, the jungle, and the utilization. In 2001, 2002, and 2020 the utilization zone was divided into more details and changed drastically. The change of utilization zone area increased drastically in the zone revision in 2001, while the jungle zone experienced a decrease.

Table 2. Changes of zonation in KNP area in 1990, 2001, 2012, and 2020

Aspects	Zone 1990 ^a	Zonation 2001 ^b	Zonation 2012 ^c	Zonation 2020 ^d
Total area of KNP	169,800 ha	173,300 ha	173,300 ha	173,300 ha
Zonation	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The core zone: 30,275 ha covering: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Land : 18,225 ha b. Waters: 12,050 ha 2. Jungle zone: 137,868 ha covering: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Land: 22,177 ha b. Waters: 115,691 ha 3. Utilization zone: 1,657 ha covering: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Land: 1,127 ha b. Waters: 530 ha 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Core zone: 31,257.94 ha 2. Jungle zone: 23,529.58 ha 3. Marine zone: 34,612.2 ha 4. Utilization zone for land tourism: 1,161.65 ha 5. Utilization zone for marine tourism: 1,658.35 ha 6. Utilization zone for land tradition: 1,112.59 ha 7. Utilization zone of marine tradition: 15,878.81 ha 8. Settlement zone for traditional people: 373.99 ha 9. Utilization zone special for research and education: 1,146.21 ha 10. Utilization zone special for pelagics: 62,566.43 ha 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Core zone: 34.311 ha 2. Jungle zone: 23,529.58 ha 3. Marine protection zone: 36,308 ha 4. Utilization zone for land tourism: 824 ha 5. Utilization zone for marine tourism: 1,584 ha 6. Utilization zone for land tradition: 879 ha 7. Utilization zone for marine tradition: 17,308 ha 8. Special zone for settlement: 298 ha 9. Special zone for pelagic: 59,601 ha 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Core zone: 34,304.81 ha 2. Jungle zone: 22,192.28 ha 3. Marine protection zone: 36,308 ha 4. Utilization zone: 2,408.23 ha covering: land: 824.23 ha dan waters: 1,584 ha 5. Local people tradition zone: 18,172.59 covering: land: 865.59 ha and waters: 17,308 ha 6. Pelagic tradition zone: 59,601 ha 7. Special zone: 313.06 ha covering: settleme.t: 313,06 ha and BTS: 0.03 ha

Source:

^a Decree of the Director General of Forest Protection and Nature Conservation, Ministry of Forestry No: 74/Kpts/DJ-VI/1990 concerning Designation of Interest in Komodo National Park

^b Decree of the Director General of Forest Protection and Nature Conservation, Department of Forestry No: 65/Kpts/DJ-V/2001 concerning Zoning of Komodo National Park

^c Decree of the Director General of Forest Protection and Nature Conservation, Ministry of Forestry No: SK.21/IV-SET/2012 concerning Zoning of Komodo National Park

^d Decree of the Director General of Natural Resources and Ecosystem Conservation No: SK.212/KSDAE/SET.3/ KSA.0/11/2020 concerning Zoning of Komodo National Park, West Manggarai Regency, East Nusa Tenggara Province

In the zonation system in 2012, there was an increase in the core zone, jungle zone and the marine protection zone. Mainland tourism use zone and marine protection use zone decreased, but the local NGO, *Sunspirit for Justice and Peace* (SJP), highlighted that there was a significant change in the location of mainland tourism utilization zone, namely Padar Island and Tatawa Island which used to be a jungle zone (Sunspirit, 2018a). The change of zonation status in Padar Island and Tatawa Island was considered giving an access to tourism businessmen (Sunspirit, 2020). After zonation in 2012 was set, BKNP made a Komodo Natural Park Natural Tourism Management Site Design (BKNP, 2012). The design of site was carried out one year after KNP was designated as *The Real Wonder of The World* in 2011, and it was assumed to support the investment development interests in the KNP area. In the document of Site Design, it was mentioned that the use of area for tourism can be distinguished into business space and public space (Table 3).

Table 3. Area for nature tourism in KNP

Zone	Rinca Island (ha)		Komodo Island (ha)		Padar Island (ha)	
	Public space	Business space	Public space	Business space	Public space	Business space
Jungle	1.59	0	3.18	0	0.85	0
Marine protection	70	0	240	0	70	0
Utilization for land tourism	73.92	55.55	154.57	214.66	43.38	281.53
Utilization for marine tourism	407.58	0	1,177	0	0	0
Total	553.10	55.55	1,574.35	214.66	114.25	281.53

Source: processed by BKNP (2012)

Business space is for the third party through giving a license for Nature Tourism Business Permit (NTBP), while a public space can be used by any tourist (BKNP, 2012). Table 3 shows in general of all the KNP area, the proportion for public space is bigger than the one for business space. However, in the mainland tourism utilization zone, the proportion for business space in Komodo island and Padar island is bigger compared to public space. In Rinca Island, the total space for business is 55,549 ha where 22.1 ha was dominated by PT Segara Komodo Lestari (SKL) which got a Business License for the Provision of Nature Tourism Facilities (BLPNTF) in 2015. In the meantime, in Komodo Island the business space in the mainland tourism utilization zone is 214.664 ha where 154.6 ha was dominated by PT Komodo Wild Ecotourism (KWE) which got a BLPNTF in 2014. As for Padar Island, the business space in the mainland tourism utilization zone is 281,530 ha where 271.81 was dominated by PT KWE.

In the meantime, in the revised zonation in 2020, the variety of zones were simplified into seven. This is a response to the regulation of the Minister EF No. P.76/MenEF-Setjen/2015. The seven KNP zonas based on the Decree of Director General of Nature Resources and Ecosystem Conservation No: SK.212/KSDAE/SET.3/ KSA.0/11/2020 are the core zone, the jungle zone, the maritime protection zone, the utilization zone (including mainland and waters), pelagic traditional zone, and special zone (settlement and BTS). The change of KNP zone in 2020 is based on the development of zone use that is not in accordance with its purpose and is considered irrelevant (BKNP, 2020), but in general the change is not significant. The important changes related to tourism development which need attention are as follows: 1) decreased area of the core zone in the mainland of Gililawa which becomes the jungle zone as much as 6.19 has based on the consideration that the area has a tourism potential that attracts a lot of tourists and there are no key animals; 2) decreased jungle zone in Padar Selatan as much as 0.23 ha which becomes a utilization zone, to be used as ticket post, toilet, and community's business stalls.

Relation of Actors and Interest to utilize KNP

Based on the perspective of political ecology, an environment is considered as an arena of fights for actors to get access and control over the natural resources (Bryant & Bailey, 1997). Bryant & Bailey (1997) mentioned that the key concept to understanding human-environment interaction patterns (*politicised environment*) is by

analyzing power. The political ecology experts understand power as an actor ability to control over his interaction with the environment and another actor's interaction with his environment (Bryant & Bailey, 1997). Sociologists considered that unequal power in managing environment is one of the causes of ecological crisis (Adiwibowo, 2007). The power relation in this research is analyzed using the access theory from Ribot & Peluso (2003), which mentioned that a group of access mechanisms that are used by an actor is a bundle of power (explained in Chapter: Access Dynamics).

In the utilization trajectory of KNP space there is a change of actor relation and the interest due to the change in the KNP governance orientation which used to be *ecological-based conservation/EBC* to become *market-based conservation/MBC* (Figure 3 and Figure 4). During the EBC period the strategic actor that is interested in using KNP space is the state (the Ministry of Forestry), an international NGO (TNC), a private sector of tourism, and local community. TNC appeared in KNP area governance in 1995-2000s, having a role to develop conservation which was first in the mainland ecosystem and then in the waters ecosystem. The management cooperation between KNP and TNC was indicated by making the Management Planning of KNP for 25 years for the period 2000-2025 (Pet & Yeager, 2000).

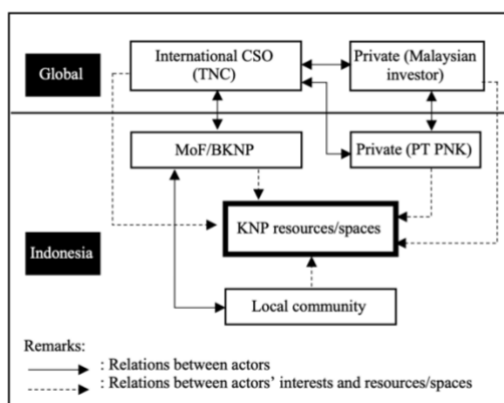


Figure 3. Relation of actors and the importance of utilization of KNP space/resources in EBC period

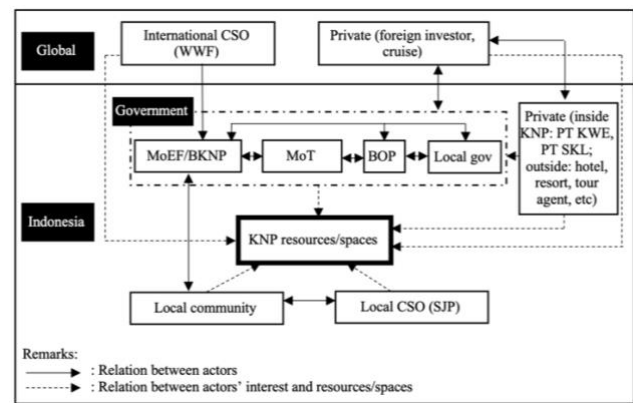


Figure 4. Relation of actors and the importance of utilization of KNP space/resources in MBC period

In the context of management cooperation, TNC could establish a relationship with the government (the Ministry of Forestry). TNC interest is in accordance with that of the government to achieve environmental sustainability. One of the objectives of the Management Planning is “get KNP self-reliance budget through a tourism sector development” (Pet & Yeager, 2000). TNC formed a private company, PT Putri Naga Komodo (PNK)³, which got a NTBP through The decree of the Ministry of Forestry No. NTBP-SK 195/ Menhut-II/2004 (Ping, 2006). Nevertheless, the implementation of the management cooperation only lasted 5 years. The failure was due to the following: 1) the management strategy applied by TNC has caused alienation from the local context (Ping, 2006); 2) Management Planning failed to face the reality of community earning system in the area of KNP (Borchers, 2002). Our finding showed that there were various impressions given by the community concerning the KNP management in the EBC period. People had negative impressions that the KNP management under the TNC had reduced the fishermen access to catch fish in certain locations. The case of fishermen shooting that still happened also became a reason for the people to reject the presence of TNC. Meanwhile, people who in the past worked as staff at PT PNK gave a positive impression, among others they thought that the management under the TNC was more effective in relation to facilities availability and maintenance, and there was an increase of economic welfare, as has been described by the following informant:

“If the dock was damaged, they would repair it immediately. At that time, they took care of the management, so the money was deposited to them... I built my house because of working at PNK. Previously I worked at a souvenir shop, and I had no house. After working there, I got a house.”
(GT, Komodo Village, 11/8/2019)

³ Tourism business management involves a businessman from Malaysia (Ping, 2006). Ping (2006) mentioned that in the cooperation program it seems that TNC has a commercial motive. TNC even manipulates the KNP management to ratify the regulations and agree on TNC objectives.

During the MBC period, relation between actor and his interest in using KNP space becomes complex. In terms of the state actor, there are some institutions with different interests. This is in line with what was said by Bryant & Bailey (1997) that the state has two functions in utilizing natural resources, namely as a user and a protector of environment. The state actor whose function is to protect environment is the Ministry of Environment and Forestry (KEF), whose technical tasks are carried out by Komodo National Park Office - Balai Taman Nasional Komodo (BKNP). Meanwhile, the user actor is the Ministry of Tourism together with the Tourism Authority Agency - Badan Otorita Pariwisata (BOP) Labuan Bajo-Flores (LBF), and the Provincial Government of NTT.

The different roles of the state trigger a conflict of interest (Satria, 2019). UU No 5/1990 mentioned that the authority of managing a national park is under the Central Government, but it is not impossible if some of the governance affair is handed over to the local government (Chapter 38). The governance of KNP area is also related to its neighboring area development, where the local government has a high interest in increasing the regional revenue through the tourism sector. In 2019 the NTT Governor, Victor Bungtilu Laiskodat, had an idea to revitalize KNP. In the planning, the NTT Governor seemed to carry out the function as an environment protector. However, some parties were of the opinion that the planning tended to increase the economic growth through the tourism sector.

The interest complexity in utilizing KNP also appeared from the private interest in developing the tourism sector in KNP area and its surrounding, Labuan Bajo (in the MBC period). The tourism private actors include an international scale (cruise ship business and foreign investment), and domestic scale (national and local) which include accommodation, travel agent, restaurant, and so on. The private actors get a relation with the state, and they are even included in the state structure to achieve their interests (described in Chapter Access Dynamics). The number of private actors keeps increasing; as an example, Figure 5 shows that in 2017 the number of accommodation facilities in Labuan Bajo was dominated by *Melati* (45 units), and then in 2020 the existence of star hotels in Labuan Bajo increased to become 47 units (Figure 6). Several small islands in Labuan Bajo were also dominated by foreigners (Afioma, 2015; Hasiman, 2020). Meanwhile, in the KNP area, there were two companies that got a Business License for the Provision of Nature Tourism Facilities (BLPNTF).

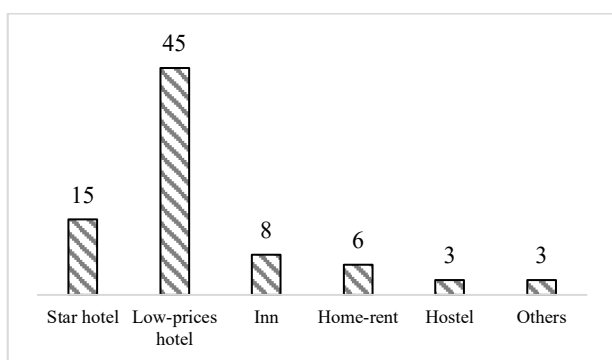


Figure 5. Number of accommodation facilities in Labuan Bajo based on types, 2017

Source: (Disparbud Kab.Mabar, 2018)

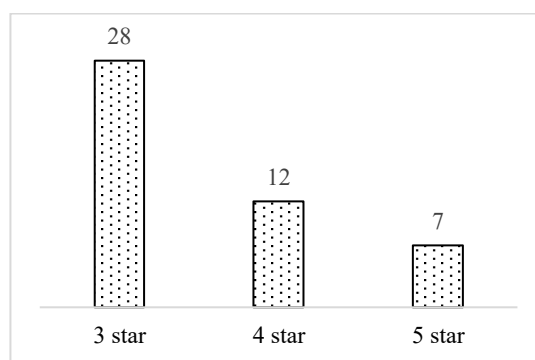


Figure 6. Number of hotels in Labuan Bajo based on class, 2020

Source: processed from traveloka.com; booking.com 2020

On the other hand, community are actors that have high reliance on natural resources in the KNP area to fulfill their life necessities. Historically, the community have undergone several changes of livelihood as a form of adaptation towards the settlement patterns, ecological characteristics, and the impact of management policy of KNP area. During the MBC period, these people got an exclusive threat from the idea of closing and relocating the Komodo Island people stated by the NTT Governor. The reciprocal relationship between the community and the NGO in the local scale, that is *Sunspirit for Justice and Peace* (SJP) that focuses on the issue of socio-environmental justice. In the management of KNP and its surrounding, some roles of SJP, among others, are: Firstly, enhancing a critical awareness of the local people to understand the problems in KNP management through the activities of discussion and dissemination of study results. Secondly, igniting the strength and actions in the root level to put up a fight through demonstration actions. Thirdly, controlling the policy and political processes happening in the elite level. Fourthly, giving advocation of the local community interest to the policy makers.

Access Dynamics to KNP

Ribot & Peluso (2003) defined access as an ability to make use of various things, which can be material objects, somebody, an institution, and a symbol. The benefits of something can be obtained through a number of access mechanisms which consist of two types, namely right-based access and structural-relational access mechanisms. The structural-relational access mechanism can be a mastery of technology, capital, market and social relation. A group of these access mechanisms then becomes a bundle of power. This research analyzes the structural-relational access mechanism and focuses on the EBC period (especially in 2000-2015) and the MBC period (Table 4).

Table 4. Mechanisms for space access in KNP area and its surrounding

Access mechanism	EBC ^a Period		MBC ^b Period		
	Fishermen	NGO	Fishermen	Tourism sector community	Privates
Technology	√	-	√	√	√
Capital	√	√	√	√	√
Market	√	-	-	-	√
Workforce	√	-	-	-	-
Knowledge	√	√	-	√	√
Relation with authority	-	√	-	√	√
Relation with social identity	√	-	-	-	-

Notes:

^a *Ecological-based conservation*

^b *Market-based conservation*

In the EBC period, the community used a more variety of access mechanisms, but had a lower power compared to NGO (TNC). In the MBC period, private actors developed more access mechanisms and tended to have a bigger power. On the other hand, the access mechanisms can work in three stages, namely, getting an access, maintaining the access, and controlling the access (Ribot & Peluso, 2003). In both periods, EBC and MBC, the community actor used a group of access mechanisms until the ‘maintaining the access’ stage. TNC in the EBC period could control the access, while the private actors in the MBC period tried to control the access. In details, the access mechanisms that were used by each actor are as follows:

1. *Ecological-based conservation (EBC) Period*

There are two main actors that get access to utilize the KNP space, namely fishermen and NGO (TNC). The characteristics of commercial fishermen attached to the fishermen who used chart catchment tools (ended around 2006). Meanwhile, the character of post-traditional fishermen attached to those used drag nets, fishing rod, and nets.

The access mechanisms used by fishermen in this period Mekanisme are, among others: 1) *Teknology*: mastering a more sophisticate technology and bigger quantity can increase access to fishery resources. 2) *Capital*: important capital to accumulate fish production mode. Chart fishery practices that are commercially-oriented encourage fishermen to increase their business scale, so having a big capital will increase their fishing access. After the chart ended in 2006, fishermen who had capital could maintain and develop their strategy to use catching tools. 3) *Market*: controlling market gives an assurance to fishermen about their fishing product sale. 4) *Labor*: labor is a family member or ship crew that has not family bond. 5) *Knowledge*: technical knowledge on catching fish will determine an access ability to fishery resources. Knowledge mastery accompanied with capital mastery enable fishermen to carry out social mobility vertically from the ship crew to become the owner of the ship. 6) *Relation and social identity*: the patron-client relation appears between the ship crew and the ship owner and between the ship owner and the middlemen. Relation with patron is important to ensure the sustainability of livelihood through loan, capital, and market access expansion.

In the meantime, TNC has three types of access mechanisms, namely conservation knowledge, capital, and relation with the authority. Knowledge mastery becomes a strong access mechanism because initially the conservation ideas were dominated by natural scientists (Kareiva & Marvier, 2012). Historically, TNC had a

strong role to develop conservation narration so that it becomes a global environment discourse (Adiwibowo, 2007). TNC also had capital by establishing a tourism company, that is PT Putri Naga Komodo (PNK) (Ping, 2006).

2. Market-based conservation (MBC) Period

During the MBC period, there was a change of actor variety that got access to KNP space and its surrounding, namely the fishermen community, tourism community, and tourism privates. An intensive fishery in the EBC period was no longer practiced since it caused excessive catching problem, especially of chart target species. Fishermen who still survived in this period were indicated as post-traditional fishermen. The access mechanisms used, among others, are: 1) *Teknologi*: fishermen used an environmentally-friendly technology which is in accordance with the regulation for using the KNP space so that they could get access to fishery resources in the KNP area. 2) *Capital*: mastery of capital in this period is lower compared to the previous period. Nevertheless, mastery of capital still determines the fishermen access to fishery resources.

The second actor that could get access to KNP space and its surrounding in the MBC period is the community who earned a living from tourism sector. The variety of livelihood of the Komodo villagers in the private sector include the following: 1) production, i.e. Komodo dragon craftsmen; 2) sales, selling souvenirs, foods; and 3) services, i.e. tour guide, naturalist guide/ Komodo rangers. And homestay providers. The access mechanism used by the private sector community, among others, are: 1) *Teknologi*: mastering technology especially digital technology to become the main access for tour guide and homestay provider. A tour guide in general has also a second function as tour package marketing agency provided by tourism travel agent. 2) *Capital*: having capital becomes an important access for a souvenir seller, food seller, and homestay provider. 3) *Knowledge*: having knowledge about digital marketing is important for a tour guide who has double function as a marketing agent of tourism bureau and also a homestay provider. 4) *Relation and social identity*: a sculptor has a relationship with a middleman to market the product.

The third actors that can access the KNP space and its surrounding in the MBC period are private sector in tourism, covering international scale (in cruise ship business and foreign investment) and domestic scale (national and local) covering businessmen for accommodation facilities, travel agent, restaurants and so on. The access mechanisms used by the private sector, are among others: 1) *Teknologi*: an actor who masters a ship technology that can meet the safety standard and a variety of facilities has a potential to take advantage more. 2) *Capital*: in KNP area, there are two companies that have got a , namely PT *Komodo Wildlife Ecotourism* (KWE) and PT Segara Komodo Lestari (SKL). Several small islands in the area of Labuan Bajo have also been dominated by foreign investors, among others, a) Bidadari Island was controlled by a businessman from Britain since 2001; b) Kanawa Island was managed by an Italian investor since 2010; c) Sebayur Island was managed by an Italian citizen since 2009 (Afioma, 2015); and d) Seraya Island was controlled a hotelier from Greek (Hasiman, 2020). 3) *Market*: in 2020, the government planned to develop a “Super Premium” tourism (Natalia, 2020), so a big-scaled private actor has more potential to catch that opportunity. 4) *Relation with the authority*: a private actor can even get into the state structure, among others, a) the CEO of BOP LBF, Shana Fatina, is a businesswoman in tourism (Floresa, 2019); b) David Makes, the PT SKL commissioner, is the Head of National Ecotourism Acceleration Team in the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy (Makes, 2021). David Makes also becomes one of the members whose status is the “Tourism expert” in the integrated team formed by the Minister of KEF in 2019 through the Decree of SK 354/MENEF/SET.JEN/KSA.3/5/2019.

Exclusive Dynamics

Exclusion is an inevitability of the existence of access (Hall et al., 2011). This research analyzes the appearance of exclusion based on exclusion powers according to Hall et al. (2011), namely regulation, force, market and legitimation. During the EBC period, fishermen experienced exclusion due to the operation of conservation regulations and force. Meanwhile in the MBC period, market powers cause exclusion to people who lived in Komodo Village and Labuan Bajo coast. Besides market powers, legitimation powers given to the high-class tourism business actors also caused exclusion to people who lived in Komodo Village and Labuan Bajo coast. Exclusion powers that operate in both periods are described as follows:

1. *Ecological-based conservation (EBC) Period*

Exclusion powers that work in the EBC period are regulation and force. In the KNP zone revision in 2001, one of the catching areas of fishermen from Komodo Village that is located in the Loh Liang waters is included in the Marine Tourism Use Zone, which caused exclusion to the fishermen. There were two responses that develop on the exclusion phenomenon. Firstly, fishermen (and ex-fishermen) who felt being excluded gave a big negative impact. The loss of catching area makes the fishermen to reach farther catching area, so it needs higher production cost. This type of fishermen in general has the following characteristics: exposed to/active in critical discussion on conservation management, having relation with local activists, and being strategic figures in the village level. This type of fishermen at this era develop narration that community has been harmed by conservation regulations. Secondly, fishermen who respond to exclusion with resignation and develop a strategy to change the catchment area. This type of fishermen in general is more passive towards the conservation management issues. This type of fishermen assume that the Komodo water resources can still meet their needs.

Besides regulations, force powers also cause exclusion to fishermen community. The control mechanism of conservation regulations in this period tend to use a coercive approach. The excluded party is the fishermen who used destructive catchment tools like bombs and potassium and they tend to violate zonation in the waters area. These fishermen in general come from outside the KNP area like Sape, Bima, and Labuan Bajo (Pet & Yeager, 2000). In this period there was even a murder on fishermen by the patrol officers (Kontras, 2003).

2. *Market-based conservation (MBC) Period*

During the MBC period, market and legitimation powers given to high-class private actors cause exclusion to the community. The excluded party due to higher market powers are experienced by community in the coastal area of Labuan Bajo, among others: 1) exclusion from living space; tourism development causes land price in Labuan Bajo area keep increasing. There are many people who move to the mainland area farther from the coast. However, the sale of the land could not be managed properly (Ashdiana, 2016). The community were also excluded from recreation areas. As an example, Bidadari Island which used to be their recreation area has now been controlled by Ernest Lewandowski (a British man) since 2001, and a resort was built there with very tight security (Hasiman, 2020). 2) Exclusion from livelihood: majority people in the coastal area of Labuan Bajo who initially became fishermen now turn to tourism sector by modifying the boat for catching fish to become a cruise boat. One reason for this is the loss of fishermen's access to the berths because they have been controlled by the resort owners (Sunspirit, 2018b). These ex-fishermen again experienced an exclusion because of competition in tourism business which becomes very massive. The ex-fishermen's fishing boat fleet do not meet the proper security standard (Sunspirit, 2018b).

The second exclusion power that operates in the MBC period is legitimation. Legitimation tends to be given to high-class private actors. Some legitimation that causes exclusion to the community is among others: *Firstly*, giving a BLPNTF to PT KWE as much as 426.07 ha located in Padar Island (271.81 ha) and Komodo Island (154.6 ha), through the Decree Number: SK.796/Menhut-II/2014. Up to now, PT KWE has not realized the utilization of the resource or space according to the BLPNTF. The area controlled by PT KWE is, in fact, still used by the people of Komodo Village, among others, to look for tamarind, honey, and to take a rest when catching fish, and to go on a recreation. On the other hand, the Minister of EF issued a regulation Number P.8/MENEF/Setjen/KUM.1/3/2019 which contains a process of getting a Nature Tourism Business Permit through an *online single submission* (OSS) system in order to accelerate and increase investment.

Secondly, giving a license to foreign investors to for small islands around Labuan Bajo. There are three modus working, namely: 1) using a document of a local person's or a foreigner who has got an Indonesian citizenship to build a company; 2) providing capital to Indonesian legal entities; and 3) having a joint ownership between Indonesians and foreigners (Afioma, 2015). The Basic Agrarian Law (BAL) year 1960, chapter 41 article 1 states that a foreigner can get the right to use land or building within 25 years and it can be prolonged. The regulation can become a slot for an individual to control the strategic area in Labuan Bajo (Afioma, 2015). Besides the Basic Agrarian Law (BAL), the government has also passed the Law Number 11/2020 concerning Cipta Kerja (Ciptaker). Chapter 18 article 22 UU Ciptaker contains a change to Chapter 26A UU No 1/2014 concerning the Amendment No 27/2007 concerning the Management of Coastal Area and Small Islands (PWP3K), which gives facilities to foreigners in small islands.

Building Inclusivity in KNP Space

This research shows that there is a gap of access relation to KNP space and its surrounding, in which community are actors who have lower power than other actors. Community also actors that experience exclusion and get exclusion threat from the utilization of KNP space and its surrounding. In fact, it is mentioned in the Law Number UU No 5/1990, Chapter 3 that conservation aims to “make an effort to sustain biological natural resources and its ecosystem balance so that it can support more to increase people’s well-being and human life quality”. On the other hand, various issues of decreased ecological quality that appear becomes a threat to reach the conservation goal.

The management strategy of KNP area and its surrounding that enables to awaken inclusiveness is very much needed. Although exclusion is an inevitability from access, in the context of inclusive development it is expected to be able to minimize exclusion of vulnerable groups (Gupta, Pouw, & Ros-Tonen, 2015). Inclusive development is defined as follows:

“...development that includes marginalized people, sectors and countries in social, political and economic processes for increased human well-being, social and environmental sustainability, and empowerment. Inclusive development is an adaptive learning process, which responds to change and new risks of exclusion and marginalization” (Gupta et al., 2015).

Based on the above definition, there are three processes that need to be fulfilled, namely social, political, and economic process. In the context of management of KNP and its surrounding the strategies to awaken group inclusiveness for those excluded are as follows: *First*, through a social process. People in Komodo Village still have high social cohesivity which, among others, can be seen from helping each other in society. Besides, people movement when rejecting the idea to close and relocate people from Komodo Island also shows that they have an ability to form a collective power. Both become strategic assets and need to be strengthened for further mobilization in the conservation agenda.

Second, in the political process, the involvement of people in the process of decision making of KNP management is very little. The people’s participation in the management of KNP and its surrounding is only a consultation, for example public consultation of the design of zonation change. Since 1977, Komodo Island and its surrounding have been appointed as biosphere reserves “*A Man and Biosphere Reserve*”. The designation has placed humans (people) in an important position. The commitment to involve local people in the conservation area management (especially KNP management) has been included in some policies, among others, 1) The Director General of KSDAE published a book entitled “*Ten New Ways to Manage Conservation Areas in Indonesia: Building a Learning Organization*”. The new ways mentioned are as follows: first “placing community as the subject” (Wiratno, 2018); 2) in the Design of KNP Management 2016-2025, the fourth target is “maintaining the socio-culture use”, and places people’s participation as an important aspect in mapping the management space for community (BKNP, 2016). Although the commitment in the authority level has been built, the implementation still needs to be strengthened.

Third, in the economic process this research shows that community still face vulnerability in livelihood when the issue of closing and relocating the people was stated. Tourism development that led to “Super Premium” tourism also threatened the livelihood system of the people in Komodo Island which is now dominated by the tourism sector. The concept of nature-based tourism or ecotourism should have given control of management to local authority and oriented to giving benefits to local people (Fennell, 2008). Some ways to strengthen local control to develop ecotourism in KNP are as follows: a) giving a legal acknowledgment to some of utilization zone for tourism to the community. This can be done based on The regulation of Directorate General of KSDAE Number P.6/KSDAE/SET/Kum.1/6/2018 which sets management partnership of conservation for people empowerment, one of which is through giving the access right. The access right previously given to community was non-timber forest products. In addition, in the document of Design for Nature Tourism Management Site there is some area of utilization zone which is used for public (BKNP, 2012); b) strengthening local institutions to develop tourism business: c) developing an alternative local-based destination or attraction of tourism, namely socio-culture tourism (such as, catching fish with fishermen, practicing to make Komodo sculpture, tracking cultural sites) or agro-based tourism (for example, harvesting the crops in the garden and forest managed by local people); and d) developing the capacity of the business actors in tourism.

CONCLUSION

There are some changes of actors that could access the resources and space in the KNP area. This is an implication of the change in the management orientation of KNP area which initially was ecological-based conservation (EBC) to become market-based conservation (MBC). During the EBC period, the dominant actors that could access the KNP area were the fishermen community and NGO (TNC), while the MBC period the dominant actors were fishermen community, tourism community, and tourism privates. In general, people have lower power compared to other actors in both periods. They could only maintain the access. TNC in the EBC period could control access, and privates in the MBC period tried to control access. Access is attached with an exclusion concept. In general, the community actors get more exclusion compared to other actors in the history of utilizing the KNP space and its surrounding. During the EBC period, fishermen experienced an exclusion due to the conservation regulation and coercion. Meanwhile in the MBC period, the market power and legitimation to high-class private actors caused an exclusion to the people living in Komodo Village and Labuan Bajo coast.

The legitimation power that worked in the MBC period become an important aspect in utilizing KNP space and its surrounding. Although it is not always so, legitimation can develop access to become a property claim. In the KNP management, we see that the plan to develop Labuan bajo and its surrounding as a “Super Premium” tourism destination which was proposed in 2020 was supported by the effectiveness of UU Ciptaker in 2020 and this gave foreigners an ease of doing business to dominate small islands. At the same time investment in the conservation area was also given an ease through the new Ministry Regulation No P.8/MENEK/Setjen/KUM.1/3/2019 which covers the process for Nature Tourism Business Permit (NTBP) through *online single submission* (OSS) system in order to accelerate and increase capital investment. The two regulations consequently increase investment in the conservation area and in general the small island areas outside the conservation area.

Although exclusion is something inevitable from the existence of access (Hall et al., 2011), Gupta, Pouw, & Ros-Tonen (2015) had the opinion that it is necessary to minimize exclusion towards the vulnerable groups. Exclusion that happened to community actor concerning the KNP space utilization shows the importance of reconsidering the management approach of KNP and its surrounding that can create local inclusiveness. In the context of building an inclusion, there are three processes that need to be fulfilled to increase human welfare and the environmental and social sustainability, namely the process of social, politic and economy (Gupta et al., 2015). The social process can be taken by strengthening the social capital of community to be mobilized in the conservation agenda. The political process needs to be taken by increasing the community participation in the process of making strategic policies. The economic process is taken by strengthening the local control in ecotourism development.

REFERENCE

- Adams, M. W. (2004). *Against Extinction: The Story of Conservation*. London: Earthscan. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004387546_002
- Adams, W. M., & Hutton, J. (2007). People, Parks and Poverty: Political Ecology and Biodiversity Conservation. *Conservation and Society*, 5(2), 147–183. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26392879>
- Adenle, A. A., Stevens, C., & Bridgewater, P. (2015). Global conservation and management of biodiversity in developing countries: An opportunity for a new approach. *Environmental Science and Policy*, 45, 104–108. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.envsci.2014.10.002>
- Adiwibowo, S. (2007). Ekologi Manusia: Mata Air Integrasi Ilmu Alam dan Ilmu Sosial. In S. Adiwibowo (Ed.), *Ekologi Manusia* (1st ed.). Bogor: Fakultas Ekologi Manusia IPB.
- Afioma, G. (2015, August 8). Pulau-pulau di Sekitar Labuan Bajo: Siapa yang Punya? *Floresa.Co*.
- Agusta, I. (2012). *Paradigma Metodologi Ilmu Sosial: Simpang Jalan Konstruksi Teori*. Bogor: IPB Press.
- Apostolopoulou, E., Chatzimentor, A., Maestre-Andrés, S., Requena-i-Mora, M., Pizarro, A., & Bormpoudakis, D. (2021). Reviewing 15 years of research on neoliberal conservation: Towards a

decolonial, interdisciplinary, intersectional and community-engaged research agenda. *Geoforum*. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2021.05.006>

- Ashdiana, M. I. (2016, August 16). Labuan Bajo di Tengah Gempita Wisata Dunia. *Kompas.Com*. Retrieved from <https://travel.kompas.com/read/2016/08/16/202400527/Labuan.Bajo.di.Tengah.Gempita.Wisata.Dunia?page=all>
- Bahfein, S. (2020, September 16). Rencana Pemerintah Menyulap Pulau Rinca Jadi “Jurassic Park” Tuai Kecamatan. *Kompas.Com*.
- Benjaminsen, T. A., & Bryceson, I. (2012). Conservation , green / blue grabbing and accumulation by dispossession in Tanzania. *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 39(2), 335–355.
- Bere, S. M. (2019a, January 22). Ini Alasan Gubernur NTT Tutup Taman Nasional Komodo. *Kompas.Com*. Retrieved from <https://regional.kompas.com/read/2019/01/22/16241111/ini-alasan-gubernur-ntt-tutup-taman-nasional-komodo>
- Bere, S. M. (2019b, September 8). Duduk Perkara Rencana Kontroversi Gubernur NTT Tutup Pulau Komodo. *Kompas.Com*. Retrieved from <https://regional.kompas.com/read/2019/09/08/09103071/duduk-perkara-rencana-kontroversi-gubernur-ntt-tutup-pulau-komodo?page=all>
- Blaikie, P. M. (1985). *The Political Economy of Soil Erosion in Developing Country*. New York: Longman Inc. Retrieved from <http://www.cabdirect.org/abstracts/19851819854.html>
- Borchers, H. (2002). *Jurassic Wilderness: Ecotourism as a Conservation Strategy in Komodo National Park, Indonesia*. University of Auckland.
- Brockington, D. (2002). *Fortress Conservation: The Preservation of the Mkomazi Game Reserve, Tanzania*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Bryant, R. L., & Bailey, S. (1997). *Thrid World Political Ecology*. London: Routledge.
- BKNP. (2012). *Desain Tapak Pengelolaan Pariwisata Alam Taman Nasional Komodo*. Labuan Bajo.
- BKNP. (2016). *Rencana Pengelolaan Taman Nasional Berbak 2016-2025*. Labuan Bajo.
- BKNP. (2018). *Statistik Taman Nasional Komodo Tahun 2018*. Labuan Bajo.
- BKNP. (2019). *Data dan Informasi Kajian Kemungkinan Penutupan Sementara Pulau Komodo di Taman Nasional Komodo*. Labuan Bajo.
- BKNP. (2020). *Zona Pengelolaan Taman Naisonal Komodo*. Labuan Bajo.
- Büscher, B. (2016). Reassessing fortress conservation? New media and the politics of distinction in Kruger national park. *Annals of the American Association of Geographers*, 106(1), 114–129. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00045608.2015.1095061>
- Büscher, B., Sullivan, S., Neves, K., Igoe, J., & Brockington, D. (2012). Towards a synthesized critique of neoliberal biodiversity conservation. *Capitalism, Nature, Socialism*, 23(2), 4–30. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10455752.2012.674149>
- Carranza, D. M., Varas-Belemmi, K., De Veer, D., Iglesias-Müller, C., Coral-Santacruz, D., Méndez, F. A., ... Gaymer, C. F. (2020). Socio-environmental conflicts: An underestimated threat to biodiversity conservation in Chile. *Environmental Science and Policy*, 110(October 2019), 46–59. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.envsci.2020.04.006>
- Cinner, J. E., & Aswani, S. (2007). Integrating customary management into marine conservation. *Biological Conservation*, 140(3–4), 201–216. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.biocon.2007.08.008>
- CNN. (2020, October 26). Mengenal Proyek “Jurassic Park” di NTT. *CNN Indonesia*. Retrieved from <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/ekonomi/20201026142334-92-562801/mengenal-proyek-jurassic-park-di-ntt>
- Cochrane, J. (2013). Exit the dragon? Collapse of co-management at Komodo National Park, Indonesia. *Tourism Recreation Research*, 38(2), 127–143. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02508281.2013.11081740>
- Cox, T. R., Butler, J. R. A., Webber, A. D., & Young, J. C. (2020). The ebb and flow of adaptive co-

management: A longitudinal evaluation of a conservation conflict. *Environmental Science and Policy*, 114, 453–460. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.envsci.2020.09.017>

- Dale, C. J. P. (2020, March 12). Pariwisata Super Premium dan Penguasaan Sumber Daya di Flores. *Indoprogress*. Retrieved from <https://indoprogress.com/2020/03/pariwisata-super-premium-dan-penguasaan-sumber-daya-di-flores/>
- Disparbud. (2018). *Statistik Pariwisata Manggarai Barat 2017*. Labuan Bajo.
- Fennell, D. A. (2008). *Ecotourism*. New York: Taylor & Francis.
- Floresa. (2019, February 9). Badan otorita Pariwisata Labuan Bajo Flores: Negara Rasa Perusahaan. *Floresa.Co*.
- Goodwin, H. J., Kent, I., Parker, K., & Walpole, M. (1997). *Tourism, Conservation, and Sustainable Development: Volume III, Komodo National Park, Indonesia. Sustainable Development (Vol. III)*.
- Gupta, J., Pouw, N. R. M., & Ros-Tonen, M. A. F. (2015). Towards an Elaborated Theory of Inclusive Development. *European Journal of Development Research*, 27(4), 541–559. <https://doi.org/10.1057/ejdr.2015.30>
- Hall, D., Hirsch, P., & Li, T. M. (2011). *Powers of Exclusion: Land Dilemmas in Southeast Asia. Powers of Exclusion: Land Dilemmas in Southeast Asia*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Haris, T., Zuhdi, S., & Wulandari, T. (1997). *Kerajaan Tradisional di Indonesia: Bima*. (T. Haris, Ed.). Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Republik Indonesia.
- Hasiman, F. (2020, February 28). Labuan Bajo di Tangan Tuan-tuan Kapitalis. *VoxNTT*. Retrieved from <https://voxntt.com/2020/02/21/labuan-bajo-di-tangan-tuan-tuan-kapitalis/58461/>
- Hauzer, M., Dearden, P., & Murray, G. (2013). The Effectiveness of Community-based Governance of Small-scale Fisheries, Ngazidja Island, Comoros. *Marine Policy*, 38, 346–354. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.marpol.2012.06.012>
- Heath, L. (2015). Triangulation: Methodology. In J. D. Wright (Ed.), *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences*. London: Elsevier Press.
- Henske, R., & Wijaya, C. (2019). The Fight for Dragon Island.
- Igoe, J. (2010). The spectacle of nature in the global economy of appearances: Anthropological engagements with the spectacular mediations of transnational conservation. *Critique of Anthropology*, 30(4), 375–397. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0308275X10372468>
- Igoe, J., & Brockington, D. (2007). Neoliberal Conservation: A Brief Introduction. *Conservation and Society*, 5(4), 432–449.
- IUCN. (1980). *World Conservation Strategy: Living Resource Conservation for Sustainable Development*.
- Jones, B. T., & Murphree, M. W. (2004). Community-based natural resource management as a conservation mechanism: Lessons and directions. In B. Child (Ed.), *Parks in transition: Biodiversity, Rural Development, and the Bottom Line* (pp. 63–103). London.
- Kareiva, P., & Marvier, M. (2012). What is conservation science? *BioScience*, 62(11), 962–969. <https://doi.org/10.1525/bio.2012.62.11.5>
- Koentjaraningrat. (2002). *Pengantar Ilmu Antropologi*. Jakarta: Rineka Cipta.
- Komodo, P. (2017). *Profil Masyarakat Desa Komodo Tahun 2017*. Labuan Bajo.
- Kontras. (2003). Siaran Pers Pembunuhan yang Dilakukan oleh Aparat TNI terhadap Nelayan Sape di Nusa Tenggara Timur. *Kontras*. Retrieved from <http://kontras.org/backup/home/index.php?id=304&module=pers>
- Laporan Bohong di Puncak Sail Komodo. (2013). Retrieved September 24, 2019, from <http://www.kiara.or.id/2013/09/25/laporan-bohong-di-puncak-sail-komodo/>
- Makes, D. (2021, January 2). Wisata Premium Komodo Sangat Tepat. *Tempo*. Retrieved from <https://majalah.tempo.co/read/investigasi/162248/wawancara-dengan-david-makes-pengelola-wisata-komodo-pulau-rinca>

- Margono, Sutjaja, I. G. M., Yadnya, I. B. P., Santoso, Y., & Sudipa, N. (1987). *Struktur Bahasa Komodo*. Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan.
- McCormick, J. (1986). The Origins of the World Conservation Strategy. *Environmental Review*, 10(3), 177–187. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3984544>
- Meyer, M., Klingelhoefter, E., Naidoo, R., Wingate, V., & Börner, J. (2021). Tourism opportunities drive woodland and wildlife conservation outcomes of community-based conservation in Namibia's Zambezi region. *Ecological Economics*, 180(May 2020), 106863. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ecolecon.2020.106863>
- Natalia, D. L. (2020, January 20). Jokowi Persiapkan Labuan Bajo Jadi Destinasi Wisata Super Premium. *Antaraneews.Com*.
- Needham, R. (1986). Principles and variations in the social classification of Komodo. *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land-En Volkenkunde/Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia*, 142(1), 52–68. Retrieved from <http://www.kitlv-journals.nl>
- P3EBNT. (2018). *Daya Dukung Wisata Taman Nasional Komodo 2018*. Denpasar.
- Pemunta, N. V., & Mbu-Arrey, O. (2013). The Tragedy of the Governmentality of Nature: The Case of National Parks in Cameroon. In J. B. Smith (Ed.), *National Parks: Sustainable Development, Conservation Strategies, and Environmental Impact*. New York: Nova Science Publishers, Inc.
- Permenpar. Rencana Strategis Kementerian Pariwisata Tahun 2015-2019 (2015). Indonesia.
- Pet, J. S., & Yeager, C. (2000). *Rencana pengelolaan 25 tahun Taman Nasional Komodo*. Balai Taman Nasional Komodo. Jakarta.
- Ping, H. S. (2006). *Partners in Conservation? Communities, Contestation and Conflict in Komodo National Park, Indonesia*. National University of Singapore.
- PP. Peraturan Pemerintah Republik Indonesia Nomor 50 Tahun 2011 tentang Rencana Induk Pembangunan Kepariwisata Nasional (2011). Indonesia.
- Ribot, J. C., & Peluso, N. L. (2003). A Theory of Access. *Rural Sociology*, 68(2), 153–181. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1549-0831.2003.tb00133.x>
- Rice, R. E. (2017). Market-based approaches to biodiversity conservation: An overview of experience in developed and developing countries. *Encyclopedia of the Anthropocene*, 1–5, 423–428. <https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-12-809665-9.09968-7>
- Robbins, P. (2012). *Political Ecology*. □□□□□ □□□□□ (2nd ed.). Chichester: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.
- Sandi, F. (2019, October 7). Luhut Ingin Tiket Pulau Komodo Rp28 Juta, Khusus orang Kaya. *CNBC Indonesia*.
- Satria, A. (2015). *Pengantar Sosiologi Masyarakat Pesisir* (2nd ed.). Jakarta: Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia.
- Satria, A. (2019). *Politik Sumber Daya Alam*. Jakarta: Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia.
- Soetarto, E., & Sihaloho, M. (2013). Desa dan Kebudayaan Petani. *Pembangunan Masyarakat Desa*, 1, 3–5.
- Sunspirit. (2018a). Menyoal Riwayat Masuknya Perusahaan Swasta dalam Kawasan Taman Nasional Komodo. Retrieved February 25, 2020, from <https://sunspiritforjusticeandpeace.org/2018/08/17/menyoal-riwayat-masuknya-perusahaan-swasta-dalam-kawasan-taman-nasional-komodo/893/>
- Sunspirit. (2018b). Soal-soal Seputar Kapal Wisata di Labuan Bajo Manggarai Barat.
- Sunspirit. (2020). Akal Bulus KEF di Pulau Padar, Taman Nasional Komodo. Retrieved February 16, 2021, from <https://sunspiritforjusticeandpeace.org/2020/03/21/akal-bulus-kef-di-pulau-padar-taman-nasional-komodo/1617/>.
- UU. Undang-undang Nomor 5 Tahun 1990 Tentang Konservasi Sumberdaya Alam Hayati dan Ekosistemnya (1990). Indonesia.
- Vaccaro, I., Beltran, O., & Paquet, P. A. (2013). Political Ecology and Conservation Policies: Some Theoretical Genealogies. *Journal of Political Ecology*, 20(1), 255–272. <https://doi.org/10.2458/v20i1.21748>

- Wiratno. (2018). *Sepuluh Cara baru Kelola Kawasan Konservasi di Indonesia: Membangun “Organisasi Pembelajar.”* Jakarta: Direktorat Jenderal KSDAE Kementerian Lingkungan Hidup dan Kehutanan. Retrieved from http://ksdae.menEF.go.id/assets/publikasi/10_Cara_Baru_Kelola_KK.pdf
- Yudistira, P. (2014). *Sang Plopor: Peranan Dr. S.H. Koorders dalam Sejarah Perlindungan Alam di Indonesia* Pandji Yudistira.