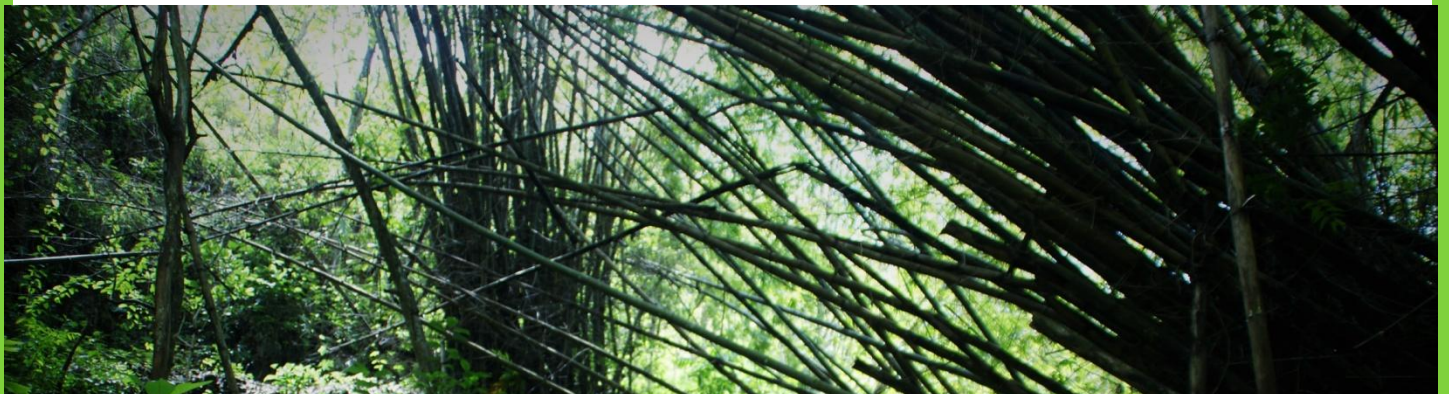
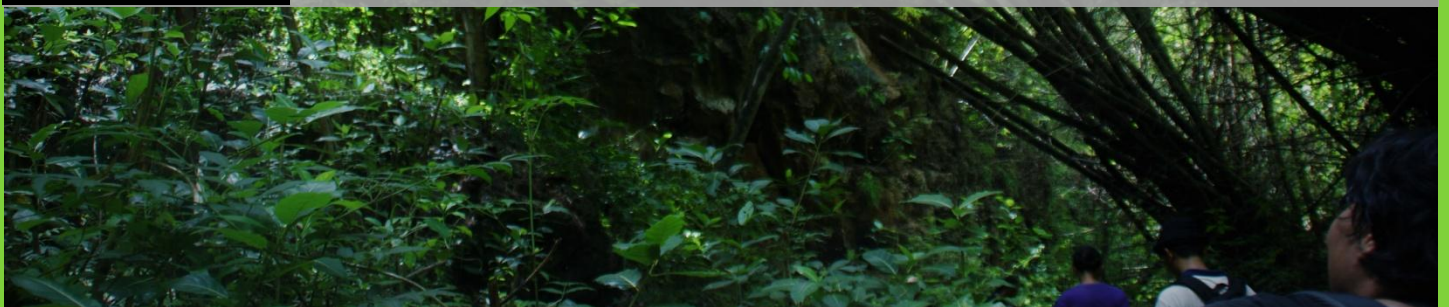


Leiden University



**MASTER  
THESIS**

ADAPTING NEW KNOWLEDGE OR REVIVING OLD VALUES?  
THE INFLUENCE OF SUSTAINABLE TOURISM ON HOSTS'  
UNDERSTANDING OF ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABILITY



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Image front page: photograph taken by author during the 'farmer walking tour' organized by the sustainable tourism organisation Earth of Life Indonesia. All photographs used in this thesis are made by the author.





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## Chapter 1. Introduction

### 1.1 Subject of study

#### 1.1.1 Introduction

In recent years, tourism has grown to one of the top industries in the world (Ingles 2005:220). According to the UNWTO, the amount of tourist arrivals worldwide has grown from 527 million in 1995 to 1133 million in 2014, and is expected to grow with 3,3% by 2030. Globally, it provides for 9% of the economic activity (UNWTO 2015: 2). Next to its economic importance, tourism also increased accessibility to even the most remote areas for anyone with the time and money to travel (Stronza 2001: 265). Furthermore, tourism is described as a *transmission belt* between different lifestyles, as it brings different cultural backgrounds in contact with one another (Lanfant 1995 in Cohen & Kennedy 2007:292). However, the growth in tourism also resulted in pressures and degradation both on the ecological and the social-cultural level (Holden 2008, Mowforth & Munt 2009). Tourism can thus be seen as an important force for economic development, but even more so for environmental and social change (Stronza 2001: 264).

From the 1970s onward, people became more aware of the negative impacts of the mass holidays which resulted in a critical reflection of the industry (e.g. Holden 2008).

In the same period, the concept of 'sustainable development' came to the forefront as the way towards a better future, with in 1987 the famous 'Brundtland Report' as its flagship (UNEP 2005, Brundtland Report 1987). These developments led to the rise of alternative forms of tourism such as sustainable tourism (Holden 2008: 67).

In Indonesia, these developments are also present. During the regime of President Suharto (1967-1998) international tourism was given a high priority (Hampton 2003: 88). It was used both as a tool for socio-economic development as well as a way to 'smooth over' Indonesia's image abroad - to 'replace scenes of unrest with those of golden beaches, Western holiday-makers, and cultural performances' (2003: 89). They succeeded: tourism grew from 26.000 international tourist arrivals in 1967 to 7 million in 2010, with Bali as a prime destination and Yogyakarta as the second most popular region (Hampton 2003: 89, ILO 2012: 1). Therefore, it is not surprising that, taking the domestic tourists into account as well, Indonesia was placed at the top of global tourism destinations (ILO 2012: 10). However, this influx of visitors has also had an important impact on the natural and cultural resources Indonesia has to offer.

Despite the fact that the natural environment is a key factor in most tourist attractions of Indonesia, its condition is far from ideal; over-exploitation of ecosystems is a problem underlined

both by the government and international reports (ILO 2012: 22). Short term benefits cause direct and indirect pressures on the natural environment (2012: IV). The WWF declares:

*'Current threats include Indonesia's increasing population and rapid industrialization, such as large-scale deforestation and wildfires, land conversion and habitat destruction, overexploitation of marine resources, and a multitude of environmental problems associated with rapid urbanization and economic development' (WWF 2007: 3)*

As the growth in tourism in the 'emerging economy' of Indonesia continues, as is planned by the government, the impact on these often already threatened natural and cultural environments and resources will only magnify (ILO 2012, Hansen & Wethal 2015). There is thus an urgency to look at alternative forms of tourism to prevent such impacts (2012: 1). The Indonesian Government therefore a significant move towards sustainable development in the tourism industry:

*'Promoting a more socially and environmentally sustainable tourism industry is necessary to meet market demands, contribute to poverty reduction and inclusive development whilst preserving the natural capital which enables the industry to prosper over the medium and long term' (ILO 2012: 2).*

A key strategy mentioned to achieve this is changing the mindset of all stakeholders (2012: v). It is argued that when our ideas, attitudes or beliefs –or 'relation'- to the natural environment change, this will also influence the way we interact with it (King & Stewart 1996, Milton 1997). Within tourism, different cultures come into contact. This also entails ideas, beliefs and attitudes of what is environmentally sustainable, as this is an important element of the new forms of tourism. These ideas, beliefs and attitudes can be (culturally) different and might affect one another (Cater 2001: 4167). According to the earlier argumentation, this change in mindset could also affect behaviour towards the natural environment. However, in executing this strategy, defining the 'goal' mindset is both difficult and important because various definitions of sustainable tourism exist (Wright 1994: 41, Mowforth & Munt 2009).

Given these characteristics of tourism and the continued growth of the tourism industry, it is important to understand the impact of (the development of) sustainable tourism on the local environment, communities and tourists. This understanding is important in order to reduce or prevent possible negative impact or support positive developments. Since sustainable tourism is perceived as a solution to environmental degradation, it is especially tourism's characteristic of changing values, ideas and attitudes which is important to understand in a time when we are facing serious environmental threats.

### 1.1.2 Research Question

The outlined problem definition above combined with my interests in sustainability, nature, cultural interaction and anthropology led me to the following research question:

***What motivates local 'hosts' to get involved with sustainable tourism organisations and (how) does this involvement affect their behaviour towards and ideas of 'environmental sustainability'?***

With 'hosts' I refer to those who are locally involved in a sustainable tourism organisation. 'Sustainable tourism organisations' allude to those organisations whom describe and promote their whole organisation as sustainable and try to implement its principles in every facet, rather than those who only use some sustainable practices in their conventional tourism enterprise. With 'environmental sustainability' I refer to ideas of the minimization or even elimination of human impact on the natural environment (for a more detailed interpretation see the paragraph 'A note on Style, Language and Interpretations').

In answering my research question, I made use of several concepts on which I based my sub-questions. In order to identify why people get involved with sustainable tourism and how they are affected by it, it is firstly necessary to establish an idea of what is meant with the concept of 'sustainable tourism' on a local level. Furthermore, by exploring the concepts of 'participation and motivation', it is possible to detect how and why someone engages with tourism. This provides insights in what this involvement determines in people's lives, and what their connection with tourism defines (Stronza 2001:267). Furthermore, a key feature of tourism is that it brings together different lifestyles and ways of being. Additionally, this means that (different) values about the natural environment interact. Exploring 'intercultural interaction' provides insight in how these values and knowledge are exchanged. Another core concept of the research is 'environmental sustainability'. However, what is actually sustainable is still contested. I therefore examined what is perceived as such. By examining (local) discourses of environmental sustainability I gained insight on what is meant by sustainability locally, how people have obtained this knowledge and if and how this understanding is affected by their work within sustainable tourism.

### 1.1.3 Academic and Societal Relevance

With my research I hope to contribute to academic and societal debates. Existing anthropological literature has in the past focused on the economic, social-cultural and environmental impact of tourism (Stronza 2001:268). However, the amount of research concerning newer forms of tourism such as sustainable tourism remains limited, as well as knowledge about why local people get involved in tourism, and what the effect is of the interaction between the host and guest (with

guest referring to both tourists or international organisations) (2001:277). This research aims to narrow that gap, because to gain a full understanding of the effects of tourism, it is important to have insight in all facets of the process. Additionally, the meaning of the term 'sustainability' applied to tourism is still highly debated, as it turned out that it could be *'interpreted and used in various ways to support a whole range of interests and causes'* (Willis 2005:159). Researching what happens on the ground, what local people think or perceive as sustainable, could contribute to this debate and the understanding of the (use of the) concept.

Furthermore, this research is concerned with exploring factors that contribute to a (environmental) sustainable world. The cause of many environmental problems is often allocated to human activities (Milton 1997: 491). Anthropology is a discipline concerned with the understanding of these human activities and the role of culture in the relation between humans and their environment. In doing so, anthropology can contribute to identify sustainable ways of living, as it provides insight into *'the relationship between how people see the world (their culture) and how they act in it'* (1997: 492). According to Bateson, these human activities that cause environmental troubles are based on 'wrong' ideas about the relationship between humans and their environment (Bateson 1987: 496). However, Bateson argues, this is simultaneously a possible entry point to reverse the damaging processes; to change the conventional attitudes towards the environment (1987: 496). However, in order to change attitudes, it is necessary to identify what these attitudes *are* and how they are constructed. This research is focused on examining exactly this process.

## 1.2 Key Concepts and Theories

In this section I will elaborate on the characteristics of the concepts of 'sustainable tourism', 'participation and intercultural interaction' and 'environmental sustainability' based on current academic debates, to provide a theoretical framework out of which the research has developed.

### 1.2.1 Tourism and Sustainability

As we have seen from the introduction, since the 1970s onward people have become more aware of the negative impacts of human activity (UNEP 2005, Brundtland Report 1987), including with regards to tourism (Holden 2008). These developments led to the rise of 'new' forms of tourism, labelled as 'sustainable tourism' (Holden 2008: 67). However, what is actually understood as sustainable tourism is contested. Therefore, I will elaborate on how the concept is discussed in academic literature in the next paragraph.

#### *Terminology & Definitions*

'Sustainable tourism' is defined by the World Travel Organisation as: *'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.'* (UNEP 2005: 12). The use of the term 'sustainability' applied to tourism can be seen as an attempt to distance itself from unsustainable practices brought by conventional 'mass' tourism, and entails a growing concern for environmental issues, with resonance in social, cultural and economic issues (Mowforth & Munt 2009: 18).

The posed definition shows a range of stakeholders, which can cause the definition to vary amongst the different involved actors, according to their position or role within the industry and the context in which it is made (2009: 98). It might therefore not be surprising that there is little agreement on the definition of the term. Moreover, coming up with one suitable definition that covers all these values and interests of the stakeholders is hard if not impossible to achieve (2009: 100). For this reason, it can be argued that the concept 'sustainable tourism' is socially constructed, reflecting the interests and values of the concerned actors (2009: 20). It is thus not a neutral concept or definition, but power laden because of all the different involved interests. Also, there is a difference between 'sustainability in tourism' and 'sustainable tourism'. The first form might be applicable by all forms of tourism including the mass by making some practices of the enterprise sustainable, whereas the latter is referring to a particular 'form' of tourism, or niche, which includes responsible-, eco-, volunteer-, sustainable- and pro-poor tourism (2009: 98). This research is concerned with the latter form.

## Principles & Elements

To overcome the discussion of strictly defining sustainable tourism, Mowforth and Munt developed descriptive principles of sustainability, derived from observed practices in the field. They do not see these principles as absolute, because they believe that *'there is no absolute true nature of sustainability and it is not definable except in the terms of the context, control and position of those who are defining it.'* (2009: 101). Nevertheless it is useful to examine the notion of sustainability through the division Mowforth & Munt make because it provides a dynamic framework of variables. They identified different but overlapping ramifications of sustainability (ecological, social, cultural and economic) with additional underlying elements (education, participation and conservation).

Ecological sustainability within tourism refers to *'the need to avoid or minimise the environmental impact of tourist activities'* in order to preserve the biodiversity of a given area (2009: 101). This can be achieved for example by calculating the carrying capacity of a certain tourism activity; what is its impact on the natural environment? How many tourists should be in a nature-tour without disturbing the wildlife, how much water is used in the hotels, how much do tourists pollute? Within ecological sustainability, values about nature play a key role. Why is there a need to minimize impact, to conserve the natural environment? This is discussed in more detail under the key concept of *'environmental sustainability'*.

Sustainable tourism not only focuses on ecology, but also social, cultural and economic sustainability. With social sustainability Mowforth and Munt allude to the ability of a community to absorb inputs without the creation of social disharmony (2009: 104). Inputs can be seen as extra people, with all the social-economic differences they might bring with them, as the beneficiaries that tourism can bring have led in the past to social division and conflict within and between communities. Closely related to social sustainability is the concept of cultural sustainability. Next to the ability of dealing with the inputs socially, this principle can be seen as *'the ability of people to retain or adapt elements of their culture which distinguish them from other people'* once they are already confronted with these inputs (ibid.).

Lastly, but most often very prominent, is the principle of economic sustainability. This refers to the economic benefits sufficient enough to either cover the costs of any (negative) impacts of the



Figure 1. 'Principles of Sustainable Tourism' Mowforth and Munt 2009

tourist's presence and/or to offer an appropriate compensation for the inconvenience caused to the local hosts (2009: 105). However, this last principle can be seen as a 'pay off' for the other principles, but the other principles are just as important and equal as the economic one.

Within sustainable tourism, these principles are most often accompanied by certain additional elements. The 'educational element' should contribute to a greater understanding of the natural and human world (2009: 106). For this research, it is interesting to see whose values and knowledge is exchanged through this education element and in what way. A critical note that has been made is that education in tourism is most often focussed on tourists getting to know the local culture, but that there is barely any effort put in offering the hosts information about the cultural features and backgrounds of their guests, except for the wishes tourists have (ibid.). The next important element underlying sustainable tourism is 'local participation', the inclusion of and control by local people (2009: 107). The discussion here is about hosts as 'objects' or 'controllers' of tourism. I will come back to this element later on in the concept of 'Participation'. The last element Mowforth and Munt describe is the 'conservation element'. They advert to the argument that new tourism is supposed to contribute in the conservation of a given area (Ibid.). Critics argue that this is simply a form of 'ecological imperialism', whilst others perceive it as a valuable contributing for the conservation of fragile areas by providing locals an alternative income via tourism instead of more harmful practices such as logging (Ibid.). Thus, sustainable tourism is a complex and contested concept, and therefore not reducible to 'absolute principles' (2009: 108). Rather, sustainability could be seen as a continuum in which it constantly redefines itself through action and reaction, offering differing levels of sustainability (ibid.).

## 1.2.2 Participation and Intercultural Interaction

### *Modes of Participation and Motivation*

As is shown before, local participation is an important underlying element in sustainable tourism. But how do people participate? Are they passive recipients or active stakeholders in the tourism process? What factors play a role in determining that? And how does their mode of participation influence their attitudes and ideas about certain topics? Cohen (2002) states that *'equity in the participation of the local population is integral to the conceptions of sustainability'* (2002: 273). However, other scholars argue that there is a need to recognize that not all locals will participate equally, simply because they perform different roles in the process (Mowforth & Munt 2009: 228). While some will participate 'directly', interacting with tourists as a guide for example, others might only become involved 'behind the scenes' as supporting staff (Stronza 2001: 267). This

also influences the amount of time and energy one invests in his work. Stronza thus states: *‘in teasing apart differences in how local hosts participate -or choose not to participate- in tourism, we may begin to analyze the range of factors that determine who gets involved, why, and in what ways. Only by asking these latter questions can we explore what tourism determines in people’s lives and what factors in people’s lives define their connection with tourism’* (2001: 267).

Pretty and Hine (1999) developed a typology of participation (box 1.1), which is helpful in answering the former questions. It provides insights in and a better understanding of the affecting factors of tourism development on a local level (Mowforth& Munt 2009: 229). ‘Passive participation’ leads to more dependency on the external decision makers, whereas the mode of ‘self-mobilisation and connectedness’ enables hosts to perform as active stakeholders. Next to these modes of participation ranging from passive to active involvement, it is useful to examine the level of external or internal motivation of employees to participate in the first place. External motivations can be described as the benefits one derives from the involvement, whereas internal motivations can refer to ideology or passion from the person itself. This mode of motivation can amongst others determine how people are affected by or adapting to influences from (visiting) outsiders (Teunissen 2015: 35).

Typology	Characteristics
1. <b>Passive participation</b>	People participate by being told what has been decided or has already happened. Information being shared belongs only to external professionals.
2. <b>Participation by consultation</b>	People participate by being consulted or by answering questions. Process does not concede any share in decision-making, and professionals are under no obligation to take on board people’s views
3. <b>Bought participation</b>	People participate in return for food, cash or other material incentives. Local people have no stake in prolonging technologies or practices when the incentives end.
4. <b>Functional participation</b>	Participation is seen by external agencies as a means to achieve their goals, especially reduced costs. People participate by forming groups to meet predetermined objectives.
5. <b>Interactive participation</b>	People participate in joint analysis, development of action plans and formation or strengthening of local groups and institutions. Learning methodologies are used to seek multiple perspectives and groups determine how available resources are used.



6. Self-mobilisation and connectedness	People participate by taking initiatives independently of external institutions to change systems. They develop contacts with external institutions for resource and technical advice they need, but retain control over resource use.
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**Table 1: Forms of Participation. Source: Mowforth and Munt (2009: 229), adapted from Pretty and Hine (1999).**

The influence one has in the tourism process, and the effect the industry will have on an individual or community, is not only affected by the kind of motivation people have to participate but also by the amount of agency one has to act freely. Eric Wolf (in Vincent 2002) distinguishes forms of power that affect the amount of agency of people in a certain field, ranging from power as the ‘attribute’ of a person (potency, capability) to ‘structural power’ that structures the field of interaction of others ‘to render some kinds of behaviour possible, while making others less possible’ (2002: 223). This last form concerns most often policies or regulations, but is also noticeable in the first two modes of participation described by Pretty and Hine, where the tourism organisation decides for the local participants what can and cannot be done, which places them in a dependent position. Besides these factors of motivation and participation, intercultural interaction also plays a role in how someone is affected by (their work within) tourism.

### *Intercultural Interaction*

Tourism implies a certain interaction between the different actors and the environment visited (Holden 2008: 4), but moreover it brings people of different cultural backgrounds together. Tourism is therefore often described as a *transmission belt* between different lifestyles, which can cause changes in the host societies (Lanfant 1995 in Cohen & Kennedy 2007:292). Cultural features, such as mores of interaction, forms of relationships, styles of life, customs and traditions but also values and beliefs about the environment can all be affected by the visiting and interacting guests who hold specific cultural characteristics of their own (Mowforth & Munt 2009: 104). The places where the tourism process takes place can therefore be seen as a hybrid ‘borderland’, with hosts ‘living on cultural and national borders’ (Gupta & Ferguson 1992: 382).

One of these impacts of cross-cultural interaction is described as the *tourist gaze* (Urry 1990 in Stronza 2001: 270). Most often, and especially in developing countries, tourism is perceived as a tool of boosting the local economic welfare (King & Stewart 1996: 294). This means that those who wish to attract tourists have to think of how to package and promote their destinations, lifestyles and identities as products in a way that fits the expectations of the tourist (Cohen & Kennedy 2007:290). When hosts start to think and act like their guests and ‘adapt’ to their cultures, it can result in the loss of their own cultural identity. However, the other way around is also possible, described by Stronza as *reconstructing ethnicity*:

“If the tourist gaze does indeed have power to act as a mirror and, ultimately, transform the identity of the people gazed on, then, [...] tourism has as much potential to revive old values as it does to destroy them” (Stronza 2001:271).

This aspect is especially interesting when talking about sustainability. For example, how are ideas about the concept affected by this intercultural interaction; do they bring new visions on how to treat the environment, or strengthen own cultural values?

The answers to these questions are related to the concepts of ideology and hegemony. Ideology refers to *‘the bases and validity of our most fundamental ideas’*, of which critics state that this can represent a certain meaning that serves a specific social group (2009: 49). In this light, sustainability can be seen as ideological, originating from and serving mostly the interests of the western world (ibid.). Critics who would agree with this point of view are West and Carrier (2004). They argue that through new forms of tourism, like ecotourism, western neoliberal values of nature and culture are spread to places in the world where they are relatively unknown, with all its consequences. Additional to the concept of ideology is the concept of hegemony, which entails that one social group has the ability to convince others to adapt to the values of that particular group (2009: 51). Within tourism, this can be seen as the wishes or ideas of international travel agencies projected on host communities, but it also plays a role within the interaction of hosts and guests. Because of this, it can be argued that values, ideas and meaning of sustainability are cultivated in social practice and internalized over time, resulting in a ‘cultural style’ of sustainability (Ferguson 1999: 94).

### 1.2.3 Environmental Sustainability

#### *Visions of the Human-Nature Relations*

As is shown earlier, one of the key concepts of sustainable tourism, and central to this research, is labelled as ‘environmental sustainability’. Although the concept is referred to as a ‘slippery term’ (Borgerhoff Mulder & Coppollilo 2005: 66), it generally involves ideas of minimizing of negative (human) impacts to preserve or maintain natural areas. This alludes to the relationship between humans and their natural surroundings, which is based on a certain vision humans hold towards their environment.

One vision that is very present in the industrialized world is known as the ‘technocentric’ vision or ‘dominant world view’ (Holden 2008: 153, Koprina 2012: 704). Within this view, a strong belief about the ingenuity of humans to solve environmental issues through technology or science is at core. Nature is seen as a resource, in which its complexity is not acknowledged. It is thought that humans and non-humans are separate entities instead of an interconnected whole (Milton 1997,

Holden 2008). In this point of view, nature is still a place we *visit* or go to, rather than one we *live in* every day. In contrast, the 'ecocentric' vision is characterized by the belief that all organisms are of equal value, because they are all interconnected (Holden 2008: 153). Technology is not excluded, but should be able to function independently from natural resources without disturbance. Additionally, in the view of ecocentrists, nature has its own rights which should be acknowledged (2008: 154). Therefore it is argued that '*humans should protect the biotic community by eschewing self-interest and acting for the good of species*' (Kopnina 2012: 704).

Ecocentric and anthropocentric visions can be displayed as opposing poles between which there are different and mixed relations with the natural environment possible (Kopnina 2012: 704). This also relates to the 'shades of green' between deep and shallow ecology (Naess 1973). Where shallow ecology refers to forms of environmental sustainability that affects the well being of humans, such as reducing pollution and resource depletion, deep ecology is concerned with questioning the origins of these environmental issues, calling for 'revision of major political, economic and social systems and re-examination of an anthropocentric dominant western worldview' (Kopnina 2012: 704). In this latter perspective it is argued that one should not look for more 'eco-efficient' ways of living in which bad systems are made less bad, but still not good. Moreover, society should move towards 'eco-effectiveness' in which the aim is 'not to minimize the cradle-to-grave flow of materials, but to generate cyclical, cradle-to-cradle "metabolisms" that enable materials to maintain their status as resources and accumulate intelligence over time' (McDonough 2007: 1338). It is the difference between fighting the symptoms or the causes of the environmental issues, not minimization but elimination. To really reverse 'unsustainable' ways of living the focus should thus not be on 'sustaining' unsustainable systems in a more 'eco-efficient' way, but questioning the origins of the problems and replace them with 'the conception and production of goods and services that incorporate social, economic, and environmental benefit' from the very start (2007: 1338).

The visions on the relation with the natural environment are constructed on the beliefs of intrinsic and utilitarian values of nature (Borgerhoff Mulder & Coppolillo 2005). Utilitarian values refer to the function or service nature can offer to humans, whereas intrinsic values are values a natural object or service has in itself, regardless its use for humans (2005: 5). These latter values acknowledge therefore that nature should have the same ethical, moral and legal protection as humans do (2005: 11). These 'relations' between humans and their natural environment are developed by our observations and interpretations obtained during our life (Kellert & Wilson 1993). For example, Milton (1997) argues that the participation in an economic activity (e.g. tourism) can lead to particular perspectives on the environment (Milton 1997: 490). As will become clear from the case studies too, seeing a tree as something that encases ancestral spirits or as a commodity that can be cut down and sold produces different ways of engaging with it. However, as societies are complex

(they have multiple economic activities) different visions can exist within the same cultural perspective (1997: 490). Furthermore, it is not only our way of interacting with the environment that shape our ways of understanding it, but our understanding of (our relation with) the natural environment also shapes our behaviour towards it (1997: 491). When our ideas or attitudes towards the natural environment change, so will our behaviour (King & Stewart 1996).

“In the end, we will conserve only what we love. We will love only what we understand. We will understand only what we are taught” (Dubin 2008:151).

In summary, which forms of knowledge are exchanged within the tourism process that might influence *ideas* and values of ‘environmental sustainability’, and how they are extracted, can play a crucial role in affecting *behaviour* towards it too.

### 1.3 Methodology

To explore the research question of this thesis in the field, a research framework was designed. This framework is based on the theoretical concepts embedded in the research question, namely sustainable tourism, environmental sustainability, participation and intercultural interaction. These concepts were used to design the interview frameworks as well as the coding scheme I used to analyze my texts. Next to this, I worked with certain ‘Units of Analysis’ (1.3.1) and ‘Research Methods’ (1.3.2). The thesis itself is written in a certain way which I explain in the paragraph of ‘Style, Language and Interpretations’ (1.3.3).

#### 1.3.1 Units of Analysis

Within my research, my units of analysis contain both physical locations as well as human populations. The physical locations have been the international travellers café and guesthouse ‘Jalanjalanjogja’ in the city of Yogyakarta, Indonesia, and the local *Rumah Belajar* (‘Learning House’) of Earth of Life Indonesia in the region of Genung Kidul, province of Yogyakarta. Furthermore I joined tours from the local organisations ‘Java Arin’ and ‘Kura’. Initially, I focussed only on the international café, Jalanjalanjogja, but during my research I discovered some local organisations that worked in a slightly different way (see figure 2 for the interrelationships). Because of this, I decided to include them in the research, to see if there are differences in the way local and international organisations approach the concept of sustainable tourism and with that environmental sustainability. However, this also made me deal with the concepts of ‘local’ and ‘international’, with the danger of unintentionally creating cultural distance. However, I still decided to use these terms as my respondents frequently used them themselves; ‘local’, ‘Indonesian’, ‘international’, ‘Western’ and ‘foreign’ were often used to describe certain situations, issues or places.

Gupta and Ferguson explain this as follows:

*‘The irony of these times [...] is that as actual places and localities become ever more blurred and indeterminate, ideas of culturally and ethnically distinct places become perhaps even more salient’* (Gupta & Ferguson 1992: 378).

I explored why certain things were labelled that way, and how this

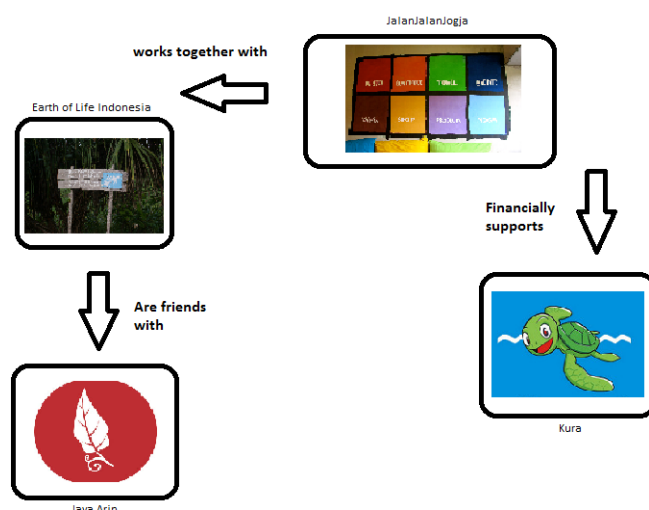


Figure 1. Case study relations

influenced ideas about sustainability. Furthermore, in my analysis I took into account not only the differences and similarities between these cases, but also *within* the organisations. As all of them encounter a variety of cultural backgrounds and nationalities within the tourism process they work, their ‘cultural style’ is not bound to a definite place but in constant exchange, and so do their ideas about environmental sustainability (Gupta & Ferguson 1992: 375). A detailed description of the cases will be provided later on in the chapters of the case studies (chapter 3).

The human populations I used for my research first of all consist of the people who are (about to start) working within these organisations. I also talked to ‘professionals’ in the field of tourism in Yogyakarta, mainly professors of the University, hotel managers and tourism students. I have joined all these organizations on their tours, combining physical locations with human populations.

### 1.3.2 Research Methods

Within my research I have explored subjective definitions described by the units of analysis. In doing so, I used several sampling and data collection techniques.

#### *Sampling*

Jalanjalanjogja is divided in several departments, known as the restaurant/café/bakery (‘Resto’), Fairtradeshop, Travel and the Guesthouse. From each department I have interviewed at least one representative. As my focus is on the travel part, I focussed especially on the Travel department. I intentionally spoke to people in different range of working experience, varying from half a year to 10 years experience in Jalanjalanjogja. Also I was able to follow the training process of a group ‘guides-to-be’. This enabled me to explore knowledge about environmental sustainability ‘before’ and ‘after’ working within Jalanjalanjogja. Thus, I used ‘quota sampling’ to get a fair notion of each subgroup of Jalanjalanjogja (Bernard 2011: 117).

Within the local organisations, Earth of Life Indonesia (ELI), Java Arin and Kura, I focussed on the key figures as these organisations are quite small. Sometimes this meant that I spoke with every person in the organisation, like Java Arin and ELI, but sometimes I was depending on whoever was there willing to talk with me, as was the case with Kura. Thus, here I used ‘convenience sampling’ (2011: 145).

#### *Data Collection*

During my research, I made use of *structured, semi-structured and unstructured interviews*, which I will explain by giving examples (2011: 155-157). During tours I used *unstructured interviews*. I had conversations with informants (mostly the tour leaders) on a more informal basis, discussing

what we saw around us and what they thought of it. With the employees of the sustainable tourism organisations I scheduled appointments to discuss certain topics, namely the concepts of sustainable tourism, motivation/participation and environmental sustainability (a framework of these questions is provided in the appendix). The conversations were thus the same in structure, but could differ in details depending on what informants told me. If they knew much about a certain topic I elaborated on that and focussed less on things they did not very much relate to. Sometimes this turned out to be a *structured interview*, sometimes it was more *semi-structured*. Nonetheless I always used open ended questions following a script, to be sure I received the information I was looking for (2011: 155). These interview methods provided my respondents with the possibility to come up with answers themselves without interference on my part. All interviews, and some conversations, were recorded. If I was not able to record, I tried to write down the information as soon as I could. All my recorded interviews I transcribed so I could use it for content analysis later on (see 'data analysis').

A method which I intended to use, but did not work out in practice, was '*free listing*' (2011: 224). It should have worked as followed: I asked respondents to 'list all the X you can think of' where the X could be 'environmental sustainable practices' for example. After listing, I wanted to ask the respondent to assess themselves on the items they have listed, ranging from 'good' to 'bad' and asked then why they thought they were good or bad at doing so, to identify the underlying barriers. This would give me insight in the associations people have with the concept, as well to gain insight into the assumptions people hold about sustainable behaviour (Isenhour 2010: 457). However, when I tried this method in practice, it did not work out as planned. The employees of the organisation, as well as some of the managers, felt like they were 'tested' (even though I explained to them that this was not the case). When I came up with the listing form after a fruitful conversation, they immediately withdrew from their open attitude. If they did accepted the form, they often forgot (after multiple reminders) to return it. This is why I decided to stop utilizing the method, as I thought it was more valuable for my research to have productive conversations and a good relation with my respondents. Instead, I incorporated some 'listing' questions into my interviews that would provide me with the same data; instead of asking them to list things, I asked if they could explain it during the conversation.

In addition to these interview techniques I have made use of the research technique *participant observation* (Bernard 2011, Isenhour 2010). Via participating in certain activities of my respondents I could observe their behaviour and opinions at the same time on an informal basis. So, on the one hand, I tried to follow the route of the *tourists* by joining tours and live in the guesthouse. By doing so, I observed how people talked about certain things in their roles of employees. On the other hand, I was able to explore the lives of the *employees* and 'go behind the scenes'; doing intern days at each department of Jalanjalanjogja, attending trainings for new guides, having a coffee or

dinner with someone and visit the houses of some of the employees. Using this method, I could analyse the differences between work life and daily life. Also, because I was able to attend the trainings for new guides, I could gather information about knowledge *before* working at Jalanjalanjogja. This information is valuable as I want to explore how working within sustainable tourism organisations contributes to the understanding and conceptualisation of environmental sustainability. As Isenhour argued, participant observation helps to '*build an understanding of the shared cultural logics of sustainability ideology in practice* (2010: 457).

### **Data Analysis**

As I used four main categories during my interviews (sustainable tourism, participation and motivation, environmental sustainability and intercultural interaction) I also coded my text in line with these concepts using the qualitative data analysis program 'Atlas.ti'. To be able to do so, I transcribed all my interviews and field notes. After coding, I analyzed my texts to discover concepts, attitudes, and beliefs underlying the concept of sustainable tourism. I identified how these things were tied together; which things are shared by people about what constitutes environmental behaviour, for example. I thus used the method of *content analysis*; discovering the 'meaning behind the words' by systematically coding my texts (Bernard 2011: 443). This enabled me to explore and detect general trends, conceptualisations and influences mentioned or performed by my respondents to answers my sub-questions and ultimately provide a conclusion to my main research question.

### **1.3.3 A Note on Style, Language and Interpretations**

#### **Style**

In my thesis I aim to provide a medium through which the voices of my local respondents can resonate. Therefore, this thesis will contain multiple quotes. These quotes are, when possible, written down in the exact way how respondents spoke to me. Therefore, the grammar is not always correct in these quotes, but it does show their ideas and opinions without any translation into other words or meanings. Furthermore, I aim to describe my reasoning as accurate as possible, as I myself have been the most important research instrument during my research. Therefore, next to the voice of my respondents, my voice as a researcher will also be present in this thesis.

#### **Language**

During my stay in Indonesia, I participated in a two-week long intensive course. While this provided me with a good basis in making contact with local people, it was not sufficient to allow me to conduct interviews in the local language. Luckily, as my topic concerned tourism, a lot of my respondents were able to speak English. This provided me with greater control over my interviews.



However, as both my respondent and I did not speak in our mother tongue during interviews, different interpretations of concepts or words might have occurred, of which I am aware.

For those respondents who did not speak English at all I received great support from my Indonesian research partner Khusnul. As I was part of a field school in Indonesia, we were paired with an Indonesian student. Khusnul studied tourism, which was very beneficial for this research. Furthermore, in those cases where a language barrier was holding me back from talking with people, Khusnul kindly translated my questions and the respondent's answers. Also he advised me on how to approach people best, and which questions I could ask directly and which ones needed to be adjusted to the person or situation. This might have influenced the content of certain questions, but according to the answers I noticed that Khusnul very well understood the information I was looking for. This is due to the fact that we have had discussions about the content and data of the research, as well as the high motivation to support me in my research of Khusnul himself.

### *Interpretations*

Sustainability is a key concept within my research. Although Mowforth and Munt (2009) correctly argue that *'there is no absolute true nature of sustainability and it is not definable except in the terms of the context, control and position of those who are defining it'* (2009: 101), I tried to explore what my own vision of the concept is, as this might have influenced the way I interviewed respondents about the topic or interpreted certain data.

For me, the first important thing when talking about environmental sustainability is that the *negative* impact of human presence is avoided, diminished or, in the best case scenario, eliminated. Humans have, and will always have, an impact on their environment. This impact for me is sustainable if the 'give-and-take' relation is in balance; that nature can restore that which is used from it. In an ideal situation, humans could contribute to a positive development of nature, for example by using recycle or upcycle techniques to reduce the extraction of new resources, or by restoring barren land into fertile landscapes. For this, a thorough understanding of how things are related to each other is important in my view. But most of all, I think that for achieving environmental sustainability, having attention and care for the things we do and the things that happen around us is crucial; from what we eat every day to what we throw away (and how), and a continuous sense of wonder and respect for how every year, there are new fresh leaves on the trees providing us with oxygen. Central to these ideas is also the notion of how we act towards each other as humans. If people respect and value each other, they can work together to achieve these kind of goals instead of chasing their own profits. The last thing I perceive as contributing to a sustainable lifestyle, both in the developed as well as developing countries, is being satisfied with what you have. Especially with our Western lifestyle, I have the feeling people always want to have more and better.

This has also to do with the profound idea in our society that humans are separate from nature. I think that when we truly realize and understand we are part of the same ecosystems we use, enjoy, try to protect or want to set aside, this will contribute to a better human-nature relationship.

#### 1.4 Ethical Considerations

My research started with a 'field school', in which I gained more insight in our field before starting our research. Additionally, we were paired up with a local student. Through this, we were able to develop a form of 'cultural sensitivity'. In my case, my research partner taught me how best to ask questions without being rude, what kind of behaviour was appropriate in which situation, what is seen as harmful to one's dignity, to name a few. This helped introduce my research and approach people in the right way. This is especially important to ensure the possibility for future students to do research in the same place(s).

During my fieldwork I have been very cautious with regards to the treatment of my respondents. In trying to prevent that people would feel offended after finishing the research, I always told them why I wanted to interview them (for my research to write my master thesis), ensured their anonymity, provided them with the opportunity to ask me questions after the interview, and sent them the written interview via e-mail afterwards to check if my interpretations were correct. In this way, I tried to be open and honest towards my respondents. However, I am aware that using these interviews in an analytical way in my thesis can portray the information of my respondents in a different way, with the possibility of still making them feel misunderstood or wrongly interpreted.

I tried to overcome this by talking to the management of Jalanjalanjogja about my initial findings, and asking for their feedback. However, I did not do so with every employee. Although I have been honest towards all my respondents about this possibility of using their information in a different context, it is hard to clarify up front how this will work out in practice. I hope that by maintaining their anonymity in the description of my results, this effect can be minimized. This anonymity is especially crucial, as I want my results to be accessible for the organisations I did my research at without creating internal conflict. I also made the names of the organisations anonymous to prevent that my thesis will 'pop up' in search engines when tourists are looking for activities/accommodation for their holiday. I do not want my thesis possibly influencing the business of these organisations in that manner.

Furthermore, I am aware that I entered a field with an already existing history and customs created over time, which I was ofcourse unable to grasps and fully understand in just three months of fieldwork. This might cause that my story 'misses' information which can lead to different

interpretations of my data. I further want to clarify that it has not been my intention to 'assess' the organisations I used for my research on their level of sustainability, but rather to examine which visions and practices exist and how they are developed. In conclusion, I think it is difficult to be at once scientific independent and honest, while at the same time respecting your respondents who provided you with the information to do so in the first place. There is no single way to take on this task; you have to weigh the consequences of every decision you make deliberately. I have tried to do this as best as I could.

## 1.5 Structure of the Thesis

In this thesis I want to discuss if and how sustainable tourism contribute to the understanding of the concept of environmental sustainability amongst its hosts. From literature I derived certain factors that are described as influential in this process, known as motivation, participation and intercultural interaction. I have explored these factors during my fieldwork, and in this thesis I will assay the theoretical background to my findings in the field. My field consisted of several sustainable tourism organisations of which one is international set-up and three of them are local initiatives. Each of them has different ways of using the concept of sustainable tourism, reasons to start their organisations, goals of their activities, ways of exchanging knowledge and interaction with tourists. This fact, in turn, can have varying impact on the understanding of environmental sustainability and the accompanying behaviour. In this paragraph I will shortly highlight the materials I will discuss in this thesis, which will support my argument.

Chapter two will emphasize the context in which my research took place. It describes important developments in the tourism industry of Yogyakarta, as well as how the concept of sustainability is perceived by both governmental institutions as well as local citizens. This contextual chapter provides a better understanding of the reasons for sustainable tourism development, as well as the role of surroundings in the conceptualisation of concepts such as environmental sustainability.

Chapter three will present the case studies of the thesis. It contains both an international set-up organisation as well as local initiatives. Firstly, a descriptive paragraph will be provided in which the organisations are introduced concerning their mission, vision and activities. The chapter then moves on to three paragraphs, in which is described how the main concepts of this research are perceived and experienced by the employees of these organisations. These statements are subsequently analyzed and linked to the theoretical framework. Each paragraph is concluded with summarizing the main findings.

Chapter four will be devoted to the conclusion of the research, restating the argumentation, the main findings and answering the main research question. It furthermore gives a suggestion for further research and the future development of sustainable tourism.

## Chapter 2. The Tourism Culture of Yogyakarta

After providing the introduction and theoretical and methodological background of the research, I will now turn to descriptions of the field in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. In this chapter, I will describe the context in which my research of tourism and sustainability took place, to provide a better understanding of the reasons for sustainable tourism development, as well as the role of surroundings in the conceptualisation of concepts such as environmental sustainability.

### 2.1 Tourism Development in Yogyakarta; From View-Blocking Buildings to Desa Wisata

The city of Yogyakarta (Yogya) in the Special Province of Yogyakarta is marketed as the 'cultural heart' of the island Java, and was built around the Sultan's Kraton palace (Hampton 2003: 89). The region of Yogyakarta is described as being ecologically special, as it lies between the mountains in the north and the sea in the south. Most visitors of Yogya are domestic, although it still receives a high amount of international tourists (2003: 90). Popular sightseeing spots include the temple complexes of Prambanan and Borobudur (2003: 89). Aside from these cultural hubs, Yogya also contains some natural sites that are visited by tourists, such as mount Merapi, as well as a variety of caves and beaches which are starting to be explored.

However, the focus of the local government has rather been on building big hotels and apartments in order to meet the tourist demand instead of the development of sustainable tourism alternatives. The impact of these developments is strongly experienced by the local citizens: *'When I came live here 3 years ago, I could see mount Merapi from my roof. Now, the view is blocked because of all the big hotel buildings'* [research partner]. In addition, citizens encountered also more severe problems. When a big hotel was built in a certain neighbourhood, this influenced the amount of groundwater available. Big hotels are often built without a well-thought plan: *'They build really high hotels without any education about where they will get the water from, what to do with their waste'* [Employee Jalanjalanjogja]. This also causes troubles with the amount of cars and traffic jams for example. This development is in line with the argumentation of Hampton, stating that policies in tourism development are generally top down with the focus on capital-intensive mass tourism projects (2003: 89). It also shows the short-term profit making mindset of these local governments, which Hansen and Wethal (2014) describe as characteristic for emerging economies like Indonesia.

As stated before, the potential of the ecological features of the Yogyakarta region is starting to be explored within tourism development. However, doing this in a sustainable way is often still complicated. A professor of the Gadjah Mada University, an anthropologist with a special interest in ecology and tourism, explained: *'It is not easy to really develop the area as 'eco' because there are so many indicators you have to meet, so many criteria before you can call something as 'eco''*. Meeting

these criteria takes more time and effort, whereas local governments prefer short-term profits (ILO 2012: IV). Recently, however, the government of Yogya is investing in the development of so called *Desa Wisata*, or 'tourism villages', which are seen as a sustainable alternative to the development of the big hotels and apartments. A 'tourism village' is a village that is open to receive tourists in their 'homestays' and show them their local customs and surroundings. The idea behind the community-based *desa wisata* is about bringing the benefits of tourism to the local people, but in a controlled way, to prevent harmful effects known to mass tourism.

*'With desa wisata, we [academics] help them to develop and promote them as tourism object. So before we look at what is special of the village; batik, souvenirs, nature, etc. We give them information about tourism and help them to make better food, better rooms so tourists want to stay in the village. So we develop local cultural values, so it looks better. Because it is from the village, it is still authentic. It is still local in our view, but better. If it is staged or not does not really matter, the aim is to be attractive. And then when it is a bit developed we have to leave the project and people have to develop further on their own. Desa wisata is based on different and overlapping categories, like ecological, cultural, educational (agriculture), social and economic' [Prof. Gadjah Mada University].*

It is argued that in this way, local people can improve their livelihoods through the benefits of tourism. *Desa wisata* is therefore described as being '*on the side of the local people*', instead of the big (foreign) corporations that build huge, imposing hotels in the city. Its aim is to develop the community and to empower its members so they can stand their ground in the tourism process. However, many *desa wisata* are described by local critics as 'empty boxes' or 'fake', where 'just a nice porch' is placed to label the village as such but the money for the development of the village is misappropriated by the local officials. The professor also acknowledges that many of the '*Desa Wisata*' projects fail because the concept is still not well developed. For example, when people gain economic benefits, they tend to put aside their 'cultural values' to modernize. A man of such a 'failed' *Desa Wisata* described: '*Now, we have economic welfare, but social poverty*'. Although this is not the 'academic' aim, it often happens in practice due to the earlier described 'short-term, profit oriented' mindset.

Despite the critique and failures, *Desa Wisata* is by many perceived as a 'sustainable' alternative to the commercial mass-tourism developments. By making cultural and natural sites tourism objects through which villagers can make a better living, sites features might be better preserved. The ultimate reasoning is that '*Tourism is seen as modernization based on tradition. You become modern without losing your [cultural and natural] tradition*' [Prof. Gadjah Mada University]. In the next paragraph, I will describe how sustainability is perceived both outside and inside the tourism industry in Yogyakarta.

## 2.2 Sustainability and Tourism in Yogyakarta; Moneymaking, Egotourism and Changing Mindsets

As was stated in the introduction, Indonesia is currently facing several environmental threats such as deforestation, rapid urbanisation and overexploitation of (marine) resources (WWF 2007: 3). In 2012 the rapport of the International Labour Organisation again stated that the condition of the natural environment of Indonesia is far from ideal. Within the urbanized areas, such as the city of Yogyakarta, there are several environmental issues present as well. In summary, these are mostly linked to 1) water; due to its high population density water resources are scarce, 2) waste; there is no solid waste system present in the city and the awareness of how to handle trash is low, causing it to be dumped everywhere and 3) air quality; issues with the quality of air are caused by the many motorized vehicles and due to a poorly developed public transport system people have few alternatives<sup>1</sup>. The focus on (quick) socio-economic development in emerging economies such as Indonesia often results in environmental degradation (Hansen & Wethal 2014: 4). The ILO states that one of the causes for the problems around Indonesia is to be found in this 'short-term-benefit' mindset (ILO 2012: 22, IV). I experienced that this mindset is still present, both at the local as well as the governmental level. As stated by a respondent:

*'People are not passionate about their environment. They just want to make money very quickly. They think short term, not long term'* [Employee Earth of Life Indonesia]. Another Indonesian visitor who was joining the conversation agreed with him by stating: *'Indonesians are only interested in making money first. That's bad, because the environment gets damaged. It's very hard to change that mindset'*.

Next to this short-term mindset, the use of social media has its impact on the natural environment too. My research partner stated: *'We are living in a viral world'*. This quote indeed illustrates the role of social media in the daily lives of the (young) people of Yogyakarta and thus also for those who travel or work within the tourism industry. Being online on smartphones is three times higher in Indonesia than in the UK, for example (WeAreSocial). Especially Instagram, an application in which one can upload photos, is trending in Yogyakarta. As a lot of these pictures show the travel destinations of its users, this has its impact on the sites visited, and also *why* they are visited.

This was especially remarkable during my visit to the ecotourism park Kalibiru. The main attractions of this park consisted of photo spot 1, 2, 3 and 4 and a small outbound trail. When I talked to the management of the park, they explained that Kalibiru had become famous once a photo taken at one of the photo spots went viral. The picture shows a person sitting on a wooden platform, overlooking the forests of the area. Now, the main reason for people to come the park is to

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<sup>1</sup> (2010) <https://studiageneralia.wordpress.com/2010/05/30/epm-yogyakarta/>

make a similar picture to share on social media, to *show* they have been to an adventurous nature place, but not because they want to *experience* nature. Therefore, a respondent stated that ecotourism could better be changed into *egotourism*. This 'showing off' on social media has its downside, both for humans and the environment. In search for the perfect spot, youngsters tend to go hiking unprepared, which can lead to dangerous situations like dehydration or hypothermia, but also leads to damage to the natural environment as people '*do not care about the waste, only the picture*' [Employee Jalanjalanjogja]. That social media can be harmful for the natural environment is also underlined by other employees of Jalanjalanjogja, which I will turn to in chapter 3.

The professor of the Gadjah Mada University explained this 'unsustainable' mindset by stating that currently the concept of 'Sustainable Tourism' is still only used in the academic world; it is not a concept 'from the people'. At the governmental level, the idea of sustainable tourism exists, but it is not put into practice basically because they do not fully understand what it entails. According to this professor, there is a lack of human resources to 'translate' the knowledge from the academic world into governmental policies. This underlines the earlier findings of ILO, who stated that Indonesia was '*lacking the political infrastructure and human resources to adequately manage current human impacts from local residents and visitors on many of its key natural and cultural resources*' (ILO 2012: 10).

Therefore, a lot of elements that are labelled as 'eco' are not necessarily labelled as such because it really *is* 'eco', but more to 'smooth over' the image of a company. If the development of (sustainable) tourism is not controlled, according to the Professor of Gadjah Mada, this will cause further threats to the natural environment.

*'The government has to have clear ideas what is meant by sustainability, and there should be kind of carrying capacity ideas. They have to make a serious study of that. So if you want to have sustainable tourism, this is the first thing you should do. Now, ecology is something most people do not understand at all. That is the problem. The word 'sustainable tourism' is more academic for most people in the tourism world. That's why we need to help them to understand what sustainable tourism is. Because what we are afraid of in tourism is that carrying capacity and such will be forgotten in the tourism development'.*

The problems with ecology that Yogyakarta is facing the most are related to waste, especially in the coastal zones. However, the core of the problem is not the waste itself, but the different perceptions people have on what is waste and what not.

*'There is a very big problem with tourists on the beach. Dirty! But people do not have that kind of awareness to see that that's a bad thing, about what cleanness is. There should be some action from the local government, but the problem is that the local government does not really realize it either or*

*are not aware of the problem. There is a different perception of cleanness. This I think is one of the main points: different perceptions of cleanness, what is green, what is ecological sound'* [Prof. Gadjah Mada University].

Reflecting on the above sketched situation, the intentions to implement sustainability practices into tourism development are there, but the understanding of the concept is 'lacking'; people hold different perceptions of what is actually seen as sustainable both on a local and governmental level. Furthermore, the focus is still on short-term results whereas sustainable tourism needs more deliberate planning. Still, there are some local initiatives that do use the concept of 'sustainable tourism'. These local initiatives focus mostly on changing the mindset of local people about the tourism process; on securing the quality of life of the people not only on the short term with material benefits, but long term gains are rooted in pride of their natural and cultural heritage. Next to these local initiatives, Yogyakarta knows some international restaurants, guesthouses and travel agencies that work with the concept of sustainable tourism. The next chapter will be devoted to some of these organizations I used as case studies, namely Jalanjalanjogja, Kura, Earth of Life Indonesia (ELI) and Java Arin.



## Chapter 3. Sustainable Tourism in Practice

This chapter elaborates on the findings of the fieldwork. In 3.1, the organizations that were used as case studies for this research are introduced, describing briefly their history, mission, vision, financial incentives and some of their activities. The following chapters (3.2, 3.3 and 3.4) will be concerned with the description of the data gathered in the field, analyzed with the used theories.

### 3.1 Cases of Sustainable Tourism Initiatives

To explore the research question of this thesis, I consulted several organizations that used the label of sustainable tourism. In this chapter I will briefly elaborate on their mission, vision, financial incentives and activities.

#### 3.1.1 The International Organization 'Jalanjalanjogja'

The concept of the traveller cafés, located around the world, originates from a Belgium travel company. At a training weekend the idea of the cafés was born:

*'When we were away on a weekend of training we were discussing the theme of sustainability again. I was very critical about the group trips, because in my view, you could not really be sustainable, especially culturally speaking; in that format, you were not able to really connect with local people in the way I experienced during my own trips. Then, someone came up with the idea of a travelcafé in Belgium. I thought it would be great to not only have something like that in Belgium, but all over the world. These places could serve as the facilitators of the Joker groups visiting, being the intermediate between tourists and locals. We could set up tours in collaboration with local people and split the big group into smaller groups. In this way, we could support local people and initiatives while providing an experience in which tourists can have real contact with local people'* [Manager Jalanjalanjogja]

The café in Yogyakarta has been around for over 20 years. However, it has not always been an easy 'quest', as the cultural differences caused a lot of misunderstandings in the beginning.

*'I came to Yogya with my ideology, but I bumped into a lot of resistance. Nobody believed my intentions; they thought that I, as a foreigner, came for the money only. Because that's what most foreigners did. All 'becak'<sup>2</sup> drivers thought I would take the tourists to places to get commissions, which I thus took away from them, for example'* [Manager Jalanjalanjogja].

Although the manager experienced a lot of protest with the introduction of



Figure 2. Terrace of JalanjalanJogja: vertical farming

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<sup>2</sup> 'Becak': a (motorized) bicycle with a kind of 'chair' in the front to transport tourists. Comparable with a Riksja.

Jalanjalanjogja, she also received support from a group of Indonesian who did acknowledge her ideals, and who wanted to learn more about it. Nowadays, there is a better understanding of the organisation, and are they even consulted for advice if changes need to be made in the neighbourhood.

### *Mission and Vision*

The idea of the Jalanjalancafés arose out of the concern for the growing impact of mass-tourism on the environment and local communities. Therefore, the founders of Jalanjalanjogja



Figure 3 Interns in the kitchen

wanted to implement the idea of sustainable tourism, in which they acknowledge the potential of local people, respect for culture and environmental protection. Instead of focussing solely on the 'exotic part' of the destination, as conventional tourism does according to Jalanjalanjogja, They aim to bring a broader picture of Indonesia by *'offering them a glimpse of modern*

*Indonesia through tours showing daily life guided by young local people who are eager to share, to learn and to make sincere friendships, through exhibitions, through cooking classes and so on'* (IndonesiaExpat).

The cafés are *'meeting places for travellers, intersections between east and west, north and south'* (Jalanjalanjogja). They are 'in between' the travellers and local people. These cafés are set up out of a western concept, but, as they argue, *'in synch with its unique local environment'* and co-owned by locals. They bring people and cultures together by emphasizing open mindedness, respect and a sense of wonder. They want to encourage *'travelling, discovering and broadening your horizon'* to enrich the world and the lives of people, both locals and tourists (Jalanjalanjogja).

### *Financial Incentives*

Jalanjalanjogja is funded by the incomes amassed through the restaurant and the tours. The incomes are used to support local projects (such as Kura), provide employees with additional courses, use fair transport and pay fair wages. 'Fair' wages does not mean a high income, as they do not want employees who work at Jalanjalanjogja just for the money. The wages are a bit above average and adjusted to function. Furthermore, employees are encouraged to develop themselves at the costs of Jalanjalanjogja. The manager states: *'Actually, because of all these investments, we barely make any profit'*.

## Activities

Jalanjalanjogja works with a variety of tours, which is one of the main sources of their success. Within Jalanjalanjogja, they call it 'alternative' tours; different from the standard tours to the touristic highlights of Yogyakarta such as Prambanan, Borobudur, Kraton and the Waterpalace. On their website, they offer 21 tours, of which 8 are nature-based, such as biking to the beach, and the others focusing on cultural aspects, like the culinary tour or the 'village by bike' tour. Next to the tours, they provide courses, to 'experience Jogjakarta in a different way' (Jalanjalanjogja). These courses are all culturally focused and include for example a cooking course. Lastly, Jalanjalanjogja provide 'outdoors' trips 'beyond the borders of the normal destination and straight into the stunning nature that surrounds Yogya' (ibid.), including sand boarding or canoeing. All outdoor tours are nature based. The goal of the tours is to provide tourists with an alternative experience and to show the authentic life of Yogyakarta.

### Box 1.

#### Village by Bike Tour

One of the first and most famous tours of Jalanjalanjogja is the village tour by bike. As the

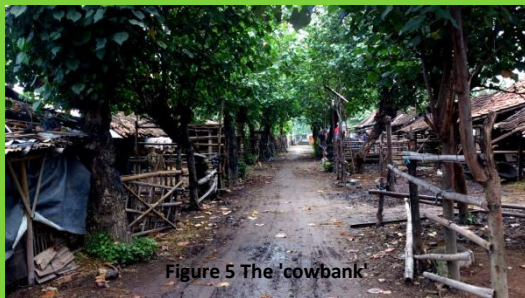


Figure 5 The 'cowbank'

name of the tour suggests, in this tour some of the surrounding villages of Yogyakarta are explored by bike. I joined this tour together with four other Dutch tourists. Early in the morning, after some instructions on how to behave as a biker in the chaotic traffic of Yogyakarta and how to dress

properly for visiting the village, we take off. After surviving cycling through the crowded traffic of the city, we arrive at our first stop: a 'cowbank'. The guide tells us that cows are the most valuable asset of the village people. As they do not always have room at their own houses to keep a cow, this 'common' stable is where they can stall their cows. Although the 'cowbank' is guarded by villagers, sometimes people even sleep with their cows to protect them. They are afraid their cow will be stolen or taken away by practices of *Kejawen*, Javanese beliefs of spirits. After this explanation we walk back to our bikes. One of the tourists asks a question about the garbage, as he has seen a lot of it during the tour so far. The guide explains that back in the days, people only had organic waste. They burned it or left it at the side of the



Figure 4 Making Tempeh

road to be rotten. They still perform these practices, but the waste is no longer organic; it contains a lot of plastic. Burning this causes environmental as well as health problems, the guide says. The next stop is at a krupuk bakery, where we are shown how the krupuks are made and packaged. The guide buys us some to taste, after which we take a short break with traditional snacks at a local house where tempeh is made. We are thought how to make tempeh ourselves; we have to package soya beans in banana leaves after which it needs to ferment for a while. We finish our snacks and our 'job' and cycle further through the villages. The guide spots a few farmers who are harvesting rice. The guide tells us about the process of rice farming and invites us to help the farmers. I ask her about the difference with organic farming, but she admits she does not really know about organic rice. The guide tells me that the tour is not strict; guides are free to jump in on opportunities they see along the road. For example, farmers are not always harvesting at the same place or at the time of the tour, so they look for something similar. On our way back we make a few more stops at a brick factory (including taking pictures with two old farmers who are very charmed by the ladies of the group) and an old couple selling raw peanuts, finishing the tour at Jalanjalanjogja with a refreshing drink.



Figure 6 Peanut Seller

### 3.1.2 The Local Organisations Earth of Life Indonesia, Indo Arin and Kura

#### *Earth of Life Indonesia*

The local, family-based organization Earth of Life Indonesia (ELI) call themselves a *Rumah Belajar Lingkungan*, which literally means ‘Environment Learning House’. ELI was started because they believed that complaints or criticism concerning environmental issues alone will not bring any change, but rather, one has to do

something. The sisters who founded the organization originate from Papua, where they lived close to nature. In Yogyakarta, they missed this connection. At the same time, a cycling movement was present in the city. Both groups organised separate activities but decided to work together in



Figure 8 The ‘Rumah Belajar’ of Earth of Life Indonesia

2010; ELI was born. In 2013 they moved out of the city to their current location at the beach of Watu Kodok. The Swiss husband of one of the sisters bought the piece of land for their project. In the beginning, this land was seen as barren and unusable. ELI built a house with the use of sustainable products in a way that ultimately it would be fully self-sufficient regarding energy and the more. They also started to cultivate the barren land using permaculture techniques.

Their aim is to raise awareness amongst local farmers concerning the coastal environmental issues the area is facing in order to prevent the destructive force of mass tourism. By organizing tours



Figure 7 Members of the team of ELI explaining about the food

for people from outside the area they try to show the local people that their whole area is valuable, not only the beach, and that it is worth preserving it instead of selling it to (foreign) investors. Furthermore they promote permaculture as a way towards sustainable farming, using natural pesticides and no

chemicals. ELI is financially independent. They work with a network of likeminded people and groups, and their income is generated by the tours they organize every month. Next to their work at ELI, most employees have small jobs in the city. They return to Yogyakarta every week for a few days.

## Java Arin

Closely related to and close friends of ELI is the social enterprise Java Arin, established in



Figure 10 Explaining about spices with local farmer

2011. The Indonesian founder of Java Arin travelled through Indonesia in 2010. What she saw during her trips made her want to contribute to the enhancement of people's quality of life, but in a culturally and environmentally sustainable way. The organisation is active in several locations such as Wonogiri (Central Java), Kulon Progo (Yogyakarta), the highlands of Gayo (Aceh) and Ende (Nusa Tenggara Timur). Their aim is to

make a positive contribution to local communities and their environment through the use of sustainable tours. Their goal within is to *'build empowered communities, cultural preservation, and environmental conservation'* [JavaArin]. Tourism development is therefore not their goal, but is

rather seen as a tool to solve problems. They differ from ELI in the sense that they organize their tours at different places in and around Java, while ELI focuses on their own surroundings. Mapping of the area makes visible which things are important and how things are related to each other. It provides

local people with power over their resources:

*'Mapping is power'* [Employee].



Figure 9 Member of Java Arin interacting with guest

## Kura

The third and last local organisation I took into account is called Kura. This little organisation, based in Yogya, focuses on the conservation of sea turtles in Samas beach. They started around 2010 as a small group of friends. They worried about the conditions of Samas beach and its turtles, and wanted to support the only villager who was concerned with the protection of these turtles. As students, they wanted to support this man using the knowledge they gained in university. Through raising awareness amongst local villagers and tourists they want to preserve what they perceived as valuable for now and the generations to come.

The start of Kura was not always easy, as friends and family did not understand why they were wasting their time by not making money. However, they persisted in their activities to protect

the sea turtles and their environment while making local people aware and able to protect it themselves. They have invested in restoring the habitat of the turtles by planting trees in the coastal zones and cleaning trash from the beach. As they perceive the continuity of their work in the future as important, they also promote and educate at local schools and universities in Yogya.



Figure 11 Kids of Samas Beach learning about sea turtles

They use tourism to make money for their project and to show local people that they can earn money with the sea turtles by conserving instead of selling them, and how they can develop tourism in a non-destructive way: *'We try to show them how it can also be done differently, more responsible'*. They also organize community-projects, like planting trees in the coastal area. They state: *'In Kura, we learn to understand nature and all creatures or things in this natural environment'*.

### **Financial Incentives**

Java Arin and ELI are self-supporting organisations, financed by the activities they organize. Kura designed certain products they sell in the city, for example in the fair trade shop of Jalanjalanjogja, to gain extra income next to their tourism activities.

### **Activities**

All three of these local organisations do not have a 'standard' tour which can be booked every day. Earth of Life Indonesia tries to organize a walking tour every month. Java Arin organized tours when it fits the circumstances of both the locals and their own agenda's, which can be once every two months or more or less. Kura also does not provide a tour that can be booked every day, but once an interested group/individual contacts them they can arrange something within the same week. All their tours aim to show local people that their surroundings and/or local practices are worth visiting just the way they are, to prevent that people will sell their land or change their practices in favour of the mass-tourism industry. Empowerment of these local communities is their main objective, through which the environment will be conserved as well.

Box 2.

*Farmer Walk Tour of Earth of Life Indonesia*

During my fieldwork I participated in a weekend trip of earth of Life Indonesia at the coast of Watu Kodok. Upon arrival the guests are welcomed with a home-made drink by the team of ELI.



Figure 12 Farmers walking from their field to their homes

After our drinks we have a quick tour through the surrounding area of ELI. During this walk one of the employees talks about the '*warung*' (small food stalls) development at this part of the coast. He says: 'People here are not passionate about their environment. They just want to make money very quickly. They think short term, not long

term'. A guest responds to this with stating: 'Unfortunately, most people in Indonesia are only interested in making money first. That's bad, because then the environment gets damaged. It is very hard to change that mindset.'

After the walk through the area we walk back to the house of ELI, after which the team introduces itself and shows a movie as an introduction to their work. The movie is called 'land of free people'. In this movie it is stated that conservation of the environment is a must for human survival. At ELI, they use for this the '*pranata mangsa*' (farming guidelines), which is directed by the seasons and based on the sun, stars and their cycle. Therefore, 'everything is learning about the environment', the movie states. To be able to learn from the environment, one has to 'be friendly with nature and nature gives you wisdom'. The guests were very impressed by the movie. 'I never thought of how everything is so connected, that what we do on the land has effect on the sea. '.

After this introduction to the organisation, the team of ELI explains about the walk of the next day. The walking tour is meant to change the local mindset; that tourism is not only concerned with the beach, but also the rest of the area. As NGO, they feel having little power, and via tours they try to influence the local people. Furthermore, farmers in Indonesia are controlled by the government. There is no 'rich' farmer. This makes that nobody wants to be a farmer anymore if nothing changes. Also, farmers tend to think they are not smart enough for something else. Via the tour, ELI tries to change this vision. In the walking area of the tour, every village has a tradition or event to show gratitude to nature. This is also because of the local myth of the Hindu



empire 'Maja pahit', about King Brawijaya who run away from the muslims to the beach. Here, he physically disappeared and became one with nature. These kinds of myths are still present in the villages.

The next day we wake up early and take off to the starting point of the walk. We went by



Figure 13 Trash dump

truck, as this was the original way farmers/fisherman went back home from the beach. Along the road, the guides point us a trash dumping place. Here, trash that was collected from the beach was dumped. Out of sight of the tourists, but still a problem. During the tour, the local guide and the guide of ELI explain about environmental

features we see and local Javanese myths. The guide of ELI explained to me: 'People used to see themselves as one with nature, but not anymore'. He further stated that this has a lot to do with modernisation and especially gaining economic welfare. During the tour we encounter some farmers who are responding with kindness and interest, walking together with us for a few minutes or providing us with fruit.

After finishing the tour we have a healthy lunch again at ELI. After lunch, some of the guests wanted to see another part

of the beach which was quite famous. This part of the beach was crowded, with a lot of big *pariwisata* (tourism) busses. All the sudden, while seeing this, I understood the struggle ELI is facing even more. There were so many people; I could not imagine how the beach would look like if they have

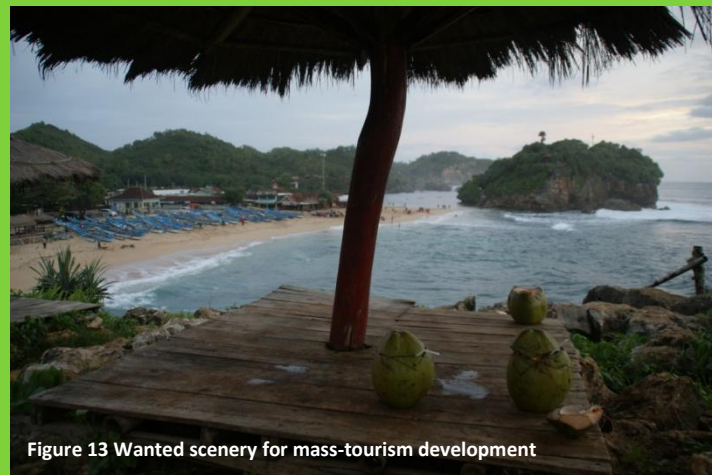


Figure 13 Wanted scenery for mass-tourism development

all returned home. On our way back we took a different route, where the guide of ELI shows us an 'unspoilt' area that is sold to an investor who will build a resort on that place. More people to come...

## 3.2 Understanding the Social Construct of Sustainable Tourism

The meaning of the concept of 'sustainable tourism' is contested as is shown in the theoretical framework (see chapter 1). However, in order to explore how sustainable tourism organisations can contribute to more environmentally sustainable behaviour of its employees, it is necessary to gain an understanding of what the concept of sustainable tourism comprises. This is especially important, as it is argued that the conceptualization of sustainable tourism differs per context as it is socially constructed, '*reflecting interests and values of the concerned actors*' (Mowforth & Munt 2009: 20). In doing so, factors or processes that can influence the ideas, values or behaviour of employees can be identified. This chapter therefore examines the statements of employees concerning 1) why sustainable tourism is needed; the context 2) how it is defined and explained; the values and interests and 3) how it is put into practice; its contributions and challenges.

### 3.2.1 What sustainable tourism is not; exploring the concept of mass-tourism

The use of the term sustainable tourism is described as an attempt to distance itself from the conventional mass-tourism (Mowforth and Munt 2009). Therefore, exploring what is perceived as *mass-tourism* contributes to the understanding of (the rise of) *sustainable tourism*.

At Jalanjalanjogja, mass-tourism was described as a form of tourism that focuses on business, money and 'pleasure only'. These kind of tours, with large amount of people, mostly stayed 'on the surface' of the country without making connections with the local people or caring about the environment. The status of the *ability* to travel and showing that to others becomes more important than travelling itself.

*'Mass-tourism is only to see the highlights. To take pictures and do some shopping, to show: 'I have been there'' [Travel Employee]. 'People want to explore but do not really care about the environment, just go somewhere, take a picture' [Freelance Guide].*

However, the management doubts whether mass-tourism is really more harmful than other forms of tourism, as travellers nowadays go their own way and want to explore 'off the beaten tracks'.

*'I wonder if these busloads mass-tourists really are more harmful than the more 'loose' travellers, as they stay on these beaten tracks. They go to places that are already damaged' [Belgium Management].*

Despite this comment, in the development of new tourism places (such as the area of the local sustainable tourism organisation Earth of Life Indonesia) it becomes clear that these busloads of tourists *do* make a difference for the natural environment and its people. The local sustainable tourism organisations argue that within mass-tourism, the negative effects on nature, the local culture and social structures are hard to control. This is because mass-tourism often entails too many people coming to one place.

*'Conventional tourism entails too many people coming to one place, which is damaging for the environment. For example, they bring a lot of trash. Furthermore, most often they use a big bus but the roads are not suited for that. We refuse if people come to us with a big bus because it is disturbing for the environment' [ELI].*

Bad management of waste at tourism destinations is commonly experienced by the local organisations, as well as issues such as land rights and conversion (from farm/forest land into tourism-related areas such as parking lots or resorts). Furthermore, tourists tend to take things out of nature and take it home, disturbing the ecosystems. According to the owner of Earth of Life Indonesia, personal pleasures and making profits go before the environment, producing waste and pollution.

*'Mass tourism tends to lead travellers to unnecessary consumerism and personal pleasure at locations of tourist attractions, producing waste and pollution and threatening the authenticity of the places, and travelling operators compete with one another to make as big as possible profit from the tourists and from the way they exploit tourist destinations' [ELI].*

Local communities are neglected in this process. Especially when it comes to land rights, the local organisations face a lot of struggles, ELI states.

*'We are still facing big problems like land rights struggles. For example, the government want to occupy the whole beach to build a tourism resort, to make money because the area is popular for tourists. But they do not want to work with local people. Politically, the process is corrupt, because it involves big money' [ELI].*

So, the pursuit of profits and pleasure only is assumed to be the core of mass-tourism, leading to inequality, superficial connections and pollution. Therefore, this 'awarenessless' tourism not only causes harm to local communities, but also to their environments. This context of tourism development caused the local organizations as well as the international organization of Jalanjalanjogja to develop a different form of conducting tourism, to prevent or even solve these kinds of problems. I will now turn to the descriptions of how sustainable tourism is perceived differently, and how it can contribute in solving these problems according to these hosts.

### **3.2.2 In Theory: Defining the Concept of 'Wisata Berkesinambungan'**

The definition of the World Tourism Organization entails ideas of current and future impacts on the social, economic and environmental level (UNEP 2005). The employees of the sustainable tourism organizations perceived the concept of 'balance' important in this as right now, the tourism industry causes much 'in-balances' as is shown in the former paragraph.

At Jalanjalanjogja, they have added to this definition the aspect of 'pleasure'. An employee describes:

*'I think it is about balance between profit, people, planet and pleasure ofcourse. The people is about the local people, the profit is needed otherwise you cannot continue your doing good, the planet is about the ecology and the environment, and then the pleasure, not to forget that it is a trip and you have to make it fun' [Travel Management Employee].*

However, the international management of Jalanjalanjogja acknowledges that this definition is to general; sustainable tourism can be experienced and performed in many ways, which relates to the statement of the scholars Mowforth and Munt discussed in the theoretical chapter. This is demonstrated by the answers I got from other employees, each with a slightly different emphasis to the definition. For example, an employee of the travel department did mention the aspect of keeping balance, but in a different way:

*'Sustainable Tourism is when you make a balance between happiness and the environment, between the traditional and the modern and between the local and foreigner culture. That's when I call it sustainable. Fairness is important in this' [Travel Employee].*

This 'fairness' aspect also returned in conversations with an employee of the restaurant ('resto'), however again conceptualized differently, emphasizing the concept of 'connecting':

*'Sustainable, it is easier to explain in bahasa<sup>3</sup>. The word is 'Wisata berkesinambunna', it is about connecting. You can say like fairness, but more about connecting. Also to the future, how our tourism now will also be for next tourism' [Resto Employee].*

Another employee of the guesthouse also uses this term 'Wisata Berkesinambunna', however referring to it as something with continuity. This 'continuity' is also mentioned as a characteristic for sustainable tourism by other employees; that the environment has to be preserved so people can enjoy it in the future as well. The element of 'connecting' was also related to the experiences of tourists; that it is not only about the pictures, but also about the way Indonesians live, *'that they feel that'* [Travel Employee].

Instead of strictly defining the concept, sustainable tourism was often explained by comparing it to other companies, which shows the importance of context in defining it:

*'I think in my mind it is like... okay, when you talk about tourism, it is always about business. But in here [Jalanjalan], it's like, it involves everyone. I will give you an example. When we did the village trip, we involve people in the village. It is not like a common thing that our government does, like they 'create' a village for the tourists. So it looks like a village but it is not, it is all planned, or staged. When you come, there is music, then you have traditional food served, and so on. But in here, it is something natural. They show people the real life, the daily life. Plus they involve people, so they contribute to the community, also later on. 'Give and take'' [Freelance Guide].*

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<sup>3</sup> 'Bahasa' refers to the Indonesian language, 'Bahasa Indonesia'.

The quotations show the importance that is attached to local connectedness and involvement, and also displays a sense of 'authenticity' that tourists are supposedly looking for. It thus also shows a tendency to distance itself from the conventional forms of tourism. So, different from the 'standard' definition which is used for sustainable tourism, the employees of Jalanjalanjogja use additionally the concepts of fairness, connectedness or involvement, continuity and authenticity in defining of the term, while not forgetting the element of pleasure.

Within the local organisations, definitions of sustainable tourism also contained ideas of respect for and balance at the economic, social-cultural and environmental level, with the aim to minimize damage to nature and culture. Therefore, 'limitations to greediness' of the tourists and travel agencies are perceived as important, as well as involvement of the local communities. This can create their independence in managing their places and businesses. Furthermore, it is argued that tourism is sustainable when local people understand what is happening and what the effects of tourism are. In this way, they can '*protect their area, their culture, their wisdom while sharing experiences and knowledge with tourists*' [Kura]. The educational aspect is thus perceived important in defining sustainable tourism.

Instead of focusing on high number of tourists and money, sustainable tourism should be concerned with sharing culture, local knowledge and building relationships should be the key. In addition, the use of local products would increase the sustainability of a tourism organization according to employees of ELI. Sustainable tourism organizations can play a role in transferring this knowledge and in this way empowering local communities. Defined by the head of ELI:

*'Sustainable tourism emphasizes the visit on its quality rather than quantity, directing the tourists to experience with and learn about the localities. Sustainable tourism brings educational mission of the sustainability of the environment and local people's livelihoods'* [ELI].

Therefore, Java Arin argues, sustainable tourism is not the aim of their organization, but a tool to solve environmental and social issues.

The difference in how employees conceptualized 'sustainable tourism' is firstly to be found in the focus of the organizations. Jalanjalanjogja has an emphasis on the 'pleasure' component, whereas the local organisations pay more attention to the educational and empowering element of the concept. This can be explained by the fact that Jalanjalanjogja is more tourist-centred, providing them alternative experiences or showing them the 'real life', whilst the others are more focused on the empowerment of local communities. Therefore, they perceive the tourism component rather as a *tool* for their organizations instead of the *aim*, as Jalanjalanjogja does. Aside of these differences, both cases share the concepts of connectedness between *host* and *guests*, local involvement, and balance of the economic, social-cultural and environmental aspect in their definition of sustainable

tourism, as this is often neglected in the conventional tourism process. The definitions of the term are thus not necessarily 'redefined' through action and reaction, as stated in the literature (Mowforth and Munt 2009: 108), but moreover made more explicit via adjustments to the local context.

### 3.2.3 In Practice: Contributions And Challenges

As this research is concerned with identifying how sustainable tourism can contribute to more environmentally sustainable behaviour of its employees, I explored how they themselves thought how sustainable tourism in general could help in achieving environmental sustainability. Both cases perceived that through (the use of) sustainable tourism, knowledge about environmental sustainability can be exchanged which raises the awareness about the topic of both the employees, tourists, local communities and other stakeholders in the industry.

At Jalanjalanjogja, they try to raise awareness by carrying out the ideology of the organisation, the Belgium management states, for example by supporting other organisations or initiatives that are doing the same. In doing so, it is stated by the management that creating honest and constructive communication is important, as well as an open attitude.

*'I think it is very important, both as a traveller and local, to have an open, non-defensive attitude. Otherwise you will never have constructive and honest communication, and that's where it is all about. Even more then respect for nature and culture, because this can only be effectuated if there is an open attitude towards it'* [Belgium Management].

Fostering this open attitude is not always easy. Being a sustainable tourism organisation is therefore often described as 'a challenge in doing right' by the employees of Jalanjalanjogja. The biggest challenge is said to be to change the mentality; of the employees, the tourists and the local people. Making money is still the priority of most local people, and most tourists want foremost a nice experience. To change this is difficult, as the surroundings of the local people who learn about it are not always supporting, especially within the tourism industry.

*'It is difficult for example to talk with the people on the beach about sustainable tourism, because they want that their beach is also developed as a big tourism destination, so they will earn more money. That's the only form of tourism they know'* [Travel Management Employee].

This quote also underlines the difficulty in changing the mindset from short-term to long term thinking, something which is central in the concept of sustainability.

These difficulties are also faced by the local tourism organisations. As they perceive the educational element as important within sustainable tourism, its contribution is described by the local organisations also as raising awareness (about environmental issues and the impact of tourism).

This empowers these local communities and enforces their position in the 'unsustainable' mass-tourism business.

*'In this way, local people can be strong enough to decide what is good for themselves' [Kura]*

*'Tourism can take place after the local communities are ready and confident with what they have' [ELI].*

Next to the enforcement of their position in the industry, raising awareness about environmental issues starts, according to ELI, already by looking at what we eat every day. This is also the focus of ELI, as they believe that when we are conscious of what we eat and where it comes from, respect for the natural environment and local practices will grow as well. Furthermore, the local organisations argue that working with the tourism aspect provides 'fair' benefits for local people in a sustainable way.

*'It will help local people on their daily life not to destroy their nature and natural resources because they know that it was their source of life' [Kura] .*

Using tourism as an additional aspect to their daily activities of farming or else, people will gain extra profits without becoming fully dependent on tourism, as they still practice their 'own' profession. Furthermore, as the quotation shows, it provides them with a reason to care for their surroundings. Java Arin, for example, uses the method of 'mapping', to visualize for the local people what the specialties of their region are. Through mapping, they provide them with power over their own surroundings.

Both cases depict that it is quite difficult to change people's mentality; at once because of the non-supporting surroundings like governmental regulations or certain facilities, the persistence of the short-term mindsets and perceptions of tourism as a 'money-maker'. However, they also perceived that through (the use of) sustainable tourism, knowledge about environmental sustainability can be exchanged which raises the awareness about the topic of both the employees, tourists, local communities and other stakeholders in the industry. It is thus not perceived that sustainable tourism directly contributes to the preservation of natural areas, but because it ideally increases the awareness of the importance of environmental aspects it could be a wanted consequence. Sustainable tourism could therefore be a *medium* in transferring knowledge about these kinds of issues. This reflects that the educational element (Mowforth & Munt 2009: 106) is experienced as an important element concerning the contribution of sustainable tourism. Furthermore, the statements show that hosts themselves perceive that sustainable tourism is able to change 'mindsets' about environmental issues, both of local people as well as their own.

### Summary 3.2

This chapter has been devoted to the understanding of the social construct of 'sustainable tourism'. Firstly, it has turned out that in these sustainable tourism organizations in Yogyakarta, the use of sustainable tourism is an attempt to distance itself from the destructive force of mass-tourism, and even prevent or solve the issues caused by this industry. This context has thus been important in how hosts developed and adjusted their definition of sustainable tourism. Instead of being profit-oriented in the short term, causing inequalities, sustainable tourism should be about balance between profits, people and planet via pleasure, education and/or empowerment. In doing so, tourism can be seen as the goal or the tool in achieving this. Raising awareness of tourists as well as local communities was seen as the contribution of sustainable tourism in achieving environmental sustainability, although surroundings, existing mindsets and perceptions are making this a challenge. However, sustainable tourism could still be perceived as a *medium* in transferring knowledge about environmental issues and thus contributes to changing values and ideas of environmental sustainability, also of its employees.



### 3.3 The Participatory Process

The motivation of an employee to start working somewhere and its amount and form of participation in the organisation can play a role in how someone's ideas or values are influenced or shaped (Stronza 2001, Mowforth & Munt 2009, Teunissen 2015). Gaining insight in these processes provides a better understanding to what the tourism process determines in people's daily lives (Stronza 2001). This chapter examines therefore the mode of motivation, participation, intercultural interaction and future aspirations of the respondents.

#### 3.3.1 Motivation; meeting new people or protecting sea turtles?

Within Jalanjalanjogja, most of the employees I have talked to knew about the organisation before the start of their work via friends or a flyer at their university. Others knew the place only from passing by. Most of them were students when they started, or worked somewhere else in the tourism industry like a bar or a shop. Reasons to apply at Jalanjalanjogja were mostly related to the fact that they needed a (new) job. The stories they had heard from friends about the atmosphere within the organisation and the alternative tours they offer made them choose for Jalanjalanjogja instead of another travel agency. Also, some of them wanted to work specifically at a travel agency because they liked to travel, wanted to meet new people from other cultures or to improve their English. These reasons were also present at the group 'guides-to-be' I observed during the Jalanjalanjogja training.

This motivation to meet new people also came back when I asked what the employees liked most about their job. They like to share and learn about different cultural aspects, to 'open up their mind'. Next to this, they like the atmosphere and flexibility of Jalanjalanjogja and the 'open doors' mentality which allows them to be creative.

*'I like that people in here are very open, very tolerant. As a guide I like most to meet new people. It helps me to understand culture and people more by interacting with them every day'* [Employee Travel].

*'What I like here is that we are free to be whoever we want, and to explore our other skills'* [Employee Travel Management].

Remarkably, only a few mention that they like working in Jalanjalanjogja because of the concept of sustainability. The ones that did mentioned only the social aspect: that care is taken for the local people, that they are involved within the tours. That it is not only about showing the 'good' things of Indonesia, but also the normal daily life and its 'bad' things, like issues concerning garbage and traffic jams.

The local organisations started working with or in sustainable tourism as they saw problematic issues happening around them. From the disappearance of sea turtles, destruction of coastal areas to the impact of big industries on local communities, it all led them to wanting to

contribute in solving these problems. Most of the leaders of the organisations also had a background in these kinds of topics; studying biology, working within environmental education or in environmental or social activism movements for example. Through their organisations, they felt they could put their knowledge and concerns into practice.

*'Now, we can really do the practices of environmental conservation that we always promoted'* [ELI].

For all of them, it is their passion to work on environmental issues, to *'preserve what is valuable for us and next generation'* [Kura]. Other employees wanted to work at these organisations because the ideology appealed to them, *'it feels like the right thing to do'*. This intrinsic motivation is also underlined as very important:

*'If you do not work with your heart but for the money, the projects won't last once the money ends'* [Kura].

Within their work, employees like that they can learn about the local culture and traditions. Kura likes that they have the feeling they are really doing something good. All organisations like to bring people together and exchange knowledge, to make a difference. The downside of their work is that they often have to struggle for (financial) support, both from the government as well as the local people themselves. It is often very difficult to change the mindset of people. ELI describes this struggle as follows:

*'I like everything of my work at ELI, but what I don't like is that we never thought about how it would be to really live there, like we have to fight with everything. The beautiful scenery, beach, fresh air, it is just one part. We have a mission and vision that does not suit the local circumstances always and that can be difficult. It is also a very slow process to achieve our goals because we do not always have the resources (finance, people, etc) to accomplish that'* [ELI].

Raising awareness 'to a new norm' thus requires time, patience and devotion, which is also experienced as such by the other local organisations.

It is interesting to look at the differences of motivation between these cases. Where most employees of Jalanjalanjogja started working because they were in need of a job, the local organisations are motivated for their work because they want to contribute to solving environmental problems, which thus defines their connection with tourism (Stronza 2001). The intrinsic motivation of the local organisation is based on working with sustainability, whereas at Jalanjalanjogja it is something additional to their work. The intrinsic motivation for their work lies more in meeting new people, travelling, improving English or the nice atmosphere at work. This intrinsic motivation is also reflected in what both cases like in their work and former education or experiences. These positive and negative sides of their work also show a difference in focus on personal development or the empowerment of others, between learning and teaching. The motivation for and during work thus

might influence if hosts are adapting to new knowledge or 'work' values, or strengthening their own. As the next paragraph will describe, the way one participates within the organisation is also of influence in this.

### 3.3.2 Forms of Participation and Future Goals

*'If we hire people, we want people who are not afraid to say what they think. Who wants to take initiative, who has ideas, who wants to change Jalanjalan even, in line with our ideas of sustainability'* [Belgium Management Jalanjalanjogja]

As is stated in this quote, the management of Jalanjalanjogja has a clear vision on what kind of people they want to hire for their organisation. How people participate in Jalanjalanjogja once they are hired is depending on the amount of working years and, ofcourse, their role within the organisation. Local employees who are included in the management staff are participating in an interactive way, consulted by and consulting the Belgium management (Mowforth and Munt 2009: 229). These staff members describe that they feel very trusted by the Belgium management in running the specific department and that they have the freedom to take initiatives. In turn, these local staff members evaluate policies or behaviour with the employees of their department. Within the different departments of Jalanjalanjogja, you have employees who work in direct contact with tourists (waitresses, guides, etc.) and those who work 'behind the scenes' (in the kitchen, cleaners, etc.) Although all employees are encouraged to speak up their mind towards the management, most of them are not direct enough (or 'too Indonesian') as they experienced it, to actually dare to do so. For example, some of the newer guides were discussing the payments, which they perceived as relatively low compared to the price that is paid for the tour. But they did not really dare to ask what was at stake there, where the other percentage of the price for the tour went to. This shows that their knowledge of the financial incentives of the organisation is lacking, probably because of the way they are (not) included in the sharing of this information.

This amount of participation in the organisation together with the amount of years people were working at Jalanjalanjogja also made a difference in how people perceived their future. The longer they worked at Jalanjalanjogja and the 'higher' in the hierarchy, the bigger the chance they wanted to stay working there, or do something else related to sustainability in/or tourism. Other employees who were working there 'just for the job' had other dreams for their future; opening their own juice bar or coffee cafe, for example. Organic? *'That's way too expensive!'* *'Only when the market is good for it'*. This illustrates that the importance one attaches to concepts like environmental sustainability needs time and active involvement to internalize.

At the local organisations, the organizational structure is open due to their small-scale character, so people are 'able to learn from each other'. Employees do have different roles and each organisation has a 'leader' or representative, but decisions are taken together by discussion. The employees thus have a lot of agency within these organisations, and are very actively involved. This results in a high loyalty: Almost all employees saw themselves still working within the same organisation in the future, as they feel that their work related to environmental sustainability makes a difference. Also, the responsibility they feel for future generations motivates them for their work. As ELI states:

*'It is important to think that this planet is entrusted to us by our children/grandchildren so that it is our obligation to protect our environments'* [ELI].

This future component is therefore one of the main reasons of why perceive sustainability as important in their work. Therefore, most employees do not participate just as guides, but more as educators.

Considering the participation of the two cases, three different modes of participation as described in theory are noticeable. The mode of participation of 'self-mobilisation and connectedness' is visible at the local organisations (Mowforth & Munt 2009: 229). Employees are able to take initiatives and retain control over what will happen and how, because decision making is done by joint discussion. They are thus active stakeholders in the tourism process (Stronza 2001). Within Jalanjalanjogja, one can distinguish two other modes of participation. For the local staff joining the management team goes that they participate in an 'interactive' way (Ibid.). Although Jalanjalanjogja is partially steered by its mother-company in Belgium, the local staff members join in meetings and are able to come up with their own visions and ideas for the development of the organisation. The employees who work for a certain department participate in a more 'passive' way, by *'being told was has decided on or already happened'* although they are encouraged to take a proactive stance (Ibid.). This amount of involvement plays a role in how visions of sustainability are internalized. As is seen of the Jalanjalanjogja case, some of the employees do not incorporate the sustainability aspect in their future aspirations, unless it is economically beneficial. Within the local organisations, however, sustainability is seen as an important part for their work now but also for the lives of their (grand)children in the future. This is due to the fact that employees actively participate in transferring the mission and vision of the organisation, which they have decide on by joint discussion. Next to this active involvement, their motivation and former education is also of influence in this, as is shown in the former paragraph. The next paragraph will focus on the role of intercultural interaction in influencing values, ideas or attitudes.

### 3.3.3 Intercultural interaction

In literature it is argued that the way local hosts participate in tourism might influence their values and beliefs (Stronza 2001). An element within this participatory process is intercultural interaction, for example between hosts and guests, but also between international management staff and local employees. Within this interaction, different cultural values, ideas or beliefs connect and might influence each other. This is also depending on if one participates direct or indirect with tourists for example, and if they are active stakeholders or recipients of the tourism process (Stronza 2001).

As Jalanjalanjogja is a Belgium founded organisation, the ideology of the management has logically a slightly 'western' bias, as they state themselves. It is even argued that they *'try to force' a concept on the employees'*, for example via trainings for new guides, assessment days or on a staff outing. There is thus a sense of hegemony present. The employees themselves also describe that working within Jalanjalanjogja has more an international atmosphere, *'far from Javanese culture'* [Resto Employee]. Especially the employees of the local management staff, who are working there the longest, state that working within Jalanjalanjogja has made them more like a 'westerner' in their way of thinking. As I noticed during a conversation, this was referred to as 'Jalanjalan culture':

*'But Willis, we are already too Jalanjalan. We think out of Jalanjalan culture. [...] Sometimes we forget to put off our Jalanjalan glasses and put on others'* [Travel Management Employee].

Sometimes this is perceived as a dislike of their work: *'I just want to chill like an Indonesian'*. Additionally, other employees who are working at Jalanjalanjogja for a shorter amount of time feel that it would be an improvement if more locals were included in the management staff:

*'Otherwise people here become like them [Belgium management]. Then we forget about our culture'* [Travel Employee].

Although this 'westernization' is not always perceived as positive, the intercultural interaction does at the same time enforce feelings of pride and gratitude of their own culture and nature amongst the employees.

*'It is a way to be more pride on the local culture and traditions, that we show that to guests'* [Travel Employee]  
*'I learned that I should be very grateful for the nature we have. Now, I see how beautiful my country is'* [Travel Employee].

This is also influenced by their interaction with guests, especially amongst those employees who are directly interacting with them in their role as guide for example. It was stated that while talking with tourists, *'you automatically learn from each other'*. During tours, most conversations related to environmental issues are concerned with the topic of waste, as this is what most tourists notice

during the tour. Furthermore, it is noticeable that most employees perceive the international tourists as 'knowledgeable' about the environment.

*'For example during the village tour, most guests notice the garbage. They say; 'It is such a beautiful place, but there is garbage everywhere' [Freelance guide]. 'We also learn from tourists; they respect nature more than most Indonesian people do' [Resto Employee].*

Although most employees describe international tourists as environmental friendly, the Belgium management states that according to them, sustainability is not the main reason tourists come to their place. This perception of the concept of sustainability as something western or local I will elaborate on in the next chapter (3.4).

At the local organisations, most tourists joining their activities are domestic. Furthermore, the management of the organisations is Indonesian. Intercultural interaction is therefore less present compared to Jalanjalanjogja. However, they still receive some international tourists and work together in networks which also involve international partners. While some of the local organisations have certain procedures for welcoming guests on their tours for which they slightly change their behaviour, others state that they only 'switch the bilingual button' during their tours.

Interaction with tourists is very prominently present as this is for all organisations core of their mission and vision, especially concerning environmental issues.

*'We talk about it [the environment] because it is part of our missions and vision. We talk about the local agriculture, current condition of the beaches and the rapid progress of tourism along the coast. We also talk about how this world is full of plastic waste due to the pattern of consumption that results in too much waste' [ELI].*

Next to sharing their experiences and stories, the local organizations state that they perceive the exchange of knowledge as very valuable as well. At Java Arin, this 'sharing of stories' is the basis of their activities. At Kura, they share experiences of dealing with problems such as waste.

*'They [tourists] tell about their experience about garbage management, and other similar topics that we have in this place that they experience in other side of the globe or so many places in many different country' [Kura].*

In this exchange of knowledge, both sides learn about new things. Many things shared by the local organizations are new for most tourists, they state, and in turn they also acquire new skills concerning permaculture, turtle nesting, and so on. Also, they experience that tourists appreciate honest communication and stories.

*'I learn that in this business and development concept we should not hide or pretend to be some things that we are not. Those fake stories will be boomerang one day if you do it. So better tell story for visitors as what it is' [Kura].*

Some of the local organizations therefore perceive most international tourists as more environmentally aware, because they are perceived as more educated on the topic of sustainability. Others however argue that it depends, but that they experience that tourists who are already interested in the topic, come to their organizations to learn more. However, they are aware that this might be only a small percentage of all international tourists.

These two cases show that intercultural interaction with international tourists or management can have its influence on hosts' way of thinking about themselves and/or their environment. In the case of Jalanjalanjogja, the organisation can be perceived as a 'borderland'; the manager of the organisation is a Belgian woman who migrated to Indonesia, thus living between two 'cultures'. In addition, the employees are confronted with this borderland as they have daily contact with tourists from all over the world, working with an ideology derived from the western world. This *hybridity* causes to shape their identity (Gupta & Ferguson 1992: 838) as was stated in the quote that they had become 'too Jalanjalan'. This quotation shows that working within Jalanjalanjogja does something with their sense of culture and way of thinking. However, this does not only mean that they become 'westernized', but it also revives feelings of pride of their own culture and nature (Stronza 2001). This is also due to the fact that they work directly with the tourists. However, that these tourists are often described as more aware, environmental friendly or 'knowledgeable' does show that there might be a hegemonic relationship between these tourists and their guests.

Within the local organisations (intercultural) interaction also strengthens their own values concerning the environment, although they do not receive that many international tourists. Remarkable, however, is that these local organisations are very active stakeholders in this exchange process (Stronza 2011), as they perceive this as very valuable. They do not necessarily perceive that what they learn from tourists as a new vision, but rather as knowledge that contributes to the development of the skills (permaculture, turtle conservation, community development) they already had. This might also have to do with the fact that they attract tourists that actually want to learn about these environmental issues, whereas at Jalanjalanjogja sustainability is not the main reason for tourists to join in a tour.

### *Summary 3.3*

In this chapter I have outlined how motivation, participation and intercultural interaction are able to influence values and ideas about environmental sustainability. First of all, as the local organisations show, intrinsic motivation to work with sustainability, active involvement in decision making and the exchange of knowledge with guests or local communities contributes to the internalization of concepts such as sustainability. Even when the motivation for work lies elsewhere, but one is active involved in the organisation and working with the concept more intensively over a longer period of time, this results in the willingness to work with the concept in the future as well. The other way around, employees who were not intrinsically motivated for sustainability and passively involved saw sustainability just as a part of their work now, but did not incorporate it into their future aspirations.

Additionally, it is shown that intercultural interaction has the ability to change people's ways of thinking, for example into more 'westernized' ones. This can be explained by the hegemony between the 'western' management projecting their ideology on the local employees. However, this also can revive feelings of pride of cultural traditions or natural environments or strengthen existing knowledge and behaviour. It contributes to the 'cultural style' (Ferguson 1999) of sustainability the employees develop through their work. If and how this influences their ideas of environmental sustainability is what I will outline in the next chapter.



### 3.4 Towards Ideas of Environmental Sustainability

As my research question is concerned with how sustainable tourism contributes to the conceptualisation of environmental sustainability, this chapter will focus on what is understood under the term 'environmental sustainability' in definitions and in practice, and how this understanding is affected by tourism. By examining (local) discourses of environmental sustainability I gained insight in what is meant by sustainability locally, how people have obtained this knowledge and if and how this understanding is affected by their work within sustainable tourism. Furthermore, by examining if hosts perceive the concept as something 'western' or local, it can be argued if the knowledge they obtained is something they have adapted from elsewhere (West & Carrier 2004) or developed on their own.

#### 3.4.1 Understanding Environmental Sustainability in Theory

In order to explore what hosts knew about environmental sustainability, I started by looking at how they define or explain the concept itself. Therefore, I firstly asked about the Indonesian words that are commonly used. The employees of Jalanjalanjogja referred to the words '*Ramah Lingkungan*'; *Ramah* meaning friendly and *Lingkungan* ecosystems or people, together usually translated as 'ecofriendly'. The word '*hijaukan*' was said to be used often in the region of Yogyakarta, meaning 'make it green'.

The explanations of the concept that were given were mostly related to '*minimizing impact of humans on their natural environment*' [Travel Employee], for example by reducing the use of plastic, to buy wisely or to recycle. Having 'awareness' of these impacts was seen as necessary in order to act environmental sustainable. One could not really act environmental sustainable if one was not aware about its impact, employees stated. Becoming aware thus implies a change of mindset. Therefore, the Belgium management described the concept of environmental sustainability as a 'world creator', which fits this reasoning.

*'For me, sustainability is a world creator in which we can be sure that we can live safely on this planet, with respect for the things that surrounds us'* [Mie].

The Indonesian words used by the local organisation to describe the concept of environmental sustainability were '*keberlangsungan lingkungan*', meaning continuing ecology or 'environment that lasts over and over again'. Also the word '*lestari*' was mentioned, referring to the aspect of everlasting. Instead of just a static state, it is about environments that are growing and expanding in harmony. As they work with permaculture at the place of ELI, they also included this principle in explaining the term, referring to 'going to something', like a cycle; things that keep on moving. Environmental sustainability was further explained as something in which one tries to

preserve or maintain the local area by minimizing negative human impact, repairing the damage that has been done or, as ELI argued, try to reverse a 'bad' process, for example by re-examining the production of food. This could be easier achieved, one employee argued, when people also support and respect each other more. Another organization agreed with this argument by stating:

*'A human being is part of a family, a neighbourhood where he/she lives, part of an ecosystem, then part of a state and the world. Therefore, to keep the sustainability of the environment where we live is very important for everyone. If it is not done, our places will be damaged'* [ELI].

Instead of perceiving humans as outside the ecological systems, ELI argued that in achieving environmental sustainability, human presence is part and should thus also be taken into account. At the same time, humans should be aware that they are depending on the generosity of nature too. Everything is linked to one another: *'Being environmental sustainable is respecting the earth'* [ELI].

Different from the English word *environmental sustainability*, which focuses on 'sustaining' something for the future, the Indonesian words and explanations mentioned by the employees of Jalanjalanjogja referred mostly to something in the present. Minimizing impact, greening or being 'environmental friendly' does not necessarily entail consequences for the far future, but refer to a world in which we are living today. However, the words chosen by the local organisations do contain this component, referring to something 'continuing' or a 'cycle'. This shows that the concept is experienced in different ways.

Out of the quotations of the two managers of the international and local organisation, one could argue that different visions on the environment are noticeable. Jalanjalanjogja refers to a planet 'safe for humans', whereas ELI states that environmental sustainability is important as humans are 'part of ecosystems'. Especially in this latter statement, the vision of ecocentrism is already more present, in which the natural environment is equal to humans because of its interconnectedness. It also illustrates the difference between 'deep' and 'shallow' ecological ways of thinking (Kopnina 2012). It could be argued that especially ELI tends to the 'deep ecology' side, not only focussing on the effects of sustainability on the well-being of humans, but questioning the origins of the environmental issues. This is also a difference between 'respecting the things that surrounds us' or 'respecting the earth'. These values are reflected in the definitions; Jalanjalanjogja defines the importance of minimizing human impact, but the local organizations add that people also have an obligation to repair the damage which is done. Reciprocity and balance between humans and non-humans is what should be tried to accomplish. How this impact could be minimized to keep balance according to the hosts is what I will discuss in the next paragraph.

### 3.4.2 Minimizing Impact and Keeping Balance; Environmental (Un)Sustainable Practices

After examining the definitions of environmental sustainability, I used aspects of the explanations for further exploration about practices in daily life. What was seen as 'minimizing impact', 'respecting the earth', and what was described as harmful for the environment?

The aspect which could minimize people's impact on the environment that was mentioned the most by employees of Jalanjalanjogja was about raising 'awareness'; for example through education about recycling, reducing and reusing.

*'Educate people. Be aware of your impact. I think that makes a difference, then people will start thinking about things like that. That they get the feeling when they use a lot of water in the shower: 'oh that is not good''*  
[Travel Management Employee].

Raising awareness of people would also contribute to setting the priority differently, the employees argued: environment before profit instead of the other way around. However, a lot of the aspects people described as being helpful were hard to accomplish as they felt there was a lack of governmental support. As an example the public transport was mentioned as insufficient and taking the bike did not feel safe in the busy traffic of Yogyakarta. This made people use their motorbikes or cars more often, even among those who were already aware of the impact of doing so. Furthermore, also local surroundings were often perceived as a barrier to implement sustainable practices in daily life:

*'To be sustainable is quite hard ya, because of the environment here, our surroundings. For example, we try to reduce plastic bags by providing our own, but nobody outside Jalanjalan does it too, so that's what makes it hard'*  
[Employee Guesthouse].

Out of my observations I also noticed that outside their work at Jalanjalanjogja, acting environmental sustainable was perceived as difficult to accomplish or not given priority. Therefore, the biggest impact on 'making this planet more heated every day' was stated by some employees to be all human activity, 'destroying the earth slowly'[Freelance Guide]. Especially modernisation, with the development of factories, buildings and the increase of motorized vehicles, was seen as very harmful. Again, education about the impacts was seen as key to reverse this process.

Additionally to the above sketched issues and practices, local organisations saw the marginalization of local people by big corporations as harmful. Because local people are becoming more dependent on big investors, they are forced to use pesticides and chemicals to create greater yields, which is harmful for the soil. Furthermore, the land near the coast is seen as valuable for tourism development, which lead local people to sell their land for short term profits.

Therefore, it would be helpful for the environment as well as the well-being of the local

people if their independence would be increased. The local tourism organisations perceive environmental education as very important in achieving this.

*'I do believe that education is the key. How people act and react is depend on what they know and believe'* [Kura].

This also includes looking at the way we produce and consume food:

*'When we think about the environment, we also have to consider what we eat. When do we eat, what and how. When you eat healthier and local food it has direct consequences for the environment. So interest in food also conserves the environment'* [ELI].

Relating to 'healthier', this employee referred to aspects of not using genetically modified crops, chemicals or instant products. At ELI, therefore, they use permaculture techniques and seasonal crops instead of rice all year around, which is very hard to farm in the dry season. All organisations also promote the use of local products as a way to reduce the impact on the environment. But most importantly, people have to gain more awareness and mutual understanding, between humans themselves as well as with their environments, to create a better balance. *'If we use something, we have to give it back. When we pollute, we have to clean up'* [ELI]. Having real attention and making genuine connections with our surroundings is most important in this. For this reason, ELI even experiences environmental sustainability as *'a way of living'*. That they actually live according to this statement is what I noticed during my observations; their house is made from sustainable materials, they make use of self-produced biogas, they have a system to clean water, they make use of sustainable farming practices, bringing plastic to their tours or coming with a big bus is not allowed.

Through the statements of the employees it can be argued that human practices are perceived as harmful for the environment, and that education is seen as key in solving these problems. Interesting is, that none of the hosts stated that technology would be a way to solve environmental problems, but that especially modernisation and urbanisation were seen as harmful. Instead of solving problems with technological developments, awareness or understanding of the issues leads, according to the hosts, to more environmentally sustainable behaviour, which is in line with the arguments of Milton (1997) and King and Stewart (1996). However, this also needs supportive surroundings and ultimately motivating regulations from the government. Furthermore, at Jalanjalanjogja I noticed that sustainability now was only 'performed' during their work, and less at home. This also counts for most of the local organisations, except ELI for whom sustainability is not only their work, but *'a way of living'*. This might relate to seeing sustainability as acting 'eco-efficient', reducing harmful practices, or 'eco-effective', re-organise practices in a way that they are not harmful, but actually helpful for the environment. Where the employees of Jalanjalanjogja describe practices concerned with the 'symptoms' of harmful practices, such as reducing, re-using or

recycling plastics, ELI tries to examine the causes, for example with the production of food. Again, this shows that environmental sustainability can be understood and practiced in different ways. This is also influenced by perceiving the concept as something local or western, as the next paragraph will outline.

### 3.4.3 Environmental Sustainability: A Western Concept or Local Practice?

As some critics argued that the ideology of sustainability is 'originating from and serving mostly the interests of the western world' and therefore possibly spreading 'western' values of nature and culture to places in the world where they are relatively unknown (Mowforth & Munt 2009, West & Carrier 2004, see 'Key Concepts and Theories'), this paragraph is devoted to exploring if the 'recipients' of these values and ideology perceive this as such. In this way, it can be identified if the ideology of 'environmental sustainability' is something hosts have adapted (via the tourism process) or (re)developed on their own.

As the concept of Jalanjalanjogja originates from Belgium, so does the ideology of sustainability used within the organisation. When I asked whether the concept of sustainability could be perceived as something 'western' or local, most employees stated at first that they perceived it as western as Jalanjalanjogja was the first place they had heard about the concept.

*'For the knowledge, the awareness, I think it is a western thing. In my whole life, my dad, my mom, they did not talk about it' [Resto Employee].*

This perception of sustainability as something western was often explained by a lack of education in Indonesia about the topic and the 'unsustainable', profit-oriented mindset of the Indonesian government which steered the development of its people. However, while talking about this issue, some employees argued that while the knowledge and the awareness might be perceived as western, environmental sustainable practices can be found in local ways of living too. More specifically, 'village life' was perceived as more sustainable.

*'I think the concept is western, but it might exist in Indonesian traditional ways of living. Back in the days, life was much simpler. You could see that as more sustainable. But via the western concept it might redevelop again in this modern era' [Freelance Guide].*

*'Like in my village, we have trees that cannot be cut, because we believe in spirits in the tree. So I think it is sort of sustainable but in a local wisdom way. So I think we already do it, but we do not have a word for it' [Travel Management Employee].*

People in the villages, it was argued, did not necessarily had the understanding of what sustainability contains, but *'without thinking, they do the environmental friendly thing'* [Travel Employee].

This was mostly related to the belief in spirits of the ancestors, known as *Kejawen*<sup>4</sup>.

*'My grandmother always talked to the plants, she really respected the plants. She knew that nature was the place we got our food from. We also believe in the spirits in nature; in trees, rivers. So when you throw garbage in the river for example, it is disrespecting the spirits. But, in the cities they do not believe about it much anymore. People nowadays are looking for reasons for explanation'* [Travel Management Employee].

Not only did the diminishing of traditional beliefs or *'forgetting their culture'* led to more unsustainable behaviour according to the employees, but also when people still used these traditions, the products might have changed which causes a sustainable practice to become unsustainable:

*'We used to offer something with leaves for example, and you could just leave it until it was rotten. Now, people use plastic, which will become trash. And then other people think they can put their trash there too'* [Freelance guide]

Especially in the city, this leads to differing perceptions of what is seen as an environmental problem, also mentioned earlier by the Gadjah Mada University professor. Plastic can be perceived as an offer or as trash, for example. Additionally, it was experienced by some employees that the local wisdom sometimes was suppressed by the western concept. This was related to the fact that *'westerners'* within sustainable tourism were often perceived as *'environmental friendly'* and *'knowledgeable'*, so *'they would know best'* (see also 3.3.3).

The local tourism organisations of Java Arin, ELI and Kura immediately stated that although the concept of environmental sustainability might be derived from the western world, the practices are already very old and known in Indonesia too.

*'Long before western people introduce concept of sustainability, in Indonesia they call it local wisdom ('kearifan lokal') for example. Through myth older people said to their children that those big tree is a house of a powerful spirit if somebody cut it down bad things will happen to she/he who cut it down. They know trees is source of water for their live. But lack in ability to understand and describe the process make them make the phantom image or symbol to tell their children. This is the old way of sustainable life in many tribes in Indonesia'* [Kura].

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<sup>4</sup> The Javanese beliefs of *Kejawen*, which consists of animism and dynamism, is explained shortly by one of my respondents as the following: *'Animism in Java is about, we believe in spirits and the spirits are our ancestors. We are not worshipping the spirits but we honour them. The spirits have a special connection to the gods, so we pray to the gods to look after them. And the ancestor spirits are looking after us. Also, there is a difference between animism and dynamism. Together they form Kejawen. In Dynamism, we believe the spirits are in something, like the living things or in goods. Trees, rocks, rivers, etc. Animism we believe in spirits itself, they are everywhere'*.

It is said that because people used to depend on their nature, they would automatically protect where they are depending on. However, because of modernization and the introduction of money, this dependency shifts.

*'Mostly it [traditional ways of living] is already forgotten, people forget their local wisdom because of modernization. Once I went to Kalimantan, I went to the forests where they did logging. Before the big companies came there, the local people respected the trees. But then, money came in, and they forgot all about it. With money they do not have to hunt, not have to plant, they just can use the money to buy anything they want. And that is a huge depletion of the traditions. The community was not ready for the sudden money. It made them easily forgot their actual sustainable practices'* [Java Arin].

It is argued by ELI that local wisdom and heritage *should* be at core of conservation, as for most local people this is more familiar than the western word of 'sustainability' and thus easier to 'implement'. This is also the reason that ELI and Java Arin focus on reviving these old cultural values within the local communities they work with.

Thus, reflecting on the answers of the hosts, the *concept* of sustainability is perceived as something western, however the *practices* are to be found in local ways of living too, but are not labelled as such by the people themselves. It is therefore not perceived as an ideology of the western world brought to a place where its values are unknown, as stated by academics (West and Carrier 2004). However, because the sustainable practices that are already present are not always acknowledged or labelled as such, it can be easily forgotten in the modernisation process or suppressed by the western concept because of the hegemonic relations between the 'east' and 'west'. On the other hand, through the use of the 'western' concept the local 'environmental sustainable' practices might also 'redevelop' and revive 'traditional' values. However, at the moment, it seems that a shift is happening in the relationship of Javanese people and their natural environment; from a 'traditional', spiritual vision in which all things are interconnected out of the belief in spirits towards a more anthropocentric worldview in which nature is seen as a source which can be depleted and polluted. How working in sustainable tourism can contribute in changing this worldview or 'redevelop' it into the old one is what I will describe next.

#### **3.4.4 Learning at Work; New Knowledge or Old Values?**

After exploring the understanding of the concept of environmental sustainability and its related practices and perceptions, this paragraph will elaborate on how working in the sustainable tourism organisations has had (or not) contributed to this understanding according to the employees themselves.

At Jalanjalanjogja, the management stated that they *'tried to force a concept [of sustainability] on them to make them more aware'* as is shown in 3.3. It indeed turned out that most

employees described to me that, before working at Jalanjalanjogja, they did not know much about sustainability.

*'Sustainability? I had no idea! I learned about it while working here. I was not aware about those things. In the beginning I got the training, but it was only later that I fully understand what we were doing'* [Travel Management Employee].

Only some of the employees described that they knew a bit about the concept before, for example separating garbage and taking care of trash, which they mostly learned from their (grand)parents or books. However, thanks to work at Jalanjalanjogja, they became more aware of the importance of these things.

*'I knew about it [sustainability] before working in Jalanjalan, but now I have more specific reasons to do so'* [Travel Management].

The things employees described about what they had learned during their work about sustainability were related to energy use, recycling, organic food, the use of plastic and reducing their motorcycle use. In general, they said, they learnt how to respect nature, to be more 'environmentally aware'.

*'They taught me a lot, mostly awareness for the environment. The use of plastic, the project trees4tours<sup>5</sup>, and it also made me like to walk and bike more instead of always taking the motorbike'* [Freelance Guide].

*'I learned a lot; from how I treat people to how I treat my surroundings. [...] I learned to have more respect for nature'* [Travel Employee].

They had learned about these things mostly through the training they get at the beginning of their 'career' at Jalanjalanjogja. However, this training is only done with new tour guides. Other employees learn about it through short meetings every now and then but mostly while working in Jalanjalanjogja itself. Some of the employees of other departments than Travel felt like they did not had enough knowledge to answer the questions of guests. Also the guides who did had the training sometimes admit that they started to forget about what they had learned, as this training is only given once. However, during my observations of different groups of employees (ranging from guides-to-be to local management staff working for over 15 years) and their statements, it became clear that working within Jalanjalanjogja does contribute to at least the increase of knowledge about the 'western' concept of environmental sustainability of all departments, although in differing levels of understanding.

As we have seen at the chapter of 'The Participatory Process', the hosts of the local organisations already had a background in something related to sustainability and highly valued it

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<sup>5</sup> Trees4tours is an organisation that plants trees to compensate co2. For every tour Jalanjalanjogja does by motorbike or car, they plant a tree (per 2 motorbikes 1 tree, per car 1 tree).



before working at their current job. Therefore, they already knew quite a lot about environmental sustainability before working at these organisations. However, most of them acknowledge that although they had the knowledge and awareness of its importance, they fully understood what it contained while *practicing* it at their work.

*'For example, I just knew about biogas, but at ELI I learned through practice, by experience'* [ELI]

Their understanding is also strengthened, as one of the core elements of all three local organisations is educating others about these environmental issues. Also, because they work within networks aiming for the same goals, by working together with others they learn from each other's expertise, for example about permaculture or community-based management. Also their contact with tourists led to new insights or extra knowledge. Furthermore, they are very eager to learn more by themselves, using 'Google University'. In this way, their work within sustainable tourism makes that they do not only *have* the knowledge, but it becomes internalized by exchanging its values and putting them into practice.

Based on the above sketched results it can be argued that sustainable tourism organisations can increase the knowledge of those hosts who were unfamiliar with the (western) concept of environmental sustainability. For those who were already familiar with the concept, it contributes to the strengthening of the importance of that knowledge. Full understanding of its implications and practices is only experienced by those who work with the concept every day in practice, by educating others or practice it themselves (for example by making biogas). It shows that repetition of this knowledge is crucial in the understanding of the concept and the awareness of its importance, but also that it makes a difference if one is adapting an ideology of someone else or is strengthening its own.

### **Summary 3.4**

In this chapter I have reviewed the definitions and explanations of the hosts concerning the concept and practices related to environmental sustainability. In this way, I tried to determine how their work within tourism might have influenced this knowledge. In the literature it was stated that environmental sustainability is often a 'slippery term' so I firstly examined its understanding amongst the hosts. It was described as something in which people try to minimize their impact on the natural environment, by the local organisations complemented with the aspect of restoring that which is damaged. The Indonesian words for describing this concept relate to these explanations, referring to 'environmental friendly' or 'continuing/everlasting environment'. However, it does show that the concept is experienced in different ways, ranging from 'deep' to more 'shallow' ecological visions; the difference between the effects of sustainability on the well-being of humans or questioning the

origins of the environmental issues (Kopnina 2012). How these definitions work out in practice is what I examined next.

The statements of the employees concerning environmental sustainable and harmful practices show an *absence* of a certain vision, namely the 'technocentric' one (Holden 2008). Modernisation, with all its instant products, motorcycles and factories, was seen as harmful, whereas the increase of awareness and understanding of human impact on the environment was seen as helpful for the preservation of the natural environment. Technological innovations were not mentioned, but could be used as additional once this awareness was established, for example for making biogas. In these statements of the employees one could notice the difference between 'eco-efficient' or 'eco-effective' ways of acting sustainable, fighting the symptoms or the causes of environmental issues (McDonough 2007). This was also related to seeing sustainability as a part of work or a lifestyle, and the perception of the concept as something 'western' or local.

The current concept of environmental sustainability is perceived as something western by most employees, but its practices and values are (or were) already known in Javanese ways of living too. It is therefore not perceived as an ideology of the western world brought to a place where its values are unknown, as stated by academics (West and Carrier 2004). However, because the sustainable practices that are already present are not always acknowledged or labelled as such, it can be easily forgotten in the modernisation process or suppressed by the western concept because of the hegemonic relations between the 'east' and 'west'. On the other hand, through the use of the 'western' concept the local 'environmental sustainable' practices might also 'redevelop' and revive 'traditional' values.

Thus, when asking about what employees of the western organisation knew about 'environmental sustainability' before they started working, they stated they were unfamiliar with the concept. Their work in tourism increased their knowledge of the western concept and its practices or either strengthened their existing knowledge. For those hosts at the local organisations, who stated that they knew already about the concept due to former education or experiences, their work within sustainable tourism increased their understanding and the practices of sustainability by working with or educating about it almost every. Furthermore, it is shown that repetition of this knowledge is crucial in the understanding of the concept and the awareness of its importance, but also that it makes a difference if one is adapting an ideology of someone else or is working with its own.

This is further influenced by how each organisation defined sustainable tourism, how they organized their tours, how they participate and interact with (international) tourists, as is shown in the former chapters. In the conclusion I will connect these different factors of the tourism process and how they play a role in the development of ideas and values of 'environmental sustainability'.

## Chapter 4. Conclusion

In this thesis I have explored if and how sustainable tourism contributes to the understanding of environmental sustainability amongst its *hosts*. The motivation of this research lies in the widespread assumption that sustainable tourism can provide an alternative to the ‘destructive’ force of conventional mass-tourism on the natural environment, by fostering more sustainable behaviour within the organisation and its surroundings. Especially in ‘emerging’ economies such as Indonesia, sustainable tourism is seen as a sustainable solution for socio-economic development and congruently environmental protection. Furthermore, it is argued that our behaviour towards the natural environment is amongst others shaped by our understanding of it, and vice versa (Milton 1997, King & Stewart 1996). Therefore, this thesis is concerned with exploring if and how the understanding of ‘environmental sustainability’ is affected by working with(in) sustainable tourism.

### *Restating the Theoretical Context*

To be able to provide an answer to the research question, I first examined what constitutes ‘sustainable tourism’ as described in literature. It is argued that sustainable tourism cannot be strictly defined as it is a social construct reflecting the interests and values of the concerned actors (Mowforth & Munt 2009). However, in general there are several ‘principles’ and ‘elements’ perceptible, known as environmental, socio-cultural and economic sustainability including elements of conservation, education and local participation. The educational element aims to provide a greater understanding of the natural and human world, which could ultimately contribute to the conservation of natural areas. The ‘local participation’ element alludes to the inclusion of, and control by, local hosts (Mowforth & Munt 2009).

In studying the concept of sustainable tourism, some factors stood out in relation to my research question. Therefore, I explored these in theory in more detail. First of all, I further examined the concept of ‘local participation’. It is argued that the amount of knowledge of *why* local hosts participate in the (sustainable) tourism process remains limited, whereas it could provide insights in what tourism determines in people’s lives (Stronza 2001). External or internal motivation for working within tourism can play a role in how ideas and values of hosts are affected (Teunissen 2015), as well as their mode of participation in the organisation and/or industry, ranging from passive to active involvement in decision making, direct or indirect contact with tourists (Pretty & Hine 1999). Why and how local hosts participate in the tourism process could thus be influential in their ideas and values towards certain topics. Within this participatory process, certain ideas, values or knowledge is exchanged via intercultural interaction and education. The concept of sustainability is said to be a western ideology (Mowforth & Munt 2009), which is spread by tourism to places where it is assumed that these values are relatively unknown, causing changes in local attitudes towards the environment

(West & Carrier 2004). Through the concept of hegemony, the ability of one group to convince others, it is possible that the values or ideology of one group are adapted by others (Mowforth & Munt 2009). This could occur within intercultural interaction between host and guests. However, intercultural interaction can also lead to reviving (old) cultural values, traditions or ideas. Therefore, tourism can be seen as a *transmission belt*, bringing together different ways of living (Lanfant 1995 in Cohen & Kennedy 2002), which contributes to the 'cultural style' of the hosts (Ferguson 1999).

These different ways of living can contain different relations with the natural environment, including perceptions of what is seen as environmentally sustainable. Therefore, I delved deeper in the concept of 'environmental sustainability' to identify how this is perceived within the literature. The concept generally comprises notions of minimization or elimination of human impact on the environment. What is seen as 'environmentally sustainable', and if we value it as important, is based on the relation one has with its natural environment. This relation is developed during our life, based on our observations and interpretations, which are shaped by socializing factors around us (Kellert & Wilson 1999). This can result in viewing nature as a utilitarian 'resource' or as something with intrinsic value (Borgerhoff Mulder & Coppolillo 2005). These views or relations are designated 'anthropocentric' at the one end of the spectrum, and 'ecocentric' at the other. Ecocentric visions, in turn, can be divided in 'deep' and 'shallow' ecology. Where the latter refers to 'eco-efficient' practices, in which one is mainly concerned with the *symptoms* of un-sustainability (such as waste), 'deep' ecology is related to 'eco-effective' practices in which the causes of environmental issues are addressed. The 'view' one holds towards its environment influences the way one acts in it, and vice versa (Milton 1997, King & Stewart 1996).

So, from literature it can be argued that the understanding of concepts such as 'environmental sustainability' within (sustainable) tourism can be influenced by 1) motivation for and participation within the organisation 2) socializing factors within and around this organisation, such as education or (intercultural) interaction, 3) ideology and hegemony within this interaction and education. I have explored these factors in practice during my fieldwork. My field consisted of several sustainable tourism organisations in the province of Yogyakarta, Indonesia. Each of them has different ways of using the concept of sustainable tourism, reasons to start their organisations, goals of their activities, ways of exchanging knowledge and interaction with tourists. To provide a better understanding of the case studies, I examined the local context of Yogyakarta in which these organisations are established.

### *Conclusions from the Field*

In Yogyakarta, the focus of the local government concerning tourism development is mainly on capital-intensive mass tourism projects, to meet the tourist demand and economic benefits on the short term. This is not only causing environmental problems such as water shortage, but also causes inequalities within the industry. Working on 'sustainable' alternatives is only done in the form of *desa wisata*, tourism villages. By converting cultural and natural features into tourism objects with which villagers can make a better living, these features might be better preserved, it is argued. In this way, modernisation can take place without 'losing tradition'. However, due to this modernisation and short-term mindset the region of Yogyakarta is facing several environmental issues. This is moreover caused by the fact that people hold different perceptions on what is actually problem and what not. This 'unsustainable' mindset is explained by the fact that currently the concept of 'sustainability' is only used in the academic world; it is not a concept 'from the people'. At the governmental level, the idea of sustainable tourism exists, but it is not put into practice amongst others because the concept is not fully understood. It can thus be argued that in Yogyakarta the intentions to implement sustainability practices into tourism development are present, but the understanding of the concept is 'lacking'; people hold different perceptions on what is actually seen as sustainable both on a local and governmental level due to misinterpretations or misinformation.

This context of (mass)tourism development with short term benefits motivated the local organizations as well as the international organization Jalanjalanjogja to develop a different, responsible form of conducting tourism. As mass-tourism caused much 'in-balance' economically, socially and ecologically, their definitions include an element of 'keeping balance'. How hosts further define the concept of sustainable tourism depends on whether they see tourism as a *tool* or as the *aim* of the organisation. Both kinds of organisations perceive sustainable tourism, although via a different approach, as a means to raise awareness about environmental and social issues amongst its employees as well as of local communities. Reflecting on this, it can thus be stated that the definition and practice of sustainable tourism are indeed depending on the context in which it arises, as well as the ideas and values of its developers. This is congruent with the argumentation of Mowforth and Munt described in the theoretical chapter. Moreover, sustainable tourism has thus the potential in changing values and ideas, as it is perceived as a medium in transferring knowledge.

The theory also stated that motivation, participation and intercultural interaction could be influential factors within tourism. Whereas most employees of Jalanjalanjogja started working because they were in need of a job, the hosts of the local organisations were motivated for their work because they want to contribute in solving environmental problems. Their intrinsic motivation is thus based on working with sustainability, whereas at Jalanjalanjogja it is something additional to their work. This intrinsic motivation is also shown in their future aspirations. This, in turn, is also

influenced by how people participate in an organisation and the amount of agency one has in this participation. When employees are actively involved (in decision making) and intensively working with the concept of sustainability, for example as educators, the understanding of (the importance of) the concept becomes internalized rather than having superficial knowledge of certain issues. It makes a difference if sustainability is seen as part of their work or part of their life.

Although these processes show how certain ideas or values are internalized, it does not provide insight in how ideas and values are obtained in the first place. One of the factors that influence this process is intercultural interaction. It has been shown to have the ability to change hosts' ways of thinking, for example into more 'westernized' ones. In the case of Jalanjalanjogja, this can be explained by the hegemony between the 'western' management projecting their ideology on the local employees, making them adapting to certain ideas and values inherent to this ideology. However, this intercultural interaction, especially with guests, could also revive feelings of pride of cultural traditions or natural environments or strengthen existing knowledge and behaviour. It contributes to the 'cultural style' of sustainability the employees develop through their work.

After exploring the factors of motivation, participation and intercultural interaction in the process of changing values and ideas, I examined how hosts' themselves described how their work within sustainable tourism had contributed to their understanding of environmental sustainability. Firstly, I examined what this current understanding included. In general, the concept was explained as minimizing negative human impact on the environment or even restoring damage that has been done. Modernisation, with all its instant products, motorcycles and factories, was seen as harmful, whereas the increase of awareness and understanding of human impact on the environment was seen as helpful for the preservation of the natural environment. In these definitions and explanations it appeared that different forms of environmental sustainability were present. Some of the employees alluded to practices that reduced the *symptoms* of environmental problems, such as reducing impact, whereas others stated that the *causes* should be at core, such as how certain things are produced in the first place.

Furthermore, it was stated that these practices and knowledge of environmental sustainability used to be present in 'traditional' ways of living too. The *concept* of sustainability is therefore perceived as something western; however the *practices* are already quite old. It is thus not perceived as an ideology of the western world brought to a place where its values are unknown, but as something which is already present but not consciously acknowledged as such, suppressed by modernisation or replaced by 'western' visions as a result of hegemonic relations between the 'east' and the 'west'. However, it was also argued that through the use of this 'western' concept, traditional values might redevelop.

It can be concluded that working within sustainable tourism influences the conceptualization

of 'environmental sustainability', resulting in differing levels of understanding. Firstly, for those hosts who are unfamiliar with the 'western' concept, it can provide new knowledge or secondly, strengthen the importance of or expands their existing knowledge. For those hosts at the local organisations, who stated that they knew already about the concept due to former education or experiences, it increased their understanding of the *practices* of sustainability by working with or educating about it almost every day of their work. Furthermore, it is shown that repetition of this knowledge is crucial in the understanding of the concept and the awareness of its importance, but also that it makes a difference if one is adapting an ideology of someone else or is developing its own. Thus, the educational element of sustainable tourism is not only important because it can provide hosts with 'new' knowledge, but through educating others (tourists, local communities) these 'sustainability' values become even more internalized. Factors such as why and how hosts engage in the tourism process (including motivation, participation and intercultural interaction) are of importance in this process.

Thus, sustainable tourism does have the ability to change mindsets by improving the understanding of environmental sustainability. However, despite the argument in *theory* that this understanding could lead to more sustainable behaviour, it should be the focus of future research if this happens in *practice* too. This is especially important since sustainable tourism is put forward as a solution to achieve socio-economic development while preserving natural areas by emerging economies such as Indonesia. As is shown, understanding of environmental sustainability alone is not enough; supporting surroundings and motivating policies are needed to be able to adequately put this knowledge into practice. Furthermore, it is important for future sustainable tourism developments to not only aim for 'eco-efficiency', combating the 'symptoms' of environmental issues by minimizing impact. Moreover, the attempt should be to take this a step further in becoming 'eco-effective', in which the focus lies on changing the *causes* of these issues. By using sustainable tourism as a tool in achieving a balanced world between humans and their environments, modernisation and tradition, this should be at core. However, the micro-dialogues started and fostered by the sustainable tourism organisations described in this research, to revive old sustainable values or provide new knowledge, are definitely a powerful first step in the right direction in setting these developments in motion. (Governmental) support for these local actions can lead to global change in the long run.

"In the end, we will conserve only what we love. We will love only what we understand. We will understand only what we are taught" (Dubin 2008:151).

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## Appendix

### *Indication of Interview Questions*

#### *- General*

1. What is the history of your organisation? (foundation year etc.)
2. What were the struggles or challenges you were facing during set up?
3. What is the mission and vision of your organisation?

#### *- Sustainable tourism*

1. How do you define the concept of 'sustainable tourism'?
2. How does sustainable tourism differ from conventional mass-tourism, according to you?
3. What tourism practices do you perceive as harmful for the environment?
4. What can still be improved in sustainable tourism in Indonesia? And at your own organisation?
5. What makes a sustainable tourism enterprise successful?
6. How can tourism contribute in achieving environmental sustainability?

#### *- Motivation & Participation*

1. What kind of work do you do at your organisation? Do you enjoy it? Why?

Choose between 2 and 3:

2. How did you get the job? Why did you choose for this organisation to work at?
3. Why did you start this organisation?

4. What is the structure of your organisation? (who decides on things, who does the promotion, etc).
5. What do you like most about your work, and what not?
6. How do you envision yourself/the organisation in 5 years? And what are your hopes for the future of Indonesia?

#### *- Environmental sustainability*

1. What are the Indonesian words for 'environmental sustainability'? What do they mean?
2. How would you define 'environmental sustainability'? Do you think it is important and why (not)?
3. What human practices do you perceive as harmful? And which can be helpful?
4. What do you perceive as important for the future of your (grand)children?
5. Did your perception of what is environmental sustainable or not changed while working here? And if so, how is it different now than before?

#### *- Cross- cultural interaction*

1. Why do international tourists come to your organization?
2. What do they like most from their visit according to you?
3. Do you behave differently when tourists are around?
4. Do you talk with tourists about the environment? What do you tell them, and they you?
5. Have you ever learnt something new from tourists concerning environmental sustainability? And if so, what?
6. Do you think (international) tourists are environmental sustainable? And why (not)?