



**Linking Urban Poor Participation with
Comprehensive Tourism Governance
The Experience of Creative Kampong Programme in
Bandung, Indonesia**

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List of Acronyms

AVF	Asset Vulnerability Framework
APT	Anti-Poverty Tourism
BCCF	Bandung Creative City Forum
BLSM	<i>Bantuan Langsung Sementara Masyarakat</i> or Temporary Cash Transfer
CBOs	Community-based Organisations
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
PPT	Pro-Poor Tourism
PNPM	<i>Program Nasional Pemberdayaan Masyarakat</i> or the National Programme for Community Empowerment
RT	<i>Rukun Tetangga</i> or Sub-neighbourhood group
RW	<i>Rukun Warga</i> or Neighbourhood group
SMEs	Small and Medium Enterprises

Abstract

In the growing discourse on tourism literature, poverty emerged as the primary debate as a consequence of tourism impact. Along with the increasing recognition towards decentralisation, participatory process in tourism development has been through a critical process, facing problematic formulation to ensure the intended outcomes of tourism development. This paper elaborates the concept of poverty, tourism, and participation in contributing analytical debate to help the poor from severe poverty condition, through tourism strategy. Drawing from the example of Creative Kampong Programme, in Bandung, the opportunity to link the poor in an urban setting by actively encourage their participation, to the tourism industry worth a long shot. It possesses opportunities, but more importantly, challenges the notion of integration of the poor in tourism development.

The overall paper is structured in six chapters, consisting of two main part of analysis. Firstly, the analysis takes on the critical point of view concerning the participation process in the Creative Kampong Programme. The ambitious goal of tourism development for the poor is often accompanied with the enforcement of participation in the programme. However, this approach is problematic given several limitations, not only from internal motives, but also the external environment, which influence the ability to participate in the programme. Secondly, after the assessment of participatory approach, the paper carries on comprehensive tourism governance, as pursued by the Anti-Poverty Tourism (APT) framework, as a way to link the poor in tourism policies. The APT provides a good benchmark to follow, but the lessons from the case studies imply contradictory argument to the framework. The paradoxical situation led to the question of whether tourism is the appropriate strategy for poverty reduction.

Relevance to Development Studies

In the light of emerging trend of bottom-up development, the roles of society become increasingly important in space for the decision-making process. Community participation often serves as preconditions for many development interventions, not to mention in the tourism sector. Tourism is a favourable strategy for policy makers, because not only it enhances economic growth, but also helps in reducing poverty. The Creative Kampong Programme in Bandung depicted a grounded experience of making tourism work in a poor setting by encouraging poor community participation. Therefore, this study contributes to the central of the entire discipline of development, by providing critical insights of participatory approach and tourism as a tool for poverty reduction.

Keywords

Poverty, tourism, kampong, participation

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Contextual Background

In 1998, the development paradigm in Indonesia experienced a significant yet sudden change, from a highly centralised government to decentralisation, later to influence the state, society, and private sector relationships. The end of the prolonged authoritarian political regime under Soeharto's presidency marked a new approach to Indonesia's development. A major reformation started in all sectors, changing the way the governing system worked. This included an increasing recognition of the need for inclusive development—a development including the poor—aimed at transforming the nature and role of state and society. As decentralisation was implemented, there was also increased authority for local government to manage their resources and strengthen their bargaining position. Law Number 22 Year 1999 about Local Government, later revised in 2004 by Law Number 32 and again in 2014 by Law Number 23, which dealt with local government, stipulated the transfer of authority and governance function from central to local government and aimed at increasing public service delivery and a democratic decision-making process (Mungkasa 2013).

In an era of globalisation, the challenge of decentralisation for local government is to discover creative ways to boost economic development. The tourism sector in Indonesia has evolved as the driver for local government to maximise local income and contribute to people's welfare through employment and income generation. As in many other tourist regions, Bandung City was facing the impact of tourism on economic growth and on the well-being of the local people. The tourism industry offers a unique opportunity, specifically in the form of the creative tourism development. The branding of Bandung, as a Creative City cannot be separated from the emergence of creative community-based activities. The city had 5,291 creative communities under fifteen different categories in 2008 (Cheasnawi 2012) and was part of the driving force behind local economic development. Using creativity as the core strategy, Bandung Creative City Forum (BCCF) proposed the Creative Kampung Programme to help to transform the negative images associated with the kampung by developing a new form of community economics. This programme aimed to address the needs of kampung dwellers by using a touch of creative and innovative action (Utami 2014:61).

The Creative Kampung Programme offered a set of tourism activities aimed at socioeconomic transformation of the kampung dwellers. After this programme was implemented in five different kampongs in Bandung in 2012, the outcomes seemed contradictory with early expectation because each kampung had its own path of development. In general, Dago Pojok appeared to have a well-established programme when compared to the performance of other kampongs. This was evident in the significant improvement of the kampung's infrastructure, regular tourism activities to prepare for the annual cultural festival, and changes in kampung dwellers behaviour. By contrast, Cicadas, which selected to conduct the programme in 2012, had a quite notable tourism progress from those of Dago Pojok. Pursuing acoustic and modern art as their kampung's theme, the programme failed to deliver sustained creative tourism activities in the middle of an urban poor settlement (Mutiarasari 2015). Both of these kampongs used community participation as a way to increase the effectiveness and to sustain the

programme. Working with the poor in the tourism sector, therefore, needs to pay careful attention to assure long-term benefits by continuously encourage participation by the poor community.

1.2 Research Problem

A tourism-based economy can often serves as an engine of local development as well as a tool for poverty reduction. Yet, the promotion of mass and conventional tourism has also had adverse effects, and particularly its ability to make the poor better off is doubtful. One main reason for the failure of the conventional tourism to contribute in poverty reduction is that it is not able to generate benefits for the poor because they are excluded from the tourism process. Therefore, an attempt to create meaningful tourism development for the poor has led to the reinforcement of the community as the heart of the tourism agenda. This has become the basis for the birth of alternative tourism development like, Pro-Poor Tourism (PPT) and community-based tourism. Not only is there a shift on the supply side, but the demand for tourism is also experiencing a paradigm shift, indicated by the growing number of responsible travellers. Concern for the sustainability of tourism destinations has triggered both of local communities and the tourism entrepreneurs to be more innovative in offering alternative products to tourists.

Home grown initiatives for tourism development are often accompanied by an increase in participation in the decision-making process. Whether it is a state-driven or community-based tourism policy, community involvement has largely become the key precondition for tourism development. Despite its rising popularity, participation in tourism, notably by the poor people, has generated some issues that lead us to questions about its viability as a poverty reduction strategy through tourism. The un(der)representation of the poor community in the decision-making process results in an unequal distribution of tourism resources and thus weakens the bargaining power of the poor. Even with the rise of alternatives tourism, such as community-based tourism and Pro-Poor Tourism, the poor continue to struggle to find a place to exercise their power and voice. The example of the Creative Kampong Programme showcases innovative models of the participatory approach to both poverty and tourism development. In Dago Pojok, the tourism activities remained stable over time, whereas in Cicadas there was a failure to recognise the need for a transformative approach in governing the tourism development. Drawing from the experiences in Dago Pojok and Cicadas may contribute to setting up a model of participatory development in a creative tourism-based economy.

1.3 Research Objective

The primary objective of this research is to understand the process and models of participatory governance in managing tourism by the urban poor. The sub-objectives of the research are as follows:

1. To critically assess the process and mechanisms whereby poor people can participate in tourism.
2. To attempt to integrate tourism and poverty into a comprehensive policy.
3. To improve the understanding of local authorities as to the contribution of the poor people in tourism policies.

1.4 Research Question

The ongoing debate as to how tourism benefits poor people focuses on the issue of participation by the poor community and other relevant stakeholders in the tourism industry. Therefore, the central research question is to consider to what extent the promotion of participatory governance in tourism development has helped poor kampong dwellers. The sub-questions to deepen the focus of the research question are as follows:

1. What are the indications of livelihood change of the kampong dwellers after the implementation of the Creative Kampong Programme?
2. How was the participatory approach implemented in the Creative Kampong Programme?
3. How can tourism policies be aligned with poverty reduction strategies?

1.5 Methodology

Bandung City as a case study reflects the contemporary image of cities in the developing world. Keeping in mind that the Creative Kampong Programme in Cicadas and Dago Pojok is part of the strategy to address urban poverty through a participatory approach, the process by which the poor act either as active participants or beneficiaries requires careful assessment. The experience of the Creative Kampong Programme is relevant to the current theoretical debate about poverty and tourism, which also covers an element of community participation. However, the notion of tourism as a tool for poverty reduction by advocating people to participate is highly contested. The underlying debate is not only whether tourism can contribute to poverty reduction, but also whether the outcomes of community participation, particularly by the kampong dwellers, will meet the objectives of tourism development.

Data Collection and Data Analysis

This research primarily took on a qualitative approach, complemented by quantitative data. The quantitative data was useful to provide a broad understanding and overview of tourism and poverty in Bandung as well as the baseline socioeconomic baseline condition of the kampong dwellers. This information was obtained from various secondary sources: academic literature, government publications, popular publications, websites, and NGO reports. To gather socioeconomic data about the kampong dwellers, a set of brief questionnaires was used to gain information related to the conceptualisation of poverty using the Asset Vulnerability Framework. The sample size was determined using the snowball method and, therefore, relied on informant's knowledge to identify future informants. The data analysis for this particular data collection used descriptive statistics and simple cross-tabulation to determine the socioeconomic trends influencing the respondents and how this influence related to their participation in the Creative Kampong Programme.

For the qualitative methodology, a number of research techniques were included in the assessment. A case study analysis was employed to seek the depth of information regarding participation of the poor community in tourism development in Bandung. This was intended to discover the causes behind the degree of participation by the poor community in contemporary tourism. For a broader conception of how these two variables are inter-related, a desk study and literature review were necessary to identify

the influencing factors. Further, data was collected through a range of in-depth and semi-structured interviews with relevant stakeholders and by direct observation within the kampong. Interviews were conducted in either Bahasa or Sundanese to reduce the barrier between interviewee and interviewer.

To analyse data collected from interviews and direct observation, interpretative and coding analyses were employed. First, all the interviews were transcribed word for word. These transcripts were then categorised into several groups, each with a different code and meaning. This was followed by data analysis. The data collected by direct observation was analysed using reflexive writing based on a fieldwork diary. Before conducting the interviews, all informants were asked whether they wanted to keep the results confidential or not. The names that are cited in this paper are actual names, unless otherwise stated.

Fieldwork

The fieldwork for this research was conducted in July-August 2015. In Dago Pojok, there were 14 interviews, with the local leaders, the organising committee of Creative Kampong, participants, and non-participants. The number of interviewees was greater than the total interviews (see Appendix 1), because not all the interviews were with individuals, but some were with groups. In addition to the interviews, the participants filled in a questionnaire concerning their socioeconomic background. Identification of participants and non-participants was based on local knowledge, given the limited amount of information available to differentiate this group. In addition, interviews with BCCF, the Tourism Department of Bandung City, and academics were undertaken to clarify some issues of the programme.

In Cicadas, there were slightly fewer informants, than in Dago Pojok. The interviews were held with seven key informants, primarily the local kampong elite. The socioeconomic questionnaire, designed for Dago Pojok, was not used because direct observation made clear that there were no longer any tourism activities, making it hard to trace back participants and non-participants. However, information about participants was obtained through the interviews with the key informants. In both cases, direct observation was conducted to monitor daily activities in the kampong. I also attended several meetings held to prepare for the upcoming art and culture festival in Dago Pojok on October 30th, 2015. The results of direct observation were recorded in notes to provide a reminder of important findings not found in the interviews.

1.6 Limitation and Ethical Challenge

A limitation of the study is largely a possible ethical issue related to the data collection process. I, as an urban middle-class urban woman, was in a privileged position in relation to the subjects of my research. The poor, often in a subordinate position in the social structure, needed to be approached with the genuine intention of academic research. There was also a risk of an informant bias; informants might not answer the questions objectively due, for example, to threats or violence acts that could endanger their lives or because they might expect something in return. To overcome this obstacle, prior to commencing the interviews, the confidentiality of the informant was made a priority and the objective of the research was explained clearly. The interviews were voluntary, but a gift given as a token of appreciation after the interview had been conducted was considered culturally acceptable.

Another possible constraint is about the selection of a case study that may not give sufficient information about the overall Creative Kampong Programme. The programme has been implemented in five different areas across Bandung. Based on the evaluation of the programme, Cicadas and Dago Pojok were selected because they have different path of development and outcomes of the programme. Comparing and contrasting these two cases study may not be sufficient to make generalisations about the larger population. In this respect, the research may provide some useful findings that can be incorporated for further programme development. With regard to the process of data collection, the limitations of the available data are a crucial issue, particularly in relation to the depth of the data. Taken from formal sources, the socioeconomic data for each kampong was only accessible up to the level of the district and the sub-district, whereas the data needed is on the level of neighbourhood and sub-neighbourhood group.

Chapter 2

Conceptual Framework

2.1 Conceptualisation of Poverty

Research about poverty cannot be done without first defining poverty. Poverty is the inability to meet basic needs; this is usually measured by a unidimensional indicator such as income or expenditure (Ruggeri Laderchi et al. 2003:247). Two popular monetary poverty lines that are commonly used by governments and international development agencies are the absolute poverty line, drawing a line according to the global standard of minimum basic needs, and the relative poverty line, using the regional standards to determine what is adequate living (Foster 1998:336). The required monetary data are relatively available in most countries and are thus favoured by government officials. However, this approach has several weaknesses. The greatest criticism is that it pays too much attention to material aspects as a way to overlook deficiency. Other issues raised concern the relevance of using the household as a unit of analysis, insensitivity to gender norms, variations in energy expenditure across gender, age, and daily activities, and ignorance of cultural factors as to what is perceived as being poor (Saith 2005; Ruggeri Laderchi et al. 2003).

In an attempt to formulate an adequate definition of what it means to be poor, a wide range of alternative measurements have been developed, broadening into the concept of multidimensional poverty. Not only is poverty material deprivation, but it is also considered as lack of access to health services, good quality education, appropriate housing and sanitation, and political rights. Several recent studies investigating a new way to define the threshold of poverty have been carried out, such as The Capability Approach by Amartya Sen, Social Exclusion by the European Union, and Participatory Methods by Robert Chambers (Rugger Laderchi et al. 2003). Furthermore, based on Sen's work on Capability Approach, Moser (1998) has developed the concept of the Asset Vulnerability Framework (AVF) to define poverty, primarily in urban settings; this concerns the possession of both tangible and intangible assets. Assets, as the main feature, are playing an important role for the poor, not only for their daily use but also for savings and investments. Assets can also be an instrument to protect their livelihood from future crises.

The AVF's measurement uses more rigid indicators, particularly in relation to the livelihood of the urban poor. There are five categories in the asset portfolio: labour, human capital, productive assets, household relations, and social capital, and how it relates to how the poor cope with vulnerability shocks that may affect their property. (see Table 2.1) This method can go beyond the conventional statistical measurement of the poor towards "classifying the capabilities of poor populations to use their resources to reduce their vulnerability" (Moser 1998:14).

Table 2. 1 The Asset Vulnerability Framework

Types of Assets	Remarks	Possible Coping Strategies
Labour	The most important asset of poor people	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increase women's participation in (mostly) informal labour market

Types of Assets	Remarks	Possible Coping Strategies
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rely on child labour
Human capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Health status, which will influence the capacity to work • Skills and education, which relates to the degree of the return of their labour 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Substitutes for private goods and public services, such as going to public hospitals or public schools
Productive assets	Housing is the most productive asset and offers high financial return for the urban poor	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Using private house as a source of additional income by renting out • Intergenerational housing transfers
Household relations	Intangible assets, emphasis on the an internal and external system of family as a safety net during difficult times	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rely on external supports • Increase remittances
Social capital	Social relationships between households within a poor community based on social trust	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community self-help mechanisms • Increase support between households

Source: Author's elaboration based on Moser (1998)

Drawing upon the characteristics of each asset, this paper tries to develop a set of indicators to analyse the current state of poverty and vulnerability, as outlined in Table 2.2. Such indicators are useful, particularly to operationalise the definition of poverty. For tangible assets such as labour, human capital, productive assets, and household relations, the indicators are relatively observable. In contrast, the social capital dimension is a quite abstract concept, making it hard to translate and measure this aspect into the justifiable indicators. Therefore, this aspect is assessed based on collective activities involving members of the community.

Table 2. 2 Indicators of the Asset Vulnerability Framework

Assets	Indicators
Labour	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The number of working people • The number of working children • Occupation of the working members of the family
Human capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Access to health and education facilities • Possession of private or public health insurance
Productive assets	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Status of the house • Construction of the house • The number of rentable rooms in own house • Other productive assets possessions in the household
Household relations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sources of household income

Assets	Indicators
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The external household network prepared to give a loan • The number of migrants • The amount of money contributed by migrants
Social capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The number of cooperatives • The frequency of collective activities

Source: Author's elaboration based on Moser (1998)

2.2 Paradoxes of Participation

Participation, at its best, proposes to seek a social transformation where the top-down development approach has failed. The logic of the emerging trend of participatory, the logic of participatory development is that by letting people have a say and be actively engaged, they may contribute to policy-making processes that influence their lives (da Costa 2010:187). The participation concept is not a recent thing, but has existed since the colonial period of the 1940s and continued to evolve until today, but with different emphasis (Hickey and Mohan 2005:239). In line with the rise of democratisation and decentralisation, the practice of participation has gained a strategic spot, particularly in public policy design. With more authorities allocated under control of the society, the participation by community become increasingly important towards reaching comprehensive development goals.

The extravagant claims of participation have been strongly contested, mostly drawing from hands on participatory experiences. Firstly, the participation mechanisms have, to some extent, created a patron-client relationship, particularly between the poor and the power holders. Consequently, participation is prone to manipulation, leading to dependency relationships and competition between the poor (de Wit and Berner 2009). Secondly, the nature of participation has created the elite capture phenomenon (see for instance Rigon 2014). This is linked with the fundamental question: who actually participates? Thirdly, the participatory approach in development projects will not always generate pro-poor outcomes. Brautigam (2004) highlights that participatory budgeting in Porto Alegre and Ireland did not correspond with the pro-poor outcomes, whereas in countries such as Chile, Mauritius, and Costa Rica, participation is limited to some degree, but is still able to deliver pro-poor outcomes.

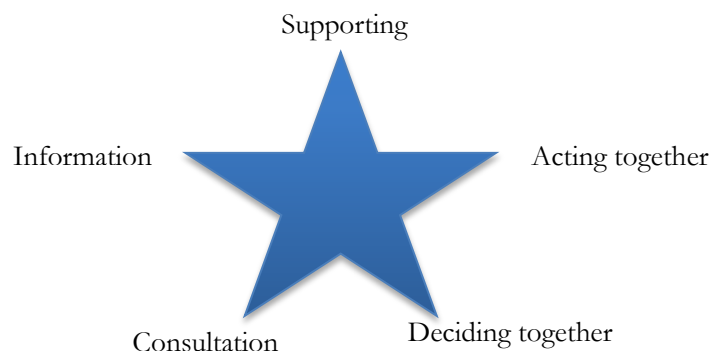
Earlier studies also reveal the process by which sustainable outcomes can be achieved with or without community participation. In Chile, Mauritius, and Costa Rica, for example, the left-wing party has more preminent role to secure pro-poor expenditures of the public budget (Brautigam 2004). Research by Dasgupta and Beard (2007:244) in the implementation of the Urban Poverty Project in Indonesia also highlights that the patron-client relationship can also be beneficial for the poor in a community-driven development project. The key lies in the ability to be a 'good' patron and to channel one's network to deliver desired outcomes, primarily directed at the poor community. Erazo (2010) describes the critical role played by the local leaders in the Ecuadorian Amazon to mobilise the community. These leaders, also acted as intermediaries between the state or the NGOs and the local tribes to govern the society by modifying the future programmes to match the community needs.

The failure of participation to accommodate collective interest in the governance system implies that there are some missing ingredients in governing the society. A model

to govern the society was first introduced by the French philosophers, Foucault in 1970s, who coined the term “Governmentality” which referred to Government and Mentality. This concept focuses on “how we think of governing” and an indication of power relation within the society (Dean 1999). In the same vein where Foucault links the governance to the power and political arena, the notion of governance also directly points to the concept of the state-society relationship as a key to strengthening the partnership. Gaventa (2004) advised to “working on both sides of the equation” particularly between state and society to equally improve the roles of both in the governance process. Moreover, keys to creating meaningful participation in development projects are to pursue a radical political project, to aim to secure citizenship, and to seek for social change (Hickey and Mohan 2005:237). All of these elements are essential to reconceptualise transformative participatory governance for a better society.

Measuring the degree of participation is quite a challenging task; it requires a better definition of participation and cannot be limited to a single perception. The classical measurement of citizen participation was developed by Arnstein (1969), with her famous “Ladder of Citizen Participation”. This ladder distinguishes the degree of citizen participation into three main levels based on the power to influence the decision-making process: non-participation, tokenism, and citizen power. Aside from the ladder, May (2006) has also developed a new form of community participations: stars and triangle of participation. Stars of participation (Bishop and Davis 2002 as cited in May 2006) refer to the notion of a discontinuum nexus of participation (see Figures 2.1 below). Unlike a ladder which needs to be climbed if one is to be the most powerful, the star concept is aware that sometimes participation is not always at the top of the ladder but rather a dynamic process following the nature of the participants.

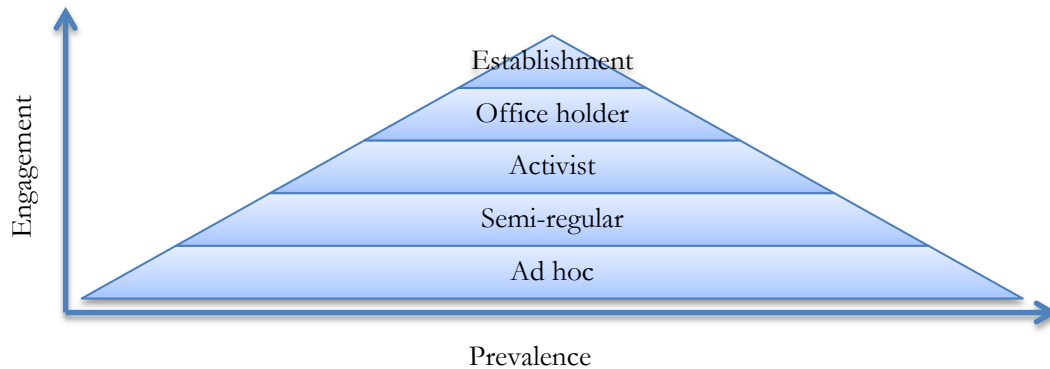
Figure 2. 1 The Star of Participation



Source: Bishop and Davis (2002) in May (2006)

Another concept, the triangle of participation (see Figure 2.2) has been broadened to allow the examination of the level of citizen engagement in accordance with the costs of participation: the higher level of participation would demand more time and energy, and thus only certain people would be able to participate.

Figure 2. 2 The Triangle of Participation



Source: May (2006:315)

The concept of community participation embedded in development intervention must be carefully adapted, particularly regarding the features of the participants. In a poor setting, the ladder model cannot sufficiently explain the various nature of participation with regard to internal condition of the community. As the debate on participation grows, the power and politics interplayed in a decision-making spaces could not be undermined. Given the nature of poverty and vulnerability, both dynamic circumstances, the star and triangle models of participation may best reflect the level of citizen engagement in a participatory development programme. These concepts will also be in line with the multidimensional definition of poverty in the AVF, which points out the sense of impoverishment as non-static life cycle processes. Given the crisis and shock that may occur and influence the poor household, their degree of participation may also vary and be related to their survival strategy, as indicated by the star model of participation.

2.3 Tourism Development: Current Themes and Debates

The tourism sector has long been regarded as one of the main contributors to local economic development for many regions. Tourism can help to improve regional income through taxation and tourists' expenditures, and create new employment for the locals. There is also an increasing demand on the tourism industry to impact not only on regional growth but also on poverty alleviation. Proponents of tourism's effect on the poor argue that tourism has been evolving into a multi-million dollar industry in developing countries, where a high percentage of the poor exist (Chok et al. 2007:38). Therefore, tourism development can be an appropriate strategy to advance the livelihood of the low-income people. On the other hand, tourism sector can also negatively influence the poverty level, mainly due to the unsustainable tourism activities and structural inequalities within the community. A study conducted by Binns and Nel (2002:244) reveals how South Africa's tourism policy failed to address the needs of the poor and generate employment to any significant degree.

To date, the trend towards more inclusive and participative tourism development has become the main concern in many parts of the world. The emergence of Pro-Poor Tourism (PPT) is an attempt to find ways of an inclusion of the poor community in the tourism process. As Ashley (2002) notes in her work, PPT is about tourism that generates net benefits, including financial and livelihood upgrading, for the poor; even

though, the non-poor may also benefit from it. However, the big issue with PPT is how to calculate and measure benefits for the poor community (Harrison 2008:861). Given the fact that tourism development often operates on neoliberal principles, even in PPT, the ability of PPT to reduce poverty should be questioned (Chok et al. 2007). Their research also shows that although the poor, particularly the fairly poor people who own the skill and capital, may experience benefits from PPT, but the rich would gain even more positive impacts, leaving the poorest to survive on their own.

Integration of tourism and poverty into a comprehensive policy framework should go beyond pursuing economic development and start to elaborate direct intervention dealing with the multidimensional aspects of poverty. Ritchie and Zhao (2007) have designed an integrated framework of The Anti-Poverty Tourism (APT) Policies, as illustrated in Figure 2.3.

Figure 2. 3 The Anti-Poverty Tourism Framework



Source: Ritchie and Zhao (2007)

The main component of the APT framework is the ladder, referring to the process of reaching the poverty alleviation target through tourism development. The top part of the framework indicates on how to put APT into a broader discourse of poverty alleviation, either to complement or compete with other anti-poverty policies. The second level mainly deals with the multidimensional features of poverty as a prerequisite to design a comprehensive APT. There are three, but not limited to, main determinants:

1. Opportunity, which notes the importance of equal access for the poor;
2. Empowerment, which aims to increase the political power and capacity of the poor;
3. Security, which highlight the need to reduce the poor's vulnerability.

The following three concepts suggest areas that can be used to enhance benefits for the poor.

1. Destination competitiveness, which relates to the internal and external resources of the poor region;
2. Local participation, which encourage the poor community to engage in tourism industries;
3. Destination sustainability, which brings together the long-term goals of tourism with the poor's livelihood.

This last point is related to the various stakeholders and institutions that are needed to make this framework run well. In line with the implementation of decentralisation, the authorities of local government and civil society have increased significantly. Provan and Kenis (2007 as cited in Dredge and Beaumont 2009) draws on extensive examples of tourism governance to identify three modes of governance: lead organisation-governed networks, which emphasise the central role of the lead organisation, participant-governed networks, which highlight the collective action undertaken by members to achieve goals, and network administrative organisations, which delegate administrative task force to maintain specifically governance activities.

Analysing the participation by the poor community in the context of tourism remains a challenging task. Several concepts related to poverty, participation, and tourism development have been discussed, including the current debate. Firstly, the paper applies the multidimensional approach of the AVF to assess the socioeconomic background of the poor community. Secondly, as it is closely linked to the vulnerability of the poor, the star and triangle of participation are part of the analysis of citizen engagement in the context of the tourism programme. Lastly, the APT provides favourable insight into comprehensive tourism policies, as viewed through a poverty lens. Even though the APT framework has been a good benchmark of an integrated tourism approach to poverty reduction, the experience described in case studies may contribute a new critical nuance and present new challenges for implementation of the framework. Therefore, taking into account the diversity of the poor, combined with various possibilities for them to participate in the tourism agenda, as well as the evidence from the field, the APT framework may be able to enhance the position of the poor in tourism development and provide them with intended outcomes.

Chapter 3

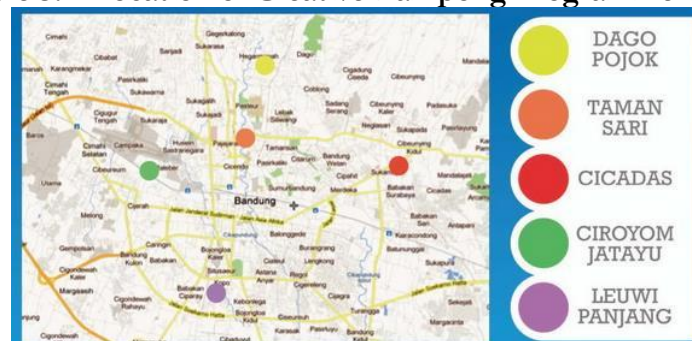
An Overview of the Creative Kampong Programme

3.1 The Historical Context and The Creative Kampong Programme

After the burden of many years under an authoritarian government, the decentralisation, which took place in 1998, opened new opportunities in the Indonesian governance system. It has created space for public participation and strengthened the role of local government in delivering public services. Bandung City, the capital city of West Java Province, is one of example of how local government, along with community and private sectors, worked together for city's development. In the middle of an era of globalisation, it is important to maintain the local economic development in creative ways. Tourism has evolved into one of the driving forces for Bandung's economics, contributing 6.64% of the Regional GDP of the services sector in 2012 (Tarigan et al. 2015). The creative urban tourism has been proposed as one of the themes of Bandung's tourism development. This concept also actively encourages the community's involvement, from planning to implementation. Therefore, it is widely known that Bandung has come to be branded as a Creative City.

Locally-based communities have made great contributions by their active participation, either in government's agenda or in self-organised programmes. These communities are gathered under one association, the Bandung Creative City Forum (BCCF). In early 2012, they set up the Creative Kampong Programme aiming to improve and rehabilitate the neighbourhoods of kampong dwellers. A kampong usually refers to a rural settlement area, but the term has been used in urban setting as well, indicating a high-density residential area with substandard infrastructures and socioeconomic problems. This programme has worked in five different kampongs across Bandung City and is currently working in one kampong under BCCF supervision. Up until 2013, the kampongs were Dago Pojok, Cicadas, Leuwianyar, Cicukang, and Tamansari, as illustrated in Figure 3.1 bellow and the profile of each kampong is summarised in Table 3.1. Of these five kampongs, only Tamansari Creative Kampong was not under the supervision of Rahmat Jabaril, but was handled by his friend, Cuki.

Figure 3. 1 Location of Creative Kampong Programme in 2012



Source: BCCF (2013) as cited in Utami (2014)

Table 3. 1 Spread and Characteristics of Creative Kampong

Creative Kampong	Characteristics						
	Main Theme	Sub-district	District	Total Population ¹	Total Area ² (Ha)	Number of Poor People ³	Educational Level ⁴
Dago Pojok	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Traditional <i>Jaipong</i> dances - Martial arts (<i>Pencak Silat</i>) - Murals - Traditional culinary 	Dago	Coblong	38,407	258	1,045	Tertiary school
Cicadas	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Acoustic kampong theme - Music festivals - Murals 	Cicadas	Cibeunying Kidul	14,612	55	195	Tertiary school
Cicukang	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Locomotive kampong theme - Kitchen utensils music festival - <i>Wayang seng</i> - Vocal groups - Theatrical performance 	Ciroyom	Andir	20,935	60	937	Secondary school
Tamansari	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Light festival - Traditional dances - Martial arts - Murals 	Tamansari	Bandung Wetan	24,897	102	572	Primary school

¹ The total population was measured at the level of the sub-district in 2011

² The total area was measured in the sub-district in year 2013

³ The number of poor people is based on the data from the sub-district in 2011 and included the poor and the poorest

⁴ The educational level refers to the leading educational level of the people living in each sub-district in 2013

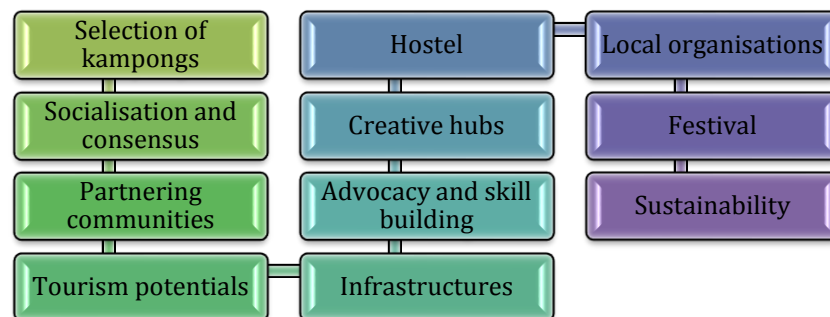
Creative Kampung	Characteristics						
	Main Theme	Sub- district	District	Total Population ¹	Total Area ² (Ha)	Number of Poor People ³	Educational Level ⁴
Leuwianyar	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Langitan Kampung theme - Sky paintings and murals - Religious-based activity - Traditional art performance 	Situsaur	Bojongloa Kidul	19,904	71.69	1,186	Primary school

Source: Compiled from various sources (SIMPADU-PK Bappenas 2014; Badan Pusat Statistik Kota Bandung 2014; '3 Kampung Kreatif di Bandung yang Wajib Dikunjungi 2015; Utami 2014; Gumiwang 2012; Gandapurnama 2012; Firmannanda 2012; Putri 2013)

Table 3.1 above highlights the small proportion of poor people who live in the sub-district where the Creative Kampung Programme was undertaken. The highest share of the poverty level in 2011 happened to be in Cicukang with 6.41% poor people, whereas the lowest was in Cicadas, with 1.33% poor people. In the same year, the poor people in Bandung accounted for 4.78% of the total population. However, the government of Bandung City defined the poverty line based on monetary calculations and set the regional threshold of basic needs at IDR 292,104 (equal to EUR 19.41) per month (SIMPADU-PK Bappenas 2014). If the standard of living were to be raised according to, for example, the World Bank absolute poverty line, the number of the poor would possibly be doubled, considering the high proportion of the almost poor. Therefore, relying only on a monetary measurement of poverty could not directly guarantee that we would capture the actual number and condition of the poor.

The Creative Kampung Programme was part of Bandung Acupuncture, which generally worked towards a more liveable city. This programme specifically targeted the low-income population to upgrade their standard of life. The process of initiating the Creative Kampung Programme by BCCF began with planning and selecting the potential kampongs (see Figure 3.2). They provided advocacy and partnership with the kampung dwellers until they themselves were able to organise tourism activities.

Figure 3. 2 Creative Kampung Development Phase



Source: Larasati 2014

After months of preparation, every kampung usually held a festival to kick off the beginning of Creative Kampung Programme. The debut of every kampung became a headline in the media and was viewed as a creative way to fight the poverty and inequality. The pictures below show some examples of the festival in each kampung.

Figure 3. 3 Welcoming Ceremony in Creative Tourism Kampung in Dago Pojok



Source: Kampung Kreatif Dago 2013

Figure 3. 4 Music Festival in Acoustic Kampong Cicadas



Source: Sedayu 2012

Figure 3. 5 Traditional *Jaipong* Dance to Kick Off Locomotive Kampong in Cicukang



Source: Sedayu 2012

Figure 3. 6 Painting the Sky on the Walls in Langitan Kampong, Leuwi Anyar



Source: Atang 2012

Figure 3. 7 Children Painting in Creative Kampong Tamansari



Source: Atang 2012

The pictures reveal the euphoria of the kampong dwellers celebrating the creative kampong. These kampongs gradually experienced dramatic transformation to become urban

tourism destinations in Bandung. For the long term, the plan until 2018 is to have 30 creative kampongs in each district across Bandung.

3.2 Creative Tourism Kampung in Dago Pojok

Dago Pojok is situated in the northern part of Bandung, close to the protected park *Taman Hutan Raya* Ir. H. Juanda. The name of Dago Pojok was initially referred to the main street, Dago, but this area is located at the corner, or *Pojok* in Bahasa, of Dago Street, as shown in Figure 3.8 below.

Figure 3. 8 Location of Creative Tourism Kampung in Dago Pojok



Source: Prasetyo and Martin-Iverson 2013

The history of occupation in this area began in the colonial period in Indonesia. There used to be a stone factory in Dago Pojok in the 1920s, and the workers lived close to the plant. They built a settlement by converting paddy fields into houses. Once a year, the factory owner held a traditional art festival, aiming not only at entertainment but also at preserving tradition and culture. The festival consisted of Sundanese traditional dance, *Jaipong* dance, and traditional music instruments such as Angklung and Calung. This was the beginning of the emergence of Sundanese art and culture in Dago Pojok.

After the main road connecting Dago Pojok and Dago Street was built in the 1970s, the residential area grew rapidly. Its strategic location attracted foreign investors to develop the land into private dormitories and a luxury residential area. Soon enough, the population increased. These developments have threatened the existence of the kampong in Dago Pojok, along with the prevailing social problems due to poverty and violence. The situation moved Rahmat Jabaril, with his Taboo Community, to create a Learning Centre, aimed at improving education for children by providing free lessons in school subjects, art, and culture. Despite initial resistance, over time the learning centre educated children and youth and equipped them with all the necessary skills. Fewer youth clashes and increasing numbers of children who finished school are only a few examples of the positive impacts and later on, Rahmat Jabaril earned the public trust. Therefore, he expanded the programme by planning economic upgrading activities and revitalising the kampong. Supported by BCCF, they designed the Creative Tourism Kampung, offering Sundanese art and culture as the primary tourism activities.

The Creative Tourism Kampung in Dago Pojok was started in early 2012. The local committee, including Rahmat Jabaril, a youth group, and local leaders, organised a series of meetings to prepare the programme. The programme is located in *Rukun Warga* (RW) 03 and *Rukun Tetangga* (RT) 01, 02, 03, 04, 07, and 09, with RT 02 and 03 as the centre of main attraction. Two of the RTs (06 and 08) were not included in the programme because it was a luxury residential area. The organisers created a creative tourism

package for the visitors, comprised of a workshop about the creative kampong, a batik workshop, a *Pencak Silat* or traditional martial art show, traditional dance, and a culinary exhibition. The complete package cost about IDR 500,000 (equivalent with 32 EUR) for a group of 5 to 20 people. The visitors come mostly from overseas and a few from government or educational institutes all over Indonesia. At present days, the tourism activities in Creative Tourism Kampong Dago Pojok seem to perform well. Even though the visitors do not come regularly, but the local organising committee has managed to maintain continuous training. The festival has been held each year from 2012 until 2015. Murals have regularly been monitored, and new section has been added to the people's wall. The pictures below illustrated the current condition in Dago Pojok.

Figure 3. 9 One of the Mural Alleys in Dago Pojok



Source: Author's photo 2015

Figure 3. 10 The Martial Arts Group, *Pencak Silat*, Practicing in Preparation for the Upcoming Festival



Source: Author's photo 2015

Figure 3. 11 Dutch Tourists Pay a Visit to Dago Pojok



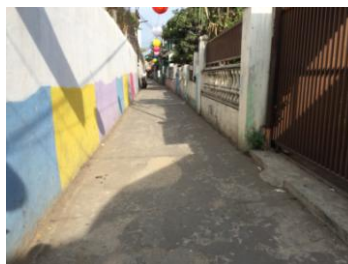
Source: Author's photo 2015

3.3 Acoustic Kampong in Cicadas

Located in the eastern part of Bandung City, Cicadas has known as the most populous sub-district in the city. The history of the occupation dates back to the colonial period from the 1930s to the 1940s. At first, Cicadas was designed as a centre for entertainment for the Bandungnese with a large movie theatre, park, shopping centre, market, and hospital. The residential area in Cicadas emerged due to the increasing number of immigrants from cities in the West Java Province such as Garut, Tasikmalaya, and Kuningan. Consequently, this created the new slum areas because of the growing population and the limited supply of land for residential use. Situated between the Santo Yusuf Hospital and *Pasar Cicadas 2*, RW 4 in Cicadas was not only the settlement for the urban poor but used to be the site of prostitution, known as *Gang Ma Ocet*. Also, a few idioms referring to Cicadas, such as *Negeri Beling* or The Country of Shard and *Kampung Preman* or Gangster's Kampong, have clung to the Cicadas community for a long time.

Poverty has become a central issue faced by almost every slum, including Cicadas. In 2012, Rahmat Jabaril and BCCF agreed to develop the Creative Kampong Programme in Cicadas and started mapping out the social, economic, political, religious, historical, and environmental features. Based on the mapping results, they agreed to form Acoustic Kampong in Cicadas, because of the unique identity of people in Cicadas, mostly, as street musicians. BCCF was in charge of administrative work and funding, whereas Rahmat Jabaril and the locals handled the concept. Driven by *Karang Taruna*, they ran annual the music festival of The Acoustic Kampong in 2012. They started to rehabilitate the physical infrastructure using murals to enlighten the kampong's atmosphere. The drastic transformation in a relatively short time resulted in positive changes, particularly breaking the negative stereotypes of the kampong. However, it did not last more than two years after the first festival. Pictures below show the recent condition in Cicadas, indicating that there is no longer attention for the kampong.

Figure 3. 12 Main Alley in Cicadas



Source: Author's photo 2015

Figure 3. 13 Unmaintained Murals



Source: Author's photo 2015

Figure 3. 14 Main Entrance to Acoustic Kampong Cicadas



Source: Author's photo 2015

3.4 The Comparison of Case Studies

Of the five kampongs studied in 2012, Dago Pojok is the only kampong that has functioned well up to the present days. The rests showed slow progress in managing creative tourism activities in the middle of the kampong. Cicadas and Dago Pojok, selected as case studies, portrays interesting point of view into the implementation of the Creative Kampong Programme. The people of Cicadas and Dago Pojok applied the programme with the hope of finding an alternative form of local economics. Nonetheless, it appears that these two kampongs had quite distinct feature, which led to different outcomes. As summarised in Table 3.2 below, there are three aspects that distinguish their paths of development: form, process, and outcomes.

Table 3. 2 Comparison of Dago Pojok and Cicadas Creative Kampong

Aspect	Creative Tourism Kampong in Dago Pojok	Acoustic Kampong in Cicadas
Form	Using Sundanese culture as the primary entertainment such as <i>Pencak Silat</i> , <i>Jaipong</i> dance, and <i>Calung</i> or traditional musical instrument.	Mainly focused on modern music, with heavy influence of the Western musical trends in the 1980s. As it has common with many street musicians, acoustic guitar was the main show.
Process	Started with establishing Learning Centre for children by Rahmat Jabaril, followed by intensive interaction to the local leaders, elderly, and <i>Karang Taruna</i> .	By approaching local elites and leaders, Rahmat Jabaril attempted to create a local organising committee of Acoustic Kampong to handle the programme.
Outcomes	Remained stable with regular training for <i>Pencak Silat</i> group	Absence of any tourism activities

Source: Author's elaboration based on interview and observation in 2015

Cicadas and Dago Pojok are quite different regarding their forms of the Creative Kampong Programme as well as the results and outcomes of this programme, but the role sharing activities in the two kampongs to maintain tourism were relatively similar. Every tourism activity in Dago Pojok had a group whose task was to coordinate and prepare for the performance. Members of *Pencak Silat* and traditional dance, *Jaipong* Dance were usually children and youth. The fathers usually managed the batik workshop, whereas the mothers coordinate traditional music group, *Calung*. The role sharing in Cicadas was slightly different because Cicadas was designed with a different theme. The

youth group coordinated the acoustic music performance, and the women handled the traditional culinary services. The outcomes of these kampongs directly imply a significant result. Dago Pojok has livelier neighbourhood due to tourism activities, whereas, in Cicadas, there are not many trace of the programme. The only remaining visible legacy of the programme in Cicadas was the unmaintained murals at the entrance of the kampong.

A similarity that can be found between Dago Pojok and Cicadas is that both undertook the same process of Creative Kampong Programme. The founders strived to engage kampong dwellers, in particular targeting the *Karang Taruna*. BCCF also indicated several local “champions” who could be an entry point for broader social involvement. However, apart from the participants, it was also common to find the non-participants of the programme. Even though the programme was open to everyone, some chose not to participate. In Dago Pojok, as well as in Cicadas, the non-participants are usually adults, elderly, and some children. To conclude, the different development path between Dago Pojok and Cicadas was as a result of several contributing factors, such as lack of regular monitoring, limited financial resources, and also largely related to the failure of participatory process to capture the development’s need. Therefore, analysis of the participation process and citizen engagement is relevant to gain knowledge about people’s perspective on development intervention. The following chapter discusses a critical standpoint of participatory process and the relationship between this approach and the kampong dwellers’ livelihood.

Chapter 4

Dilemma of Participatory Tourism Development for Kampong Dwellers

This chapter will critically assess the participatory element of the tourism programme by applying The Asset Vulnerability Framework (AVF) and the models of participation, as noted in Chapter 2. Moreover, it will provide empirical evidences from the Creative Kampong Programme to contribute in the contemporary literature about participation and poverty.

4.1 Relation between Socioeconomic Features and Degree of Participation

The importance of inclusive development, involving broader community participation, has gained a spotlight in the current mainstream discourses. There is an increasing demand to discover how the poor community, often subordinated in the public domain, can influence the governing process of a development programme. However, the poor community is not a homogenous group, but rather one with diverse characteristics. Generally, the categorisation of the poor community is based on geographical features: urban and rural poverty. Compared to the rural poverty, the distinct features of urban poverty are its depth and cycle – the urban poor are vulnerable to shock and crisis that may influence their livelihood. Bandung City was also confronted with this problem by the arising number of urban poor, residing in slum areas. In 2008, there were 202 Ha of slum neighbourhoods, or about 1.2% of the total area, comprising of 121.124 people (Ministry of Public Works 2008 as cited in Tarigan et al. 2015). In Bandung, the urban poor are geographically spread over every part of Bandung City, but the largest numbers are located in the southern part of the city.

To target the urban poor as the main beneficiaries and participants of development programmes, it is essential to have better identification of this particular group based on relevant criteria. The AVF sets out measurable indicators to capture the dynamic of poverty processes. Firstly, this framework is used to identify a sense of livelihood change after the programme was undertaken. As Dago Pojok has relatively well-established tourism activities compared to Cicadas, the impact of the programme can be assessed using AVF. Based on socioeconomic questionnaires, interviews, and observation in Dago Pojok, it seems that a modest change in the kampong dwellers' livelihood have taken in place as a result of programme implementation (see Table 4.1).

Table 4. 1 Indication of Change in Kampong Dwellers Livelihood Using Asset Vulnerability Framework

Assets	Change
Labour	No significant contribution to employment generation for the kampong's livelihood. The number of working adults and/or children remained stable. Moreover, the working people were not in tourism-related occupations.
Human capital	The people in Dago Pojok already had public health and primary

Assets	Change
	education facilities, long before the programme was enacted.
Productive assets	No clear information about how the programme affected the possession of productive assets. Initially, the programme intended to remake the peoples' houses into homestays, but no such homestay has been built since the programme implementation
Household relations ⁵	Related to the labour, the source of income has not been changed, as the working people in Dago Pojok already had their own regular job. The programme failed to contribute significantly to household incomes.
Social capital	The enthusiasm of kampong dwellers in Dago Pojok in managing Creative Tourism Kampong was a good sign showing the shift in their social capital as the programme has been trying to increase collective activities.

Source: Author's compilation based on socioeconomic questionnaires and direct observation in Dago Pojok 2015

The most apparent change in terms of asset ownership (both tangible and intangible assets) is in the social capital of the kampong dwellers. According to Rahmat Jabaril⁶, the kampong dwellers' behaviour slowly changed as they became familiarised with tourists' manners. For example, the foreign tourists who often wear sexy outfits are no longer get the peculiar looks from the locals because the latter have been trained to cope with the tourists. Language barriers are also not a main concern again as some locals can speak fluent English. However, and more importantly, the contribution of tourism to job creation pointed to little substantial change because the people already had their regular means of livelihood. Therefore, they did not have to rely on the tourism activities as an additional source of income.

In every participatory development project, normatively, all members of the community are expected to be active participants in the programme. However, in reality, for several reasons, not everyone can participate, even though they are not necessarily resistant to the programme. Secondly, the AVF indicators frame the way in which whether socioeconomic background of participants and non-participants influence their degree of participation in the programme (see Table 4.2 below). Likewise on livelihood change, this analysis is only relevant for the programme in Dago Pojok, as it was clearer to identify the participants and the non-participants because of the programme sustainability in Dago Pojok.

Table 4. 2 The Asset Vulnerability Framework Analysis

Assets	Sub-indicators	Participant	Non-Participant
Labour	• Average number of working people	2	2
	• Average number of	0	0

⁵ The data about household relation are relatively sensitive considering the nature of financial question that might be difficult to answer. In addition, often times, the interviews were held with the children who may have limited knowledge about financial matters.

⁶ Personal interview with Rahmat Jabaril, in Dago Pojok, on 9th of July 2015

Assets	Sub-indicators	Participant	Non-Participant
	working child		
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Occupation of the working members of the family 	Micro entrepreneur, driver, employee	Entrepreneur, employee, retired employee
Human capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Access to health and education facilities 	Good	Good
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Possession of private or public health insurance 	Public health insurance	Public health insurance
Productive assets	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Status of house 	86,67% own house	100% own house
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Construction of house 	93.3% of houses are made of bricks and concrete	75% of houses are made of bricks and concrete
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Number of rental rooms in own house 	Unknown	Unknown
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Other productive asset possessions in household 	Motorcycle, bike, computer	Motorcycle, bike, computer, car
Household relations ⁷	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sources of households income 	Father and mother	Father and mother
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> External household network willing to give a loan 	Unknown	Unknown
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Number of migrants 	Unknown	Unknown
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Amount of money contributed by migrants 	Unknown	Unknown
Social capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Number of cooperatives 	0	0
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Frequency of collective activities 	Weekly training for martial art groups	Not applicable

Source: Author's compilation based on socioeconomic questionnaires and direct observation in Dago Pojok 2015⁸

Based on the table above, interestingly, it appears that there is no clear relationship between socioeconomic backgrounds and degree of participation. Both participants and non-participants share a wide range of socioeconomic backgrounds. The participants are mostly children aged 15-18 and a few working adults. Risna, who was involved in *Pencak Silat*, is a one of a few examples for whom poverty did not affect their degree of participation. The profiles of non-participants were mostly working adults, youth, and elderly.

⁷ The data about household relations is relatively sensitive because of the nature of financial questions that might be difficult to answer. Moreover, the interviews were often held with the children who may have limited knowledge of financial matters.

⁸ Participant is a person involved in any part of the Creative Kampong Programme, including anyone in the art and cultural group that performed in the programme. Non-participants were determined based on information given by participants.

The results suggest that regardless of internal conditions, motives of participation were, according to Cleaver (2001), not governed by rational choice, but were rather the fulfilment of their sense of social being. As part of being recognised in the community, these participants were willing to voluntarily offer their time, money, and energy. However, the concept of voluntary-based participation has challenged social norms. On the one hand, this concept exemplifies a channel to empower kampong dwellers through participation. On the contrasting hand, voluntary-based participation can be seen as exploitation of the poor kampong dwellers. Given the limited budget of the programme, one way to reduce expense was to hire cheap, almost free, labour. The costs of earning social status were quite high, given the amount of time, energy, and money contributed to the programme, but the gain was doubtful. As for the non-participants, the main reason not to participate was driven largely by self-interest. Recognition of this particular phenomenon has led to important implications for strategies to enhance community participation such as increasing social benefits.

Apart from the rationale of participation, there is also the emerging issue of gender dimension. Mothers were mainly in charge of preparing traditional culinary services for the tourists, both in Cicadas and Dago Pojok. In other kampongs, such as in Cicukang, mothers were assigned to play musical instrument using kitchen utensils. This phenomenon, by bringing domestic work into the public domain, shows the gender-based division of labour and further confirms the expected gender norms for women, as related mainly to domestic work. These gender norms create boundaries about what women should do in public and thus may prevent them from doing what they really want to do. For instance, the only option for the mothers to participate in the programme was through cooking activities; hence they could not easily choose to take part in other activities. Moreover, the limitation of women's participation will only creates a deeply embedded social exclusion, since it gives the privilege of participating only to relatively better-off women and excludes those who do not have any required skills.

4.2 Pursuing Whose Interest? Interplay of Power and Politics of the Stakeholders

In almost every participatory development programme, the exercise of power and politics is inevitable and therefore, this practice should have been identified during the planning stage. According to Shinta⁹, programme manager of the creative kampong in BCCF, the planning stage started with approaching the “champions” of the kampongs because they are believed to have greater influence over other members. However, this could also point to the unequal degree of power among stakeholders. The local leaders could say no, only if they had power over the initiators. To recognise the different degrees of power relations in kampong, the stakeholder mapping (see Table 4.3 below) presents a portrait about stakeholders' interaction based on four categories: *roles*, which refer to the responsibility of the stakeholders; *potential impact*, which refers to the outcomes of interaction and conflict between stakeholders; *importance*, which relates to the priority position of stakeholders; *influence*, which refers to the power to have an impact in the public domain.

⁹ Personal interview with Shinta at BCCF on 21st of July 2015

Table 4. 3 Stakeholders Mapping and Analysis

Stakeholders	Roles	Potential Impact	Important	Influence
Rahmat Jabaril	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Initiate the programme with the locals and BCCF Design a theme as the basis for kampong's new image Find an alternative funding 	(+) and (-)	High	High
BCCF	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sponsor programme Deal with the administrative work of the programme Provide funding 	(+)	Moderate	High
Local leaders	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Be the first target to initiate the programme Encourage other members of kampong to participate Represent kampong dwellers in the decision-making process 	(+) and (-)	High	High
Tourism Department of Bandung City	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Facilitate preparation of festival Provide funding Acknowledge the programme into formal policies 	(-)	High	Moderate
Poor kampong dwellers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Beneficiaries Active participants 	(+) and (-)	High	Moderate
Youth group or <i>Karang Taruna</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Concept the theme for Creative Kampong Programme Form a local organising committee to handle implementation 	(+)	Moderate	Moderate
Art and culture group (i.e. <i>Pencak Silat, Jaipong, Calung</i> , and Guitar group)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Regular training to prepare a performance in festival 	(+)	High	Moderate

Source: Compiled from fieldwork notes and interview 2015

As noted in Table 4.3 above, the central stakeholders of the Creative Kampong Programme are Rahmat Jabaril and BCCF, as founders, and indeed they have brought about positive influences on the kampong dwellers' livelihood. However, despite the expected positive outcomes, there can also be the constraints and in turn, result in adverse impacts. For instance, although the Tourism Department of Bandung City has agreed to provide financial funding but this was not directly transferred to the organising committee all at once, but disbursed periodically. This made the situation even more complicated because the committee had to rely on self-funding. Moreover, some of the important stakeholders, such as poor kampong dwellers and the Tourism Department of Bandung City, were relatively less influential in shaping tourism programmes. Based on mapping, the potential collaboration and conflict can be identified in order to anticipate further problems.

The presence of dominant central actors may not only result in a patron-client relationship, but also create dependency relationships. The poor kampong dwellers became helpless as the patrons reduced their support. In Cicadas, the leader of the youth group, Diky¹⁰, acknowledged that they were not capable enough of continuing the programme by themselves. Another weakness is that central actors are liable to pursue private interests instead of community interests. Having a background in art and environment, Rahmat Jabaril would designed the kampong using an artistic approach. Had he not been an artist, says a scientist, he might have had a technology theme for kampong's development. This reveals that the idea of the creative kampong was infused based on his own interests. In addition, there was a major issue concerning the involvement of BCCF. The head of BCCF at that time was Ridwan Kamil, who was the Major candidate for Bandung. In the 2012 Cicadas Music Festival, not only Ridwan Kamil was present, but also other candidates. Having transformative programmes through urban tourism in the middle of a slum area could be a desirable vote-getting strategy to earn the sympathy of the poor.

The competition of power and politics involving the urban poor is a derived outcome of structural inequality within a society. The hierarchical social structure has led to a vertical relationship between the poor kampong dwellers and the powerful actors. This undeniably political situation was a result of the kampong dwellers' dependency to the central actors, the personal interests of the stakeholders, and political riders. In the end, the interests of the central actors eventually dominated the nuance of the Creative Kampong Programme and the collective interests were not given serious consideration. This leads back to the broader notion of bottom-up approach, which emphasises the role which the grass root movement should play in the decision-making process. However, given the limitation of organic bottom-up initiatives in the Creative Kampong Programme, the spirit of participation began to lose its role of turning conventional decision-making processes into transformative experiences.

¹⁰ Personal interview with Diky, in Cicadas, on 4th of August 2015

4.3 Can It Last? Sustainability Assessment of Participatory Tourism Programme

The big question of the participatory project lies in its sustainability. A considerable effort to maintain tourism activities in the Creative Kampong Programme was made through crafting a new institution to organise and manage the programme. Such institutions were mainly driven by a youth group or *Karang Taruna*. Despite continuous action through formalisation and acknowledgment of tourism activities in the kampong, the overview of the Creative Kampong Programme in two case studies unveils different trajectories of development. The programme in Dago Pojok, to some extent, has been able to run with almost five years of implementation. Some of the participants, mostly from *Pencak Silat*, express optimism to continue the programme. They strongly believe that even if there is no more assistance from Rahmat Jabaril, The Creative Tourism Kampong in Dago Pojok will continue to exist because they have been trained to be the next organising committee.

“Rahmat Jabaril has trained us to be his successors, therefore he already taught us how to manage this kampong.”

Risna 2015, personal interview¹¹

While Dago Pojok has been able to maintain the programme, by contrast, Cicadas has to struggle to carry out self-organised activities. The narrative of being independent was a challenge for the locals as they were not ready to continue the programme. This has been a major drawback and people in Cicadas have started to lose their faith in this kind of participatory tourism programme.

The sustainability issue can also not be disregarded, because it relates to the kampong dwellers livelihood, and therefore the relationship between Rahmat Jabaril and the kampong dwellers should be maintained carefully. Apart from their expressed enthusiasm, both key participants in both Cicadas and Dago Pojok indicate key challenges to carry on the programme.

“I will fight for the Creative Kampong Programme in Dago Pojok, because the issue of sustainability has been discussed with Rahmat Jabaril. It will create a pressure because I need to develop this kampong in our own way.... I am worried about financial issues, which will create another burden. We can organise regular practice for art and cultural activities, but it would be useless if we cannot perform.”

Yayan 2015, personal interview¹²

¹¹ Personal interview with Risna, member of *Pencak Silat* group in Dago Pojok, Bandung, 12th of July 2015

¹² Personal interview with Yayan, coordinator of art programme in Dago Pojok, Bandung, 14th of July 2015

The uncertainty of financial support has often been cited as a recurrent problem during the programme's implementation. Funding comes mostly from BCCF, through social funds from Bandung's government, Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR), and Rahmat Jabaril's colleagues. The narrative to be financially independent was based on the idea of a new form of community economics through tourism activities. However, as the programme was not able to guarantee a sustain tourism programme and thus inhibit economic upgrading of the kampong dwellers, its goal to be financially independent is hardly achievable.

The failure of tourism activities was not merely the result of discontinued support, but also related to the objectives of the programme. BCCF noted that the main purposes of the Creative Kampong Programme are to upgrade community economics and develop tourism in the long-term. In Dago Pojok, the objective of tourism development has, to some extent, been achieved given the vibrant tourism activities, but it has had a lesser impact in terms of economic advantages for the kampong dwellers. Similarly, in Cicadas, the multiple objectives of the programme, economic upgrading and tourism development, were not reached. This was attributed to the nature of creative tourism, which stresses commitment of community involvement and long-term impact. According to Abah Guntur¹³, the creative process may take longer than the conventional tourism development and its outcomes may not be so immediate. Therefore it needs process-oriented rather than result-oriented individuals. In Cicadas, this type of individual was hard to find because many people wanted to see the concrete short-term outputs. As a result, the programme was considered as a failure despite the premature outcomes.

In conclusion, The Creative Kampong Programme has indeed, managed to eliminate negative images of kampong dwellers through continuous effort. The following task is to maintain regular tourism activities and bring benefits for the kampong dwellers. In response to the issue of dependency upon the central actors, the local organising committee and other kampong dwellers need to spend time on intensive capacity building to meet the readiness criteria for self-managing tourism activities. In addition, there is an arising desire towards social transformation, including changing the attitude of the kampong dwellers toward the process of creative tourism. The Creative Kampong Programme may not be an instant solution to address economic and social problems of the kampong dwellers; building creativity in people in a poor setting is definitely a challenging task, particularly in light of the pressing priority of their immediate economic needs. But as attitudes gradually change, such creativity can have greater positive effects on these needs.

4.4 The Missing Ingredients

The Creative Kampong Programme has given valuable insights into the models of participatory tourism for the urban poor. The impact of this programme has been acknowledged widely, both by the participants and in the

¹³ Personal interview with Abah Guntur, Kang Ganjar, and *Pak* RW 04 in Cicadas, on 20th of July 2015

public domain. To create a room for improvement and learn from the participatory models of Creative Kampong Programme, it is important to identify which components were absent or weak in the participatory process. Drawing on the comparative analysis of the two cases, there were, at least, three ingredients that were inadequate: inclusive invited spaces for participation, a better understanding of the dynamic notion of community and institutions, and responsive local development agency. These ingredients were not completely missing in the implementation of the programme; some already took place. The sub-section below further discusses each of the ingredients, suggesting possibilities of improvement and pointing to potential risks.

1. Inclusive Invited Spaces

To reconstruct the participatory models applied in the Creative Kampong Programme, there has been growing attention towards reconceptualising the basis for participation. The initial spirit of community participation was to give marginalised groups a voice in the decision-making process. In the Creative Kampong Programme, both in Dago Pojok and Cicadas, there was, indeed, a considerable effort to create space for participation, or as coined by Gaventa (2004), invited spaces. The founders were actively engaging the kampong dwellers by creating spaces for them to express their needs. Unfortunately, although the intended space was provided, only those who held the local power were present. This space became an arena for elite domination to contend their interests, leaving the marginalised group voiceless. Therefore the premise to give greater access and voice to the community must be examined carefully.

There are several reasons of why people choose not to participate even though they are invited. Age, social class, and gender influence a person's willingness and ability to participate. Also, for some people, the option of not participating is probably the most rational strategy to secure their livelihood. Resting on its claim of offering invited spaces, The Creative Kampong Programme has to be aware that creating spaces is not sufficient; it will have to be as attractive as possible for the poor. A considerable effort could be made to attract community participation, such as emphasising how participation could help to shape the kampong's identity. Offering incentives, which not limited to financial means, but also appreciation and recognition, can be offered in return for participation.

2. The Dynamic of Local Community and Institutions

The community serves as the foundation of every participatory approach to development. However, as noted by Cleaver (2001), there are a few misleading assumptions about the characteristics of the community. The first is related to the homogeneity assumptions of the community. In the Creative Kampong Programme, Rahmat Jabaril attempted to understand the community better by applying social, political, gender, and religion mapping throughout the entire community. However, the exclusive interaction inside the invited space tended to undermine the community's heterogeneity. To meet the need of the poor by means of participatory programme such as the Creative Kampong Programme, another alternative is to create a "good patron" to represent their interests. The poor themselves need not be the active participants in the

decision-making process. However, careful consideration is needed when choosing the patron in order to ensure he will be truly representative.

Given the heterogeneity of the members, it is quite challenging to mobilise their interests into a certain collective action. In doing so, the common approach is to “craft” a new and formal institution. However, a formal institution to organise tourism-related activities creates a paradox for participation: such institutions only create more bureaucratic phase, as opposed to the spirit of participatory development, which is aimed at cutting bureaucratic costs. Moreover, the local organisers, notably in Cicadas, have acknowledged that there was no strong attachment on the part of the members and no sanctions for those who disobeyed. Doby¹⁴, the leader of the current organising committee, argued that this institution, even though it had been formally and legally recognised, was unable to influence the kampong dwellers to continue the programme.

A second assumption by the proponents of the participatory approach is that community is the best source of valid information and capable of doing the projects. However, the evidence from the Creative Kampong Programme suggests that although they obviously had the human resources to run the programme, but they also faced the more severe problems of resource management. The kampong dwellers were able to provide hard labour skills related to tourism activities, but they also lacked financial resources, which has been the central problem for many years. In dealing with the poor community, founders should realise in advance that financial issues may become a problem that can impede the execution of the participatory programme and might even prevent future participatory programmes.

3. Responsive Local Development Agency

Although a responsive development agency is the main key to maintaining the participatory approaches in development intervention, this is often found missing in bottom-up projects. This includes the local governments and NGOs and their responsibility to provide continuous support. This has been proven in many participatory development practices, particularly in developing countries (see Cleaver 2001, Heller 2001, Brautigam 2004). In the Creative Kampong Programme, throughout the entire process, much attention was paid to the community involvement, but less to the responsibility of local authorities to support the community. The role of the local development agency is highly important, and it can be encouraged by community initiatives. For instance, the kampong dwellers of Dago Pojok and Cicadas can demand the greater involvement by the Tourism Department of Bandung City to support the Creative Kampong Programme. For massive mobilisation, they will need a strong Community-Based Organisations (CBOs) or political parties to put pressure on the government.

The lack of attention paid by the local governments implies that the state’s handling of development programmes is inadequate. The state’s responsiveness in relation to the participatory development programme is not merely

¹⁴ Personal interview with Doby in Cicadas on 20th of July 2015

complementary, in the sense of providing what is lacking, but it should facilitate a comprehensive approach towards obtaining development goals. This is not intended to undermine the support of the local government, but authorities need to play a greater and more crucial role. For instance, rather than just providing funding for the Creative Kampong Programme, the local government could think of how the long-term sustainability of the programme and how it could fit into their development agenda. The inclusions of the Creative Kampong Programme into the Master Plan of Tourism Development in Bandung City has shown an early indicator of how a government can think holistically and relate the programme to the more comprehensive picture of city development.

Chapter 5

Integration of Poverty and Tourism in Participatory Governance

As a sequel to Chapter 4's critical discussion of the participatory process, this chapter attempt to address the insufficiency of the participatory models in the tourism development programme. The Anti-Poverty Tourism (APT) framework will be applied to understand integration process of poverty and tourism development. However, the method suffers from serious shortcomings and leads to problematic integration of tourism and poverty. The main reason for this is that despite a considerable effort to deal with poverty in a tourism context, the experience of the Creative Kampong Programme reveals that tourism did not work for the poor people, as it promised delusive upgrading of the kampong dwellers' well-being. Therefore, it is unlikely that tourism will become a main source of livelihood for kampong dwellers.

The explanation is structured under three main sub-headings. Firstly, the process of involving the poor in an integrated tourism development needs careful assessments regarding expected results and potential challenges. Secondly, the APT framework will be applied as a lens to see how the Creative Kampong Programme can be improved by adopting some of the APT elements. Lastly, the story of the Creative Kampong Programme points out some important contribution to the current discussion of APT framework and the growing trend of Pro-Poor Tourism (PPT).

5.1 Putting Poor in Tourism Industry: Potential Outcomes and Key Challenges

In Indonesia, many poor regions have been transformed into tourism destinations, for instance, Banyuwangi Regency with its beaches for surfers, Flores Regency with its Komodo attraction, and Raja Ampat Regency with its offer of remarkable underwater experience. Every successful region has one thing in common: competitive tourism advantages. To relate the experience of these regions to Bandung City, the uniqueness of Bandung should be pursued as its own competitive advantages. The Creative Kampong has been depicted as a good example of how to include the competitive advantages of Bandung, its creative economy and kampong, in a new form of community economics. Therefore, the combination of the urban attractions of the kampong, its creative activities, and its support by creative people has given Bandung competitive advantages over other region.

In line with the rise of democratisation, the tourism sector began to focus on the involvement of the local people. However, apart from conventional tourism developments, all too often development interventions, particularly those targeting the poor, are designed with a limited degree of community participation. The poor are often treated as beneficiaries or aid recipients rather than active participants. For instance, social assistance programmes, such as cash transfers and food stamps, are designed based on expert's knowledge of the actual needs of the poor. Targeting the poor to increase their well-being

may need the point of view of the poor themselves to increase programme effectiveness. The Creative Kampong Programme has been shown to be a good benchmark of the participatory development programme, by taking the kampong dwellers to determine the way in which the kampong needed to be reconstructed.

Given a space to participate in tourism decision-making processes, the poor are able to exercise their voice through the use of creativity. This exercise can lead to upgrading of community capacity. Their experience in handling the tourism activities of the Creative Kampong Programme can also impact on their social capital. Moreover, in Dago Pojok, the skill of the kampong dwellers has increased, largely due to their intensive training. For example, the Martial Art Groups, *Pencak Silat*, often train weekly to maintain their performance skills. Finally, a potential outcome offered by the programme is a strong social cohesion amongst kampong dwellers. In Dago Pojok, it has created an exclusive identity of the kampong dwellers. Their pride in the programme fostered their social bonds with other members of the kampong.

The key challenge underlying the integration of the kampong dwellers into tourism policy framework is largely determined by macro conditions. In Flores, the role of international media, the national government's tourism policy, terrorism, and health issues affected, both in positive and negative way, the number of visitors, but the poor community have remained unaware of the current global situation (Cole 2008). In the Creative Kampong Programme, the external environments played an influential role in tourism programmes. Firstly, the poor kampong dwellers were probably unaware that popular tourism activities in their kampong were a political strategy, and therefore did not lead to significant improvements in their livelihood. Secondly, the decentralisation, taking place for almost 17 years in Indonesia, has not resulted in provision of basic services by the Bandung City government for the kampong dwellers. The bureaucrats have failed to play a proper role in growing efforts to target the needs of the poor.

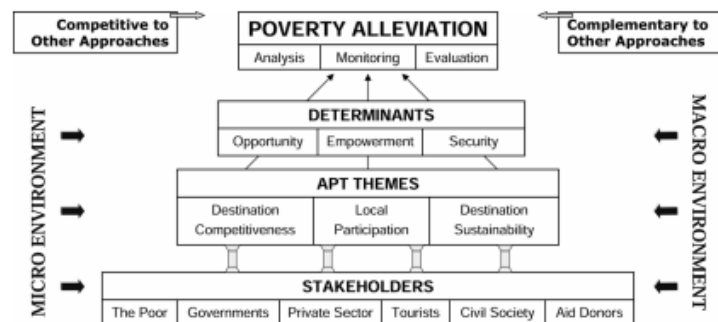
The tourism sector has been a favourite strategy for many development practitioners; it is argued that it can "kill two birds with one stone". As a response for this increasing demand of tourism policy, putting the poor at the heart of the tourism agenda is a trend adopted in tourism policies. In the hope of redirecting benefit of tourism, the case of the Creative Kampong Programme has been portrayed as a good practice of how to make tourism programme in a poor area. Not only did it transform the social capital of the kampong dwellers, the programme also managed to promote the competitive advantages of Bandung City. However, external circumstances brought potentially negative influences for the programme, especially affecting the kampong dwellers. Therefore, a truly comprehensive approach to tourism and poverty policies must be designed to optimise potential outcomes and yet be aware of macro conditions.

5.2 Tourism Policy for The Poor: The New Approach to Poverty Alleviation

In the midst of the growing literature on tourism, poverty has been identified as a central issue by tourism policy-makers. The emergence of Pro-

Poor Tourism (PPT), aiming to secure economic and non-economic benefits for the poor by means of the tourism industry, marked a change in tourism development. The principles of PPT intended to move beyond the conventional definition of poverty to a multidimensional approach by emphasising not only the matter of income generation, but also livelihood and social inclusion (Chok et al. 2007). In Bandung, the main concern of the tourism policy-makers has not been to directly target the urban poor, but rather to focus on community economics, claiming to have indirect effects on poverty reduction. To promote tourism as a strategy for poverty, if not alleviation at least, reduction, to understand how this process could work requires a comprehensive analytical framework. The framework of Anti-Poverty Tourism (APT) by Ritchie and Zhao (2007) has set out an excellent benchmark to further elaborate the poverty issue in tourism policies. This section strives to adopt the framework for improvement of the Creative Kampong Programme.

Figure 5. 1 The Framework of Anti-Poverty Tourism Policy



Source: Ritchie and Zhao 2007

Following the APT framework above, the first step is to locate the goal of tourism policies with regard to poverty alleviation and to determine how tourism can contribute to the eradication of poverty. Together with other social assistances, the Creative Kampong Programme supposed to become a complement to achieve the goal of poverty alleviation. In Dago Pojok, creative tourism was one of the options of development intervention for the kampong dwellers. In contrast, in Cicadas, it appears that there was no clear indication whether that tourism was the appropriate strategy for kampong's development, considering its failure to meet the intended benefit. Therefore, choosing tourism as part of the community strategy to enhance their livelihood needs a careful examination. Not only tourism, but also other development interventions proposed by Government of Bandung City, NGOs, and the private sector, must be mapped out to avoid overlapping benefits for the kampong dwellers.

After establishing the goal of APT within the broader context of poverty alleviation policies, the following step is to identify what is needed to put the poor as the centre of the tourism development discourse: opportunity, empowerment, and security. Firstly, concerning opportunity, specifically for the poor, the Creative Kampong Programme must commit to provide equal opportunity to manage the kampong's resources. The problem with financial resources, commonly controlled by Rahmat Jabaril and BCCF, can be addressed by providing kampong dwellers with sufficient about how to find and manage

the funding. Secondly, related to the empowerment agenda, the kampong dwellers must participate in order to exercise their agency in an inclusive space. Thirdly, the issue of security is quite often forgotten. Dealing with the urban poor, whose vulnerability is volatile, may be addressed by providing regular safety nets or main sources of income, through tourism activities.

The next level of the APT framework is to identify themes for tourism development in poor areas: destination competitiveness, local participation, and destination sustainability. To improve destination competitiveness, the Creative Kampong Programme could incorporate its own uniqueness in terms of creative arts and traditional cultural activities as internal attractions to captivate the arising number of responsible travellers. Related to local participation, the star model of participation can be applied to the socioeconomic conditions of the kampong dwellers. They can either be decision-makers in tourism management or tourism services providers. Lastly, to sustain creative tourism activities in the kampong, the role of the local development agency is critical. The account to be self-organised activities, relying only on community participation is insufficient; local development agencies must be involved as fulfilment of their responsibility in provision of public services.

The following step is to involve various stakeholders in establishing the model of tourism development. Following the network modes of Provan and Kenis (2007 as cited in Beaumont and Dredge 2009) and resonating with the concept of PPT by Ashley (2002), the most effective model to encourage tourism for the poor is largely driven by the community, with a decentralised decision-making process. The most rigorous approach to developing tourism policies for the urban poor is, therefore, the use of collaborative networks. Stakeholders' collaboration needs to be accommodated in dynamic local institutions. Ostrom (1990) noted that to create an effective institution for self-governing and long-lasting performance, one must consider boundaries, rules, decision-making processes, and organisational structure. To deal with the on-off participant, the best type of institution would be a less rigid one, but with clear rewards and sanction system and devised internally rather than imposed from outside.

To conclude, the APT framework is a good standard with which to start improvement of the Creative Kampong Programme. This framework captured some elements that were missing or lacking in the programme implementation. It portrays poverty as multidimensional and acknowledges the importance of local participation to resolve the need of the poor through tourism activities. This concept is also suitable to resolve the issue with inactive kampong like Cicadas. In doing so, some elements from APT, such as opportunity and security of the poor, can be adopted in the new approach to reconstruct tourism activities in the middle of the kampong. Designed with consideration for the contextual conditions of Cicadas, the APT framework could help to reformulate the Creative Kampong Programme, hopefully having a greater impact on the kampong dwellers.

5.3 Can Anti-Poverty Tourism Work? Reflections on the Creative Kampong Programme

Learning from the Anti-Poverty (APT) framework is useful to give a sense the process of integrating the poor into the tourism industry. It is also applicable for designing a thorough approach to poverty reduction stimulating participation. The APT framework also provides a benchmark, not only for local organising committee, but also for local authorities in order to come up with a more inclusive tourism policy. To apply the concept into practical activities, like the Creative Kampong Programme, it would have to reconstruct the way in which the programme was designed and implemented. The framework indeed sets out an idealistic approach to deal with poverty and tourism via a systematic policy. However, it is clear from the Creative Kampong Programme that the process of putting poverty at the heart of tourism development will never be reached, unless radical social transformation takes place. Good practices in the implementation of either APT or PPT have not been so evident, mainly due to the lack of a specific operational approach to include the impoverished community in a global tourism processes.

Ranging from conceptual debate and practical experience from the Creative Kampong Programme, there are a number of reasons of why integration of poverty into a systematic tourism policies and programmes is problematic. The following sub-section provides reflection on APT, drawing largely from the Creative Kampong Programme. Three main issues emerge from the implementation of APT framework and are related to the previous experience of programme implementation: tourism benefits, assets ownership, and the state-society relationship.

How Can the Poor Benefit from Tourism Development?

The APT, as in other PPT approaches, stresses the need to generate net benefit for the poor. Despite this ambitious mission, it is not clear how one can bring about positive outcomes from tourism activities for the poor. The promised benefits of tourism activities may not help kampong dwellers very much with their daily lives, making them likely to look for other jobs than in the tourism sector. This issue was very noticeable in Cicadas, where large parts of the kampong's community worked in informal sector, apart from tourism. Additionally, the impact of tourism policies on the reduction of poverty has not been as significant as the effect of anti-poverty programmes. In Cicadas, RW 04 received a grant for infrastructure rehabilitation from *Program Nasional Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Mandiri Perkotaan* (PNPM Mandiri Perkotaan) or the National Programme for Community Empowerment in Urban Areas and *Bantuan Langsung Sementara Masyarakat* (BLSM) or temporary direct cash transfers. The PNPM Mandiri Perkotaan programme fund, about IDR 15 million or equal with EUR 914, was used to repair the main road of kampong and renovate sub-standard housing. The BLSM programme was offered to 42 people or about 25.6% of the kampong dwellers that are considered to be most destitute.

With regard to the benefits from the tourism activities: a competition of power and interests between the stakeholders in tourism development can lead to disproportionate dividends. It remains unclear on how to direct the benefits to the poor, and tourism development should not limit benefits to on-

ly certain actors. The proponents of PPT (Ashley 2002; Jamiesson et al, 2004) argued that integrating the poor into the tourism market, through opening access, opportunities, and capacity building, will make them benefit appropriately. The poor in Creative Kampong Programme were encouraged to reach tourism goals by generating a new creative community economics. However, although integration of the poor kampong dwellers into the tourism industry is essential, it is not sufficient. There are the greater issues of access to resources, equal opportunity, and limited knowledge in running tourism destinations, which make this integration even more complicated.

The key challenge lies in how to incorporate the multiple objectives of tourism policies and poverty reduction programmes into a comprehensive anti-poverty tourism programme. Because other anti-poverty programmes, such as cash transfer, target primarily the economic needs of the poor, the Creative Kampong Programme is desirable as a complement to these approaches. However, as the contribution of the Creative Kampong Programme to community economics was less than expected, particular effort must be made to find tourism activities that can generate new income for the kampong dwellers livelihood. An example is the creation of Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) which focus on the production of tourism goods and services, such as souvenirs, catering services, guided tours, and so on. Nevertheless, it is equally important to bear in mind that this process is unlike social assistance programmes, which have immediate and tangible outcomes. It will take some time before creative activities can upgrade the kampong's economics.

How Can Tourism Secure The Assets of The Poor?

Poverty is a state marked not only by financial inadequacy, but also by growing social and political deficiency. Therefore, the definition of poverty has been broadened to acknowledge other aspects, such as assets. Assets are the main element of the poor household because they determine the poor's response to crisis. The Asset Vulnerability Framework (AVF) that was used to analyse the socioeconomic background of the kampong dwellers was not considered seriously in the APT framework. The APT framework has, indeed, mentioned the need to guarantee security for the poor, but nothing was stated about how to protect the poor. Given the vulnerability of the poor, relying on financial means would not be enough in sudden emergency situations, like health problems, losing a job, or disasters. Therefore, assets, both tangible and intangible, are their main buffer allowing them to survive with these immediate changes.

Not only serve as protection, assets can also be the instrument of savings and investments for the poor. For instance, in the context of tourism development, the house of the poor can be (sub)rented to accommodate the tourists' stay. This practice resonates with the discussion about the opportunity of the poor to manage resources, as a determinant in the APT framework. Providing opportunity for the kampong dwellers to manage tourism resources may influence their private possessions of productive assets, because the existence of tourism activities can alter the use of assets. However, the concept of APT framework does not offer an adequate explanation about the function of assets in determining the tourism policy. Various roles that assets can play indicate its strategic position of asset in the poor livelihood. For that reason, the

APT framework needs to broaden its definition of security and opportunity as the prerequisites of poor community to participate in tourism policies.

Both the conceptual discussion of the poor's assets and empirical evidence point to the insignificance of tourism's influence. Tourism in the Creative Kampong Programme has not been able to influence the possession of assets so as to secure the poor's livelihood. As mentioned in the previous chapter, tourism activities in Creative Kampong Programme in Dago Pojok were not able to deliver the expected change in the ownership of assets, as measured by AVF (see Table 4.1). This is largely due to the seasonality of tourism and to managerial issues. Nevertheless, this has serious implications, as creative tourism activities cannot be the poor's main livelihood. This can be seen in the low numbers of tourism jobs created by the implementation of the Creative Kampong Programme. Apart from jobs, other aspects of assets such as human capital, productive assets, and household relation remain much the same, except for social capital. The little positive changes in the kampong raised the question of whether creative tourism was the right option for improving the kampong dwellers' livelihood.

How Has the State-Society Relationship Transformed the Participatory Tourism Governance?

Participation is seen as a means to acquire democratic governance (Berner 2010). Other scholars have studied what it takes to have transformative participatory governance and yet still be able to deliver the desired outcomes (see for instance Heller 2001, Hickey and Mohan 2004, da Costa 2010, and Berman-Arevalo 2010). In the APT framework, participation by the poor can take two forms: as decision makers or as tourism entrepreneurs. However, the limitation to choose any form of participation tends to ignore the power relation that occurs between stakeholders involved. Given the vulnerability of the kampong dwellers, their participation, as indicated by the stars of participation, can be a dynamic process. The kampong dwellers can be supporters, informants, or sometimes as the decision-makers, depending on their internal circumstances. However, the implications for this type of participation are that the programme must not demand more on commitment to community participation and it should make the programme less rigid. Moreover, related to the previous chapter, even though participation is necessary to make the programme works, it is not enough to ensure that it will deliver favourable outcomes, particularly for the kampong dwellers.

The APT framework highlighted the importance of having equal contributions on the part of all the relevant stakeholders, including the state and society. Along with the increasing implementation of democracy, the rise of the community movement symbolises a more dynamic state-society relationship. In the case of the Creative kampong Programme, it was the local community who mainly drove the initiatives. This situation depicted an imbalance in the state-society relationship because the greater part of the programme was carried out by the kampong dwellers. The absence of responsive local authorities affects the state and society relationship. The programme also demonstrates the shift in the roles of the state and society. The role of the state and other lower-tiered government to provide basic services and manage resources was substituted by emerging actors like local elites and NGOs. These strong

actors have greater influence on the kampong dwellers, than does the local government of Bandung. This makes the distance between state and society even greater as the intermediate actors replace the role of government.

The state-society relationship was initially to be a stepping-stone towards transformative governance processes by means of the participatory approach. In so doing, participatory element is viewed either as an end product or as a means (Berner 2010). Participation as an end product comes when people exercise their citizenship, as outlined by Hickey and Mohan (2004). The case of the Creative Kampong Programme reveals that not everyone is able to utilise their right to participate because they do not see this as an effective channel to exercise their opinions. This would affect to the decision-making process, leaving those who hold the power to determine the space, actors, agenda, and procedures that need to be followed (Gaventa and Valderama 1999 as cited in Cifuentes 2010).

A different approach to transformative participatory governance is to practice participation as a means to achieve development goals, as part of a radical political approach, and not just as a set of toolboxes (Hickey and Mohan 2004:159). In the Creative Kampong Programme, the mapping system and the approach of using a “champion” of the kampong illustrated that the programme focused too much on technicality aspects, rather than moving further toward a comprehensive political project. A much more intense role can be adopted to transform the programme by strengthening the capacity of the BCCF to advocate the programme to the government of Bandung City. The strategic position of BCCF to bridge the society and the state is valuable to propose radical transformation of tourism policies in Bandung.

To conclude, the APT framework constructed a new paradigm of tourism policy, by indicating various possibilities for involvement of the poor community. The aim to create a room for the poor to express their agency is exceptional, considering the complexity of the social structure. Nevertheless, despite its strong presuppositions, the APT framework has raised several issues based on the implementation of the Creative Kampong Programme in Dago Pojok and Cicadas. These issues of tourism benefits, assets ownership, and state-society relationship, have struck at the core element of the APT and led us to question its ability to actually reduce poverty. Limited by multiple objectives, the implementation of the APT framework faces dilemmas in its attempts to improve the life of the poor. The initial premise that tourism could contribute directly to poverty reduction is, therefore, doubtful, because the problem of poverty is too multi-faceted to be resolved by tourism activities.

Chapter 6

Conclusion and Critical Reflections

This section discusses lessons learned from Creative Kampong Programme that contribute to the critical discourse of the literature on poverty, participation, and tourism development. Drawing from this programme's experience, there are three major themes to be evaluated: the expected tourism impact, critique of the participatory process, and the opportunity to integrate the poor community in comprehensive tourism governance.

6.1 Tourism Impact for Whom?

The benefit of tourism programmes for the local community is the main focus of many interventions, but yet it remains a fuzzy concept. Whether in terms of economic upgrading or even intangible benefits such as social capital, these tourism benefits are hardly reaching the most needy members of society. Lessons from the Creative Kampong Programme indicate that changes in the kampong dwellers' livelihood, as assessed by Asset Vulnerability Framework (AVF), were not so visible. In terms of financial upgrading, the programme was not able to improve the economic conditions for a number of reasons, such as uncertainty in tourism activities, irregular monitoring, and financial deficiency. The social impacts of the Creative Kampong Programme was apparently more obvious than the economical aspects, particularly the improvement of social cohesion and a social bond and the creation of exclusive identity as a proud member of the kampong.

The emergence of Pro-Poor Tourism (PPT) as a way to enhance tourism benefits for the poor community is a paradoxical manoeuvre. On the one hand, it promises greater benefits for the poor, but, on the other hand, it cannot keep the non-poor from benefitting. Given the intertwining of political power between various stakeholders, the concept of PPT would reinforce competition of benefits. Therefore, it has provided space for contests of power stakeholders, preventing those with the least power from gaining much benefit from this competition. Thus, the premise that tourism can target the economic and social upgrading for the poor may be an elusive ideal. Taken together, these findings needs to be incorporated in designing a new approach to redirect benefits of tourism for the poor

6.2 Why Do We Need to Participate?

The participatory process in a tourism development should not only refer to a set of technical expertise, but also be related to lifelong learning, for the participants, the initiators, and even for the non-participants. Community participation is usually encouraged by intentionally creating space for participation and then inviting all members of the community to join in the process. In the Creative Kampong Programme, the space for participation was aimed at securing equal opportunities for the kampong dwellers to exercise their voice, but it became an exclusive space because of elite domination by champions of

kampong. This, to some extent, discouraged other kampong dwellers from taking part. Nevertheless, at this stage having local champions, as the main participants are probably the realistic strategy, largely considering the rationale calculation of the poor. The practice has downsides related mainly to the issues of representativeness and dependency on the central actor. Creating room for people to exercise the rights and participate is thus essential, but more needs to be done. The issue of inclusion, particularly when targeting marginalised groups, needs to be taken into account.

Participation by the community is necessary to legitimise and justify any development intervention within the growing trend toward democratisation. However, despite its favourable standpoint, participation remains as a dilemmatic approach to development. On the one hand, participation offers the idea of reversing the power: from marginalised group to decision-makers, in a public discourse. On the other hand, the concept often reinforces structural inequality within a society, by letting a certain group to dominate the decision-making process. Moreover, despite a wide range of socioeconomic background shared by the participants, it appears that it did not influence their level of participation. This finding seems differs from what is reported in the current literature on the limits of participation by the poor community.

Another limitation of participation is that it is costly. It takes time, money, and energy for people to be able to attend series of meetings to implement development interventions. Therefore, only certain people who can participate. Nevertheless, experiences from the Creative Kampong Programme were surprising. Participants chose to participate voluntarily, not because of rational calculations but based on social recognition as partial fulfilment of their social being. Still, the agenda behind the participatory process in tourism development continue to be debatable. Various actors with personal motives were taking part in the decision-making process, though they claimed to be pursuing collective interests: for example, the engagement of Rahmat Jabaril and BCCF as central actors brought private and political nuances into the programme.

In spite of the limitations described above, there were positive developments towards transformative participatory governance. The empowerment agenda underlining the participatory approach was meant to develop community capacity. The practice of participatory approach was an early indication towards inclusive development and aligned with a spirit of community movement. Supported by the growing buzzwords of decentralisation, the Creative Kampong Programme gave have allocated more power in the hands of kampong dwellers to determine how their kampong should be developed. It is also indicating the greater role played by the kampong dwellers and other local actors, substituting the local government in its responsibility to provide basic services for the kampong dwellers.

6.3 Is It Possible To Incorporate the Poor into Tourism Governance?

The rise of Pro-Poor Tourism (PPT) indicated a paradigm shift in the tourism development discourse, in its attempt to move the poor community, often in an inferior position, to the centre of tourism intervention. The heroic

claim that PPT would generate benefit for the poor was worth a try, given the failure of conventional tourism policies to upgrade their livelihood and to move them out of the poverty. The Anti-Poverty Tourism (APT) framework, derived from PPT concept, examines the potential links between poverty and tourism in comprehensive policies. Based on the Creative Kampong Programme, the APT framework was expected to improve involvement of the poor in tourism decision-making processes and to develop social capital of the kampong dwellers. However, there seemed to be several possible obstacles involving directing benefit to the poor and external threats.

Upon integration of tourism and poverty, characteristics of tourism, pursued as competitive regional advantages, need to be assessed critically. Unlike mass tourism, the nature of creative tourism industry takes longer to reach the expected outcomes. Creative processes require certain skills and capacities to turn something into a marketable commodity. The poor, whose time is a precious resource, are often impatient because they see no immediate changes. Moreover, the state of poverty that deals with material deficiency asks for short-term policies in addressing the need of the poor. Therefore, already in the initial stage, the integration of poverty and tourism already is problematic. If the process of creative tourism cannot guarantee immediate effect, then the subsequent procedure to integrate poverty and tourism will be more complex.

Applying the APT framework in the context of the Creative Kampong Programme may help to improve the programme's implementation. Some elements of APT, such as the multidimensional poverty concept, security of the poor, and so on, can be tailored in an attempt to reassemble Creative Kampong Programme, notably in Cicadas, where it has been idle for two years. However, integrating poverty and tourism is a complex process. Several issues emerge: how to have tourism can impact the poor, how tourism can affect the assets of the poor, and what should be the relationship between state and society. These are the relevant questions not answered by the model and thus lead us to question the APT framework ability as a strategy to reduce poverty. In the Creative Kampong Programme, tourism activities in the midst of an urban poor settlement may not be the most suitable development option to improve the livelihood of the kampong dwellers.

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Appendices

Appendix 1. List of Informants

No	Institutions	Names	Roles	Remarks
1	Creative Tourism Kampong in Dago Pojok	Rahmat Jabaril	Coordinator for Creative Kampong Programme	Interviewed as a group
2		Risna Yanti	Martial arts	
3		Asyfa Dwi L	Martial arts	
4		Hanifa Tri Lestari	Martial arts	
5		Adhika Zam-Zam	Martial arts	Interviewed as a group
6		Fikri Gusnawandi	Martial arts	
7		Iman	Martial arts	
8		Sendhy Azhar Prasetya	Martial arts	
9		Fikri Nugraha	Martial arts	
10		Dadang Rohendi	Martial arts	
11		Atin	<i>Jaipong</i> dance	
12		Obin Tjatja	Neighborhood leaders (RT 03)	
13		Neneng	Traditional music (Gondang) and Batik	
14		Yayan	Coordinator for traditional art	
15		Nurhayati Hasanah	-	
16		Syamsul Bahri	-	
17		Sati	-	
18		H. Bani	-	
19		Ita	-	
20		Sarina (*)	-	Interviewed as a group
21		Amin (*)	-	
22		Dedi (*)	-	
23		Ajang Sofyan	Local community leaders (RW 03)	
24		Aceng Koswara	Local community leaders (RT 02)	
25	Acoustic Kampong in Cicadas	Ganjar	Former organizing committee	
26		Diky	Coordinator for youth group (<i>Karang Taruna</i>)	Interviewed as a group
27		Oboy	Funding division of <i>Karang Taruna</i>	
28		Abah Guntur	Former organizing committee	

No	Institutions	Names	Roles	Remarks
29		Rudi (*)	Local community leaders (RW 04)	
30		Pian	Sports division	
31		Doby	Coordinator for Acoustic Kampong	
32	Bandung Creative Community Forum (BCCF)	Shinta	Coordinator for Creative Kampong Programme	
33	Tourism Department of Bandung City	Ating	Former Coordinator for Creative Kampong in Bandung	
34	Bandung Institute of Technology	Suhirman	Tourism and community specialist	

(*) not a real name

Appendix 2. Socioeconomic Questionnaire

Informant :
Name :
Age :
Gender : Male / Female
Address :
Occupation :
Status in family :

Part 1. Socioeconomic Questionnaires

Household

1. People in a household
 - Number of family :
 - Number of children :
 - Total size :
2. Origin of a household
 - Are you coming from Bandung City?
 - a) Yes
 - b) No, I come from
 - How long have you stayed in Cicadas/Dago Pojok?
 - If you are a migrant, what reasons made you move here?
3. Level of education
 - What is your education level?
 - a) None
 - b) Primary school
 - c) Secondary school
 - d) Vocational school
 - e) University
 - What is the highest level of education of the parents?
 - a) None
 - b) Primary school
 - c) Secondary school
 - d) Vocational school
 - e) University
4. Income
 - What were/are main sources of your income?
 - How much is your average income per month?
 - a) Rp 0 – Rp 500.000
 - b) Rp 500.001 – Rp 1.000.000
 - c) Rp 1.000.001 – Rp 1.500.000
 - d) Rp 1.500.001 – Rp 2.000.000
 - e) Rp 2.000.001 – Rp 2.500.000
 - f) More than Rp 2.500.000
 - Did you receive any social assistance program (cash transfer, rice, etc) from the government? If yes, how much?
 - Did you consider yourself and your family to be poor?
 - a) Always poor
 - b) Not poor before now
 - c) Before poor but no more

d) Never poor

Assets' possession

1. Private belonging

Goods	Check if applicable	Quantity
Refrigerator		
TV		
Computer		
Motorbike		
Cars		
Others (please specify)		

2. Housing condition

- Type of house's construction
 - a) Makeshift/light materials
 - b) Wood/metal
 - c) Concrete/bricks
- Status of your house
 - a) Rented room, rent price: Rp_____
 - b) Rented flat, rent price: Rp_____
 - c) Rented house, rent price: Rp_____
 - d) Own flat
 - e) Own house
 - f) Others, please specify
- Water provision
 - a) Buy from truck
 - b) Buy from well
 - c) Buy from tap owner
 - d) Communal tap
 - e) Own tap
 - f) Others, please specify
- Electricity
 - a) None
 - b) Flat rate
 - c) Communal connection
 - d) Own connection
 - e) Others, please specify

Access to basic infrastructure and public services

Please rate the following services according to its access

1. Health centers

Very bad	Bad	Okay	Good	Very good

2. Health insurance

Very bad	Bad	Okay	Good	Very good

3. Primary school

Very bad	Bad	Okay	Good	Very good

4. Secondary school

Very bad	Bad	Okay	Good	Very good

5. University

Very bad	Bad	Okay	Good	Very good

6. Traditional market and shopping centers

Very bad	Bad	Okay	Good	Very good

7. Public transportation

Very bad	Bad	Okay	Good	Very good