
FAMILY KINSHIP IN COMMUNITY-BASED TOURISM BUSINESSES IN *HOMESTAY* ENTREPRENEURS ORGANIZATION IN RAJA AMPAT

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ABSTRACT

The success and sustainability of tourism depends on the local community as the social unit that supports tourism. Community-based tourism initiatives offer solutions to place communities as the main actors in tourism development. In the implementation of tourism business development, communities in Raja Ampat Regency utilize social capital as a tribal, kinship and family unit in developing their businesses. Family members as part of the kinship unit often play a role in running economic businesses and often take part in making important decisions that affect the course of tourism businesses. This paper aims to determine the form and relationship of kinship among members of the Raja Ampat indigenous business and livelihood association, as well as provide a case example of an organization whose decision-making is based on the kinship of its members. Based on the results of the analysis, it is known that family kinship as social capital has an important role in running tourism businesses, and homestay tourism businesses in Raja Ampat are formed because they have an extensive family kinship network. This is closely related to the concept of kinship adopted by the Biak tribe. This complexity also affects the running of the organization and decision-making in the organization of homestay entrepreneurs in Raja Ampat, such as the election of the chairman who comes from the clan with the largest number of members and other decision-making processes.

Keywords: Community Based Tourism, Tourism Business, Social Capital, Homestay, Raja Ampat

INTRODUCTION

Community-based tourism is one of the popular tourism approaches and is widely recommended to be applied as one of the approaches in tourism development. The community-based tourism approach is a development of the Community Based Resources Management approach, as described by Korten (in Waimbo, 2012). The implementation of community-based tourism is required to have high involvement and control from the perpetrators. As explained by Schevyns (1999, in Jones, 2005). (Jones, 2005)) which calls community-based tourism is a terminology that is assessed based on high control from the community itself rather than control from outside parties. The control exercised by the community is one form of citizen participation (public) and can be seen at least through two perspectives, namely decision making and utilization. (Timothy, 1999).

Considerations in the decision-making process are influenced by social capital as an asset in decision-making. Bain and Hicks (1999) explain that social capital is formed through interactions and horizontal networks of organizations that have transparent decision making, accountable leaders, and practices of collective action and shared responsibility. (Krishna & Shrader, 1999). Jones (2005) conducted a study of community-based ecotourism initiatives in The Gambia to determine the concept of social capital as a basis for building an understanding of the social change process of implementing community-based tourism. In his study, Jones found that by applying social capital, community-based tourism initiatives get positive contributions in practice.

Other studies on community-based tourism have looked at the role of social capital as one of the success factors of community-based tourism (Timothy, 1999; Hwang, 2002; Arregle et al, 2007; Sorensen, 2009; Hwang et al, 2016). It is argued that the success and sustainability of tourism depends on the local community as a social unit that supports tourism and their positive encounters with tourists. Koentjaraningrat (2009) sees that the closest and most intimate social unit is the kinship unit, namely the nuclear family and other relatives. In societies where the influence of industrialization has gone deep, it appears that the function of the kinship unit, which was previously important in many sectors of a person's life, usually begins to diminish and at the same time the customs that regulate kinship life as a unit begin to relax.

Family members as part of a kinship unit often play multiple roles in running economic enterprises and often make important decisions (Gallo and Suen, 1991; Mustakalio et al., 2002; Tagiuri and Davis, 1996, in Arregle, 2007) because families are influenced by their social capital and position in the family. They channel the main characteristics (norms, values and narratives) of the economic enterprise into two forms: identity and rationality. From the point of view of the interaction between families and organizations, family social unity plays an important role in a form of economic enterprise. A form of business can be said to be a family economic business because its ownership and management are focused in a family and can be used as a way to achieve family intra- organizational linkages (Sharma, et al. 1996. Page 185 in Arregle, et al. 2007: 74). Arregle (2007) adds that there are two social groups that exist in family economic enterprises; families and non-families of the owners or workers. These two social groups have the potential to cause conflict when the family work group is dominant in the business. This character is formed because heterogeneity outside the group and interaction within the group can affect the form of social capital itself.

Based on the arguments mentioned above, it is important to examine the decision-making process that occurs in community-based tourism initiatives. The objectives of community-based tourism that provide socio-cultural, economic and environmental benefits and require the participation of its members make community-based tourism entities often face challenges in implementation. Especially when there is a socio-cultural phenomenon such as what happens to the Raja Ampat Local Community Livelihood and Business Movement Association (PERJAMPAT) where the majority or even almost all of its members come from the same tribe, namely the Biak ethnic group. The homogeneity that occurs makes the organization as a modern business entity required to consider the traditional customs of its members in the process of developing community-based tourism.

It is interesting to know more about how when a modern business entity must make decisions when faced with family interests as a consideration of custom and culture, whether the decision-making process changes the entity of community-based tourism initiatives and whether decisions made based on family kinship interests in community-

based tourism diminish the kinship life and customs of its members. This paper aims to determine the form and relationship of kinship among members of the Raja Ampat indigenous business and livelihood association, and to provide a case example of an organization whose decision-making is based on the kinship of its members.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Social Capital in Community-Based Tourism Enterprises

The concept of social capital arises from the idea that community members cannot individually overcome the various problems they face. There needs to be togetherness and good cooperation from all interested members of the community to overcome these problems. (Syahra, 2003). The concept of social capital introduced by Robert D. Putnam through his book "Making Democracy Works" (1993) explains that social capital has 3 components, namely: Moral obligations and social norms, social values (especially trust) and social networks in the form of linkage networks. Another concept of social capital was developed by Pierre Bourdieu in the 1970s-1980s. To understand the structure and functioning of the social world, it is necessary to discuss capital in all its forms. Bourdieu identified three forms of capital that are interrelated and form a concept called symbolic capital. The three forms of capital are social capital, cultural capital and economic capital. Both Putnam and Bourdieu, in developing their theories, see social relations (interaction) as a rationale. The difference is that Putnam is more likely to see social interaction as a horizontal relationship between citizens, while Bourdieu sees social interaction as a vertical structuralism relationship between citizens.

Martti Siisainen (2000) compared Putnam and Bourdieu's two concepts of social capital by examining Putnam's three components of social capital in terms of theoretical issues and perspectives from Bourdieu's social capital theory. Siisainen concluded that the theory of social capital developed by Putnam is directed to questions about mechanisms that strengthen the integration of values in society, solidarity and togetherness, and consensus building to maintain the stability of community development. Meanwhile, Bourdieu developed the theory with a different approach that examines social conflict, forms of power and forms of domination in society. So Siisainen recommends the selection of Putnam's or Bourdieu's theory based on: (1) The type of problem to be studied more deeply, and (2) Depending on the position of the social problem itself, whether it is seen as a social cohesion or social conflict.

Hwang (2012) in his dissertation examined the influence of social capital on community-based tourism initiatives by analyzing social networks in two tourism communities on Jeju Island, South Korea. He found that elements of social capital, particularly social networks and social norms, are critical factors that explain citizen involvement in collective community activities. Hwang found that individual perceptions and behaviors about tourism impacts are not determined by more specific elements, the process is based on several factors such as community values, perceived social pressure, norms and rules, role expectations, relationships and interactions between members, community structure and other factors that may influence.

In another study on collective action that affects tourism through a social structure approach to community involvement. Hwang, et al (2016) explained that people affected by tourism activities have a sense of belonging to the community and have a desire to be involved in it and the pressure received by the community based on social roles also affects collective action taking (Hwang et al, 2016). Another opinion regarding social

capital to support family business initiatives in smaller social units was explained by Sorensen (2009) who studied family capital to support family-owned businesses. Sorensen explained that family capital contains resources owned by the family and available for business purposes. Family capital is defined as social capital, human capital and financial capital available for business purposes (Sorensen, 2009). These things can build mutual trust within the family and make family members able to work effectively and efficiently in matters related to the family itself and business affairs. Sorensen concluded that families that foster social relationships have social capital that can be used for business purposes (Danes et al., 2009 in Sorensen, 2009).

Family Kinship as Social Capital

Mattesich and Hill (in Puspitawati, 2013) mention family as a group related by kinship, residence, or very close emotional relationships and show four things (namely intimate interdependence, maintaining selected boundaries, being able to adapt to change and maintain identity over time, and performing family tasks). Another definition according to Settels (in Puspitawati, 2013), Family is defined as an abstraction of ideology that has a romantic image, a process as a unit of intervention treatment, as a network and a final resting destination. Burges and Locke (in Puspitawati, 2013: 3) explain that there are 4 characteristics of the family, namely (1) The family is an arrangement of people united by ties of marriage, blood ties, and adoption; (2) Family members are characterized by living together under one roof and are a household arrangement; (3) The family is a unit of people who interact and communicate which creates social roles. And these social roles are reinforced by tradition and some are emotional which results in experience; and (4) The family will maintain a common culture derived from the general culture.

One of the theories that underlies the study of families is structural-functional theory/System Theory. The view on this theory sees a social system as a balanced, harmonious and sustainable system with an approach to structural-functional theory recognizing the existence of all diversity in social life which is then accommodated in functions according to one's position in the structure of a system (Megawangi, 1999 in Puspitawati, 2013: 6). One application that can be studied using family structural/functional theory is the study of family kinship. Kinship itself is based on two forms of family, namely the nuclear family and the extended family (Puspitawati, 2013:8). In a thesis on kinship-based economic dynamics in fishing communities on Ende Island, East Nusa Tenggara. Adhima Putra (2014) explained that the dominance of Palele (Uncle) becomes the ruler due to social status and dominance in the kinship network. The role of family or relatives can be taken into account to help in the household economy, especially in poor areas. However, the exchange (reciprocity) built between family members can strengthen the relationship between the two (Adhima- Putra, 2014). The role of family and relatives, both nuclear and extended, is very influential on the family economic system. According to Wolf (in Ahimsa-Putra, 1988), a kinship relationship is the result of a person's socialization process in his life process, which contains mutual trust that is used by him to achieve a certain goal. This relationship is also based on sanctions that exist in the kinship system or sanctions from the community system.

Community-Based Tourism Business in Raja Ampat

Raja Ampat Regency lies at the heart of the Coral Triangle and is home to some of the richest tropical marine biodiversity in the world. Not only fish species, Raja Ampat Regency is also rich in coral reef diversity, seagrass beds, mangrove forests, and beautiful rocky cliff beaches (Palomares and Heymans, 2006). Based on the National Tourism

Development Master Plan (RIPPARNAS) as stated in Government Regulation No. 50 Year 2011. Raja Ampat is one of the 88 National Strategic Tourism Areas (KSPN) that have been designated by the government. As a National Tourism Strategic Area, the number of tourist visits in Raja Ampat Regency always increases every year and reached the highest number in 2019, namely 46,375 people consisting of 22,285 foreign tourists and 24,090 domestic tourists.

Tabel 1. Number of Tourist Visits in Raja Ampat Regency

Year	Number of Tourist Visits		Total
	Domestic	International	
2014	10759	7691	13616
2015	12911	10251	12472
2016	13616	12472	26088
2017	18841	17250	36091
2018	23099	20811	43910
2019	24090	22285	46375
2020	7439	697	4973
2021	814	1533	2230
2022	4973	752	5725

Source: BPS Raja Ampat Regency, 2023

Seeing the number of visits, the level of need in terms of amenity is relatively high to meet the needs of tourists. In terms of tourism amenity in Raja Ampat Regency, according to data from the Central Bureau of Statistics extracted from Raja Ampat Regency in Figures 2023, there are 273 types of lodging of various types consisting of 24 resorts, 4 cottages, 4 hotels, 25 inns, and 215 homestays in Raja Ampat Regency with the contribution of the accommodation provision sector amounting to 14.64 billion of the Gross Regional Domestic Product (GRDP) of Raja Ampat Regency. The development of tourism in Raja Ampat Regency cannot be separated from the provision of accommodation provided by members of the Raja Ampat Indigenous Business and Livelihood Association (PERJAMPAT). Of the total 215 homestays spread throughout Raja Ampat Regency, 86 homestays or around 40% of the total available accommodation in Raja Ampat Regency are members of PERJAMPAT.

Perkumpulan Penggerak Usaha dan Penghidupan Masyarakat Asli Raja Ampat (PERJAMPAT) is an association of homestay service providers conducted by Indigenous Papuans (OAP) in Raja Ampat Regency and has been established since 2012. Initially the association was called the Raja Ampat Local Homestay Business Association, and then changes were made in 2018 to the Raja Ampat Indigenous Business and Livelihood Association (PERJAMPAT) with the consideration that tourism activities that have been running and become a source of livelihood for its members are no longer in the form of an accommodation service provider business (Homestay) alone, but have developed into other businesses related to tourism businesses.

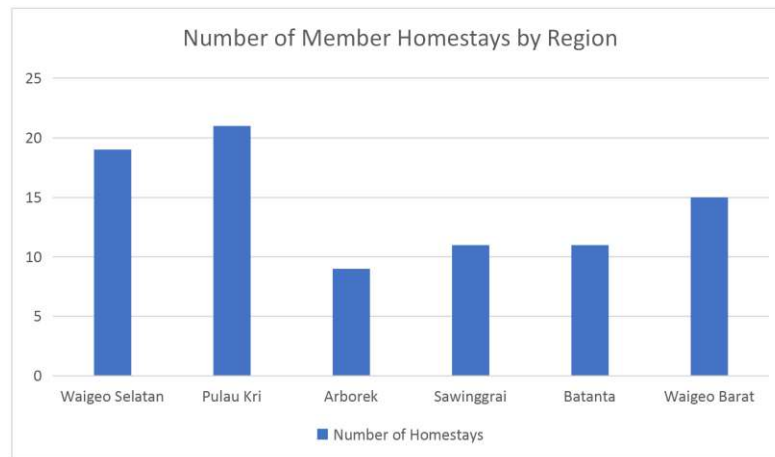


Figure 1. Number of PERJAMPAT Member Homestays by region (2018)

As a Community-based Tourism initiative, PERJAMPAT members run several types of tourism businesses and supporting businesses. In addition to Homestays, PERJAMPAT members also provide transportation services in the form of Speed Boats and Traditional Cruises, Restaurants, Tour Guides, Diving Guides, Bird of Paradise Observation Guides, and others. In addition, with the development of tourism in Raja Ampat, other economic sectors such as Fisheries, Agriculture, Trade and Services have also developed. The development of these sectors was valued at more than 20 billion Rupiah in 2015, almost equaling the Raja Ampat Regency's Original Regional Revenue (PAD) in the same year.

Biak Tribe as a Community-Based Tourism Business Actor in Raja Ampat

The origin of Raja Ampat cannot be separated from the indigenous tribes that inhabit the islands. There are four major islands in Raja Ampat, namely Waigeo, Salawati, Batanta, and Misool Islands, which is also the origin of the name Raja Ampat because there are four kings on each island (see Gelpke, 1993; Remijsen, 2001; Mansoben, 2003; Maryone, 2010). The indigenous people of Raja Ampat refer to the people who came and lived in Raja Ampat since the 15th century and came from the island of Biak as the Beser people. The name Beser is taken from the name of the first settlement of the Biak people on southern Waigeo Island. (Remijsen, 2001:30). Contact between the Biak people and the indigenous people of Raja Ampat began through trade relations and war expeditions (Kamma, 1952 in Mansoben, 2003). The trading system of the Biak people in the past was carried out using a barter system (in Biak language called Farobek). This barter system has created a relationship called Manibob. Manibob relationships that occur between two people over a long period of time can increase so closely that the relationship is not only limited to trade relations, but extends to other relationships such as marriage (Mansoben, 2003). In relation to the trading activities of the Biak people in the Raja Ampat archipelago, the Biak developed a very good knowledge of seafaring, enabling the Biak people to make cross-island voyages and eventually settle in other places including the Raja Ampat Islands (Mansoben, 2003).

The spread or migration of the Biak people began from coastal areas, starting from Mamberamo, Sarimi, Sorong, Raja Ampat and almost all coastal areas on the island of Papua (Maryone, 2010: 79). In the process of spreading, the Biak people still use and maintain their native language, they use Biak language in their daily life (Maryone, 2010:80). In her study on the migration of the Biak people in Arefi Village, Batanta Island

- Raja Ampat, Maryone (2010) mentions that there are Biak clans in the village as evidence of the migration process that has occurred since the 15th century and has become the identity of the Biak ethnic group in the Raja Ampat islands. These clans are: Warmasen, Kapisa, Rumbewas, Mambrasar, Rumfaker, Soor, Suruan, Major, Msen, Dimara, Arwakon, Merino, Kabes, Morin, and Sarwa. These clans, if traced, come from villages in Western, Eastern, Northern Biak, and from Supiori Island.

The life of the Biak ethnic group in the Raja Ampat area, which has been going on since the 15th century, has made the Biak ethnic group one of the ethnic groups that inhabit Raja Ampat Regency until now and has become a community unit with other ethnic groups. According to the Central Bureau of Statistics of Raja Ampat Regency (2017), the ethnic groups that live and inhabit Raja Ampat Regency include: Tribes originating from Papua (Maya, Kawe, Langenan, Biak, etc.), and tribes originating from outside the island of Papua (Ternate, Ambon, Bugis, Buton, Makasar, Manado, Java, Madura, Sunda, Batak, etc.). The people of Raja Ampat from the Biak ethnic group are also tourism actors in Raja Ampat Regency. Through PERJAMPAT, community members who own businesses in the tourism sector organize and group together for the benefit of their businesses, including community members from the Biak ethnic group who are the majority ethnic group in PERJAMPAT. Judging from the clans of homestay owners who are members of PERJAMPAT, the names of clans from the Biak ethnic group are the majority clans of homestay owners, such as Dimara, Fakdawer, Makusi, Mambrasar, Major, and Sauyai.

Table 2. Number of Homestays and ownership by Clan in PERJAMPAT

No	Clan	Number of Homestay	No	Clan	Number of Homestay
1	Ayello	1	13	Pariri	1
2	Dimalaouw	1	14	Rumaker	1
3	Dimara	5	15	Rumbewas	1
4	Fakdawer	4	16	Saikapele	1
5	Kapisa	1	17	Sarwa	1
6	Kararbo	1	18	Sauyai	16
7	Makusi	5	19	Soor	2
8	Mambrasar	16	20	Suruan	1
9	Mambraku	2	21	Watem	1
10	Mayor	5	22	Warmasen	1
11	Mofu	1	23	Belum diketahui	10
12	Morin	2		TOTAL	86

Source: Data Processed (2022)

As a customary community, the Biak Tribe has rules regarding ownership, control and use of land and territory (Roembiak, 2002). In terms of land ownership, the Biak people view ownership and control of land and forests (including water) as the inheritance of customary rights owners from generation to generation patrilineally. However, due to the Biak people's contact with other ethnic groups that have occurred for a long time, the Biak people have adopted some cultural elements from other regions into their own culture (Roembiak, 2002). Roembiak, (2002) added that regarding the status of land use and ownership in the cultural knowledge and customary law of the Biak people, the ownership and use rights of land according to the customary rules of the Biak people follow the status of a person in the village or Mnu in Biak language. The first person to

inhabit the village has rights to the land. He or she has the authority to grant residence and permission to use the forest or land to new settlers or residents. The division of land and territory according to Biak tribal rules can be seen based on: (1) batih families and (2) keret-keret alliances or clans. Based on the cultural background, especially on the rules of land ownership and based on the location/rayon of the homestay. So, it can be seen that the homestays built still follow strong customary rules so that it can be seen which clans have control over the land seen from where the homestay stands. Based on these facts, it can be assumed that the development of tourism businesses in Raja Ampat by PERJAMPAT members from the Biak ethnic group is influenced by family networks in the form of clans or through clans. The dominance of certain clans in the rayon managed by PERJAMPAT shows that family networks are an asset in building community-based tourism businesses.

METHOD

The research location is in Raja Ampat Regency, Southwest Papua Province with the object of research being members of the Raja Ampat Indigenous Business and Livelihood Association (PERJAMPAT). The research was conducted using qualitative data or data used in the form of statements that show the nature, characteristics and conditions of the symptoms or events studied (Ahimsa-Putra, 2011). The data obtained are primary data and secondary data with and obtained from various sources such as: (1) Casual observations and involved observations conducted in November 2021; (2) Casual interviews and in-depth interviews with informants involving 12 informants in August 2018 and November 2021; (3) Literature study, especially reports and meeting minutes of PERJAMPAT members. The data that has been collected will then be analyzed descriptively by showing the phenomena encountered and the data supporting these phenomena. The actions, behaviors and thoughts of the actors will be described to find out the phenomena that occur in members of the Raja Ampat Indigenous Business and Livelihood Movement (PERJAMPAT).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Family as Social Capital for Starting and Running a Tourism Business

The people of Raja Ampat who come from the Biak ethnic group are communal and hold tightly to kinship ties as part of social life. Based on tradition, families of Biak origin in Raja Ampat still live together in a large house. They consist of father, mother, children, son-in-law and grandchildren, as is the case with the family of HS and ED, owners of a homestay in Saporkren Village, South Waigeo District. HS and ED's family consists of two children, a son-in-law, and two grandchildren. On a daily basis, HS and ED manage a four-building homestay that is rented out to tourists who come to Raja Ampat. In carrying out their work, they are assisted by KS (HS's eldest son) and AR, his son-in-law. Before running the homestay business, HS and ED did various jobs related to the utilization of natural resources around Saporkren village. HS was once a Cenderawasih bird hunter, they both also worked in the fields and took care of vegetable gardens located far from the village, at other times - when the south wind season blew - they worked as fishermen by setting up Bagan. Like other islands in Indonesia, traditional economic activities in Raja Ampat district are influenced by local geographical conditions, such as the weather. In Raja Ampat, when the south wind season blows from June - August, fishermen do not go to sea because the prevailing winds have the potential

to produce high waves and endanger the fishermen. So they turn to farming by opening vegetable fields in the forest areas around the village. Because he spends a lot of time at sea as a fisherman, the sea breeze has made HS suffer from asthma, until now HS regularly takes treatment at the Waisai Regional Hospital. HS and ED have abandoned their traditional economic activities as fishermen since late 2011. However, once ED still went to the field to collect vegetables and cook them for her homestay guests.

The health condition of HS as the head of the family affects his family's economic condition. So, the HS family thought about finding another livelihood that was more friendly to his health. Based on this consideration, at the end of 2012, HS's family decided to open a homestay business as some of his family members had done before. At that time, to start their new business, they built a large house consisting of 4 rooms, 1 bathroom and a dining room on a piece of land that was given by HS's father and became his family's Ulayat. Developing a homestay business has been a challenge for the HS family. With no knowledge and experience in tourism, they had to "wait" for a year and a half for a guest. The first guest, a Belgian national, came to the homestay in August 2014, when Sail Raja Ampat was taking place. This condition also applies to other homestays, not only those owned by HS. Several other homestay business actors also experienced the same thing. When we look back a little, the beginning of 2012 was the beginning of community members on Waigeo Island, Kri, and Gam starting a homestay business. Tired of being mere spectators and freelancers of the tourism business conducted by a foreign national who owns a diving resort at the tip of the island, five residents from the Sauyai clan, namely: RS, GS, PS, ES, and KS utilized the customary land they owned on the islands of Kri and Gam to build homestays for foreign tourists who began arriving in Raja Ampat.

Initially, the homestay concept that was developed utilized unused rooms in the house to serve as a temporary residence for tourists. However, seeing that resorts are more often visited by guests because they have separate rooms and based on the need for "privacy" from tourists, homestay owners then build separate buildings from the main house to be used as rooms and rented out to tourists. This misguided conception of homestay is well known by tourists who come to Raja Ampat, and has been maintained until now and used as its own tourism branding. At the beginning of the development of the homestay business on the islands of Kri and Gam, only five people ventured to open the business. This was because some of them had worked at the American-owned dive resort as boat drivers and dive guides. RS, PS and ES had worked at the Dive Resort at different times.

From the early 1990s, the Dive Resort was the only accommodation available in Raja Ampat for divers. And since the division of Raja Ampat from Sorong Regency in 2009, tourist activities there began to grow along with tourism development, which has become a mainstay for the Raja Ampat district government to introduce the potential of the region. Unbalanced tourism business competition from various aspects such as: Financial Capital, Market Access, and Tourism Knowledge, the competition between homestays and resorts has always been won by resorts. Apart from being established earlier, the resorts also use skilled labor from outside Raja Ampat, such as Bali, Manado, and Java. Although it has high complexity because it uses the concept of extended kinship. The social network formed between families in PERJAMPAT members can be seen as a social capital for its members. Robert D. Putnam (1993) explains that social capital is influenced by the social networks formed in a social community. Some of the reasons Putnam uses to argue this according to Syahra (2003) are: (1) The existence of a social network enables coordination and communication that fosters mutual trust among

community members; (2) Trust has positive implications in social life; (3) Various successes achieved through cooperation at the previous time in this network will be a driving force in the continuity of cooperation at the next time. The social network in the HS and ED families is an example. As a family from the Biak ethnic group with the concept of extended family, the use of surnames is one indicator of family relationships (although not always blood-related). Looking at this phenomenon, the family kinship network of HS surnamed Sauyai and ED surnamed Dimara when connected to PERJAMPAT members from the South Waigeo Rayon, can be seen below.

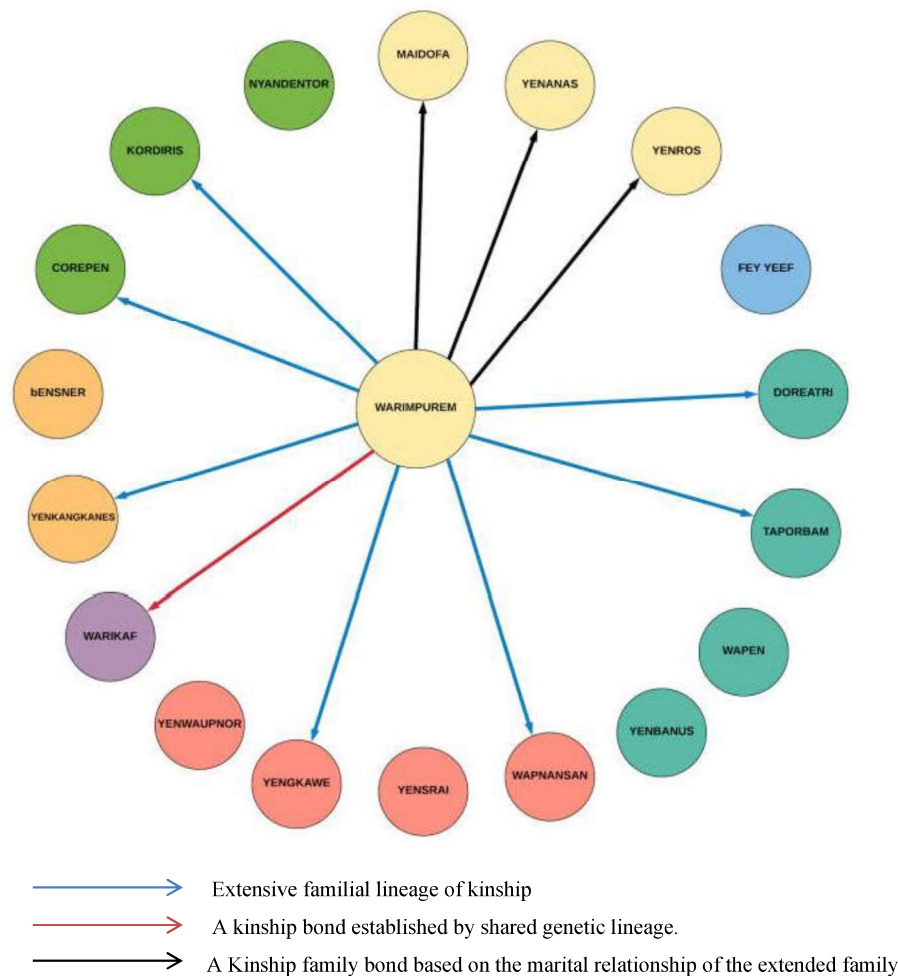


Figure 2. Family Kinship Network of Warimpurem Homestay in West Waigeo Rayon
Source: Data Processed (2022)

It can be seen from the family network as depicted in Figure 2. It can be seen that the family owned by HS and ED as the Homestay owner's family has a wide and strong family network because it is connected by family through clan (extended family), blood relations, and marital relations and extended family with 9 out of 18 other homestay owner families in South Waigeo rayon. Strong family relationships may occur with other homestay owners. Because the case example taken is only one homestay owner family and the kinship relationship is still within one rayon consisting of 19 homestay owners, it is not impossible that in a wider community (such as all PERJAMPAT members) kinship relationships become more complex and interrelated with each other. As explained by Putnam (through Syahra, 2003), the social network that is formed allows for coordination

and communication that creates a sense of trust between PERJAMPAT members. Examples of cases such as the beginning of the formation of associations founded by members of the same clan make mutual trust between them an asset to start something they are not actually good at.

Section 1.00 Family Interests that influence Communal Decisions in Tourism Businesses

As a community-based tourism entity, PERJAMPAT has an interest in accommodating the interests of its members. So that in the process of running the organization, members are often conflicted between organizational, personal, and family interests. Organizationally, PERJAMPAT has a decision-making mechanism in accordance with the Articles of Association and Bylaws (AD and ART) of the organization. According to PERJAMPAT's AD and ART, the organization's decision-making mechanism is carried out with a democratic approach through a *voting* mechanism with a minimum requirement of $\frac{2}{3}$ of registered members present. On the occasion of the General Meeting of Members held in September 2016, one of the agendas of the meeting was the election of the Board of Trustees and the Governing Board. In the process of electing the chairman of the board of trustees, there were 6 candidates from each rayon who had previously been elected by each rayon member through an acclamation mechanism. In the next process for the election of the chairman of the board of trustees, the 6 candidates were then selected into the top 3 by acclamation mechanism through listening to the considerations of the members.

These considerations include: age, education, experience, contribution to the organization. From the top 3 candidates for chairman of the board of trustees, then the determination to choose who becomes chairman is done through a *voting* mechanism. At the 2016 General Meeting of Members, the candidates for chairman of the board of trustees for the 2016-2017 period were LM from West Waigeo rayon, MM from South Waigeo rayon, and FD from Arborek rayon. Based on the voting process, the elected chairman of the board of trustees for the 2016-2017 period was LM. When viewed based on the clans of homestay owners in Raja Ampat, the clan owned by LM is the clan that has the largest number of members at 16 members (along with the clan owned by HS), but in addition to these factors, other factors that made LM elected were considerations such as age, education, and contribution to the organization. It cannot be denied that clan is one of the main influences in decision-making in the election of the chairman of PERJAMPAT's governing body. Based on the history of elections, the chairpersons of PERJAMPAT's governing body come from clans that have a large number of members in PERJAMPAT such as Mambrasar, Makusi, Dimara and Sauyai.

Based on these conditions, it can be seen that there are only 4 clans that have held the highest leadership in PERJAMPAT, namely the Sauyai and Mambrasar clans. This condition then raises the hypothesis that the influence of family kinship is very strong in the decision-making process for the election of the chairman of the board of trustees in PERJAMPAT. Until now, the chairman of PERJAMPAT's board of trustees has always been filled by these two families, although the organization below is filled by members from other clans. Another case influenced by family kinship in communal decision-making was encountered when PERJAMPAT planned to change its entity from an organization that received benefits from Non-Governmental Organizations to a pure social tourism business entity. In the early stages of its formation in 2012 until 2017, PERJAMPAT was the beneficiary of a benefit fund provided by the *Walton Family Foundation* through the mechanism of *Bird Head Sea Scape Initiatives* with the

management of funds and programs provided to the non-governmental organization Seventythree (73.ltd).

When the implemented program was completed at the end of 2017, PERJAMPAT then took the initiative to transform the entity into a social tourism business entity in the hope that the financial benefits received from the tourism business could be used as the organization's operational costs, marketing of accommodation and tourism services, training, and conservation efforts undertaken by PERJAMPAT. In order to meet the funding needs, a discourse emerged that each PERJAMPAT member must provide membership dues of IDR 100,000 per homestay per month. This rule has been issued through an update of the Articles of Association (AD) and Bylaws (ART) of the organization in 2017. However, in practice this concept of dues did not work for one reason or another.

One of the reasons why dues do not work for PERJAMPAT members is that members do not have a sense of responsibility and commitment to the organization, as explained by ED.

"Members expect us to care as administrators. But maybe they don't realize what their obligations are, the dues. This is what we have to think about. The business actors of this Association (PERJAMPAT) are not other people but they are family. (ED¹ , 2018)".

The same thing was added by KS who thought that the lack of commitment to pay contributions caused the organization to experience obstacles.

"Lack of commitment to pay contributions. So far, contributions have not been implemented properly. As a result, the BP (Governing Body) is lazy to work because they are not paid. What happens is that there is no operational money". (KS¹ , 2018).

ED added that when reflecting on her own commitment to PERJAMPAT, she explained that she still often feels afraid to say how she feels because she is worried about offending others. KS, on the other hand, feels afraid to reprimand because it could damage the running of the organization when the member resigns.

"I often have a feeling of fear of saying something to others. I worry about offending. But there are also friends who we reprimand and remind, they can accept. (ED¹ , 2018)".

"Sometimes there are executive councils who do not carry out their duties properly, we are afraid to reprimand and remind them. We are worried that they will resign" (KS¹ , 2018).

The conception of "*Malu Hati*" is common in the lives of Biak people in Raja Ampat in particular, but also in Papuan society in general. Munro (2015) studied "*Malu Hati*" in the Dani tribe in the highlands of Papua and found that '*Malu Hati*' is constructed from the views or stigmas of outsiders towards the Dani people which resulted in the action.

In contrast to the conception described by Munro, who sees "*Malu Hati*" as a construction caused by the views of people outside the Dani tribe, the construction of shame in the context of this paper is caused by the close family relationships among the

¹ Taken from PERJAMPAT Meeting Minutes, dated July 18, 2018

Biak tribe communities in Raja Ampat. A strong and extensive form of kinship makes Biak people in Raja Ampat consider the "feelings" of people within the family. As a communal society, interaction between family members is an asset to the Biak community, as it is for PERJAMPAT members. Maria Latumahina, facilitator of the PERJAMPAT members' discussion and meeting that took place in Arborek, summarized the discussion on "Shame" among PERJAMPAT members.

"Lack of communication, dialog, openness, sharing ideas. One said that no one asked for clarification because they were embarrassed. Shame in some issues is beneficial to you, but in this issue it is quite detrimental. So that there is no listening to each other with empathy, greeting each other with love, that is the obstacle. Shame in our tradition is very helpful, for example, the value in the family is very important. But we also need to think that shame in other specs is very detrimental" (ML², 2018).

From this condition, it can be seen that family interests in the form of maintaining family "feelings" is an important aspect considered by the Biak tribal community in making communal decisions in PERJAMPAT. This does not necessarily change the community-based tourism entity carried out by PERJAMPAT into another form of entity. The change in entity form from a beneficiary organization to a tourism business organization is influenced by other larger factors. Kinship considerations in decision-making are more common on a smaller scale, such as the two cases exemplified above.

CONCLUSIONS

The community-based tourism initiative that occurs in the Raja Ampat Indigenous Business and Livelihood Association (PERJAMPAT) is a unique form of community-based tourism initiative. On the one hand, this tourism initiative is required to become a modern business entity that is independently able to support the organization in implementing its vision and mission. But on the other hand, this initiative is composed of a homogeneous group that still maintains tradition in the implementation of its daily life. The dynamics that occur within PERJAMPAT then clash many interests, one of which is the interests of the organization and family. Looking at the family perspective in the form of family kinship patterns, it is known that one of the PERJAMPAT members has an extensive family network because HS and ED's homestay has kinship ties with 9 other homestays in the same rayon. This was formed because the kinship system adopted by the Biak ethnic community in PERJAMPAT uses the concept of extended kinship resulting from blood ties and marital relations. The complexity of family kinship found in PERJAMPAT affects the course of decision-making in the organization. As seen in the election of the chairman of the board of trustees, who in the last 5 periods has been a member from the clan with the largest number of members in PERJAMPAT. In addition, interactions and relationships within the family also affect the decision-making process in smaller cases such as membership dues.

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