

## **GENEALOGY OF CONSERVATION NGOs ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE AMBEL-MA'YA TRIBE CONSERVATION AREA IN RAJA AMPAT**

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### **ABSTRACT**

This article aims to reveal the genealogy of the International Conservation NGO towards the establishment of the Ambel-Ma'ya tribal conservation area so that the Ma'yalibit Bay conservation area in Raja Ampat is formed as well as a departure station for the establishment of other conservation areas in Raja Ampat. The research approach uses a Cultural Studies approach with descriptive qualitative research methods and slices of theory used, namely, the genealogy of practice and power from Michel Foucault. The results showed that before international conservation NGOs operated in Raja Ampat, they recruited actors and agents who were recruited from intellectuals of the Ma'ya indigenous peoples' institutions and religious and traditional leaders. Conservation NGOs act as captains as well as organic intellectuals and traditional intellectuals for the Ambel-Ma'ya tribe in the Ma'yalibit Bay of Raja Ampat acting as sea commanders in the boat of conservation ideology. Conservation NGOs are hiding behind the discourse of knowledge about high marine tropical biodiversity and the threat of its degradation as a result of the fishing behavior of fishermen who are not environmentally friendly, becoming the basis for discourse on knowledge, articulation and practice of language texts and capital of power to carry out discursive practices in the formation of conservation areas on tribal waters stage. Abel-Ma'ya.

**Keywords:** Genealogy, NGO, Conservation, Ambel-Ma'ya, Raja Ampat

### **INTRODUCTION**

Raja Ampat has 4 main large islands and approximately 610 small islands and only 35 inhabited islands. The big islands are: Waigeo Island, Salawati Island, Batanta Island and Misool Island. The district capital known as Waisai is located on Waigeo Island and this city is the administrative and bureaucratic center of Raja Ampat Regency as well as the center of economy and trade.

Demographically, the population in this region in 2019 based on BPS data of Raja Ampat Regency amounted to 47,885 people spread over 24 districts in an area of 67,379.60 Km<sup>2</sup>. Of the total area above, the land area is only 7,559.6 Km<sup>2</sup>, while the rest is the ocean area. The dominant sea area in this district causes the people of Raja Ampat to make their main livelihood as fishermen and is interspersed with cultivating shifting fields and sago trees. The position of the Raja Ampat region which is in the bird's head span of Papua causes the community to be said to be multicultural because the islands in this district are inhabited by the indigenous Raja Ampat tribe, namely the Ma'ya tribe, also inhabited by nomad tribes such as the Beser, Umkai, Usba tribes. , Wardo and Kafdarun as well as the tribes of the archipelago. The Ma'ya tribe as the original tribe of Raja Ampat inhabit the four large islands while the immigrant tribes mostly inhabit the small islands. One of the original sub-tribes in Raja Ampat who inhabit Raja Ampat is the Ambel-Ma'ya sub-tribe in Ma'yalibit Bay, Waigeo Island.

Raja Ampat's high biodiversity is due to the fact that this area is in the world's coral triangle, but the massive threats of deforestation are becoming more and more real because the fishing behavior of outside fishermen who use explosives, poisons and nets is quite high in the waters of Raja Ampat. with the adoption and adaptation of destructive fishing technology from outside fishermen by local Raja Ampat fishermen. The collaboration of these two fishermen has a great influence on the threat of degradation and the existence of natural resources in tropical waters in Raja Ampat in the future.

The above conditions have become a concern and have become a trigger for conservation NGOs to collaborate and synergize in taking steps to prevent, protect and conserve natural resources while at the same time encouraging schemes or models for the use of marine resources by the surrounding community, especially fortifying the Raja Ampat sea from the parties and unscrupulous parties. unscrupulous fishermen from outside (Sorong, Seram, Maluku and Sulawesi) who take marine products using modern technology are destructive. Taking refuge in the shield of biodiversity potential and biodiversity degradation as a tool for discourse, articulation and discursive practice of knowledge, international conservation NGOs (The Nature Conservancy and Conservation International) in an effort to establish a marine conservation area in the indigenous waters of the Ambel-Ma'ya Raja Ampat tribe. Mayalibit Bay on Waigeo Island, Raja Ampat is a practice field for international conservation NGOs and organic intellectuals as well as traditional intellectuals in the

discourse on the establishment of the Raja Ampat marine conservation area and has become an embryo for the birth of conservation areas throughout the Raja Ampat waters which have now reached 1.3 million hectares. . Therefore, this article aims to hack into how the genealogy of conservation NGOs in the conservation area of the Ambel-Ma'ya tribe in the Mayalibit Bay of Raja Ampat takes place.

## **RESEARCH METHOD**

The method used in the genealogy research of conservation NGOs in the conservation area of the Ambel-Ma'ya tribe in Raja Ampat uses a cultural study approach with qualitative research methods. According to Sugiyono (2005), research is used to examine the condition of natural objects, where the researcher is the key instrument. Specifically, Moleong (2016) states that qualitative research is research that intends to understand the phenomena of what is experienced by the research subject, for example, behavior, perception, motivation, action and others holistically, and by way of description in the form of words and language. , in a special context that is natural and by utilizing various scientific methods. So in the research on genealogy of conservation areas in the Ambel-Ma'ya tribe, the researchers rely on the knowledge base on the two definitions above. In data collection, the technique of determining informants was carried out purposively (Sugiyono, 2016) and data collection was carried out by means of observation, interviews and documentation (Sugiyono, 2016). The research data were analyzed using the Miles and Huberman method, namely: displaying data, reducing data and drawing conclusions (Silalahi, 2009) and presented in a qualitative descriptive model of scientific variety.

## **DISCUSSION**

The Ma'yalibit Bay marine conservation area was formed on November 15, 2006 as the climax of the celebration of the victory of the power of knowledge and practice of power carried out by the ruling class of conservation NGOs as directors, organic and traditional intellectuals as actors and agents from the Ma'ya tribe in the arena of life. Ambel-Ma'ya people in the Mayalibit Bay of Raja Ampat. The success of this practice of knowledge and power of the ruling class has resulted in an area of 53,100 hectares of the customary waters of the Ambel-Ma'ya tribe being handed over to be used as a conservation area.

Long before the customary declaration made by the Ambel-Ma'ya indigenous people in Raja Ampat to surrender their waters for conservation purposes, it turned out that the practice of knowledge and the dominance of guerrilla power attacked and continued to pressure the Ambel-Ma'ya community to agree and surrender their customary waters for the benefit of NGOs. conservation in establishing a water conservation area in the Mayalibit Bay area in Raja Ampat. These knowledge and power practices are based on three knowledge bases obtained from academic intellectual agents, namely, first, the International conservation NGO in Raja Ampat conducts screening and recruitment of actors and agents of conservation workers Ambel-Ma'ya. Second, the potential for biodiversity in the heart of Raja Ampat and third, the threat to biodiversity in the stomach of Raja Ampat.

### **1. Selection of Actors and Conservation Workers Agencies in Ambel-Ma'ya Waters**

Power according to Foucault (2002) is a relationship that is formed and disseminated through many channels, in ways that are sometimes contradictory and competitive, and generally overlap. Barker (2009) states that power exists at every level of social relations. It is not only the glue that holds social life together or the coercive power that places people below others, but it is also a process that builds and paves the way for any form of action, relationship or social order. Thus, the power that is in the hands of conservation NGOs armed with a myriad of finances, a dozen networks and chunks of relationships forms power (Foucault, 2002) which places this NGOs in the upper class or the ruling class to employ anyone who is deemed to have the capacity or capability to carry out the tasks or as a servant of the ruling class.

Conservation NGOs produce actors and agents who are equipped with a number of knowledge tools and ammunition that can be used to recruit and direct agencies to work according to the direction of the authorities to achieve predetermined goals. The practice of power is carried out systematically by first recruiting agencies (Bourdieu, 1984) field workers who are employed as important organs in the conservation NGO organization of the Raja Ampat site. They gain power and legitimacy from conservation NGOs that are embedded or owned by a particular individual in a hierarchical structure of power relations, namely The Nature Conservancy and Conservation International.

Conservation NGO agents who come from within the Ambel-Ma'ya tribe themselves are educated intellectuals who have direct cultural attachments to the Ambel-

Ma'ya tribe as well as local intellectuals (Patria and Arief, 2003) who incidentally are high-ranking officials on the Ma tribal adat council. 'yes (DASMA'YA). The above phase concerns the recruitment of conservation NGO workers who come from the Ambel-Ma'ya tribe, both organic and traditional intellectuals (Patria and Arief, 2003) controlled through a mechanism called by Gramsci as hegemony (Gramsci, 2013; Barker, 2009; Laclau and Mouffe). , 2008; Simon, 2004; Patria and Arief, 2003). Hegemony according to Gramsci in Simon, (2004) is not a relationship of domination by using power, but a relationship of agreement using political and ideological leadership.

More broadly, Gramsci's hegemony is a chain that is obtained through a consensus mechanism rather than through oppression of other social classes (Patria and Arief, 2003), for example, it can be through existing institutions in society that determine directly or indirectly the cognitive structures of society. . so that the use of conservation workers who are in the Ambel-Ma'ya tribe as well as leaders of traditional councils and religious leaders is a strategic choice for conservation NGOs. The practice of hegemony is carried out on local intellectual actors through recruitment as conservation workers by imprisoning conservation logic on field actors obtained. Knowledge about the biodiversity of the waters of the Ambel-Ma'ya tribe and its potential for deforestation is a module for upgrading and transplanting knowledge so that they are willing to work as couriers in the Ambel-Ma'ya socio-cultural arena in Raja Ampat.

The intelligence and ingenuity of conservation NGOs in recruiting local intellectuals is a surefire choice in launching the practice of knowledge and power against the Ambel-Ma'ya community because it uses a cultural approach which in Cultural Studies views the concept of culture as an inseparable part of power and domineering relations in society, especially the community of capitalist (Hasan, 2011). Organic intellectual actors (Gramsci, 2003) as mechanics of recruiting and employing traditional intellectuals (Gramsci, 2006) as manual laborers who are in direct contact with the Ambel-Ma'ya community act in the realm of representation of their tribal culture and present themselves as communication channels in the practice of sticking. discourse and ground the power of knowledge to the Ambel-Ma'ya tribe about the importance of conservation.

The mobilization of local intellectual actors from the Ambel-Ma'ya tribe to hurry and move quickly to ground conservation knowledge is carried out through socialization (Gramsci, 2013). Communication in the form of socialization is a form of soft power (Nye,

2008); hegemony (Gramsci, 2013) used in addition to the hard power approach (Nye, 2008); domination and coercion (Gramsci, 2013). So that socialization is one of the effective ways to spread discourse and build rational communication (Fauzi, 2003; Habermas, 2012 and Barker, 2009) to conduct argumentative conversation efforts through language to convey messages on the formation of conservation areas that lead to consensus (Simon, 2004; Gramsci, 2013; Patria and Arief, 2003; Hasan, 2011; Laclau and Mouffe, 2008).

Organic and traditional intellectual hard work in the field which is supported by large funding in plugging conservation knowledge, imprisoning the awareness of the Ambel-Ma'ya tribe as desired by the sponsor and directing it to the control of the ruling class of conservation NGOs about the importance of establishing conservation areas including threats of damage to waters Ambel-Ma'ya community due to destructive fishing behavior such as the use of potassium, explosives, poison ties and nets. The socialization was also accompanied by the screening of conservation films to describe conditions in other parts of the world that had previously carried out conservation of the distribution of leaflets, photos,

## **2. Discourse on Ambel-Ma'ya Marine Biodiversity in Raja Ampat**

Talking about discourse, attention will be directed to the conception of language and practice that is integrated in the concept of discourse, discursive practice and discourse formation (Barker, 2009) because through discourse there is space to talk in the same way about a particular topic with a motive or set of ideas, practices and ideas. a form of knowledge that is repeatedly discoursed throughout the arena of community social activities so that it gives birth to various common objects in various arenas. One of the discourse modalities referred to by conservation NGOs is that based on the results of scientific surveys conducted by international researchers such as: Veron, et al (2009); Huffard et al, (2009); Allen and Erdmann (2009, 2012) they recorded that in the waters of Raja Ampat is home to 577 species of coral in the world, 1,476 species of reef fish, 15 marine mammals,<sup>1</sup> limestone islands (karst), coral islands, coral reefs (patch reef), and sea mountains. Another study conducted in 2011 by Becking (2011) stated that there are

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<sup>1</sup> An island of coral that surrounds a lagoon partially or completely

56 saltwater lakes in Raja Ampat that were formed between the karst limestone ecosystems in Misool and Wayag.

The richness of Raja Ampat's marine resources and its coasts and lands becomes the power of discourse through language as a meaning-forming machine. Through discourse, it is able to create human knowledge (Foucault, 2002) and pride and capital in how to treat wealth and how it will be in the future. Thus, this potential and advantage is universally used as a knowledge base in policy practices as well as the orientation of conservation NGOs, organic and traditional intellectuals to maneuver and work in the struggle for the formation of conservation areas.

Discourses and articulations about the potential for marine biodiversity in the seabed of the Ambel-Ma'ya tribe continue to be raised to form "habitus, cultural capital and terrain" (Bourdieu, 1977) which are widely disseminated in meetings held from village to village as the material object of socialization as well as exhaling the negative consequences of the destruction of these natural resources for the future of the children and grandchildren of the Ambel-Ma'ya tribe in Raja Ampat. This condition is a manifestation of how knowledge and power work through language (Foucault, 2002). The maintenance and breeding of discourses and practices of conservation knowledge on a massive scale has continued to be embedded in the Ambel-Ma'ya community for approximately 2 years since the conservation NGO entered Raja Ampat as a new district in 2002, so that it is understood that the power of knowledge is variously seen in the power relations that exist within the scope where the relationship runs which aims to realize its own organization.

The structure of the ruling class system in working to imprison indigenous peoples in the bay which is carried out systematically through actors (Giddens, 1984; Gramsci, 2009). as well as the massive stretching of their work, the natural prison is present for the Ambel-Ma'ya tribe in the utilization of water resources that have been regulated both in terms of fishing gear, the capture area is even involved as a volunteer to monitor and report if there is a violation in the conservation area that has been established. It is therefore seen that no power is exercised without a set of goals and objectives (Foucault, 2002) that conservation NGOs seek to achieve. This condition shows that social group elites (conservation NGOs and their cronies) formulate what is acceptable or valuable cultural capital and what is not (Bourdieu, 1977). By formulating

cultural capital that makes sense, what is right and proper to do and discards what is inappropriate, inappropriate and illegitimate, the dominant class group preserves the results of knowledge and skills that at least show the status they have.

### **3. Discourse on Damage to Aquatic Ecosystems for the Ambel-Ma'ya Tribe in Raja Ampat**

The success of conservation NGOs (TNC and CI) working in Raja Ampat on the discourse of degradation and the threat of damage to Raja Ampat's aquatic ecosystems has become the basis for fighting for conservation which is their ideology (Barker, 2009). Hiding behind scientific studies, such as uncontrolled destruction of natural resources and overfishing is a problem not only in Raja Ampat but also throughout Indonesia (McKenna et al, 2002). As a result, legal certainty is needed, especially at the local level covering all aspects of environmental and fisheries destruction. Destructive fishing practices such as the use of tiger trawls by foreign fishermen, the practice of anaesthetizing fish using POTAS (Potassium Cyanide) are also carried out by foreign fishermen, while local fishermen use bore roots.<sup>2</sup>as an anesthetic for fish (Widayatun et al, 2002; Djohan et al, 2002; Augustina et al, 2002) as well as the use of cyanide and bombs which showed a large number of coral fragments that were destroyed irregularly which was suspected to be due to explosives (Nurul DM S and Giyanto, 2007) is an illegal way of catching fish.

The threat of deforestation due to illegal logging within conservation areas is also a problem factor because it not only removes valuable natural resources, but erosion from logging sites produces silt that has a direct effect on coral reefs as well as the development of government infrastructure and roads (Atlas Raja Ampat, 2006). . The practice of using traditional fishing gear still applies in conservation areas because the fishing gear used by the local community is categorized as environmentally friendly.

The case in Aceh is also the case that through the conservation of local wisdom the community can be maintained and sustainable, especially those related to the use and management of coastal and marine areas (Evi Apriana, 2016). Raja Ampat, which is also an archipelagic area, has traditional wisdom related to the community's treatment of land and sea natural resources such as sasi.<sup>3</sup>(Shiffa and Muhammad, 2016; Mcloed,

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<sup>2</sup> Processed liquid from tree roots that contain toxins

<sup>3</sup> Customary rules that prohibit a community from catching or taking marine products in a certain area for a certain period of time



2007; Nurdina et al, 2020) which is a traditional conservation practice in Maluku was later adopted and adapted to coastal and marine communities of bird's head landscapes in Papua including the Ambel-Ma'ya tribe in Raja Ampat by zending<sup>4</sup> so that the conservation ideology launched by conservation NGOs together with their cronies has proven effective and has a broad impact to benefit the entire community in Raja Ampat, the Raja Ampat sea needs the help of conservation NGOs in the form of marine conservation practices for the Ambel-Ma'ya indigenous people.

The game of discourse, shrewdness in articulating and elaborating the natural wealth, dangers and preservation of local wisdom above into contextual and social texts have subdued the Ambel-Ma'ya community in the power and control of conservation NGOs and their workers. Text in the view of Anang (2008) which states that text is a language that is carrying out certain tasks in the context of a situation. Text is also an example of lingual interaction where people actually use language; whatever is said or written in an operational context. So referring to the meaning of this text, the practice of discourse through communication intensification (Habermas, 2012; Hardiman, 2009) as well as lingual articulation and campaign texts in the form of leaflets, brochures, films, at the same time supported by the role of actors and agents for the sake of the ideology of conservation in the package of discourse on degradation and deforestation which is suspected to be threatening and is actually real in the life of the Ambel-Ma'ya tribe as the sole owner of Raja Ampat. Conservation NGOs exist because indigenous peoples need them and are obliged to provide special support from the Ambel-Ma'ya community because it is actually the Ambel-Ma'ya tribe who are able to limit, reduce and even prevent the spread of this destructive tumor wildly. Hard work,

## **CONCLUSION**

Underlying the thoughts in the discussion above, it is concluded that:

1. The International Conservation NGO in Raja Ampat recruits actors and conservation agents from the intellectual group of the Ambel-Ma'ya tribe who are employed as machinists and field laborers to establish a conservation area in the Ma'yalibit Bay of Raja Ampat

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<sup>4</sup> Religious figures assigned to spread Christianity in the Land of Papua

2. High biodiversity; The threat of degradation of aquatic ecosystems owned by the guts of the Ambel-Ma'ya tribal waters has become the basis for discourse, knowledge practice and a field of power for conservation NGOs to mobilize their agents in spreading the conservation virus in a structured, systematic and massive manner to the communities in the Bay of Ma'yalibit who caused the Ambel-Ma'ya tribe to hand over their waters to be used as a modern conservation area.

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