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ACCUMULATION BY DISPOSSESSION IN PROTECTED AREAS, A LITERATRUE REVIEW AND CASE STUDY TO CREATE A MORE UNIFIED UNDERSTANDING

By

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ACCUMULATION BY DISPOSSESSION IN PROTECTED AREAS, A LITERATRUE REVIEW AND CASE STUDY TO CREATE A MORE UNIFIED UNDERSTANDING

Chairperson: Keith Bosak

Abstract

Protected areas are becoming more and more prevalent as a potential tool for reducing environmental degradation, climate change, and biodiversity loss. At the same time they have the potential to disenfranchise, dispossess and further marginalize communities who live in and around them, as their rights are sacrificed for the "greater good". In acknowledging that protected areas can do some good and are well liked, they should also be understood as the complex political, economic, and ecological institutions that they are so we can use them justly. Conservation and protected areas have become a multibillion dollar industry and in any industry of that size there are those who accumulate power and those that will lose out. David Harvey's theory of accumulation by dispossession, has been used to describe the processes by which state and private actors have accumulated wealth from other groups under neoliberal capitalism, rather than through value generation. Over the past 20 years some conservation researchers have begun to adapt his theory to better understand the processes of wealth accumulation and subsequent dispossession in protected areas, and in conservation generally. There has yet to be a concise review of the literature on AbD in protected area research, how it has been applied, and how it differs or adds to Harvey's initial definition. Through a combined systematic review of the literature concerning AbD in protected areas, as well as a case study of a current situation in Komodo National Park I hope to create a foundation for researchers, practitioners and communities alike to better understand the forces of AbD in protected areas as seen in the literature, and what are the best ways to mitigate them and ensure equitable protected area creation and management.

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Introduction

Protected areas are often seen as a way to conserve a public resource, to protect a common good for all of global society, and even as a solution to the climate crises and massive biodiversity loss(Büscher and Fletcher 2020). What if through these processes local community members who lived near or in them lost everything, so others in far off places would know gorillas are safe, or that the amazon is sucking up carbon from the atmosphere? What value do we give their life and livelihood if we prioritize the wellbeing of the majority rather than that of the few and marginalized? And what if companies and governments as they have done for generations, take advantage of this opportunity to accumulate massive amounts of wealth. The older image in the United States concerning national parks was one of displacement and dispossession of the Indigenous Americans. One would think with such a good mission and modern mindset that those sorts of atrocities are not taking place. However, in protected areas globally we are seeing a continued effort through the creation and management of protected areas by some to accumulate wealth at the expense of local and indigenous inhabitants. The crux here being that it doesn't still have to follow the traditional American model of displacement there are examples of collaborative management. The irony often being the best stewards of the land are often the communities who have been living on them and tending them for generations, creating the very landscapes we seek to protect and preserve today. The issue of locals and protected areas is only becoming more important as the globe confronts multiple environmental crises and sees protected areas as a viable tool against them. One of the problems is if we continue to privilege the livelihoods and rights of the wealthy at the expense of the marginalized and oppressed can we still hold conservation efforts in high regards? This being juxtaposed with the fact that protected area increases have not come with reductions in carbon emissions or biodiversity resurgence but rather the decreases and degradation we see today, with this is mind we must seek new strategies concerning protected

areas. A political economic theoretical framework called Accumulation by Dispossession (AbD) is a way to understand what is going on through the creation and management of protected areas in regards to wealth accumulation and the dispossession of local groups. This theory is useful when considering protected area creation and management whereby local rights are continually rolled back while state and private actors continue to accumulate vast sums of wealth off tourism and conservation. The designation of land as a protected area is inherently a boundary setting practice that raises the value of the land and ecosystem that lies wherein. And while in some places local communities are still living in or near them, when value is being increased and there is possibility for capital expansion and wealth accumulation, Harvey's theory would say those groups have the potential to face AbD. While this theory seems to describe the processes in protected area creation and management, the use of this theory concerning conservation, while beginning in the early 2000s, has had different definitions, standards, and draws on different practices to justify its use. In this way the characteristics have been less defined and subsequently less applied in a systematic manner. Additionally, as governments and private actors continue to update and change practices of accumulation over the years, there is room to explore what tactics are currently being used to refresh the theory for the protected area context. The objectives of this paper are twofold, to create a consolidated theory of AbD as it is understood in the conservation literature, and then to take a recent case study and analyze it in hopes of understanding what is the cutting edge of AbD in protected areas. The end goals then are a more unified definition of AbD in protected areas, and an up to date case study on the practice in a protected area. With these results researchers can better understand the processes taking place in protected areas, local groups can have a better idea as to what they face and what tools are best used in response, and finally protected area managers and policy makers can create more equitable protected area management plans as environmental protection becomes all the more important. With these goals in mind the research questions are:

1. What are the common characteristics of Accumulation by Dispossession applied in Protected areas?
2. How is the theory of Accumulation by Dispossession reflected in the management of Komodo National Park?

To answer these questions my research has been divided into two discrete manuscripts. The first manuscript will contain a systematic review of AbD in academic journals. The purpose of this study will be to create that more unified set of characteristics to establish a definition based on David Harvey's theory of AbD. Through it I will illuminate how AbD is recreated in protected areas, and what novel approaches government and private actors are taking within protected areas to pursue AbD. The second manuscript will be an in depth document analysis of AbD within Komodo National Park (KNP). Using the outline of AbD generated through the first manuscript I will analyze the discourse of several types of actors within the past few years concerning practices within KNP. Through that analysis I will see if this case study fits the mold of AbD generally or if there are novel or emerging trends in AbD within protected areas that are being used there. The intended benefits of this research are twofold, through one facet I hope this to be beneficial to local communities dealing with AbD both within KNP as well as in other protected areas, and then to the academic community studying this and similar phenomenon in protected areas. For local community groups by uncovering the processes and illuminating chains of explanation and power these processes can hopefully be better resisted and understood. The other community I intend to offer benefit to is the academic community. My goal here is that they can use this systematic review and case study to use as a starting point for further research on AbD, but also by generating awareness of these process, scholars may uncover situations where this is happened but was not initially attributed to AbD.

Positionality

My philosophy, or worldview going into this research is firmly planted in an advocacy role. I am drawn to Political Ecology studies focusing on the fields of Postcolonial studies, governmentality, conservation studies, and tourism development. The role of this field is to draw out chains of explanation to highlight causes and effects of policies and environmental management on marginalized and disenfranchised groups. In this research (and in political ecology generally) speaking truth to power, highlighting environmental justice issues, and hopefully advocating empowerment and positive change is the goal, and mine is no different. While my specific research was not set coming into graduate school, I was well aware that I was going to aim my research at environmental justice, specifically in conservation studies. It also fits that in Indonesia research on protected areas and conservation frequently runs into issues of conflict between community members and outside groups, be them government or corporations. Having served in the Peace Corps in Indonesia for 27 months and then working there subsequently I have been able to gather some understanding of cultural norms and nuances, the relationship of some individuals with government. Also, with relevance to some of my research taking place in Komodo National Park, having visited two times offers some context to the situation from a consumer perspective. It should be noted that within this worldview there is a spectrum of belief along the constructivist/post-positivist spectrum. I (along with many political ecologists) find myself in the middle, leaning towards constructivist. There is a physical reality and ecological processes that are outside of our definition, and understanding, these to some extent have agency, and these processes are used by society for our ends, but they do exist independently and intertwined with social processes. On the other hand in society social processes, history, institutions, and discourse play a large role in shaping our understanding of the world, each other, and define the boundaries of how we interact with each other and the biophysical reality.

To situate research in an advocacy worldview I believe it is very important to at least do some research within a qualitative strategy of inquiry. The goal of advocacy and participatory research is to raise the voices, issues, and story of the marginalized or disenfranchised. There are two reasons for this, firstly if you assume quantitative studies can suffice to explain the situation and lessen political disenfranchisement then you are ignoring the fact that quantitative science has been a common tool of political oppression in these situations. While in this way we question whether your research can responsibly pursue its ends, it also helps a researcher reflect on their own positionality and the foundations of their scientific inquiry. This is necessary to attempt to fully understand the specific space, time, environment, and political context of the phenomenon, actors involved, and the researchers themselves. The other main factor for pursing qualitative strategies in advocacy research is simply put, the goal is not to hear the researchers voice, but to help raise the interests and voices of those being advocated for or participating with. Taking research out of the personal expression and stories of communities can silence them just as much as the political disenfranchisement you are attempting to highlight. While this does not preclude any quantitative strategies in this worldview it does necessitate qualitative strategies to some degree.

Literature Review

Studies on green grabbing, neoliberal conservation, and the theory of accumulation by dispossession in the form of protected area management have been rising in frequency over the past decades. In recent reviews of these studies it seems qualitative methods and case studies are the most common forms of research being done on this subject (Fairhead, Leach, and Scoones 2012; Edelman, Oya, and Borras 2013; Scoones et al. 2013; Borras and Franco 2013; Brockington and Igoe 2006). I will be leaning on these as a foundation in which to situate my research within the broader literature. These are most typically found within the field of political ecology which will be the main lens of this study.

Political Ecology is acting as my overarching framework for study. With this framework come some paradigmatic implications. My research will attempt to be qualitative and serve in and advocacy role as often political ecology does. My worldview is constructed along the constructivist/realist spectrum, and I fall somewhat in the middle, leaning towards constructivism. Constructivism states that all knowledge is filtered through humans and are created by humans, so all understanding and knowledge is based on perspective, personal experience, and temporal and spatial factors (Creswell 2008). Thusly we cannot come to any objective truths and must filter our explanations and understanding of our realities through the lens of human experience. To fall somewhere in the middle for me would consider that there are biophysical realities that can be shaped by humans, and interpreted by humans, but to some exist within the world, even if we cannot grasp them at an absolute level. Political Ecology is a field of research that concerns issues of power, and chains of explanation throughout temporal and spatial contexts. Oftentimes Political ecology is used in an advocacy role to respond to imbalances in power dynamics. The main assumptions of Political Ecology according to Buscher and Fletcher (2020) are that ecology is political and they are intertwined at their foundation and that the most important contextual variable when considering ecological issues are not only political, but also capitalist political economies (pg.50). As Buscher and Fletcher continue they highlight that there are not standard definitions of these concepts within political ecology. This lends itself to political Ecology being a wide framework for many types of studies and research to orient themselves alongside. Political Ecology is also within the field of critical studies, critical studies differs from other forms of analysis by its framing around relationships between language, ideology, and power (Wodak and Meyer 2001). Under this theory, constructivist perspectives are used to understand that all knowledge is inherently subjective and all language takes the form of politics as it is based in human action and relation (van Eeden 2017). The *Critical* nature of it is the attempt to make visible the interconnections between language, power and ideology, and societal constructions that can distort our understanding of

these relationships (Wodak and Meyer 2001). Language, and the discourses it creates, become both tools of politics, but also manifestations of power and relationships to power within society themselves. When pursuing critical studies the goal is to analyze "opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language" as well as "to investigate critically social inequality as it is expressed, signaled, constituted, legitimized and so on in language or discourse"(Wodak and Meyer 2001, pg.2). A factor that separates critical studies from other analysis frameworks is the importance of context, be it societal, cultural, temporal, and political. The theory is that all discourse and phenomenon come out of individuals who are constantly influencing and are influenced by their place within wider contexts which can drive meaning, impact and reception of any given discourse Within lens of Political Ecology I am focusing on the concepts of Green Grabbing, neoliberal conservation and, their interaction with each other through accumulation by dispossession (AbD).

The term Neoliberal Conservation refers to the process and current state where conservation has been so intrinsically intertwined with capitalist development and growth that the fundamental principles of conservation are now being used to serve the interests of capital growth (Igoe and Brockington 2007). This can include the preservation of resources for future intensive utilization, the prioritizing of systems based on market incentives in the form of ecosystem services or ecotourism activities (Igoe and Brockington 2007). The goal of the process of capturing the economic value in order to encourage preservation for the general public, is stated by Kathleen McAfee as "Selling nature to save it" (Buscher and Fletcher pg. 19). Mainstream conservation groups have keyed into this practice and prioritized conservation goals within the capitalist incentive system (Buscher and Fletcher 2020). The large conservation non-governmental groups then work with government and corporations to further incentivize and grow the incentive structures and capital growth of conservation further legitimizing neoliberal conservation and its ideals. Pursuing conservation for capital growth or valuing nature based

on its market value changes what we decide to conserve, for whom, and in what form. The point in making this distinction is to fully define conservation in its current form as a practice inseparable from political and economic considerations.

Green grabbing is a practice that falls under the theory of neoliberal conservation. It is the practice where land (or sea often referred to as blue grabbing), is "the appropriation of land and resources for environmental ends" (Fairhead, Leach, and Scoones 2012 pg.238). In this way, land and resources are removed of people, or access to land is restricted for protection or utilization. Oftentimes, this action is justified as being for the greater good of society in the form of biodiversity protection, to combat climate change, or increase development. The creation of protected areas in both the global north, and south have followed the trends based on the fortress conservation models started by the US and British within the domestic and colonial protected area management (Fairhead, Leach, and Scoones 2012). Fortress conservation is the implicit idea that humans and nature are separate and for nature to return to a more wild state, humans must be removed. This argument has been promoted for over 100 years and continues to perpetuate in some conservation circles (Brockington 2002; Igoe 2004). The idea itself is contradicted by communities that have lived in ecosystems for millennia, and have tended and managed the environment as they saw fit. Oftentimes the environment conservationists had wanted to preserve or regenerate were in fact not "natural" environments, but states of equilibrium brought about by human management. The other main contradiction is that this point in human history there is not spot on the planet that is outside of human impact either by global warming, change in large ecosystems, or more direct human interaction (Brockington 2002; Igoe 2004). Once the definition of nature excludes humans inherently it is easier to justify decisions to remove populations from land or restrict access and ownership.

So what is AbD? Harvey adapts AbD from Marx's definition of primitive accumulation where capital interests would seize communal land for capital creation, and the evicted or dispossessed

locals would become surplus labor to work on the capital that was created (Harvey 2003). The reason Harvey wishes to adapt primitive accumulation into AbD are threefold, firstly, Marx's initial theory of primitive accumulation was roughly defined in Marx's initial writings, secondly, the aspects that Marx outlines have been refined by capital groups and new processes (namely financialization) have entered into common practice, and finally the title of "primitive" accumulation assumes that this practice has subsided, relegated to the initial creation of capital, not something that happens in modern societies, a point which Harvey is disagreeing with inherently through this updated theory (Harvey 2003). At its most basic level AbD highlights capitalism's current strategy of wealth creation, not through production, but through seizure and dispossession of others. Initially Harvey described AbD as the way overaccumulation through Capitalism could be remedied, surplus labor and capital could be used to develop and earn additional value from previously unavailable or underutilized resources and labor (Harvey 2003). He also is clear to mention that AbD "can occur in a variety of ways and there is much that is both contingent and haphazard about its modus operandi" (Harvey 2003 pg. 149). This coincides with Harvey's understanding of theory in general "Theory should be understood instead as an evolving structure of argument sensitive to encounters with the complex ways in which social processes are materially imbedded in the web of life."(Harvey 2019 pg. 79). In keeping with this understanding of theory, Harvey has introduced four concepts as the primary pillars of AbD. These four concepts were Privatization, financialization, management of crises, and state redistributions (Harvey 2019). While these four pillars help to illustrate the processes and tools of AbD it is important to remember and will be highlighted through this study that the practices of AbD will depend on the geographical, historical, and cultural context in which capital operates.

Chapter 1:

Expanding on Harvey's Accumulation by Dispossession within Protected Areas: coalescing conceptual foundations.

Introduction

Since the creation of the first national parks in the United States and in European colonial holdings, there has been a process of dispossessing and evicting local communities from intended parks. Initially, this process was straightforward, state and private groups, usually with the force of military or government legitimacy, would designate a space a protected area and remove the local populace. The reasons for places becoming protected areas primarily began as hunting and bird reserves, and sites of resource extraction, these evolved into the conservation and aesthetic conceptions we are familiar with to this day, including biodiversity protection, carbon capture, ecosystem services, ecosystem restoration and protection, connection to nature, search for solitude, and recreation activities. This process of removing locals from protected areas to create "pristine natures" is called fortress conservation (Asaka 2019; Büscher and Fletcher 2020 pg.14). Fortress conservation is not as common today in protected area creation. More commonly local interests are considered integral to a protected areas' mandate, either because without local support the conservation and restoration practices will not be sustainable, or a general desire to respect human rights of locals while still pursuing conservation aims. This process was spurred in the 1970s by the decolonization, and environmental justice movements which were often led by indigenous groups and 'conservation refugees' (Büscher and Fletcher 2020, pg.15). However, even with this updated mandate in protected areas, locals are still finding themselves shut out

of land management, their rights and access to resources is restricted or eliminated, profits from conservation and tourism revenues are found primarily with international businesses or the state, locals' traditional livelihoods and spiritual practices are being severed through alienation and restriction, and in some cases locals are still being evicted, dispossessed, physically injured and even killed in the name of conservation, ecotourism, and protected area management (Büscher and Fletcher 2020; 2014; Corson 2011; Busscher, Parra, and Vanclay 2018).

To better understand this contradiction between protected area aims of equity, restoration, and conservation and the realities on the ground of dispossession, commodification, and violence we can use David Harvey's Theory of Accumulation by Dispossession (AbD). Harvey's Theory relies on the premise that we are living in a society dominated by a discourse and physical implementation of neoliberal capitalist ideology (Harvey 2003, 62-87). Neoliberal Capitalism is defined roughly as state and private interests accumulating capital through modern market facets such as deregulation, privatization, financial markets, speculation, and civil society provision of state services in order to restore and consolidate capitalist power (Apostolopoulou and Adams 2014; Corson 2011), or as a system that pursues capital accumulation at the expense of all other societal and environmental factors (Harvey 2006). Under this process the market must continually find new sources of capital and labor to cultivate, invest in, and exploit or it will collapse under its own weight of overaccumulation (Harvey 2003). That is where protected areas and neoliberal conservation have become additional facets of capital accumulation. Neoliberal conservation can be defined as "the commodification and control of nature through regulation and the collaboration of state, non-governmental organizations and for profit organizations which often work to exclude local populations or profoundly change the way rural people live their lives (Igoe and Brockington 2007)." It is at this intersection of Neoliberal Conservation and Protected Areas where Harvey's theory of AbD can be a useful framework for describing how these actors operate, what discourses are used, and how these processes will develop over time, regionally

and globally. Even though this field is ripe for intersectional study, researchers have not frequently tied AbD and Primitive Accumulation to the impact of protected areas creation and management (Kelly 2011). It should be noted that one major exception is Alice B. Kelly's 2011 Study *Conservation practice as primitive accumulation*, where she outlines how conservation and Marx's primitive accumulation fit together. Where this study differs theoretically is by focusing on the creation and management of protected areas, rather than conservation in general, and by using David Harvey's evolution of primitive accumulation in the form of AbD, which offers additional pillars to focus on as well as more updated framework.

So what is AbD? Harvey adapts ABD from Marx's definition of primitive accumulation where capital interests would seize communal land for capital creation, and the evicted or dispossessed locals would become surplus labor to work on the capital that was created (Harvey 2003). The reason Harvey wishes to adapt primitive accumulation into accumulation are threefold, firstly, Marx's initial theory of primitive accumulation was roughly defined in Marx's initial writings, secondly, the aspects that Marx outlines have been refined by capital groups and new processes (namely financialization) have entered into common practice, and finally the title of "primitive" accumulation assumes that this practice has subsided, relegated to the initial creation of capital, not something that happens in modern societies, a point which Harvey is disagreeing with inherently through this updated theory (Harvey 2003). At its most basic level AbD highlights capitalism's current strategy of wealth creation, not through production, but through seizure and dispossession of others. Initially Harvey described AbD as the way overaccumulation through capitalism could be remedied, surplus labor and capital could be used to develop and earn additional value from previously unavailable or underutilized resources and labor (Harvey 2003). He also is clear to mention that AbD "can occur in a variety of ways and there is much that is both contingent and haphazard about its modus operandi" (Harvey 2003 pg. 149) This coincides with Harvey's understanding of theory in general "Theory should be understood instead as an evolving

structure of argument sensitive to encounters with the complex ways in which social processes are materially imbedded in the web of life."(Harvey 2019 pg. 79). In keeping with this understanding of theory, Harvey has introduced four concepts as the primary pillars of AbD. These four concepts were Privatization, financialization, management of crises, and state redistributions (Harvey 2019).

These four pillars will be the launching point of my systematic review as they are able to capture the practices of AbD into broad categories for analysis. To that end it is worth exploring what exactly he means when he lays them out. *Privatization* is the commodification and privatization of public assets, and opening up previously inaccessible markets or industries to market forces. Globally, this has meant opening up countries for financial investment by capital, and domestically it is seen as the privatization of public assets or services such as public land, but also public housing, healthcare, etc. (Harvey 2019 pg.44). *Financialization* which saw a significant increase in the 1980s, is the prevalence of wealth accumulation and redistribution through speculation on stocks, as well as financial values of other assets. This practice can be used to increase the value of certain companies or types of capital, it can also be used to reduce the apparent value of other assets, that then creates the opportunity for capital to accumulate those assets at reduced prices. This is also present in the credit and debt systems that countries have been forced to partake in since the advent of neo-liberal capitalism and significantly after the financial crash of 2008 (Harvey 2019 pg.45). *The Management and Manipulation of crises* which in Harvey's definition primarily revolves around the "springing of the "debt trap" as a primary mean of accumulation by dispossession." (Harvey 2019 pg. 46) . The creation of debt crises in countries and then the purposeful redistribution of reduced value assets is one example of this process. Another would be the creation of climate change issues globally and then capturing value generated by responses to the crises. The final pillar would be *State Redistribution,* which can include practices such as "revision in the tax code to benefit returns on investment rather than incomes and wages, promotion of regressive elements in the tax code (such as sales tax), displacement of state expenditures and free access to all by

user fees, and the provision of a vast array of subsidies and tax breaks to corporations." (Harvey 2019 pg.49). While these four pillars help to illustrate the processes and tools of AbD it is important to remember and will be highlighted through this study that the practices of AbD will depend on the geographical, historical, and cultural context in which capital operates.

Using the framework of AbD researchers have been able to apply concepts to protected area creation and neoliberal conservation generally to explain local dispossession. However, within these sources often AbD is not directly cited, or if it is it is brief. Often Primitive Accumulation (Marx's original concept that Harvey is building on) is cited while not considering the way these processes fit into the wider AbD literature. And frequently certain aspects of AbD are cited and referenced while others that may or may not be occurring are not included in the analysis. The goal of this research is to take these disparate sources that reference AbD and its processes and create a more unified set of characteristics for use in conservation research. The research question then is "What are the characteristics of Accumulation by Dispossession being applied in protected areas? With these results we should be able to better understand the process of AbD in protected areas and use that explanation to advocate for better practices and explain the systems at play.

Methods

Using Web of Science as the platform, I generated journal articles that reference AbD, Primitive Accumulation, and Green Grabbing, as they are most commonly cited together in the literature. AbD is also a framework that was developed as an extension and evolution of Primitive accumulation, with some authors highlighting both in their research or just one of the two terms. Green Grabbing defined as "the appropriation of land and resources for environmental ends" (Fairhead, Leach, and Scoones 2012), is intimately connected to AbD by its overlapping means, ends, and justifications that Green

Grabbing could be described as a facet of AbD. On February 1st 2022 I used the search term as follows to generate articles:

(AB=("Accumulation by Dispossession" OR "Primitive Accumulation" OR "Green Grabbing")) AND AB=(Conservation OR "Protected Area*" OR "National Park")

Using this search string I found 36 articles, after reviewing content for those not relevant to the study the articles were narrowed down to 31. I narrowed the results to eliminate articles based solely in urban areas, as those generally focused on urban park management which don't reflect the same characteristics as those of protected areas generally. I also eliminated general theories within political ecology as I wanted to focus the scope on journal articles concerning case studies or describing on the ground situations. I eliminated articles dealing with non-environmental conservation, specifically those within museum curation contexts. And finally I eliminated articles in Spanish only as I do not speak Spanish. There were two articles that concerned how AbD was not in fact happening within their case studies, I decided to include these within the review as through their exclusion of AbD they further define and articulate the outlines of the discourse surrounding the framework and its real world applications.

I performed a systematic review of these articles concerning AbD in protected areas by coding passages in the text that referred to codes I generated. Foundational codes were generated before coding began, while other codes were created iteratively as concepts and trends were discovered through the process of coding. I used those codes to analyze quantitatively and qualitatively the impact of each of the themes in the papers relevant to my research. I used NVIVO v.12 to separate the articles into Codes and SubCodes, which were collected into themes for results presentation and analysis. The general themes I expected to use were divided into three categories, the first being the basic foundations of AbD outlined by David Harvey. This first category was further divided into Harvey's four

foundations: privatization, financialization, state redistribution, and management and manipulation of crises. Those four themes were the first four codes created and were foundational to understanding the core themes of AbD in the literature. Another larger theme that was created through the course of coding were what I termed the "Discourse of Dispossession". These described the framework of the discursive arguments for dispossession within protected areas. These included but were not limited to, Authority and Control, Locals as the Problem, Created Natures, Creation of Capital etc. Another large theme were the "tools of Dispossession", these included Bureaucratization, relocation and eviction, militarization, coercion, Re/De-Regulation etc. These codes helped map and conceptualize practices on the ground that led to dispossession. One of the final large themes was simply labeled as "Locals", which included concepts such as local legitimacy, local values, local knowledge, local benefits etc. These were helpful in organizing quotes from locals, as well as grouping together their responses and impacts within the data.

In total I developed 87 discrete codes, each code then had between 2 and 100 individual references within the literature. See all codes weighted by number of references in Appendix -1. The main frameworks of analysis were the similarities, differences, and relationship between Harvey's initial definition of AbD, and then its evolution and expansion through neoliberal conservation and protected area management. To perform this analysis, I looked at the qualitative and quantitative data gathered, and evaluated patterns and trends, those that aligned with Harvey's definition as well as those that broke his mold and expanded the dispossession at play.

Results

The qualitative review of the 31 articles resulted in 87 codes, some of these codes were able to be nested within other codes to create subcodes of similar or complimentary themes. The articles on AbD in protected areas covered many of the same processes highlighted by Harvey in his initial

definition. In some form the four processes of privatization, financialization, manipulation and management of crises, and state redistribution were covered in all articles. However, most of the articles highlighted explicitly one or two processes as the focus of their analysis. 17 out of the 31 articles included privatization as a main focus, 16 had Financialization as a main focus, 12 had State Redistribution, and 11 had Management and Manipulation of a Crises. As will follow in the discussion even if these themes were not a main focus in the article's framework, the processes were still relevant often indirectly.

Number of Articles Referencing one of Harvey's four pillars of AbD			
Privatization	Financialization	State Redistribution	Management and Manipulation of Crises
17	16	12	11

Table 1.

Concepts that fit within Harvey's Theory

Privatization

Privatization is the phenomenon most closely aligned with Harvey's initial definition of AbD within the articles, that the state, through sale, deregulation, renting, trust, or license and permitting give away authority or profit generating ability to private groups. Privatization was referenced in 17 articles, the most referenced of all of Harvey's concepts in the data. Usually, this privatization is done at the expense of the state and the public, as any public good is owned by the populace as a whole and is thus seized from the public when it is given or sold to private groups without public compensation (Busscher, Parra, and Vanclay 2018). Through conservation, more often the land stays under legal control of the state (or even local groups), but through the regulations or permitting all effective authority and value generating capacity is given away (Benjaminsen and Bryceson 2012a; Hackett 2016).

As was seen in Brazil "the rise of these [*private]* enterprises in protected areas where the access to the beach becomes private, the communities are displaced and the nature is destroyed and replaced by allotments and gated communities" (Cruz, Albuquerque, and Gomes 2020). While not as common, there is a strain of private protected areas where private companies and NGOs will buy land and manage it themselves for conservation as they see fit. The private nature of these parks leads to unaccountable management, and lack of transparency with local communities leading to varying levels of exclusion, restrictions, and displacement (Wieckardt, Koot, and Karimasari 2020; Busscher, Parra, and Vanclay 2018; Hora, Marchant, and Borsdorf 2018). Through the expansion of capital for accumulation, privatization is similar to financialization, wherein nature is commodified to be bundled and sold, and the value of nature is speculated on for value generation, which inherently morphs the relationship locals and society at large have with that object or concept (Kelly 2011a). In the data, privatization occurred due to two incentives, either to create profit for the state or state actors, (Apostolopoulou and Adams 2014) and the lack of capacity or desire to manage spaces through conservation but having the institutional legitimacy reasons to do so, (Corson 2011; Busscher, Parra, and Vanclay 2018) but more often a combination of the two. Either reason leads to the transformation of local spaces and systems into an international commodity, in both the capitalist sense, as well as in global environmental discourses. Through this practice, neoliberal conservation brings both environmental and capitalist ideologies hand in hand, and intertwines them into a self-legitimizing system (Brockington and Igoe 2006). In its most basic sense, the transfer of public goods in the form of protected areas to private actors so the state can receive rents, or other monetary benefits is a relatively straightforward process and neatly fits into Harvey's concept. However, as we will explore below the ownership of protected areas is often not clear and is balanced and shared between actors complicating the issue.

Financialization

Within the articles financialization was attributed to many of the processes at play, these took place within the traditional form of Harvey's theory, as well as through a phenomenon known as the financialization of nature which adds a new layer for understanding dispossession. Through the data, the manipulation of debt and interest rates to induce foreign investors (either NGOs, Foreign development agencies, or tourism corporations) was common, and does fit the general definition found within AbD literature. This was often a tactic pursued by governments who lacked sufficient income to manage protected areas but still wanted the financial, legitimacy, and reputational benefits of protected area management (Haller 2020). These governments would receive funds from conservation or development groups to often privatize their conservation departments or to hire NGOs to manage protected areas. In this way the financialization and privatization often go hand in hand. The outsourcing of protected area management led to a further lack of capacity from local governments and increased the unaccountability of protected area management groups defining policy and strategies for management (Busscher, Parra, and Vanclay 2018; Corson 2011; Haller 2020). The financialization was possible even without any change of ownership or consultation with locals, as was seen in Tanzania "Hunting concessions on village lands are often subleased to other hunting operators (Packer, 2015) or even to mining companies (Noe, 2013) without any say by the village governments, whose land is traded as a commodity between private investors for significant sums of money, with negligible compensation for the villages (Kisembo, 2012)" (Bluwstein et al. 2018) The beneficiaries through these processes included Local and Regional government officials who can collect rents or own companies in the area, international tourism corporations who can enter into these new markets, Conservation NGOs who win funding through bidding on grants to manage these eco-tourism schemes and protected areas (Benjaminsen and Bryceson 2012b). Similar to primitive accumulation, this process opens up remote, often subsistence communities to the market, forcing them through restrictions and new value systems to participate in the global market as consumers and producers, thus allowing for increased

accumulation by market actors (Kelly 2011a; Wurtzebach, Casse, and Razafy 2017). The double edge sword of having access to the market as a consumer and producer also creates vulnerabilities to dispossession by market actors and trends (Harvey 2003 pg. 152-153). This concept of incorporating conservation and economic development (19 articles) was seen frequently as an excuse to expand protected areas and increase restrictions on local livelihoods (19 articles). This can all happen without any change in hand of property on the ground for local community members. The value of their land or resources they rely on can be traded and speculated on through a system of neoliberal international markets. In this way, Harvey's theory of AbD is playing out in the same ways as in other fields.

The other process under financialization falls under a broader umbrella of the financialization of nature (in my coding I labeled it as the neoliberalization of nature, but the practice has also been described under the concept of neoliberal conservation), it expands upon Harvey's definition of financialization and opens up the term to comprise nature and natural systems. Harvey's concept often included the financialization of public goods, it is the mix of privatizing and financialization of public housing, communal land, public health etc. that is at the forefront of his theory. It is through the expansion of this process to not just the land that protected areas reside on but the physical and symbolic natures that is but similar and novel. This concept of neoliberalization of nature is not new in the conservation literature and has framework of study since at least 2004 (Fairhead, Leach, and Scoones 2012). The term was officially coined in 2008 by Castree to refer to the trend that applies market forces to natural spaces (Castree 2008). Sixteen of the articles made reference to the Neoliberalization of Nature, and twenty-two made reference to neoliberal conservation, which often employs the discourse of the commodification of nature. What this process does, is allow ecosystems, wildlife, human centered benefits from nature, value and images of nature, and even the existence of nature itself to be commodified, speculated on and sold (Corson 2011; Neves and Igoe 2012). A common example of this is through offsetting practices such as REDD+, biodiversity offsets, or carbon

offsets, where a protected area, restoration activity, or environmental regulation is set aside to "offset" the environmental degradation elsewhere. These offsets then gain value through the market to be purchased, speculated on and traded, by environmentally destructive groups or individuals, facilitated by environmental protection organizations also accumulating profit, all while the plot of land and the people in or next to it have not changed, and are infrequently compensated accordingly (Joseph Cavanagh and Himmelfarb 2014; Hackett 2016; Kelly 2011a). It is in this form that an ecosystem in a healthy state, an ecosystem service, a population of a vulnerable species, becomes a commodity that can be traded for environmental quality elsewhere, nature is reduced to a unit that can be traded, raised or lowered in value, and sold for any other unit of nature. This process leads to devaluing of nature in all but market terms, and an alienation of the market from natural systems. On a local scale it leads to uneven development where some areas are protected at the cost of others, and an alienation of locals with their natural systems, which we will see later can be its own form of dispossession. This transformation of means for mainstream conservation into neoliberal markets is also transforming the ends "It is important to underscore that the international conservation agenda is no longer engaged just in protecting natural resources by restricting human access to priority landscapes; it is increasingly promoting the protection of resources for the purposes of capital accumulation by a host of actors." (Corson 2011). Within this paradigm scientists are not outside of the accumulating forces but a value generating aspect "the scientific community is drawn into the market fray, generating evidence to assert value in new markets for nature, fundamentally affecting resource control and access where such markets apply. In some cases, such as biochar, the market hype outpaces the scientific evidence. Markets operate on the speculatory promise of science, not its findings (Leach et al. 2012). Technology expectations therefore march ahead of technological realities, but provide the basis for raising funding, and the assertion of value (cf. Nightingale and Martin 2004). The argument is not that the science co-produced within this new economy of nature is necessarily 'wrong' (although it clearly bears this

economy's conceptual imprint and framing), but that it is through this financial-scientific-policy nexus that nature comes to acquire its economic value. It is therefore hardly surprising that this same nexus is able to capture that value."(Fairhead, Leach, and Scoones 2012). While this is a similarity to Harvey's work, I consider this to be a new avenue of capital accumulation that is being used in conservation and thus I go more into detail on this point as a new concept and the ramifications on local communities below.

State Redistribution

State redistribution within the articles also fits quite well into Harvey's original definition, the seizure of private or communal land into the public domain, and then the redistribution of public land as the state sees fit. State redistribution was found in 12 of the articles, other codes that related were centralization (6 articles), Decentralization (3 articles), De/Re-regulation (13 articles) and Bureaucratization (8 articles). The creation of protected areas themselves are this action of seizing land for the state in practice (Kelly 2011a; Büscher and Fletcher 2014). Or, in the case of protected areas that have already been established the ability to distribute permits and licenses for access and the ability to conduct business in the space is in effect a redistribution from the communal state previously known (Corson 2011; Benjaminsen and Bryceson 2012a). In that way it is not only the redistribution of land or resources itself but also the authority, control and profits of the land, resources, and newly created capital. Even in cases where the state was participating in land restitutions where locals had previously been evicted they controlled the power to decide who had the right to restitution and who did not, creating conflict with the state and amongst local community members (Nustad and Sundnes 2013) State redistribution, while similar to privatization and can often lead to privatization does offer more insights into the liminal spaces between public and private ownership, as well as the complexities of ownership and authority that can dispossess. In its most basic sense, the process of creating a protected

area is a process of centralization. Often, protected areas are created out of state owned land or seized communal land, in Uganda the government was able to seize "all land and forest that was not held under formalized private property or leasehold arrangements… [to] ostensibly then manage it for the "common good"" (Joseph Cavanagh and Himmelfarb 2014). The same was true in India under the forest acts of 1865, 1878, and 1927 (Margulies 2019). Once the government is able to seize authority of communal land, they can lease the land and effectively *privatize*, or they can give away authority piecemeal to manage or profit from the protected area as they see fit, either through tourism, environmental protection, or even resource extraction. A concept that Harvey uses in his theory is called uneven development (14 articles). When governments are able to develop, manage, restrict, or protect geographic spaces there are often winners and losers decided by state actors. This is often to the detriment of locals in the less developed spaces, and for the gain of those in the areas receiving benefits. In Canada, protected areas are created hundreds of miles away from tar oil sands projects as an offsetting measure for environmental destruction. In this case the locals near the tar sands have to manage environmental degradation, while the communities that now live in or near a protected area have to adjust to livelihood realities, often without any consent (Hackett 2016). The same is true in Tanzania, where protected area expansion is often justified by increased mining in other areas (Bluwstein et al. 2018). These processes underly the larger uneven development within conservation practice generally, where biodiversity protection, carbon offsets, etc. are implemented onto locals for the benefit of the world and future humans. In this way conservation is a redistribution of benefits and costs, within a Marxist lens costing the periphery for the benefit of the rich core.

Management and Manipulation of Crises

Management and Manipulation of Crises within the data is very similar to Harvey's initial definition. The crises that were mentioned in the articles that lead to dispossession within protected

areas included economic recession (through austerity, deregulation, and incentives for more foreign investment)(Corson 2011; Apostolopoulou and Adams 2014), ecological crises (such as environmental degradation, climate change and biodiversity loss (12 articles)) leading to expansion of protected areas and services(Lin 2019), and practices by locals deemed unwanted or illegal by the state (settlements (4 articles), traditional livelihood practices (19 articles), or accused destruction of nature (9 articles) on the part of locals (locals as the problem, 13 articles)) (Nustad and Sundnes 2013; Benjaminsen and Bryceson 2012a; Ramutsindela and Sinthumule 2017). Management and manipulation of crises appears referenced in 11 of the articles in the data. The other codes that related to this concept included discourses surrounding locals. These included discourses of destruction of nature (9 articles), locals as the problem (13 articles), and in response to poachers which included militarization (8 articles). All references to these codes referred to an emergency situation that demanded drastic and often heavy-handed responses. This can be seen when describing a conservation group's contradictions in their actions and their discourse, Green Life's own legitimization does not hold. What is prevented by this project, are expansions and establishments of (new) small-scale plantations, instead of large multinational activities. State and private actors can target locals as the means of crises, but also through citing climate change, the need for biodiversity protection, the necessity to create offsets to mitigate environmental damage, or the need to secure lifesaving pharmaceutical compounds before environmental destruction, these actors can justify the seizure of value, property, and often redefine the value and ownership of these spaces for a "greater good". The crises that brings with it the most irony and has been highlighted in a number of papers, is that the desire to address climate change and biodiversity loss with neoliberal capitalist tools is an attempt to use the very tools that are changing and destroying the environment to fix it (e.g. Kelly 2011; Apostolopoulou and Adams 2014; Büscher and Fletcher 2014). In that way neoliberal conservation is sometimes seen as a way for neoliberal capitalism to have its cake (not stopping or changing in any way, in fact expanding to new areas), and eat it too (to

keep natural systems in a stable and protected state). This of course is not unique to conservation as the process of capital accumulation that is highlighted by Harvey's theory is often presented as a solution to crises that were in part caused by previous capital accumulation and subsequent dispossession.

Underlying Themes

In some articles these themes were present in the background if not explicitly stated. The presence of neoliberal capitalism through globalization has made the processes of dispossession through capital accumulation ubiquitous. Under financialization there is the rise of financial speculation on a global scale, whether that is in stocks, bonds, commodities etc. Also the use of loans from global institutions such as the IMF and the World Bank that require countries to open up their countries to increased financialization and privatization can be seen as creating the foundation for these processes to be broadened to protected areas (Corson 2011; Haller 2020). As is stated elsewhere in this paper, the constant threat of biodiversity loss, pollution, food insecurity, and climate change can create the justification for governments and private actors to pursue these practices of dispossession. Even if not explicitly stated the vast nature of these issues motivates many individuals and institutions to act towards desired solutions even if the means can lead knowingly or not to dispossession. This is illustrated more explicitly by a Czech resource manager operating a private protected area in Borneo in the name of biodiversity protection "I am not interested in the people, I am interested in the nature" (Wieckardt, Koot, and Karimasari 2020 pg.11). It should also be stated that in many countries the land that is in protected areas or has been for a century are founded on systems of private property and seized land from indigenous and local groups, often through processes of colonialism and by neo-colonial states (Ramutsindela and Sinthumule 2017). Many articles laid this foundation out explicitly (Joseph Cavanagh and Himmelfarb 2014; Asaka 2019), while others, especially if the seizure was further

in the past was not mentioned that locals were already living in a state impacted by past dispossession and are facing further dispossession. A history of previous dispossession through colonialism often created the protected areas we see today or laid the laws, and justification to dispossess locals in protected areas today. Overall, it has been shown through the data that all of Harvey's main themes in AbD have insights for those looking to analyze and understand processes of dispossession in protected areas. It also should be noted that codes often related to the wider pillars of Harvey's theory, and some codes related to more than one pillar. While these codes are related to those pillars, they also contain nuance that exists outside of the pillar as well. Table 2 contains the approximate connections of codes to larger pillars.

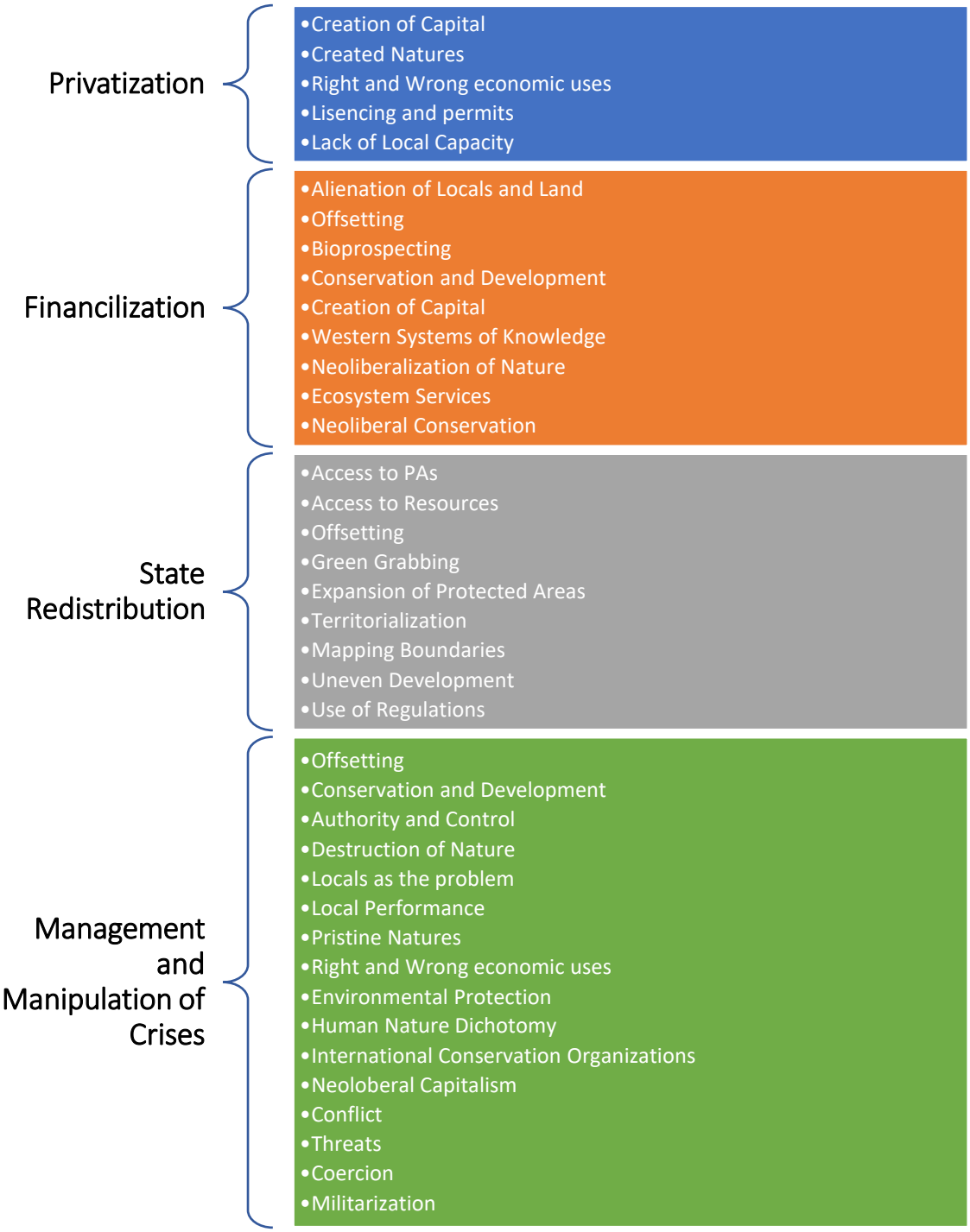


Table 2. Relationship of codes to larger pillars of Harvey's Theory

Novel Concepts adding to Harvey's theory

The data has sufficiently shown that through the traditional definition of AbD there are facets that are common in protected area creation and management. This increases the significance of better understanding what the situation in protected areas can contribute to the wider literature on AbD, whether that is through additional nuance on the previously known facets, or through additional processes that create new perspectives for understanding. The processes highlighted here through AbD in protected areas lead me to the conclusion that there are a few factors worth elaborating on and adding to Harvey's theory. The nature of privatization and public versus private ownership is often not transparent in protected area management and the creation of a liminal state between public and private good is worth exploring. The use of bureaucratization as a tool of dispossession is a process that is used by states to further marginalize local communities. The process of financialization in protected areas brings several unique facets to Harvey's concept and opens up capital accumulation to a nature even when not seen as an extractive commodity. The last point that is worth exploring is how this commodification of nature leads to an alienation of place for locals, which can be seen as dispossessing them not only from their physical value and reality, but also acts to dispossesses locals of their identity, spiritual, cultural and generational connection to the land, nature, and their home.

Liminal space between public and private land

The data suggests there is additional nuance to Harvey's definition of privatization, mainly to factor in that while the state can keep land and protected areas within the public realm on paper, they continue to cede profit generating processes and legitimacy to private groups and individuals. The capital accumulation can take place on the public land either by the government through rents, or through other capital creation strategies by international conservation groups, tourism companies

(Benjaminsen and Bryceson 2012b). This can grow even more complicated as the state takes income from private groups but also restricts certain local community members from the space. Thus, there is public state-based revenue, but unevenly distributed benefits generally. So while profit is generated from the park, and in that way 'conservation and development' (19 articles) can in theory go hand in hand, there is usually little compensation going to locals. While the land is still within the public sphere the state is also able to de-regulate and re-regulate as it sees fit. This can change as the states interests change and as local groups respond to capital dispossession. This liminal state between public ownership but private profit is similar but not the same as the privatization of public services as the state continues to hold management and profit generating authority even after private rents take place. This process also occurs in the opposite direction as was seen in the protected areas between south Africa and Mozambique "what we see in the GLC is South African state actors having some modicum of control but not ownership over land that has been privatized in Mozambique. This is a reversal of sorts from trends in the literature outlined earlier that shows how private actors have some control, but not ownership in state conservation lands (Benjaminsen and Bryceson, 2012; BŸscher, 2009; Corson, 2011; Kelly, 2011)" (Massé and Lunstrum 2016 pg.29). An example in Sub Saharan African countries being access and rights to hunting. In South Africa the wildlife is owned by the state, but the state allocates the right to hunt to certain organizations, thus keeping the land in public trust while selling rights to derive value and harvest resources on the land to private groups. This is similar in Tanzania where hunting blocks are allotted by the government and are primarily owned by foreign actors from the U.S., the Middle East, and Asia (Bluwstein et al. 2018; Massé and Lunstrum 2016). Private groups also include conservation NGOs as well as profit generating corporations and state actors, with this many stakeholders involved the lines of ownership, control, authority, and jurisdiction are murky and can often lead to lack of transparency and further confusion and marginalization of local groups (Massé and Lunstrum 2016). It is this lack of transparency where private and state authority and interests can hide,

implementing discourses around nature and conservation to not only justify but withhold information on their actions (Haller 2020).

Bureaucratization and manipulation of regulations

The ability to change regulations, mapping through territorialization, and restrictions on a whim leads to dispossession through processes of bureaucratization. Byzantine bureaucracies lend a number of benefits to state and market actors in relation to capital accumulation in protected areas. The first is through processes of legitimization. The decreasing of regulations, offering licenses, permits and certifications lends practices and institutions legitimacy which lends power to proceed with actions that may be illegal or have the possibility to dispossess locals of value or ownership (Cruz, Albuquerque, and Gomes 2020). This legitimacy boosting activities for institutions are counterbalanced by a lack of legitimacy through bureaucracy for local communities thus tilting power relations in the protected area space (Bluwstein et al. 2018). The second benefit for state and market actors is the implementation of bureaucratic barriers for locals, while institutions benefit as they can hire lawyers and pay those in the bureaucracy to assist their navigation through laws, regulations, and paperwork (Kicheleri et al. 2021). Finally, the process by which multiple stakeholders, government departments and international institutions all have partial ownership and authority limit the efforts of local actors to act confidently and for their own interests within the system (Bernauer and Roth 2021). Leading into the next points the bureaucratic nature of labeling, defining, categorizing, establishing ownership of natural systems, flora and fauna, and space further change and distort local relationship to them.

Financialization of Nature

The commodification and financialization of nature (16 articles) is a unique aspect of capital accumulation within protected areas, and the subsequent alientation of locals from nature (17 articles)

and the land is a form of dispossession novel to Harvey's theory. The financialization or commodification of nature is a new process for AbD that is worth exploring in more detail. It is a large process that drives both the impetus for accumulation by dispossession through conservation but also has significant consequences to local communities through the alienation of their land and natural systems. Through neoliberal capitalism according to Harvey's theory, actors within the market are incentivized to increase the amount of capital and value accessible to it (Kelly 2011a). In a direct way this is the process by which protected areas are being commodified and viewed as financial assets. However the process of neoliberalization of nature goes further as highlighted by (Escobar 1998) plants, animals, landscapes and nature itself becomes commodified. This can be seen through processes like ecosystem services where the capital benefits of flora and fauna are calculated and weighed in GDP or other market index (Apostolopoulou and Adams 2014). With this tool, the benefits of a protected area can be evaluated next to the comparable benefits of a strip mine, or a plantation in the same space under a monetary value. Another example would be through the process of bioprospecting for medicinal compounds. Through this process large companies can come into a natural space, take flora that could potentially have medicinal uses, ship it to a processing and analysis facility and break the flora down to its chemical components and test those compounds viability (Neimark and Wilson 2015). Through both of these processes nature is taken out of its local context, stripped of any spiritual, cultural, and emotional value, and puts it beside other unrelated forms of nature for comparative valuation and use. The discourse of this process is important as the discourse of the market takes over the other value laden assumptions in a space "the re-making of nature-society relations, 'attempts to privatize nature are premised on a fictional notion of nature as a unique object that can be atomized into bits to be owned'. Narratives are used to create these fictions and thereby new markets." (Kelly 2011a). The use of these systems to locals may not be taken into account by other actors even if they are profit creating if it is not the most efficient use, or not a use designated as appropriate by the market

and western experts (e.g. Neves and Igoe 2012; Nustad and Sundnes 2013; Corson 2011). This is all to ignore any inherent sense of value or agency that plants, animals and natural systems have outside of their connection to humans (Margulies 2019). A new value is assigned, and market forces are left to make decisions based on the present information, all without the additional context outside of the market valuation, or context that is yet unknown or unknowable by the groups at play.

Alienation of Locals from Space and Place

Through the data, there was a significant focus on the alienation of locals from place, (sometimes referred to as the 'foreignization of space' (Zoomers 2010)) this took the form of physical removal of locals, transformation of the land, bureaucratization and the dismantling of local legitimacy, redefining the value of the land and resources from local values to those of neoliberal capital, and through the process of regulation and map making defining boundaries and ownership that exclude or significantly transform the relationship between locals and the land. Dispossession in the data took physical forms as well as psychological and spiritual, and in this case the alienation of locals and land happens in both spaces. This takes place through a centralizing process of definitions and values "thus, the financial value of a commodified nature is centralized, instead of intrinsic values, changing local inhabitants attitudes towards and connection with nature" (Wieckardt, Koot, and Karimasari 2020 pg.3). This not only changes the relationship of locals to land but also their communal identities and relationships "land relations within communities have evolved to reflect the commodification of land under export crop production and extractive industry. They reflect the interest of the dominant landholding classes and their relations with international and national capital rather than the solidity of the community." (Kelly 2011a pg. 684) These processes significantly transformed the space and the relationship of locals and the space enough to make both fit for the creation of capital and value. Harvey's definitions did not expand into the spiritual, cultural and generally discursive nature of the

alienation of locals from nature and space. It is not that nature isn't a socially created construct, rather that the social construct of space, nature and place in protected areas is being redefined for the market which supplants local concepts inherently eliminating their worldview and attached identity (Cruz, Albuquerque, and Gomes 2020). These new conceptions can then themselves be commodified or added to objects for sale and speculation to raise their value " protected areas are not just consumed when visited by eco-tourists, but turn into what Guy Debord (1995) calls 'Spectacle'. Drawing on Tsing's (2004) discussion of spectacular accumulation, Brockington et al. (2008, 195) show how mainstream conservation allows people to identify and associate certain environments with particular products, experiences and celebrities, each connected with various forms of accumulation. Thus, images of conserved nature are used to market everything from coffee to visa cards, Disney products to SUVs (Brockington et al. 2008,195). Here, again, accumulation is removed from the national parks making it possible. Those benefitting privately from these public spaces are often distant from them, many never having visited the protected areas that increase their profits and provide them with lucrative marketing strategies." (Kelly 2011a pg.690)

The articles (often prompted by local interviews and surveys), put a high priority on this non-physical reality and connection to space and nature. Though capital interests increasingly have been reproducing nature as capital, transforming meanings and values, and separating locals (physically and spiritually/culturally) from their spaces and natural connections. To this end, I think this is a unique intersection of accumulation by dispossession and neoliberal conservation that has not previously been addressed under this unified definition. There has been some reference to the alienation of locals for the conditions of their labor and how this can lead to alienation, however does not go as far as to say this can lead to a dispossession of identity and cultural heritage (Hiraldo 2018). To take away religious or cultural significance of a place, plant or animal can have repercussions for generations if groups continue to stay in the space but also can be a factor in the coercive nature of eviction in protected

areas. This can lead to further material dispossession or can be seen as a dispossession of cultural, spiritual and generational identity in and of itself, which is of value even if not in a monetary sense. As was found in Columbia (Sanchez-Ayala and Areiza-Tapias 2019), the loss of connection to space and the elimination of communities who defined the place can often lead to locals feeling forced out of their homes not for monetary benefits, but due to their isolation and loneliness in the new space. It is this that created the intersectionality of cultural and capital dispossession, even if communities are allowed to continue living within protected areas their homes, livelihoods, and communities are permanently and continually transformed into something alien. Once a connection to the space is gone, a sense of ownership follows and the decision to leave under monetary and coercive pressures becomes more effective (Kelly 2011a; Sanchez-Ayala and Areiza-Tapias 2019; Hiraldo 2018). What is ironic is that often local communities appreciate the need to environmental protection from extractive or market forces, and can be enthusiastic about new protected areas, especially when they feel a sense of ownership. It is through the process of dispossession within protected area creation and management that removes that sense of ownership and creates conflict (Benjaminsen and Bryceson 2012b). It was also noted that once ownership and sense of belonging is removed in a protected area, locals tend to use the area in less sustainable ways than before, feeling a need to get what they can while they can (Kelly 2011a).

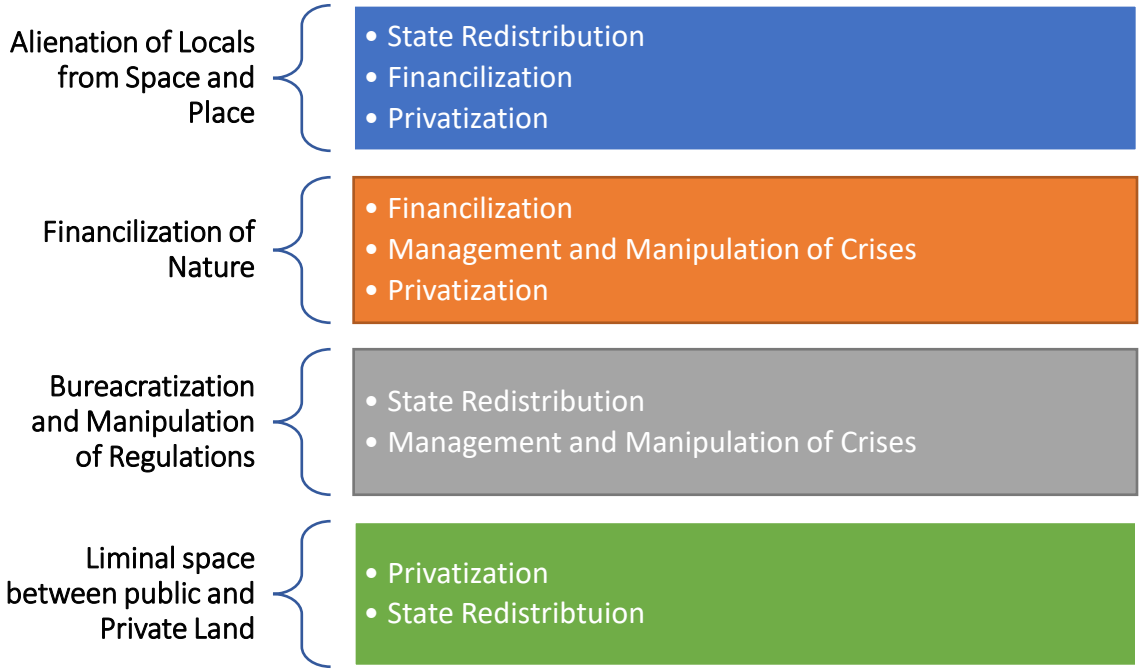


Table 3. Relationship of Novel characteristics to Harvey's main pillars

Local Discourses

Local discourses were defined in a number of distinct codes as well and are worth elaborating on as the responses to AbD within protected areas are just as key to understanding it as the actors perpetuating it. In the codes these were categorized in the following manner), Local Benefits (19 articles), Local Feelings (18 articles), Local Values (14 articles), Local Legitimacy (14 articles), Local Knowledge (13 articles), and Local Performance (8 articles). Some other related codes were Communal Land and Management (12 articles), Compensation to locals (11 articles), and Collective Power (7 articles). Locals are often found not receiving benefits that were promised at the outset of protected area creation. Benefits usually fall to government actors or the tourism and conservation companies and non-profits involved in the park. Locals then may receive benefits through employment but usually not in management positions (Hill 2017; Benjaminsen and Bryceson 2012b). Lack of information on the part of locals was seen as very frustrating for local actors and led to a loss of benefits and access to

services or the protected areas involved (Benjaminsen and Bryceson 2012b). As a local here in Columbia relates “Nobody asked us if we wanted to be inside a park and be completely locked in. There were two schools, but they got closed and the government took away all the social programs.” (Sanchez-Ayala and Areiza-Tapias 2019 pg.1437). In Columbia lack of transparency led to some indigenous land owners having their land sold while others did not, this led to speculation on land values not sold, as well as the fragmentation of traditional communities within the protected area, leading to social isolation and created openings for further displacement (Sanchez-Ayala and Areiza-Tapias 2019). Local power within protected areas is often predicated on their legitimacy. Legitimacy within the park affords local knowledge respect and local values are considered in Protected area management. Lack of local legitimacy often leads to tenuous land rights where state actors can appropriate communal or traditionally owned land (Neves and Igoe 2012; Busscher, Parra, and Vanclay 2018). Once the land can be seized by the government it can then do with it as they please which can result in situations like this one “the government proposed the sale of National Nature Reserves (NNRs; Jowitt et al 2010), and in October, it proposed the sale of the government Forestry Commission estate. One newspaper commented that the government seemed intent on “asset-stripping our national heritage” (Hickman 2010).” (Apostolopoulou and Adams 2014 pg. 25). The state is also able to pit local communities and individuals against each other. As was elaborated on earlier with uneven development some locals will inherently win out more than others, and some locals will feel these outputs are unjust (Benjaminsen and Bryceson 2012b; Haller 2020). The most frequent concern for locals in the data was the ability to access protected areas to reach resources for their traditional livelihood practices. This consisted of farming, fishing, hunting, foraging, cultural activities, and even just traversal. Protected areas in the data had a wide variety of levels of acceptance to these desires, from allowing some livelihood practices, to armed gunmen shooting on sight within the protected area. And even if the protected area allowed some traditional livelihood practices, the local rights to perform those activities were dependent on the

capital interests and the established legitimacy of the community. Through opaque processes of regulatory changes these rights were often changed or removed entirely without communication or notice to locals. A park can be moved or expanded often with little notice changing the power dynamics of the space entirely.

Conclusion

The literature on AbD within protected areas has a long way to go before a unified theory can be applied. However, Harvey's definition of theory is one that emphasizes the importance of process and does not have to contain strict procedures. There is a lot that can be gained from using the framework especially when concerning a global process that changes specifics depending on context and actors. The systematic review has thoroughly established that AbD is a useful and not uncommon as a framework of analysis when considering the social impacts of protected area creation and management. Through this study we have found additional nuance in the established facets under Harvey's four pillars of AbD. The appearance of all four of Harvey's pillars in the literature suggests this framework is useful for understanding the processes in protected areas. We can also begin to consider the inclusion of new facets that increase the scope, severity and tools of dispossession, specifically concerning the spaces of public and private ownership, the use of regulations to accumulate and dispossesses, and the alienation of locals from space, dispossessing them of their cultural identity. With this research scholars can be better equipped with a more unified summary and review of characteristics of AbD in protected area creation and management as it is found in the literature. Scholars will be able to use this consolidated foundation to apply the lens in their own research as well as to identify these phenomena in other areas. With the addition of new facets adding to Harvey's theory, scholars will also be able to interrogate the theory generally with the additional nuance established in this research. While more targeted towards academic readers this research could also be useful for practitioners and community

members within spaces where these processes are happening or have the potential to happen. By understanding the types of actors and the tools of dispossession used those involved can be better equipped to prevent and resist such actions earlier and more frequently. More research will be necessary to collect data from studies not specifically looking into AbD as a framework, as those studies will contain details to add to these processes and offer more data to analyze. Continuing to apply this framework and understand what processes are more frequent than others in specific case studies based on variables such as geography, type of PA, and type of communities, would also be valuable. This study was limited by only using English language Web of Science, and there is the inherent limitation of only using written data from journal articles rather than news articles, blogs posts, or direct conversation which could have given more direct information.

Chapter 2:

Accumulation by Dispossession in Komodo National Park, a Case Study through Document Analysis

Introduction

In 2019 a familiar story was developing in Eastern Indonesia, the regional governor with jurisdiction over Komodo National Park declared the following "It's called Komodo Island, so it's for the Komodo not for humans. There will be no human rights there, only animal rights" (Henschke and Wijaya 2019 pg.9). He was describing the intention for a policy proposal where the community living within Komodo National Park on Komodo Island would be forcibly displaced in the name of conservation and tourism. This is not the first time the communities within the park have been threatened with displacement, and it is not the only way they have felt their rights to land, resources, and livelihoods in danger. Communities living in and around protected areas are in a uniquely vulnerable position. Their right to land, resources, and revenue generated from the land are tenuous and often manipulated, reduced, or disregarded through conservation and tourism development (Bray and Velázquez 2009; Kelly 2011; Cernea and Schmidt-Soltau 2006; Brockington and Igoe 2006). Through the frameworks of Political Ecology and Neoliberal Conservation this process is often referred to as Accumulation by Dispossession. Accumulation by Dispossession is the process by which private and state groups gain capital and rents by seizing land and rights to resources from communities rather than generating new value (Glassman 2006; Kelly 2011). The people of Komodo Island, within Komodo National Park of Indonesia are no exception. After the formal creation of Komodo National Park in 1980 the diverse villages on Komodo Island were consolidated into a single Komodo village. The village on Komodo Island is in a unique jurisdictional position, they are within Komodo National Park (KNP) putting them directly

under Indonesian Ministry of Forestry policy, the national park itself is inside West Manggarai district putting them under regional government authority, and finally they are under the influence of global tourism value chains and private capitalist interests (Dale and Afioma 2020). The multiple jurisdictional authorities, influence of neoliberal conservation, and their place within a national park make them vulnerable to Accumulation by Dispossession. Communities in National Parks have consistently had to resist Accumulation by Dispossession by the state and private actors as they attempt to gain revenue through sale of land, rents, and controlling access to revenue and resources within parks. By seizing, zoning, and restricting access to communal land, or land that is owned by vulnerable populations, state and private groups can gain increased profits through accumulation rather than through growth (Fairhead, Leach, and Scoones 2012; Buscher 2009; Benjaminsen, A and Bryceson 2012). The types of policies in KNP concern loss or restriction of rights from zoning within the park, tourism development policy that displace communities and upend livelihoods, sale of land within the park to private tourism corporations, and conservation initiatives to close the park itself (Dale, Paju, and Afioma 2020). These policy decisions are founded in concepts of Neoliberal Conservation, Green Grabbing, and Ecotourism development (Buscher 2009). Using a Political Ecology framework, we can understand these concepts and the policies they create as falling into the theory of Accumulation by Dispossession (Fairhead, Leach, and Scoones 2012; Buscher 2009; Benjaminsen, A, and Bryceson 2012).

A majority of the Komodo people support conservation efforts, they hold Komodo Dragons and the larger ecosystem in a high, and in some cases spiritual regard. The Komodo people have been living in the park, cohabitating with Komodo Dragons, and the ecosystem in a sustainable manner for generations (Benu, Musakanan, and King 2020; Dale, and Afioma 2020; Kodir; Ardyanto et. Al. 2019). However, they have been excluded from the formal decision-making process, and past attempts to include them have been half-hearted, and ended in failure (Benu, Musakanan, and King 2020; Erb 2015; Cochrane 2013; Pannell 2013). Policies and management decisions have slowly and piecemeal taken

away the community's access to the land and sea, the resources that can be gathered from them, and the value that is generated from the landscape through conservation and ecotourism. The only route the Komodo people have had to voice their concerns or priorities has been through protest. Protest as a tool against policies has come up with mixed results. For zoning within the park and sale of land to private entities it failed, however protest proved effective when the Komodo people were told they would be displaced and the park would close (Dale, and Afioma 2020). Generationally and within different community groups thoughts on protest are increasingly mixed as livelihoods, tourism, conservation management, and apathy have set in (Dale, and Afioma 2020). The future of livelihoods within KNP are seemingly again in flux as KNP becomes the target of increased development and investment under the '10 New Balis' policy.

Komodo National Park is one of '10 New Balis' that the Indonesian government is promoting to spur tourism development and revenue. Among those 10, KNP is one of the first and highest priority development zones with increased funding, and attention from government and private groups (Benu et. Al. 2020; Afioma and Dale 2020). KNP has seen massive growth in visitors, and is seen as an opportunity to seize and diversify Indonesia's tourism offerings. Visitors to KNP increased from 20,000 in 1993 to 80,000 in 2014, and then doubled to 160,000 by 2018 (Benu et. Al. 2020). These policies have only just begun to be implemented with more on the way, and community responses to these policies may serve as a model in future development in Indonesia. The Komodo people have had to rely on endurance among its members to continue to protest different policies concerning different aspects of their livelihoods over time, and motivation and perspectives are not always consistent across members or groups as time and context changes.

To understand these processes this research attempts to use the framework of AbD to analyze the situation in KNP, and then situate it within the wider AbD in conservation context. AbD within protected areas is widespread, and is becoming a more frequent framework of analysis (Fairhead, Leach,

and Scoones 2012). By pursuing this study in KNP the goal will be to better understand what aspects of AbD are present within the park, which are not, and what novel aspects are appearing. To understand this phenomenon, I am using a document analysis case study, specifically on a number of data sources concerning policy decisions and responses between 2015 and 2021. The situation in KNP did not start at this point but AbD has been increasing in recent years and an in depth analysis on recent developments should help us understand what new methods states and private actors are using in protected areas to accumulate wealth. Using a document analysis will allow us to better understand how a combination of discourse and policy actions when combined can created the processes known as AbD within the park. The research question then is "Which characteristics of Accumulation by Dispossession have been applied in Komodo National park over the past 10 years?" With this understanding of those characteristics we should be able to better identify the actors, policies, and discourses that lay the groundwork for AbD in KNP and beyond.

Background

Accumulation by Dispossession

So what is AbD? Harvey adapts ABD from Marx's definition of primitive accumulation where capital interests would seize communal land for capital creation, and the evicted or dispossessed locals would become surplus labor to work on the capital that was created (Harvey 2003). The reason Harvey wishes to adapt primitive accumulation into accumulation are threefold, firstly, Marx's initial theory of primitive accumulation was roughly defined in Marx's initial writings, secondly, the aspects that Marx outlines have been refined by capital groups and new processes (namely financialization) have entered into common practice, and finally the title of "primitive" accumulation assumes that this practice has subsided, relegated to the initial creation of capital, not something that happens in modern societies, a

point which Harvey is disagreeing with inherently through this updated theory (Harvey 2003). At its most basic level AbD highlights capitalism's current strategy of wealth creation, not through production, but through seizure and dispossession of others. Initially Harvey described AbD as the way overaccumulation through Capitalism could be remedied, surplus labor and capital could be used to develop and earn additional value from previously unavailable or underutilized resources and labor (Harvey 2003). He also is clear to mention that AbD "can occur in a variety of ways and there is much that is both contingent and haphazard about its modus operandi" (Harvey 2003 pg. 149) This coincides with Harvey's understanding of theory in general "Theory should be understood instead as an evolving structure of argument sensitive to encounters with the complex ways in which social processes are materially imbedded in the web of life."(Harvey 2019 pg. 79). In keeping with this understanding of theory, Harvey has introduced four concepts as the primary pillars of AbD. These four concepts were Privatization, financialization, management of crises, and state redistributions (Harvey 2019).

These four pillars will be the launching point of the framework for my discourse analysis as they are able to capture the practices of AbD into broad categories for analysis. To that end it is worth exploring what exactly he means when he lays them out. *Privatization* is the commodification, privatization of public assets. Globally this has meant opening up countries for financial investment by capital, and domestically is is seen as the privatization of public assets or services such as public land, but also public housing, healthcare, etc. (Harvey 2019 pg.44). *Financialization* which saw a significant increase in the 1980s is the prevalence of wealth accumulation and redistribution through speculation on stock as well as financial value of assets. This practice can be used to increase the value of certain companies or types of capital, it can also be used to reduce the apparent value of other assets that then creates the opportunity for capital to accumulate those assets at reduced prices. This is also present in the credit and debt systems that countries have been forced to partake in since the advent of neo-liberal capitalism and significantly after the financial crash of 2008 (Harvey 2019 pg.45). *The Management and*

Manipulation of crises which in Harvey's definition primarily revolves around the "springing of the "debt trap" as a primary mean of accumulation by dispossession." (Harvey 2019 pg. 46) . The creation of debt crises in countries and then the purposeful redistribution of reduced value assets is one example of this process. Another would be the creation of climate change issues globally and then capturing value generated by responses to the crises. The final pillar would be *State Redistribution,* which can include practices such as "revision in the tax code to benefit returns on investment rather than incomes and wages, promotion of regressive elements in the tax code (such as sales tax), displacement of state expenditures and free access to all by user fees, and the provision of a vast array of subsidies and tax breaks to corporations." (Harvey 2019 pg.49). While these four pillars help to illustrate the processes and tools of AbD it is important to remember and will be highlighted through this study that the practices of AbD will depend on the geographical, historical, and cultural context in which capital operates.

Komodo National Park

Komodo National park (KNP; lat 119" 30' E, long 8" 35' S) is located in Eastern Indonesia, between the larger islands of Flores and Sumbawa. The total size of KNP is 132,000 hectares of ocean and 41,000 hectares of island and coast (Wells et. al. 1999). It consists of three main Islands; Komodo (393.4 km2), Rinca (278.0 km2), and the smaller Padar, while surrounded by numerous smaller islands (Walpole et. al. 2001; Ardiantiono et. al. 2018). The climate of the islands, similar to other islands in Eastern Indonesia are characterized by a monsoonal climate mainly typified by savannah and some tropical lowland areas (Walpole et. al. 2001). The coral reefs and marine ecosystem are incredibly diverse as nutrients travel through the Sumba straight from the Indian ocean to the Pacific (Dale and Afioma 2020; Wells et. al. 1999).

KNP is most well known for its charismatic fauna, the Komodo Monitor (*Varanus Komodensis*), famously recognized as the Komodo Dragon, and locally known as '*ora*' is the world's largest lizard (Walpole et. al. 2001; Forth 2010). They can grow up to 90kg in weight and up to a length of 3m, they subsist on hunting and scavenging of other large fauna such as the Rusa Timor Deer (*Rusa Timorensis*) and or wild pigs (*Sus Scrofa*). When hunting, after the Komodo dragons bite their prey an oral bacteria is inoculated into the wound and can induce a sepsis which can kill or slow the animal for other Komodo Dragons to catch (Bull, Jessop, and Whiteley 2010). The Komodo Dragons inhabit five islands within Komodo National Park, with populations also existing on mainland Flores, and reported on the south coast of Sumbawa. The Komodo Dragons within the park number at around 3,000 across all of the five main islands, and the number living on Flores or Sumbawa is not precisely known (Purwandana et al. 2014; Ariefiandy et al. 2015). Within the park it was established during a study in 2014 by Purwandana et. al. that the populations on the larger islands, which have human populations, and the majority of tourism activities, were increasing at a stable rate. However, the demographics on smaller islands which have smaller tourism impacts were either difficult to estimate or in the case of Gili Motang, decreasing. Poaching of Komodo Dragons is not a common activity among local populations even though the price of these animals in international markets can be high.

The Komodo Dragons themselves can be characterized as a flagship species for conservation. These species encourage conservation efforts that can protect other animals and plants that rely on the same ecosystem or live in the same environment (Walpole and Leader-Williams 2002). While the efficacy of flagship species for conservation are debated, it is clear that protection on the island specifically benefits the prey of the Komodo Dragon which are also protected from hunting and have increased conservation attention than they would otherwise. As the Komodo Dragons rely on the Rusa Deer and the Wild Pigs for food, their populations have been monitored in the past. Some declines have been noticed on smaller islands of these populations, and fluctuation even on the larger islands have

caused concern among conservationists. It has been theorized that decline of human settlements and thusly, lack of agriculture or water sources have contributed to the decline on the smaller islands, specifically those populations on Nusa Kode and Gili Motang (Ariefiandy et al. 2016). In comparison to Komodo Dragons, Deer and Pigs are more likely to be targeted for poaching among locals and non locals alike. Hunting of these animals for subsistence and trade was a common activity before restrictions were put into place within the park. Poaching of deer and use of hunting dogs is seen as a threat to the sustianability of Komodo dragon populations as the deer are one of their main sources of prey (Ariefiandy et al. 2016; Ariefiandy et al. 2015; Pannell 2013; Goodwin et. al. 1997).

Being situated between the Flores Sea and the Indian Ocean Komodo National Park has been deemed a marine biodiversity hotspot (Kodir et al. 2019; Pannell 2013; Mous, Halim, Wiadnya, Subijanto 2004). In describing the marine biodiversity in their 2004 report, the Nature Conservancy said "the Park also features one of the world's richest marine environments, including coral reefs, mangroves, seagrass beds, seamounts, and bays. These habitats harbor more than 1,000 species of fish, 260 species of reef-building corals, and 70 species of sponges. In addition, dolphins, whales, and sea turtles are found in the park" (Mous, Halim, Wiadnya, Subijanto, pg.10, 2004). Due to this the park has become a top tier location for diving and snorkeling, as well as becoming a focus for international marine conservation (Pannell 2013; Mous, Halim, Wiadnya, Subijanto 2004).

Around 5,000 people live within Komodo National Park, they live within a number of villages including Papagarang, Pasir Panjang on Rinca Island, and Komodo Village. Komodo Village is the largest of the villages containing around 2,000 inhabitants (Dale and Afioma 2020). The people of Komodo Island are quite diverse, with the indigenous people being known as the Ata Modo. Since the discovery of the Komodo Dragons by Europeans in the early 1900s Komodo Island has been growing in awareness both for the dragons, but also the diverse ecosystem. It was at this time in 1926 under the Dutch Colonial regime that Komodo dragons were protected under an Animal Sanctuary designation (Kodir et.

al. 2019). While tourism was just beginning to draw Indonesians to Komodo island in the mid 1900s the more frequent reason for migration was for fishing. As was stated above the marine ecosystems within and around Komodo National park are quite diverse and offer plenty of fish for commercial and subsistence fishing practices. Due to this rich environment diverse fishing communities from all over Indonesia have come to make Komodo Island home (Lasso and Dahles 2018; Dale and Afioma 2020). Immigration to Komodo Island has slowed due to restrictions on immigration into a national park as well as building restrictions in place within the park. However, as tourism has continued to rise and commercial fishing still possible in certain areas of the park as well as outside of the park boundaries immigration has continued into the gateway communities on Western Flores specifically Labuan Bajo, as well as to a lesser degree Eastern Sumbawa in the town of Sape (Benu et. al. 2019).

Access to services are limited on the island due to its remote nature. To travel to Labuan Bajo, the most accessible city from Komodo Island, takes between 4-6 hours on a standard boat, and 1-2 hours by a more expensive fast boat. This limitation decreases opportunities for Islanders to work from the mainland and live within the Park. It also limits the amount for services available within the park for the community (Benu et. al. 2019). Komodo Island is the location of the only schools within the park, which consist of a primary school and middle school. The nearest High School is in Labuan Bajo, with most students who choose to go to high school living in Labuan Bajo full time. Many children however in the past have not pursued continued education past the middle school level and are instead encouraged to begin learning a family or community trade, such as fishing, farming, handicraft making or another local service. Due to remoteness and lack of educational opportunities the local population last surveyed was 70% literate, as well as the majority of the population not exceeding an elementary education (Benu et. al. 2019; Lasso and Dahles 2018). The community does not have access to a hospital on the island. Instead there is a small clinic, but due to the cost of travel and medical care in Labuan Bajo many injuries go untreated leading to chronic health issues among some members of the

population. There is also increasing concern of potential health effects from decreased water sources on the island due to tourism development. Lack of sustainable water source coupled with strained access to imported food staples is expected to put increased pressure on the already meager health infrastructure of the island (Benu et. al. 2019).

Before the advent of modern tourism on Komodo Island the communities living within the park's livelihood practices consisted of primarily subsistence activities with some commercial sales to mainland communities. These subsistence activities included hunting of deer and wild pigs, foraging of NTFP, and primarily fishing (Benu et. al. 2019; Lasso and Dahles 2018; Kodir et. al. 2019). There were some farming activities but not as a primary income or food source. Fishing was done in traditional Bugis or Ata Modo styles from long oar boats or on fishing platforms. These activities were eventually transformed through the use of motorized boats and fishing techniques. Bombing fishing, while not overly prevalent, was not an uncommon activity of fishermen in the area. All livelihood activities have been transformed on the island due to heavy regulation from the ministry of forestry (Lasso and Dahles 2018). Other forms of current economic activity within the park revolve around civil service work in health or education, as well as tourism livelihoods such as guides, NP rangers, homestay owners, food service, or involvement in handicraft sales (Benu et. al. 2019).

It should be stated that the Ata Modo people and other Komodo island community members have an intimate and deep respect for the Komodo dragons and the surrounding ecosystem. Originally written down by Verhejien (1984) and then recounted in other research by Afioma and Dale (2020), the Ata Modo have a founding myth that has been widely adopted amongst all villagers on Komodo island. The story goes that the original queen of Komodo Island had twins, one was a human, the other was a Komodo Dragon. The human grew up in the village with other people while the Komodo dragon grew up in the forest. One day the prince was hunting and came upon his twin the Komodo dragon, before he could strike the Komodo dragon his mother the queen appeared and told him that the dragon was his

sibling and must not be killed. From that day on the Komodo dragons have been revered as family amongst Komodo villagers and will not be hunted or harmed. This story is foundational in understanding the successful coexistence between the Komodo villagers and the Komodo dragons. The myth continues into the modern era through retellings and promotional plaques and books. It is said that when Suharto the long time dictator attempted to remove the villagers of Komodo island the Komodo dragons ran to the shore and jumped into the sea after the villagers to stay with them. The villagers were returned to the island and the Dragons stayed as well. These spiritual and cultural connection to the ecosystem and the Komodo dragons specifically is foundational in understanding the villagers commitment to conservation and sustainable coexistence that has been practiced for generations.

History of Komodo National Park

Wildlife protection and environmental protection generally within Indonesia began under the Dutch colonial regime in the late 1800s and the early 1900s (Barnard 2011; Kodir et. al. 2018). While the first nature reserve was created on Java in 1889, the first environmental protection law spanning the archipelago was implemented in 1910 under the Dutch and protected all wild animals within their jurisdiction except for pests and those under special condition by the government (Barnard 2011). European explorers and scientists first discovered Komodo dragons in the 1920s with their popularity exploding onto the international scene with their exhibition in American and European zoos during the 1920s. There was tension between indigenous and colonial leaders concerning wildlife protection as the Dutch thought local leaders incapable of managing their environment sustainably. While Dutch ordinances did not govern the patchwork of Indonesian governments they put pressure on Individual leaders to institute the policies. It was in this way that Komodo Dragons came under the protection of the Sultanate of Bima, limiting the sale and hunting of Komodo Dragons until 1919 when the Dutch consolidated control over what is now Komodo National Park (Barnard 2011). Komodo National Park

was first designated officially as a protected area by the Dutch Colonial regime as a biosphere reserve in 1926. The governance and management of the Komodo area would as Indonesia claimed Independence from the Dutch in 1949 and when it transitioned into the New Order under Suharto.

Its designation as a protected area continued through independence and became a conservation area in 1980 and eventually a National Park in 1992 (Dale and Afioma 2020). It has continued as a National park as well as more recently a UNESCO world heritage site in 2013. While the Suharto regime was not as interested in International Tourism during his early years, tourism as a development tool became popular into the 1980s and 1990s. It was during this time in the final years of the Suahrto regime that the *Nature Conservancy* began advising local park authorities on how to manage the park (Erb 2015). In 2005, shortly after the creation of the West Manggarai region, the local government created a Collaborative management plan for Komodo National Park. The goal of it was to "test out new strategies for privatization of tourism and for funding the management of the park." (Cochrane, 2013, p. 134). The collaboration (known as KCMI) was between the Komodo National Park Authority, the local government, and Putri Naga Komodo, a joint venture company which was run by The Nature Conservancy and a Bali based businessman who owned land in the area (Erb 2015). Another Company, *Swiss Contact* was brought to help manage the park in 2006 as a pro-poor tourism NGO, their work continued until 2013. The policies they implemented were seen by locals and others as pro-business and encouraged large investments from Jakarta and Bali to invest in the area (Erb 2015). Critiques of KCMI include lack of connection to national and international institutions, lack of transparency between collaborators as well as between KCMI and locals. Regulations concerning fishing were seen as arbitrary, useless, and impacted locals who relied on fishing more than on outside users exploiting the rules. Due to these contradictions between managers and locals, enforcement is low and the detrimental fishing techniques such as using roe for bait and bomb fishing have seen upticks (Cochran 2013). KCMI's license to operate was revoked by the ministry of forestry in 2012 ostensibly

because they were encroaching on conservation rather than just tourism development. However, at the time the ministry of Forestry was low on funds due to moratorium on logging concessions and the funds for KCMI were frozen and taken by ministry officials (Cochrane 2013). In spite of these collaborative attempts local actors have had little to no decision-making power in tourism policy and national park management. There is some power within their own village areas concerning tourism decisions, and the national Park Office will only hire locals as guides, so far no locals have been hired into higher positions (Kodir et. al. 2018).

The management policies within Komodo National park can be divided into a few categories, Wildlife and resource extraction regulations, Zoning, and Tourism Development. Overall, these policies have been met with mixed responses from locals as well as mixed results towards their intended goals. The trend from government has been to encourage tourism development, while restricting local access to the land and resources within the park (Lasso and Dahles 2018). There has been some policies specifically for the protection of the Komodo dragons, sustaining their ecosystem, as well as protections for marine and coral life. As tourism development has become more important for the Indonesian government generally Komodo national park has been central to initial plans. Komodo National Park and gateway community Labuan Bajo are among the first locations within Indonesia to be developed within the 10 new Balis framework (Benu et. al. 2018). These locations under the 10 new balis will see tourism development in the form of infrastructure development, designation as Special Economic zones to encourage investment, as well as environmental and economic regulations to encourage and sustain development. While there were many policies within Komodo National park before the 2015 decision to designate as a 'new bali', there has been a recent rise in policies, and a significant increase in protest from local communities within and near the park over these policies.

Wildlife and Resource Extraction

Hunting while once important to the local community has been completely outlawed under government regulation. During the 1960s and 70s it was described as a mutual hunting experience with the people and the Komodo dragons. Human hunters would leave remains of the animals for the Komodo dragons and the Komodo dragons lived alongside the hunting communities in coexistence (Afioma and Dale 2020). The restrictions put into place by conservation managers were meant to protect the food for the Komodo dragons, as well as protect all local fauna (Kodir et. al. 2019). There have also been implemented strict logging and foraging restrictions, in the past logging was done for building and woodcarving. When locals lived in villages across the island their livelihood practices were diverse, but once the population was forced into one Island on the coast and accessing terrestrial resources were restricted the majority population began extracting marine resources (Kodir et. al. 2019). However, now wood for homes may need to be brought it from the mainland and while handicrafts are promoted as a tourism livelihood, there are specific amounts of certain trees that can be logged for this purpose annually, while some trees are fully protected (Lasso and Dahles 2018). With the rise in tourism numbers the pressures on local handicraft makers to cut more trees locally has increased, while most carvers use dead Kanawa trees due to their protection (Lasso and Dahles 2018). Foraging has been mostly outlawed and restricted to certain marine zones which has also put additional pressure on handicraft makers as sea shells, seaweed, and locusts become more difficult to find in the allocated spaces (Afioma and Dale 2020; Lasso and Dahles 2018). In the marine context bomb fishing, while the main type of fishing practice among community members, has been outlawed to protect the coral reef habitats (Pet and Djohani 1999). There have also been further regulations on what sort of motors are allowed to be used within the park on fishing boats, as well as restricting the types of tools that can be used. These regulations permit the locals to continue fishing within the park, as long as it is done within "traditional" means. There are minor regulations as well stating that too much fish cannot be caught for commercial means within the park and must be used primarily for subsistence.

Zoning

Zoning within the park falls into terrestrial and marine zoning. Enforcement of zoning and practices within zones is undertaken by armed park patrols that often fine or use violence on those who they find violating zoning laws. This has led to the deaths of fisherman within the park due to fishing violations (Erb 2015; Afioma and Dale 2020). The terrestrial zoning delineates what sort of activities and structures can be built or done within that zone. The main zoning area within KNP is designated as Core protected area. This zone cannot be used for resource extraction except following strict regulations, and building structures are not permitted in that zone. Wilderness zoning is very similar and no economic activity can be done their either. During the 1980s the people on Komodo Island went from living across the island in smaller communities to living within one village zoned for them. Many villagers had to leave their homes and traditional fishing areas to follow this regulation (Kodir et. al.; Afioma and Dale 2020). Next to the Komodo village zone there is a small zone for minor farming practices as well. However, the government still does not recognize the agrarian and land rights of the Komodo people to their village or produce (Afioma and Dale 2020). Some of the island has been designated for tourism, which consists of trails, as well as tourism guide posts and management infrastructure. There is zoned land for market based activities, this space is designated for imports to the island and also for souvenir sales to tourists. Confining all market activities to a small space has created intense competition amongst the increasing number of market and tourism based traders within Komodo National Park (Lasso and Dahles 2018). The marine environment has faced similar zoning in that most of the park surrounding land is designated as wilderness and cannot be fished in. There is a small designated area near the coast of the village where people can fish, however outside of that zone fishers need to travel at least 2km to reach legal fishing areas. KCMI initially consulted with local fishers on the location and amount for zoning but collaboration broke down and locals have felt the current situation unfair as they view their fishing as sustainable (Cochrane 2013). There is also sea

area designated for tourism use, which consists of boating, scuba diving and snorkeling. When the park was established much of this zoning was nonexistent and was put into place over time to protect marine and terrestrial habitats, flora and fauna. The largest and most recent zoning policy was the proposed policy in 2019 that would see all inhabitants of Komodo Island removed from the island and perhaps the park. This was presented as a response to Komodo dragon demographic concerns and worries about over tourism and pollution of the marine space. This policy was extensively protested, and the central government stepped in to review and eventually stopped the policy for now.

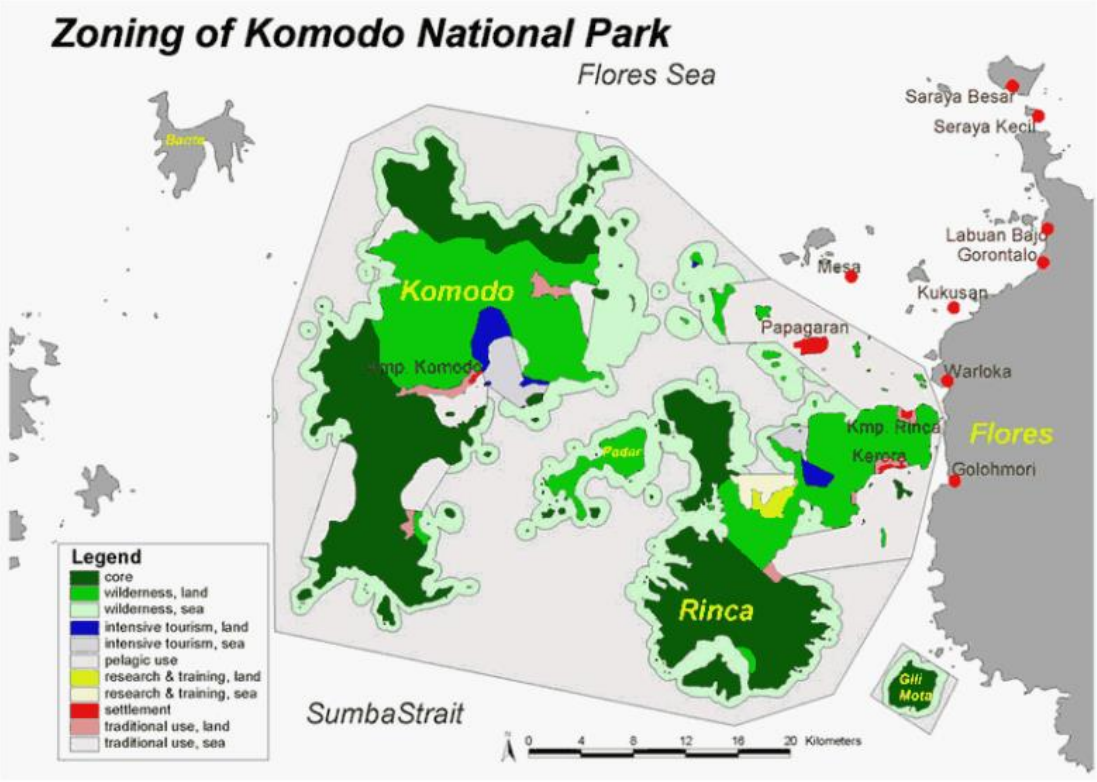


Figure 1 Zoning System in Komodo National Park (BTNK 2012)

Figure 2. Zoning within Komodo National Park (Afioma and Dale 2020)

Tourism Development

Tourism development within KNP has taken a few forms. The first and most prominent has been local trainings. Organized by TNC and PT. Komodo National Park, local villagers were discouraged (and often restricted) from practicing their traditional livelihood practices and move into the tourism industry. These practices included being field and boat guides, making and selling handicrafts, and working in service positions for tourists (Lasso and Dahles 2018; Kodir et. al. 2018; Afioma and Dale 2020). These policies were encouraged as their traditional livelihoods were being further restricted through zoning and regulation. With increased zoning fishing became more difficult and time consuming and tourism sales were seen as a faster income source (Kodir et. al. 2019). This has made villagers less self-reliant for their subsistence needs as they no longer take part in majority subsistence activities and have moved into market spaces (Benu at. al. 2018). Reliance on the tourism industry is inherently less resilient to shocks that can change the amount or types of tourists that come to Komodo (Lasso and Dahles 2018). The COVID-19 pandemic is an example of an extreme shock that impacted villager livelihoods. Another was the policy decision to raise the entrance fee to the island from USD $10.00 to USD $1,000.00, as well as a cap at 50,000 visitors a year, compared to 160,000 in 2018 (Benu et. al. 2018; Afioma and Dale 2020). Many villagers ranging in livelihood practices within the tourism field are concerned about the new limit on visitors and increase in cost. Locals worry it will discourage domestic visitors from coming to the park as well as an overall decrease in annual revenue (Lasso and Dahles 2018). With the current scheme an increase in entrance fee would not benefit locals much as that fee is distributed in majority to the ministry of forestry as well as the regional government (Benu et. al. 2018). Villagers who fully made the change to tourism livelihoods may have sold their fishing equipment or lost the skills to perform subsistence activities over time and generations. The transition of livelihood practices has made the community more vulnerable to shocks outside of their control within the tourism industry as well as vulnerable to impacts from government tourism management of the park.

The other form of tourism development is found in the sale of land to private groups either in tourism or scientific research. Under the most recent policies concessions for nature tourism business activities were given to a number of private and state owned companies, further restricting access to revenues and benefits from resources within the park (Afioma and Dale 2020). There has been significant outcry and protest both within the park and on the mainland of the sale of public land to tourist and hospitality entities. There has also been a negative reaction when news was released that these private sales would not have to abide by the construction regulations that villagers have had to follow. There has also been sale of communal lands in the gateway communities to tourism entities which has generated protest in neighboring communities. And finally the land rights of the Komodo people were threatened entirely when they were threatened under the most recent policy with total forced displacement from the park (Henschke and Wijaya 2019; Afioma and Dale 2020).

Responses to Conservation and Tourism Policy

Tourism and conservation in the past has been seen as a positive thing by the Komodo people, as many community members did see benefits in income and quality of life (Walpole and Goodwin 2001; Afioma and Dale 2020). A study done by Walpole and Goodwin (2001) found that residents overwhelmingly wanted more tourists to come and would be happy for their children to work in Tourism. They also found that the majority of respondents agreed with government protection of Komodo National Park. Community members were mixed on the impacts of tourism, around half believing it benefited the whole community and half believing it mostly benefited the rich. There were also concerns that tourism was causing the prices of goods and service to rise. Oftentimes community members view private and state groups as not having conservation interests at heart, rather seeing themselves as truly embodying the practice of sustainable conservation and tourism. It is when they don't have the ability to make decisions concerning conservation and tourism within the park that they have issue and find it inequitable and protest worthy (Afioma and Dale 2020).

Certain policies within and around the park have been protested by locals to differing degrees of success. An early and significant win was during the Suharto regime of the 1980s when the community was being threatened by forced displacement. While the Suharto regime was known for its militaristic responses to protest and resistance the local community was able to protest and not be moved from the island however were forced into a single Komodo Village on the coast (Kodir et. al. 2019). It should be mentioned that the fall of Suharto in 1998 due to widespread protest in part demonstrated its effectiveness. One such event was the sale of land just outside the park near Labuan Bajo to a Chinese mining company which locals saw as threatening to their livelihoods and the environment. There were massive protests and the local elected officials were voted out of office due to their inadequate support for conservation and sustainable tourism. The mine was shut down after this change in local leadership (Erb 2015). An organization was created by locals specifically for facilitating protests against mining in the region, which has grown since the decentralization post New Order. This common goal against mining is both from an environmental perspective as well as to protect tourism livelihoods which have been generally accepted as the primary industry on Flores (Erb 2012). The community came together as well against the most recent and far reaching tourism policies under the 10 new balis initiatives. The local people protested a planned closure of the park for one year, the displacement of all people on Komodo Island, the increase in entrance fee for the park from USD $10.00 to USD $1,000.00, and the new annual visitor limit of 50,000 people (Afioma and Dale 2020 Henscke and Wijaya 2019). After almost a year of concerted protest to local officials, National level government, and international groups some parts of the policies were reviewed and canceled by the national government. Among them the park was not closed, and the population was allowed to stay in the park, however the entrance fee and visitor cap remained the same (Afioma and Dale 2020 Henscke and Wijaya 2019).

Just as some protests have had mixed successes others have not gained as much traction. There have been protests by farmers outside of the park that their products are not being used in the tourism businesses in the area, the local government has asserted this is because shipping food from other islands is less expensive and brings higher quality products than that of local offerings. This has come to a head during large events meant to spur the local economy through tourism, when those events benefit local farmers little due to lack of infrastructure and local investment (Erb 2015). The issue of translating gains from increased tourism investment into gains for local farmers is still being discussed and planned up until as recently as 2020 (Benu et. al. 2020). The inclusion of TNC into the collaborative sparked significant protest when it was announced (Erb 2012). There were fears of neo-colonialism, missionary efforts, further restricted access to resources, and the chance that communities in the park would have to be moved under new tourism and environmental policies (Pannell 2012; Erb 2012; Afioma and Dale 2020). The management policies had some gains for communities members in increased incomes for those who switched to tourism livelihoods, even though they were more vulnerable to shocks (Erb 2012). As time went on and resources became more scarce for park management feelings changed back as a number of fisherman were shot by park rangers who had been fishing within the park. After that incident locals were able to protest and gain public interest from Indonesian NGOs to have charges of human rights violations leveled against TNC in 2003 (Erb 2015). This protest was not enough to expel the management group and they would be forced to leave after their license to operate was discontinued in 2012 (Cochrane 2013).

Document Analysis

Document analysis is a type of research where documents and other textual data are interpreted qualitatively to interpret meaning and to assess a specific framing. This can be done in many ways, including the use of codes, and sub codes. Document analysis is understood as an “iterative

process [that] combines elements of content analysis and thematic analysis" (Bowen 2009). Within this framework ideas, and passages can be categorized into themes, as defined under a thematic document analysis. Content analysis is "the process of organizing information into categories related to the central questions of the research" (Bowen 2009). Both forms of document analysis focus on reviewing and re-reviewing data as a form of analysis. Using codes generated through previous work (content analysis), and those generated through analysis (thematic analysis), and then applying them rigorously to the data assists the researcher in being objective and sensitivity in selecting and analyzing data (Bowen 2009). Document analysis is often a cost-effective way to do research as it does not involve having to interview or survey groups of people or hard to reach individuals. In that way it can be used to supplement international research as well without having to travel to a specific location to do fieldwork. Documents are also non-reactive and thus can be evaluated multiple times and using different frameworks of analysis to derive novel interpretations and meanings. It also helps to explore the past as relics of different periods. Of course, there are limitations as documents are inherently second hand documents and must be viewed through the lens and intent of their construction, and audience (Vathana et. Al. 2018, Bowen 2009). Taking lessons from critical studies, using the context, history and relationship of actors into account when evaluating documents is essential to highlighting the data in as well rounded of a way as possible. In my case study document analysis I pursue both iterative forms of document analysis with thematic practices. I initially pursued evaluation of the texts through the categories set forth through my systematic review on AbD in protected areas. Through the document analysis I coded and subcoded to explore what novel themes would be highlighted through the case study to add to the literature on AbD in protected areas. Using the framing of AbD in protected areas, and specifically the framework established through the systematic review, would put my research solidly within a thematic analysis framework.

Document analysis was used during this study for a number of reasons. Firstly, it allowed remote research, not being able to travel to Indonesia, and with digital methods being limited, this method offered the flexibility to get an understanding of the situation and analyze qualitatively the actors, policies and processes from afar. Using documents also allowed access to actors and perspectives I would not have had access to as a Masters student. This is helpful considering the critical nature of this research, hoping to interrogate relationships of power, analyzing statements and policies from those in power where interviews would not have been allowed provides multiple viewpoints on the phenomenon of AbD. Document analysis also provides the opportunity to fit my methodology which looks to use both previously established thematic content, through my systematic review on AbD in protected areas, as well as analyzing new content for previously uncategorized processes. The rigorous implementation of this format of analysis in the study is crucial in establishing the presence of AbD as well as the opportunity to explore new facets.

Explanatory Case Study

Case studies "arise out of the desire to understand complex social phenomena" because "the case study method allows investigators to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real life events." (Kohlbacher 2006 pg.22). Following this definition, case studies are used to study real life events, that allow for the use of context and data to create a well rounded view so as to contribute to wider context and theory. There are many types of case studies, the one I will be using is an explanatory case study. Explanatory case studies are appropriate forms of social science research when approaching the how and the why of certain phenomena, especially to establish casual relationships. Evaluative case studies would fall further into the category of establishing the how. In that way these two forms can be used in coordination to establish how and why a phenomenon is occurring, with the evaluative framework being effective if there is already a presupposed phenomenon (Guglielmin et. al. 2022). They

can be particularly effective when approaching events taking place at the current moment, and can help add current events into existing theory. The practice consists of "a detailed investigation, often with data collected over a period of time, of phenomena, within their context, to provide an analysis of the context and processes which illuminate the theoretical issues being studied" (Kohlbacher 2006 pg. 20).

The case study format serves my research as it hopes to apply a framework of analysis onto a current set of phenomena. Being able to explore a narrow scope of place and time is the inherent nature of Case study research and fits well with my focus on the facets of AbD within KNP during a set of years. This narrowing of scope offers the ability to more deeply understand this phenomena and the perspectives of the actors as it concerns the discreet discourses and policies within the temporal framing. The use of explanatory analysis offers the opportunity to use the established framework of AbD, so as to analyze from the actors perspectives how it is happening and the why, as presented by the actors involved. The use of a case study also within my wider research on AbD offers a current analysis to apply the results of the systematic review to better test and solidify the results within a single place and time, supplementing the wider analysis of the literature.

Methods

The methodology in this research was a case study using document analysis. Four documents were selected in line with Document analysis to highlight the instances of AbD within Komodo National park. The goal with the selection of documents was to provide a variety of voices within a set amount of time when specific policies and discourses would be mutually explored and could be compared with policies implemented. Within these data I highlighted separate sources to get a variety of discourse planes, these included a report in a National newspaper, a ministry of forestry report to UNESCO, a

UNESCO report, and letter to the Indonesian government, and a report from a group of human rights and indigenous activist groups working in the Komodo area. These discourse planes all fit within the discourse strand that is the policy and community developments that took place within the park between 2015 and 2022. This strand defines the discourse and restricts the scope of research temporally and helps refine the parameters of the other aspects of the analysis, however the planes' positionality, context and history are evaluated within the analysis as well. The documents themselves contain a number of discourse fragments, these being the themes of note for the study, which for my purposes included: Harvey's four pillars of AbD, Conservation, Tourism, Economic Development, and Local legitimacy. The analysis along these fragments were used to understand the similarities and differences between what is happening in KNP and AbD in protected areas. Once the discourse was analyzed it was important to highlight the policy actions that followed and were further discussed in the documents. AbD is a process that is influenced and pursued thought discourse but is at least in part implemented materially, as it is the seizure of value whether that is through discourse and rights, or land and property. This dual nature of the process of AbD is why through this study the analysis of discourse is used to inform the analysis of policy and vice versa.

To describe briefly what the four texts are, there is a news report from the Indonesian newspaper *Kompas*, (https://regional.kompas.com/read/2019/12/24/12551871/kaleidoskop-2019-tarik-ulur-penutupan-pulau-komodo-alasan-konservasi-hingga?page=all) which is a summary of events they reported on within KNP in the years 2015-2019. Their reporting covered a number of topics, many involving the local government statements and national government level policy and statements, they also had some reporting from local groups focusing on community wellbeing and conservation in KNP as well. The second text (https://www.walhi.or.id/uploads/buku/4.6%20Komodo%20-%20WALHI-1_FINAL.docx.pdf) is a report created by two Indonesian human rights advocacy groups, *Wahana Lingkungan Hidup Indonesia* (WAHLI, or Friends of the Earth Indonesia), and *Sunspirit for Justice and*

Peace. Their report was published on their websites as well as submitted for publication for World Heritage Watch Report 2021. In it they describe the developments within the park in relation to conservation, tourism and local communities since 2012, though highlighting policy changes between 2019 and 2021. The next text is a UNESCO meeting report sub section titled *1. Komodo National Park (Indonesia) (N 609) (https://whc.unesco.org/en/decisions/7809)* . Within this report UNESCO presents Conservation issues, new reports and developments within the park it seeks further information on, and a number of requests for the Indonesian national government as well as local KNP officials. The final text is a response from the Indonesian National government in response to the UNESCO requests concerning KNP titled *State of Conservation Status of the World Heritage in Indonesia, World Heritage Property Komodo National Park (N 609)*. This report being published in January 2022 provides general information to UNESCO as well as responds point by point to their requests in the previous meeting report. I selected these four documents as they offered different perspectives on a narrow temporal and phenomenon based scale. They all covered the policy and management decisions within KNP over the past 5 years. They also covered the differing scales and types of actors, sufficiently covering local perspectives, national level journalism, international conservation perspectives as well as national government perspective. The inclusion of more sources would have expanded the temporal focus, or added documents not necessary for the understanding of AbD and subsequent scale issues in KNP. Through the use of these four texts I was able to cover a number of Discourse planes as well as get multiple perspectives on discourse fragments concerning AbD within the park.

Document Name	Author	Audience	Date
Kaleidoskop 2019: Tarik Ulur Penutupan Pulau Komodo, Alasan Konservasi hingga Rencana "Membership" Turis Premium /	Kontributor Kupang, Sigiranus Marutho Bere	General Indonesian Public	December 2019

Kaleidoscope 2019: The Tug and pull of Komodo Island, Conservation Reasons for Premium Tourist "Membership" Plans			
Komodo National Park: The Only Home of Komodo Dragons in Peril	*Wahana Lingkungan Hidup Indonesia* (WAHLI, or Friends of the Earth Indonesia), and *Sunspirit for Justice and Peace*	UNESCO, and Rights Organizations	2021
1. Komodo National Park (Indonesia) (N 609)	UNESCO	Indonesian Government, Ministry of Forestry	2021
State of Conservation Status of the World Heritage in Indonesia, World Heritage Property Komodo National Park (N 609)	Indonesian Ministry of Forestry	UNESCO	January 2022

Table 3. List of Documents analyzed

To analyze these sources I read them, then coded important references through Nvivo, as well as annotated notes through Nvivo onto the documents. Important references and annotations concerned the fragments of AbD, Conservation, Tourism, Economic Development, Local legitimacy. Through these fragments I found a number of similarities between AbD in protected areas generally and

what is happening in KNP. These include all four of Harvey's main pillars of AbD, as well as additional facets such as alienation of locals and land, De-Re Regulation, and the liminal space of public land and private ownership.

Results

Fragments of Analysis:

Privatization

Within the texts privatization was a focus. With privatization within the park the data referred mainly to the leasing or "Giving" (WHALI), of land for development within the park to private companies, as well as permitting to continue building and renovating within the park. According to the WALHI document the government "granted permits for PT Komodo Wildlife Ecotourism (PT KWE) to manage a total of 151, 94 ha in Long Liang and a total of 274,13 ha on Padar island. The government also is in the process of granting permits to PT Flobamora, a provincially-owned company, to build an exclusive resort on Komodo Island. In 2015, the government granted permits to PT Sagara Komodo Lestari for a total area of 22,1 ha for the development of a Jurassic Park for massive tourism on Rinca island. On Tatawa island, the government issued permits on April 24, 2020 to PT Synergindo Niagatama for developing underwater tourism business in a total concession area of 15,32 ha." (WAHLI) These spaces within the protected area are leased to these tourism companies for infrastructure development and tourism management. Within the WAHLI document this is considered an infringement on local rights, but more primarily on the environmental protected basis. While the government states that they are including the local communities in conservation and tourism they were not mentioned in the same document when referring to the designing the tourism carrying capacity system. As stated by the government "The tourism carrying capacity system is designed after obtaining constructive feedback from the tourism

stakeholders, mainly from the Diving Operator Community Komodo (DOCK), the Indonesian Marine Tourism Association (GAHAWISRI) of Labuan Bajo, the Recreation Boat Network (JANGKAR), the Tourism Boat Association (ASKAWI), and the Association of the Indonesian Tours and Travel Agencies (ASITA) of West Manggarai." (Indonesian Government pg. 7) They continue to report on how the carrying capacity and tourism numbers may impact resorts within the park and in Labuan Bajo. When mentioning these, there is no recognition given to impact of communities within the park, nor to the environmental impacts of either diving or resorts. This is all in line with the frequent sections in the report on infrastructure development and improvement to increase the sustainable number of tourists possible in these tourist sites (Indonesian Government). The development of these infrastructure providing profits for private companies and governments through increased tourism revenue. However, the reasoning given for these infrastructure developments is "to mitigate any negative impact on the OUV due to increasing numbers of tourists" (Indonesian Government pg. 10), again situating it within the conservation and neoliberal conservation discourses. This term OUV (outstanding universal value) is a common term in these documents, it refers to the value of the natural space in the park that is worth value to all mankind past, present and future. This term is used by UNESCO to evaluate sites for certification, and within KNP it refers to the Komodo Dragons as well as the marine habitat. Referring to the OUV does not imply importance to local values or protection, but as we will see can be used by those with locals in mind to advocate for more sustainable policy.

Public/Private Liminal space/Re-Dregulation –

Within KNP there are a number of zones that dictate what activities are restricted and what are allowed within the park. These are designated to preserve the protected area for conservation and to encourage economy development. These include the Core zone, which allows no human activity aside from research, to the Wilderness Zone and the Nautical Protection zone, both of which restrict most

human activities including extraction, but do allow for limited nature tourism. The final two zones are the utilization zone which allows for intensive nature tourism activities and the local community traditional zone which can be utilized for the basic needs of residents, however land utilization requires special permitting from the head of KNP, and any sea exploitation requires "eco-friendly technology" (WAHLI). Under the utilization zone there is allowed extensive tourism development, which includes infrastructure development. The increase in privatized leases is mentioned in the UNESCO document as they are concerned about the "attribution of several additional tourism concessions across the property following a change in the zoning of the property."(UNESCO). The zoning they are referring to are they "utilization zones" which according to the government can be used for intensive tourism. We see the same concern in the WAHLI document in the case of Padar island which was zoned as Core and Wilderness in 2001, however as is laid out within WAHLI, "after the Ministry of Environment and Forestry issued Decree No. SK.21/IV-SET/2012, 303,9 ha of wilderness zone in Padar Island were converted into utilization zones. The same happened on Tatawa island. According to the 2001 Decree, the whole island was included in the wilderness zone, but the 2012 Decree converted 20,944 ha to be utilized for land tourism. Still part of the ambitious project, the government also plans to change the conservation status of Muang island and Bero/Rohtang island, two islets located between Rinca and Flores island which are included in the core and wilderness zones, and are respectively the natural habitat of Turtle and Yellow-Crested Cockatoo. Under this new scheme, the government plans to manage the islets as part of Tana Mori Special Economic Zone that covers an area of 560 ha." (WAHLI pg.4). The transfer to these utilization zones further complicates the matter of public and private land within protected areas. It is through this practice that public land that is slated for conservation can be sold for government profit and revenue generating for private companies.

As public land the government has an obligation to enforce environmental regulations. Under the guise of conservation and environmental protection the government can choose when and when

not to enforce these regulations. As stated by WAHLI, "Alarmingly, the Ministry of Environment and Forestry, who is supposed to be the main guardian of the Park, excluded the obligation to conduct Environmental Impact Assessments (EIA) when developing infrastructure in the park. According to the Ministry, companies are not obliged to prepare EIAs because the development is already listed in the document on environmental management and environmental monitoring efforts (UKL-UPL) for protected areas."(WAHLI pg.7). UNESCO brings up this concern as well, prompted by third party information which could be WAHLI. They "request the State Party to revise the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) for the tourism infrastructure projects on Rinca Island" (UNESCO pg. 3). In line with that request UNESCO also "urges the State Party to halt all tourism infrastructure projects in and around the property that have the potential to impact on its OUV until the revised EIA is submitted and reviewed by the IUCN." (UNESCO pg. 3). The government in response to these requests offers three points in their report, the first being these are not new infrastructure projects, merely refurbishments so do not need to be reviewed. The second, they do provide an updated EIA, however thirdly, directed to UNESCO's request to halt projects until they have had the chance to review they simply say "The government of Indonesia is committed to *fulfilling the spirit* and recommendation of the World Heritage Convention." (Indonesian Government p.10, emphasis added). The government finalized that section with inviting UNESCO representatives to come and see what the developments look like. It is through this practice that through changes in zoning and then removing environmental protections state and private actors can push through projects for profit and to increase tourist visitation while ignoring local or environmental concerns. Once people have caught on and asked the government to stop the government can obfuscate, and delay until the projects are either complete or the damage is already done. This shows that while UNESCO and advocacy groups have some power, authority within the park is firmly in the hands of government who can choose when and how to protect the environment.

The ability for the government to change regulations within the park can be used to dispossess locals, as well as accumulate value for government and private actors. The government has the capacity to change zoning when they see fit to whichever ends they deem important, with or without concern for local or environmental factors. The government did a revamp of the zoning within the park in 2020 causing confusion among locals and some tourism operators. "In order to ensure a smooth process of investment in the National Park, the government keeps rearranging the zones of the park. On November 6, 2020, the Ministry of Environment and Forestry issued another Decree concerning zoning of KNP, noting that several zones in the 2012 Decree are not in accordance with its designation and are no longer relevant for the needs and external and internal dynamics of the management of KNP. In the 2020 Decree, the zones are narrowed down from nine to seven zones." (WAHLI pg.5). This narrowing of zones is made as a case of simplifying the zoning system, however there are other implications to these rezoning practices. For traditional users within the park they are restricted to those designated for them (where they must use government sanctioned tools) or go further than they used to have to to access shared water. As is stated here by WAHLI, "In addition, the zoning policy directly impacts the indigenous peoples who mainly base their livelihood on maritime resources. They can only access two zones of the sea, the Traditional Nautical Use of 17,308 ha (since 2020 part of the renamed Local Community Traditional Zone), and the Pelagic Use / Traditional Pelagic Zone of 59,601 ha but requires fishermen to share it with tourism activities. The zoning has narrowed the fishing area even further and caused criminalization and intimidation of some indigenous people." (WAHLI pg.4). What we see throughout the park (and will be discussed later) is that the government has taken areas that were zoned for environmental protection and changed their zoning to use in tourism activities. And for those who are attempting to understand the zoning changes the lack of transparency leads to confusion and possible conflict between user groups and with the government. The most recent zoning has also made it unclear how large the park actually is, "Even though the size of KNP in both 2012 and 2020 zoning

remain the same, 173.300 ha. There is contradictory data in the document and map of the 2012 zoning system, in the Decree document of 2012 the total accumulated area of the park is 218.205 ha where in the map the size of the park is 173,300 ha. Comparatively with the new zoning in 2020, the wilderness zone which was recorded in the 2012 zoning documentation covered an area of 66.921 ha while in the 2020 zoning document, the wilderness zone covers a total of 22.192 ha which resulted 44.905 ha is lost in the wilderness zone from the previous zone. The property was inscribed as a National Park in 1980 and a World Heritage site in 1991 covered an area of 219.322 ha. The shrink of 44.905 ha, raises a question about the official size of the national park." (WAHLI pg.5). As stated by WAHLI in that document is brings up questions of how large the park is, but also means the government can move zones around within the park to increase utilization and decrease environmental protection, or local traditional use, without having to answer questions. This is a practice where the government regulations and discourse are not changing the size of the park, or the actual land, but has the power to influence the relationship people have with the space that has become so opaque.

Financialization

Within the park there is increasing financial speculation concerning the economic value and benefits for the park. This has come in two main strains according to the texts, the first is the intangible reputational buildup of the park into a high -end tourism destination, the other is the policy implications of such a high end vision, including lowering the amount of visitors allowed into the park, and increased entrance fee. In 2010 Labuan Bajo as listed "as one of 10 national primary destinations which the government is billing as the "New Bali" in 2015, tourism development has changed from community-based to industry. To that end, the President Jokowi's administration then issued a Presidential Decree in 2019 to include KNP and the surrounding area in the National Strategic Tourism Areas (KSPN). Through the Decree, KNP is targeted as the new epicenter of tourism investment in Flores island"

(WAHLI pg.2). This was the first instance mentioned in the text concerning the high valuation of KNP and Labuan Bajo. It was after that 2010 list and increasingly after the 2015 decree that private investment and leasing within the park increased, according to the text in part because of this valuation. The context of a "*New Bali*" is not to be understated, with that title comes an expectation of high tourism income, international prestige and large scale financial investment. This increasing value through speculation continued with the governor of West Mangarrai District proclaiming at a meeting with President Jokowi "Viktor said that Komodo Island is included in the luxury class tourism category, therefore tourists must also be in the upper middle class. "We need 50,000 rich people spread across the world to visit Komodo Island, of course with a record of each person per year of 1,000 US dollars," "(Kompas). This is a reframing of the park from a location accessible to all types with entrance fees being below $20USD and no visitor cap to one only accessible by an (international) middle class elite. With this increase in cost, it is hard to imagine that Indonesian visitor rates would continue at previous rates as the cost would be prohibitive to most, mainly opening this park to that international world traveler, no longer the backpacking southeast Asian spot. The pressure from the regional government on the national government, in part from discourses like these brought in national level cooperation and thus legitimization of the policies and projects. The national government can then pursue their own forms of legitimization and speculation within the park as they see necessary as seen here in Kompas we will build " a research center on Komodo Island Regarding the management of Komodo Island, Deputy for Infrastructure Ridwan Djamaluddin, who also participated in the meeting, added that later a Komodo Research Center will also be built on Komodo Island and the arrangement of cruise ships to Komodo Island and Labuan Bajo. "We must also build international standard natural tourism facilities and infrastructure, and build adequate supporting infrastructure outside the Komodo Island area," said Ridwan." (Kompas). This government buy in is also seen in the response to UNESCO concerns about the change in tourism numbers within the park, in relation to the government wishing to expand tourism in

the region generally (UNSECO). The government response does not elaborate what the exact numbers for KNP will eventually be, but imply that 2,000,000 tourists would be expected over a four year period (Indonesian Government). The government reiterated in their report "The idea is to shift from mass tourism and focus more on sustainable high-end tourism and improved infrastructures that boost the local economy and stimulate community development, which ultimately will support long-term protection of the property" (Indonesian Government pg. 4). This number would be well above the 50,000 that the government is planning for KNP and that UNESCO seemingly is on board with. This increases the uneven development of the region, creating winners and losers in the tourism business and selecting different types of communities and class of businesses who will profit where.

The increased speculation and financialization of the value of the park and its resources is then reflected in policy on the ground. This can be seen in the earlier mentioned leases of public land within the park, those investments and leases did not begin to occur until the ramping up of value had begun in KNP. The financial opening of the park to international investment is also seen through the introduction of Special Economic zones within the park and neighboring West Mangarrai District (WAHLI). And most obviously seen was the actual policies of the visitor cap and the price increase to enter Komodo island and other islands at a reduced rate (Kompas). This pattern fits into Harvey's theory in that once locals have been opened to market mechanisms they are vulnerable to speculation and policy changes. In this case there has been little mention as to how local community members will be able to adapt to this change in the market from diverse consumers to high end luxury tourism. Villagers on Komodo island who currently sell handicrafts, postcards, and meals will now have to compete with each other and those on the mainland for a decreasing number of possible consumers. And as we have seen in other documents (see background), Ata Modo community members who use to fish, hunt, farm, or hunt have either been restricted out of those activities, or have sold the tools and lost expertise in favor of the new tourism opportunities. And while the park says in its notice it is empower locals to take park in

conservation and tourism, there are still no community members in management positions within the park rangers, guides, or tour boat operators.

Management and Manipulation of Crises

It would seem implied by these policies that the government would like to push locals out, but rather than speculating they have been quite clear as the governor said in May 2019, “We also want no humans to live on Komodo Island. Those who now live there will be moved to Rinca Island or Padar Island. Of course, when it comes to moving residents to other places, it is not easy. It becomes the duty of the government, to organize their lives to be better and more decent. We will make a study on that," he continued. His party wants to create the Komodo National Park as a wild nature for Komodo dragons. The attraction will appeal to tourists, how the animal chases, catches and eats other animals. So, we are not indulging by feeding them and the Komodo dragons are becoming lazy," (Kompas). In a later interview with Kompas regarding the refusal and protest from locals concerning the planned eviction “Viktor said that it was commonplace. "Everywhere everyone must be so (to refuse) and it is a common thing," said Viktor when interviewed by Kompas.com, at the Sasando Kupang Hotel, Friday (16/8/2019) night. According to Viktor, the principle is that the government never intends to harm its own citizens. What is done by the government, continued Viktor, is only limited to control and for the benefit of developing the area into conservation and for the future of NTT. "For the residents, all will be paid attention to, be it schoolchildren, clean water, our electricity is prepared. Even land certificates will be prepared," Viktor said.” (Kompas). It is clear through this statement we are seeing the discourse of uneven development play out, as is seen in Harvey’s AbD theory. The locals will have to make sacrifices to maintain a greater good, whether that is for environmental conservation or for poverty reduction and economic development. The argument towards conservation is undermined by the government’s very own report on Komodo Dragon populations stating “ The population of the Komodo dragon has shown

small fluctuations during the last five years [2015-2020] but has remained stable with an abundance of around 3,000 individuals." (Indonesian Government pg. 5). The eviction process in response to the needs of development and environmental protection is just one example in the text of the government implementing one of Harvey's four pillars being, Management and manipulation of crises. In this case the crises being poverty and the environmental conservation.

The crises of environmental degradation has been used by the government to institute militarization and intimidation within the park towards locals. In one instance in the WAHLI report the zoning by the government has been used to increase enforcement and intimidation stating "Due to the failure to communicate the new zoning system, since 2012 at least 36 fishermen have been intimidated for entering the wrong zone, and one person was put into jail for entering the wilderness zone." (WAHLI pg. 4). It is not only a switching of zones, but a lack of transparency coupled with restrictions and increased enforcement. If communities don't feel safe performing their livelihood activities (which are now increasing difficult due to restrictions on equipment and distance to practice them through zoning) then they are being dispossessed of that livelihood and are being pushed towards further dispossession and displacement. This enforcement on the water is seen quite differently from UNESCO and the government however. In the UNESCO report they listed two of their four threats to the park as:

"• A significant increase in illegal fishing activities in the property, including in no-take zones;
• Management issues in the property's marine area, including lack of enforcement of sustainable tourism practices, such as observing no-anchoring zones." (UNESCO pg.1).

To them enforcement on the waters is insufficient, however they do implicate tourism activities as well as fishing. However, when UNSECO gives its recommendations it says "More effective law enforcement is needed to prevent destructive and illegal fishing practices and anchoring in sensitive coral reef areas,

to ensure that the OUV is preserved and that the property can continue to provide benefits to local communities." (UNESCO pg. 2-3). Seemingly unaware of the activities of law enforcement in practice they hope to see more involvement, along with ironically implying that more law enforcement is for the benefit of the local communities that the law enforcement may end up intimidating and sending to jail. The Indonesian government has still another perspective on this issue of enforcement within the park, namely through increased militarization. The government aims to assuage UNESCO concerns by stating they are "strengthening the protecting and surveillance efforts continuously and consistently with the aid of the interprofessional collaboration amongst the law enforcement agencies, such as: the West Manggarai Policemen, the Indonesian National Marines and the Directorate General of Law Enforcement Ministry of the Environment and Forestry Republic of Indonesia." (Indonesian Government pg. 11). They continue stating "in addition, the Komodo National Park also collaborates with marine tourism forum stakeholders, including Labuan Bajo Flores Tourism Authority, diving operators, boat operators, and the tourism community to manage fast reports and responses to protect the area."(Indonesian Government pg.11). This section fo the report is accompanied by the only pictures in the government report which include four which show armed individuals in uniform patrolling on land and on boats, titled *Figure: Park's joint patrol* (Indonesian Government pg. 11). The targets of these patrols seem to be illegal fishers as in the next paragraphs they report on fish populations in regard to decreases in illegal fishers, in their eyes justifying the patrols. It is clear that tourism operators do not seem to be an issue even though the UNESCO report specifically requests action against tourism actors *and* illegal fishing practices. This increased use of force, which includes the Indonesian Marines, to patrol the park for poachers and illegal fishers as noted earlier is seen as a show of intimidation by local community members who through lack of transparency can find themselves illegally fishing outside of prescribed zones. This is not to say the practice does not decrease outside actors from illegally fishing, but the impact also has implications for the community that most frequently interacts with said patrols.

The educational component the government applies after discussing the increased patrols is a *Resort-Based Management* plan. By imbedding rangers at 13 resorts within the park they collect environmental data, create "community empowerment activities", and disseminate information. They state that from January -march 2021 they disseminated 669 informational documents. This amount of information is supposedly for transparency but with that much information to keep up with and with some Ata Modo being pre-literate or semi-literate it seems natural there would be confusion, to the point that the increased transparency is in fact a lack of transparency.

State Redistribution

State redistribution has been found in the data through the allocation of zoning, and the subsequent leasing of said land. This has been the case in KNP from the beginning, "Before the government designated the area to be a national park in 1980, the local community voluntarily gave the land of their settlement to the government for conservation purposes. Now their land is given to PT KWE for tourism purposes." (WAHLI pg. 2). This action is clearly communal land being given to the government for use as public trust, and then the government selling the rights to use, access, and profit from the land to private companies. Land that was initially set aside for conservation is being changed into utilization zones for economic investment, tourism activities, and infrastructure development. This was brought in the WAHLI report that in 2001 Padar was core and wilderness zone, meaning no intensive tourism activities or infrastructure, and in some areas no human involvement at all. However, in 2012 303.9 ha of wilderness zone was converted to utilization. This was a transfer from the most protected zone to the most open to infrastructure and tourism. The report follows that this happened on Tatawa Island as well where it was all wilderness and was subsequently turned into utilization zone. They finally also mention planned zoning changes on two other islands which are solely core and wilderness as well (WAHLI). These zoning concerns were also brought to the government by UNESCO

"requesting comments from the State Party following third-party information about significant changes made to the zoning system of the property in 2020, which resulted in a decrease of the wilderness zone to one-third of the previous area, the attribution of further tourism concessions within and near the property."(UNESCO pg.2). This "third-party" potentially was WAHLI in their report as they brought these concerns and was directed to UNESCO for review, though this cannot be confirmed as UNESCO does not attribute a source. Though this occurrence, and other mentions in the UNESCO document, imply a receptiveness from UNESCO to local community advocates. The Indonesian Government report sidesteps this concern by UNESCO by saying their final management plan is not complete nor will it be for another 2 years.

Alienation of locals and land –

All of the documents referred to the conservation issues more frequently than the issues pertaining to local human rights within the park. When WAHLI decried the tourism investment and zoning plans it was for the conservation, the UNESCO document significantly favored the arguments about conservation rather than locals, the Kompas article rarely mentioned the issue of locals, and the Indonesian government response to UNESCO mentioned local issues but surprisingly without being prompted in that they "Has no intention to relocate the people of Komodo Village who live in the Komodo National Park. A Community based Ecotousim program is currently being developed highlighting local community involvement and based on the traditions and culture of Komodo Island. The program empowers village communities inside the national park to actively participate in conservation and tourism. Villages in the park will be empowered as part of social culture attractions and to be include din the park travel tourism destinations, such as fisher villages, coastal culture performances, creative economy etc. In addition, some tourism products made by locals have been introduced to attract visitors since 2021. Rearrangement of tourism experience has been delivered

through improved interpretive tour and heritage museum to optimize education contents of the World Heritage site." (Indonesian Government Report pg 3). In this text the local communities are naturally folded into the tourism infrastructure as attraction, *empowering* them to *participate in conservation and tourism* rather than active partners in planning and implementing such practices. In this way the local community has become part of the backdrop that is Komodo National park, which in all the documents is written about as an individual entity. Through this the islands, locations, villages, people, flora, fauna, and ecosystem are reduced to a single unit which can then be spoken about, traded, speculated and developed.

The use of focus on environmental concern within the park can be seen in this quote from WAHLI: "the government also plans to change the conservation status of Muang island and Bero/Rohtang island, two islets located between Rinca and Flores island which are included in the core and wilderness zones, and are respectively the natural habitat of Turtle and Yellow-Crested Cockatoo. Under this new scheme, the government plans to manage the islets as part of Tana Mori Special Economic Zone that covers an area of 560 ha." (WAHLI pg. 4). the advocates in WAHLI see this zoning as a serious threat to KNP, and as we can see in the final section the importance again is on the environmental significance and subsequent threat. Even as it has been this practice of zoning which has separated locals from their traditional practices and access. This emphasis on the environmental significance when social concerns would also be relevant is seemingly in part due to the audience being government and intergovernmental organizations. This would seemingly be a potent strategy for advocacy, the government refers explicitly to the park as an individual entity and the Komodo Dragons and Coral reefs being the main purpose of the park. UNESCO refers to OUV (Outstanding Universal Values) within the park, which in their document is listed as the coral reefs and Komodo dragons. And the Kompas publication speaks to the intersection of government control over conservation and tourism priorities. The plight of the local indigenous community to increased restrictions on livelihood activities

through zoning, the threats of eviction, and the implications of high end tourism policy are seemingly irrelevant to most parties involved. And when it is mentioned in interview with the governor of West Manggarai the discourse lends itself to managing environmental crises, or that the park does not belong to the community. The value of the park belongs to the region, the Komodo dragons, and seemingly the world through tourism and conservation, but not to local groups (Kompas). To advocate for locals WAHLI takes the dual tactics of involving this speaking across scale sin referring to environmental conservation, while also situating it within local contexts. Specifically, the use of photos of local community members protesting, fishing and showing daily life are useful to situate the case within the local context. Thusly, the advocates at WAHLI are attempting to speak across scales and speak in an institutional language on priorities as they implicate the environment as the primary concern, while still advocating for local rights. However, by acknowledging the higher value attributed to the OUVs within the park rather than locals, WAHLI and other advocates while being able to speak across scales are potentially contributing to the alienation felt by locals as they cede the priority within the park.

Discussion

Within KNP we see evidence in the data for all of Harvey's four pillars of AbD: Privatization, Financialization, State Redistribution and Management and manipulation of crises. There is also evidence of facets of AbD found through my previous systematic review of AbD in protected areas such as use of regulations, the liminal state between public and private land, lack of transparency, and the alienation of locals from land and place. There are a number of conclusions we can draw from the practice of AbD in KNP that should offer insights for communities globally dealing with these issues. The first is that from the data the actors pushing AbD are primarily state actors, both regional and national, with a strong emphasis from local government. Private actors are not seen to be pushing the AbD, however are taking opportunities given to them for profit when facets of the park are opened up by the

government. The second is that AbD is a continually and persistent practice in protected areas, while the push of AbD is not new, the data suggests a significant ramping up since 2010. This is much later than the initial designation of the park as a national park or as a world heritage site. This suggests that AbD is not strictly limited to the creation of protected areas but can always be a potential through management of the park by government actors when local rights and legitimacy is not emphasized in park management. Thirdly, local responses vary in type and success, through the data the local protests have had some success in limiting the removal of their community from the park. However, the more subtle forms of AbD have been countered by speaking across scales and using the discourse of environmental protection rather than human rights. If this type of action will work is yet to be seen. However, local advocacy has made inroads in international institutions if not local and national government which could potentially lead to changes in policy or at the very least, greater transparency and acknowledgement of developments with the park. Finally, public opinion on full removal of locals from parks is unpopular and protest can create hurdles for government actors attempting to pursue eviction. In response, within KNP restrictions on traditional livelihood practices, narrowing of opportunities within tourism, and lack of transparency around regulations and enforcement creates pressure which may lead to eventual displacement. The process of delegitimizing local presence within the park, as well as changing the social space within the park so locals feel alienated from their cultural, spiritual, and historical connection is solidified through government policy and management, especially though zoning and restrictions on practices. These open opportunities to accumulate wealth without having to forcibly displace locals, but by dispossessing them piecemeal of their legitimacy within the park, their cultural and community connection to the space, and livelihood opportunities both traditionally and market based.

Scale has been a focus of study in human and physical geography since the early 1990s, this includes the capital, political and social construction of scale (Marston 2017). Scale has been described

in different ways depending on the framework of study, from 'levels of representation' to, 'facets of size, level and relation', and as a relational element ina complex mix that also includes space, place and environment – which make up the geographies we live in' (Marston 2017). We will be using the definition laid out in (Swyngedouw 2004) of scaler configurations "as the outcome of socio-spatial processes that regulate and organize social power relations." This definition is able to include the more rigid categories of local, regional, national, and international, while also accounting for flexibility and social relations within and across scales. Within my study scale is both defined within those categories to describe speaking across scales and scale jumping, as well as outside of those categorical distinctions within political, geographic and economic systems. The distinctions then that I will be using as different levels of scales are not solely geographic, but fall into political categories (local political groups, national level governmental bodies, and international organizations such as UNESCO), economic and capital catagroies (local fisherman and park guides, national level infrastructure companies, international tourism operations), as well as social groupings (Ata Modo in KNP, groups and advocates within the region of West Manggarai, the Indonesian national identity group, as well as international level conservation organizations). The actors within these categories act both within their scale as well as across scales, and while scales in some ways are nested hierarchically there is possible communication and action across scales, both from larger onto lower levels but vice versa (Marston 2017). This is often referred to as 'Jumping of scales' (Swyngedouw 2004; Marston 2017), and is both a way to understand the boundaries within the construction of scale as it limits actors, it also describes the possibilities of actors to stretch across and into other levels of scale. It is that act of attempting to communicate across and impact through actions across scales that constitutes political actions that can increase the strength and reach of local movements through discourse and coalition building.

Within the data, scale, and the political action across scales came out as significant. Importance of scale is not mentioned in Harvey's initial works as AbD can be seen at different scales by different

actors. Specifically, the use of scale was significant in the responses and actions taken be different actors in relation to policies in KNP. The use of scale jumping for local groups through the report by WAHLI and to local reporters to go around the governing body of the ministry of forestry and the regional government was effective at garnering support and attention. This can be seen in the UNESCO reporting speaking on the issues of local concern highlighted in the WAHLI report, as well as use of images within the park sparking national level protest within Indonesia against the construction within the park. In this way the actors at the regional and national scale who are implementing actions of AbD while not being confronted directly by local groups and advocates can be effectively contested by speaking across scales. These actions across scales have lead to concrete advances for local political groups, including protest garnering national level attention in 2019 which stopped the government from evicting the Ata Modo, as well as the use of photography and national level news organizations to bring attention to the impact construction as having on Komodo Dragon populations. Finally, communication with the international level by locals writing a report for UNESCO brought international attention and legitimacy to local dispossession. This is especially significant for the Ata Modo, whose legitimacy in the park is questioned by the Indonesian national government. While this delegitimization is used to actively used to dispossesses and marginalize the local community, the Indonesian government cannot ignore those same concerns when they are brought by UNESCO whose legitimacy the Indonesian government does not question. And in fact whose legitimacy the Indonesian government and KNP administrators are using to increase their own authority within the park.

The intentional act of speaking across scales has influenced the type of discourse used by advocates as well, as not all types of discourse will jump as successfully as others. As we have seen through results on alienation of locals and land, local advocacy groups targeting audiences outside of their scale have framed their arguments within a discourse that will be more well received by those higher level scalar actors. Those being the national Indonesian public and the International conservation

community and UNESCO. By framing the issues within KNP as threatening the environment and Komodo Dragons, local groups are able to garner more support and use arguments more suited to those scales. However, through this practice there is the concern that local authority and legitimacy within the park is being undermined through their erasure in the policy documents. While centering the issues in KNP within the wider context of global biodiversity loss and environmental degradation ties the interests of local groups to international and national level groups it also implies secondary concern to that of local human rights issues. With this action there is the future possibility that human and environmental concerns will be less intertwined, and at that point local groups will not be able to use the same discourse for their political aims. It should be noted that throughout the data within KNP and through the systematic review of AbD that this action of using environmental concerns to justify political action has been a common tool used by governments and capital groups to dispossess local actors, blaming them for environmental degradation. And while this is not entirely novel for local groups to flip this discourse for their own aims when jumping scales, it has been especially effective so far within KNP.

Local Scale	Ata Modo, Human Rights Advocacy Groups, Local Business
Regional Scale	Regional Government Officials, Business groups, Regional News
National Scale	Ministry of Forestry, Ministry of Tourism, Presidential office, Indonesian Public, National Level News
International	UNESCO, The Nature Conservancy, International tourism and infrastructure investment groups, International Public, International News

Table 4. Levels of Scale with coinciding actors

Conclusion

In conclusion there will need to be evaluations of the impacts of the new tourism policies within the park. The pandemic has led to increased vulnerability to many in the tourism sector and we have seen that within the park as well. The negotiations between UNESCO and the Indonesian government are also still underway and will have the potential to create more opportunities for state actors to continue acting, or possible create openings for locals to increase legitimacy through protesting the government with the backing of UNESCO reports. Globally, as the pandemic ends and environmental tourism increases again there is continued threat of AbD within protected areas as state actors employ these tactics outlined through the study to more subtly accumulate value from local communities and perhaps eventually lead to displacement. There are opportunities however when government do overreach through protest action and advocacy to international organizations using global discourses of conservation, which will only become more effective as global climate change and biodiversity loss continues to accelerate.

Some limitations of this study include the selection of only four recent documents, going back to the formation of the park could offer insights into how AbD has progressed historically, potentially highlighting trends of the process. To gather more input from local perspectives a comprehensive survey or ethnographic study would be necessary and would be helpful to better understand the processes surrounding locals feeling alienated from land and place. Due to this a more in depth on the ground qualitative study is recommended within KNP to better understand local perspectives.

The hope is that through this study others will be encouraged to research and understand what the local impacts are in protected areas. With a more established foundational set of characteristics of AbD as well as having that applied within a document analysis of KNP scholars can repeat this work in other contexts. Through that research scholars can find more characteristics and processes of AbD

within protected areas. The other hope of this study is that local communities in protected areas facing processes of AbD will find the illustration in KNP useful in their own understanding of their circumstance as well as take lessons from the Ata Modo people as they have successfully and resiliently pursued their right to live in their ancestral homeland. My recommendations based on this research for communities facing AbD relate to discourse and action at several scales. The first recommendation is to bring arguments and issues up scales, and perhaps scale jump past those implanting the dispossession. AbD is an inherently delegitimizing process and increasing legitimacy by speaking across scales and connecting community legitimacy to other groups with institutional legitimacy can be an effective way to spread concerns and demand action. Legitimacy and authority within the space of dispossession is central to the ability of large actors to seize value and wealth, maintaining perceived legitimacy and authority within parks, and at the national and international level are key to offering effective resistance. The second recommendation would be to organize early and frequently when this process is beginning to arise. In the data AbD was seen to have started slowly in many cases, and oftentimes occurred years, or in the case of KNP decades after the initial creation of the park. In this way an engaged advocacy and protest movement from the beginning is essential. Another recommendation is to frame arguments and resistance in ways that speak to larger audiences and can be easily spread across scales. The advocacy in KNP for environmental protection offered effective opportunities for other organizations and the general Indonesian public to join the Ata Modo and WAHLI.

For the local community in KNP this research and subsequent communication with the community can provide better understanding of the processes and actors at play. With that information locals will be better equipped to resist these practices of dispossession. With understanding of the actors and how it starts, locals can resist early and set boundaries on capital encroachment, or at least bring it to public awareness. Through understanding of the types of practices and the frequency of practices locals can better apply effort over time as the accumulation does not end after protected area

creation. Through the application of scale locals in KNP and globally can apply lessons of resistance on jumping scales to offer multiple fronts of resistance. In this way the research benefits are both specific to KNP and generalizable to communities in protected areas globally. Just as Harvey's theory of AbD is meant as a generalizable theory, so too is its application within protected areas. With the increased value we put on natural spaces we will need to find ways to include local communities equitably in the benefits from that increase, all while keeping the local sense of space in the forefront.

Chapter 3:

Summary and Conclusion

Harvey established that Accumulation by Dispossession (AbD) is an ingrained tool of capital and government within neoliberal capitalism. With this study we have shown that it is also prevalent within neoliberal conservation. The auspices of environmental protection, poverty reduction, and climate change reduction have been used within protected area creation and management to justify acts of accumulation of wealth. Within protected areas this accumulation of wealth has often come by due to the dispossession of local communities, and the general citizenry. Using the framework of AbD as outlined by Harvey and then observing and categorizing novel processes we have begun to create an outline of how this is taking place within protected areas. Harvey's four main pillars of AbD being, Privatization, Financialization, Management and Manipulation of Crises, and State Redistribution, have all been documented as occurring in protected areas in a diverse set of circumstances and forms.

The systematic review established the prevalence of these four facets in a number of examples and case studies. Privatization was seen through the sale of, as well as the leasing of authority to collect rents, develop, commodify, and regulate public land within protected areas. Privatization was also seen

in the creation of capital and wealth generation in the form of protected area creation, ecosystem services, carbon and biodiversity offsetting, and generally the commodification of flora, fauna and space for conservation and tourism purposes. Financialization was seen at the national government level through debt traps and government financial instability which leads to sale of public land and authority in protected areas for general profits, austerity measures, and as conditions for loans and foreign aid. The ability of governments to lease services and the ability to operate within protected areas without the sale of land or reduction in local community property, but still dispossessing them of access and value was prevalent. In the same vein as the commodification of nature, the subsequent financial speculation and trading of that commodified value of nature for wealth generation while restricting access from locals thus changing the impetus of protected areas from conservation to wealth generation was seen. State redistribution was found in articles pertaining to the acceptance, or seizure of communal land and then the subsequent sale or leasing of that land. The redistribution of development and environmental degradation through offsets and uneven development from rich and wealth generating areas to lower income and rural areas was also significant. The management and manipulation of crises can be found through the management of financial crises that lead to leasing, management rights, and sale for the profit of those in government, NGOs and private sector. The myriad number of threats (either real or artificially constructed) such as poaching, climate change, environmental degradation, mismanagement of resources, and extinction were used as justification for application of wealth generating practices that dispossess. Novel contributions to Harvey's initial theory were also found through the liminal space between public and private land, the use of bureaucracy and regulations to dispossess and alienate, the financialization and commodification of nature, and the alienation of locals from space and place.

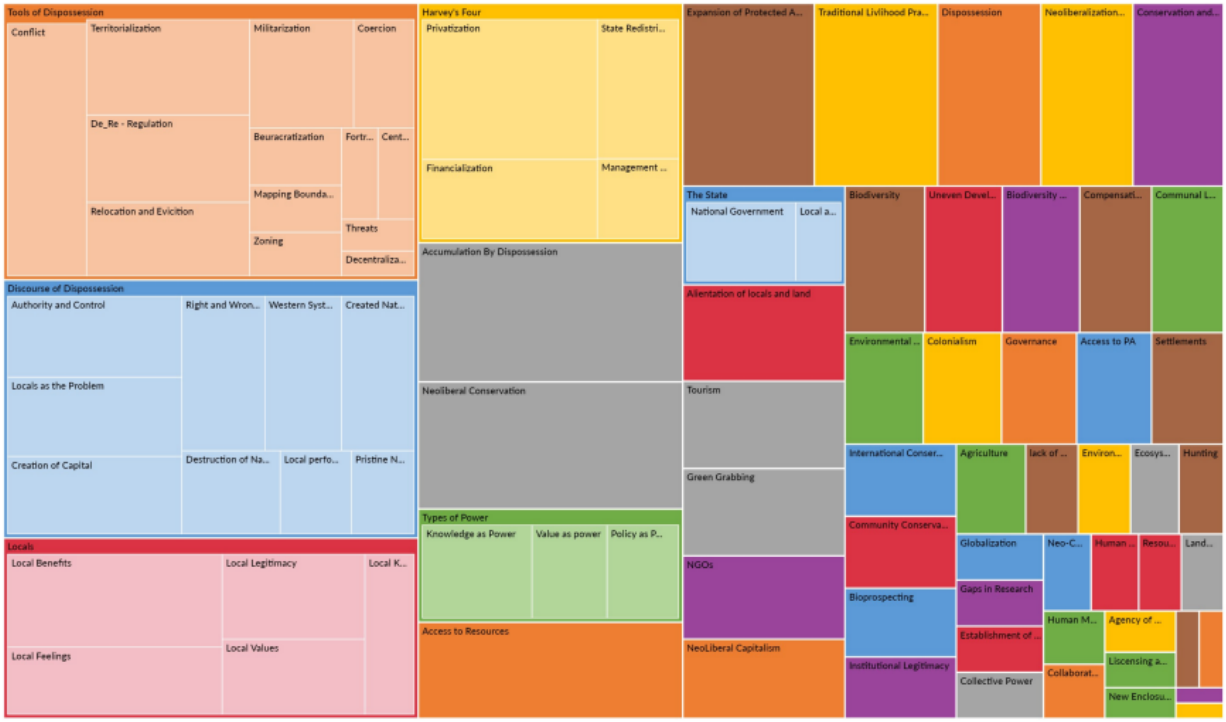
The document analysis case study in Komodo National park (KNP), found all of these factors at play in discourse and policy within the past 5-10 years. Privatization is widespread within the park as

islands and access to productive tourism activities are being sold or leased to private companies as locals are further restricted through zoning practices. Financial investment and speculation on the value within the park as it is being sold a elite tourism destination has created financial incentives to charge higher rates for entry, redefine the experience of tourists and in the process redefine the meaning of the park for inhabitants. Crises such as biodiversity loss, poaching and illegal fishing, pollution and over tourism have been used as justification by the state to increase militarization within the park, and increase restrictions and regulations. Even when locals are being considered by advocates and other voices there is a need to speak across scale sin the discourse of environmental protection and UNESCO classifications, describing the value within the park and the meaning of it as that of nature protection and less so human rights. This process of AbD is being used to dispossesses and further accumulate wealth in material manner as well as alienate locals from their home in a cultural manner.

This research contributes to academic literature concerning AbD as well as local reactions and management of protected areas in response to AbD. The goals here are that the application of this research will be to help mitigate impacts on local communities from multiple types of stakeholders. From a theoretical standpoint I recommend further research on the impact of scale on Harvey's theory of AbD. From my research scale is revealed to be an important facet of AbD in KNP but the implications of this finding deserve more focus past its immediate impacts on KNP. There will need to be further research on a wider level as well as at a narrower level to uncover these processes and what local communities and protected area managers can do to mitigate their impacts. Larger meta analysis of articles on protected areas that do not directly use the AbD framework would be helpful in identifying more cases and examples of the processes. On the other hand qualitative ethnography (such as (Lasso and Dahles 2018)), surveys, and focus groups of local communities, state and private actors involved would be useful to understand the personal motivations and feelings towards these processes. Finally, a use of participatory concept mapping of the myriad practices of AbD would possibly create a better

visualization to illustrate how these processes interact with each other, the environment, and other social actions and actors. The end goal of additional research should bring this process to the attention of governments, advocates, funding organizations and private groups involved in protected area creation and management so as to better mitigate and cease actions that actively dispossess marginalized and other local groups. Local and indigenous community groups should be at the center of future research with the aim of advocacy, assisting, empowering, and sharing tools and best practices towards limiting dispossession and keeping cultural identity and human rights for those affected.

Appendixes



All Codes Weighted by number of References in the data **Appendix 1.**

AbD in Protected Areas Lit Review

Codes

Name	Files	References
Access to PA	8	23
Access to Resources	22	70
Accumulation By Dispossession	22	101
Agency of Nature	5	8
Agriculture	4	17

Name	Files	References
Alientation of locals and land	17	43
Biodiversity	12	32
Biodiversity Offsetting	9	31
Bioprospecting	2	21
Collaborative Conservation	4	9
Collective Power	7	11
Colonialism	8	24
Communal Land and Management	12	29
Community Conservation	9	22
Compensation to Locals	11	29
Conservation and Development	19	45
Conservation Easements	1	2
Definitions	28	91
Discourse of Dispossession	0	0
Authority and Control	18	43
Created Natures	11	34
Creation of Capital	11	41
Destruction of Nature	9	25
Local performance	8	18

Name	Files	References
Locals as the Problem	13	42
Pristine Natures	7	16
Right and Wrong Economic uses of environment	13	39
Western Systems of Knowledge	8	36
Dispossession	15	52
Ecosystem Services	6	12
Environmental Justice	6	13
Environmental Protection	11	24
Establishment of Rights	8	11
Expansion of Protected Areas	21	66
Fishing	1	1
Foraging	1	1
Gaps in Research	10	11
Globalization	6	11
Governance	11	23
Green Grabbing	12	39
Harvey's Four	0	0
Financialization	16	43
Management and Manipulation of Crises	11	20

Name	Files	References
Privatization	17	76
State Redistribution	12	35
Human Modification of landscape	5	9
Human Nature Dichotomy	7	10
Hunting	4	11
Industrial Capitalism	1	2
Institutional Legitimacy	12	19
International Conservation Organizations	10	22
International Tourism Corporations	4	5
lack of local capacity	8	13
Land Restitution	2	9
Land Trust	2	2
Liscensing and Permits	5	7
Locals	0	0
Local Benefits	19	63
Local Feelings	18	45
Local Knowledge	13	25
Local Legitimacy	14	38
Local Values	14	34
Mining	2	5

Name	Files	References
Natural Disasters	1	2
Neo-Colonialism	7	10
NeoLiberal Capitalism	13	35
Neoliberal Conservation	22	92
Neoliberalization of Nature	16	46
New Enclosures Movement	5	6
NGOs	8	37
REDD+	2	2
See Later for Recoding	1	1
Resource Extraction	5	9
Settlements	4	22
Social Capital	2	2
The State	0	0
Local and Regional Government	7	13
National Government	13	31
Tools of Dispossession	1	1
Beuracratization	8	16
Centralization	6	10
Coercion	12	20
Conflict	19	60

Name	Files	References
De_Re - Regulation	13	43
Decentralization	3	6
Fortress Conservation	4	10
Mapping Boundaries	6	13
Militarization	8	34
Relocation and Evicition	14	36
Territorialization	10	47
Threats	7	7
Zoning	7	12
Tourism	13	39
Traditional Livlihood Practices	19	62
Types of Power	0	0
Knowledge as Power	11	35
Policy as Power	10	23
Value as power	8	24
Uneven Development	14	31
Use of Capital	1	4

*All codes from systematic review - **Appendix 2***

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