

Dilemma and Malgovernability in the Politics of Management of the Kulukubuk Waterfall Tourism Market in Siberut, Mentawai Islands Regency

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ABSTRACT

This paper will explain some dilemmas and malgovernability on tourism governing in Kulukubuk tourism's destination. Kulukubuk is the name of water fall located in Madobag's forest, Siberut island, Mentawai district. Before state governance taking handled, Kulu kubuk have been a famous destination for tourism. Kulu kubuk has exotic waterfall for relaxing and healing surrounded by rain forest tree. For Mentawai people, Kulu kubuk has strong myth related their circle of life, they believe the water of Kulu kubuk bring their body and also their properties will be blessed by Taika. In that time, Kulu kubuk totally governing by local people and give back benefit to them. But, since 2019, state government totally govern Kulu kubuk, and Tourism department of Mentawai was refining all facilitate for access to Kulu kubuk with better construction. After constructed, state government do not bring local people involve for governing. Until four years passed, Kulu kubuk's facilities was abandon, damaged and useless. It was portraying a malgovernability within, it is our reason why this paper written.

Keywords: dilemmas, governing, malgovernability

ABSTRAK

Tulisan ini akan menjelaskan beberapa dilema dan maladministrasi pariwisata di destinasi pariwisata Kulukubuk. Kulukubuk adalah nama air terjun yang terletak di hutan Madobag, pulau Siberut, Kecamatan Mentawai. Sebelum pemerintahan negara ditangani, kubuk Kulu telah menjadi tujuan wisata yang terkenal. Kulu kubuk memiliki air terjun eksotis untuk bersantai dan menyembuhkan yang dikelilingi oleh pohon hutan hujan. Bagi orang Mentawai, kubuk Kulu memiliki mitos yang kuat terkait lingkaran kehidupan mereka, mereka percaya air kubuk Kulu membawa tubuh mereka dan juga kebaikan mereka akan diberkati oleh Taika. Pada saat itu, Kulu kubuk sepenuhnya diperintah oleh masyarakat lokal dan memberikan kembali manfaat kepada mereka. Tapi, sejak 2019, pemerintah negara bagian sepenuhnya mengatur Kubuk Kulu, dan departemen Pariwisata Mentawai menyempurnakan semua kemudahan akses ke Kubuk Kulu dengan konstruksi yang lebih baik. Setelah dibangun, pemerintah negara bagian tidak membawa masyarakat lokal terlibat untuk pemerintahan. Hingga empat tahun berlalu, fasilitas Kulu kubuk ditinggalkan, rusak dan tidak berguna. Itu menggambarkan ketidakmampuan di dalam, itulah alasan kami mengapa *paper* ini menulis.

Kata kunci: dilema, pemerintahan, ketidakmampuan

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INTRODUCTION

Kulukubuk Waterfall in Madobag Village is a popular waterfall in Mentawai Regency. From the Madobag Village office, the location can be reached in approximately 30 minutes on foot. This tourist place area was deliberately used as a tracking tourism area by the Mentawai Regency Government. Moreover, it is planned that before heading to the waterfall, visitors can meet various Mentawai endemics, such as bilou or Mentawai beruk. Kulukubuk Waterfall itself is one of the highest waterfalls in Mentawai, reaching approximately 30 meters.

Uniquely, this waterfall comes from a spring in the hills and the water flow is always stable and the flow reaches the Rereiket river. One of the river flows that local people use as a canal using pompong boats to go upstream or to Matotonan village. Therefore, local people usually visit this area every weekend to bathe. This is because the water is crystal clear. Moreover, this area is used as a bathing place before entering the fasting month. This tourist area is still truly natural and far from the hustle and bustle of urban areas. Natural sounds from various types of animals feel very natural (Novitri Selvia, 2022, lens, id).

The Kulukubuk Waterfall area itself has been donated by the land owner to the regional government since 2018. Even after construction was completed, the heirs opened a dispute over the Kulukubuk land. Since then, this area has been completely developed and supported with facilities such as homestays and other accommodation. In 2020, the Regent of the Mentawai Islands for the 2017-2022 period also inaugurated the area. However, its construction and development were hampered by the Covid-19 pandemic and will continue in 2022. Furthermore, the Kulukubuk natural tourism area has indeed become one of the Mentawai natural tourism icons, but not well-managed. This means that visitors can enter the area freely or for free. Since 2020, the regional and village governments will reorganize the area and build facilities, including 7-unit gazebos left and right towards the waterfall area, as well as a ticket counter for visitors.

Furthermore, in the master plan of the Mentawai Regency Government's Department of Tourism and Creative Economy, apart from presenting the natural beauty of Kulukubuk Waterfall, it is described that visitors can also rest at this location, by witnessing firsthand the unspoiled natural beauty of Mentawai. In this area, there is also a food court building and fast-food area similar to a cafe. These facilities are planned to be managed directly by the local community. Apart from that, in this area, there is also a arts

building to present a variety of Mentawai arts and culture to visitors. The development of the Kulukubuk natural tourism area also continues to improve.

Until this research was carried out, in 2022, all of these facilities had become neglected, many of which had been damaged because they did not function as expected. Originally, there was a management admin who was the custodian of all the facilities, but none of them appeared at the location. There were even rumors regarding management conflicts that had not been resolved after all the facilities were completed. This situation is truly ironic, because along with the construction of all the facilities, chronic conflicts have emerged. This article wants to reveal the chaos of governance and interactions between all shareholders around Kulu Kubuk. The results of this research were also presented at the International Conference on Governability in the Modern Era, with the title "Misleading on governing Kulu Kubuk Tourisme destination in Mentawai" at APMD Yogyakarta in April 2024.

THEORETICAL

Roger (2024) examines the study of governance, Informality and the governance dilemma: How institutional inter-linkages can bridge accountability gaps, explaining the dilemma in management politics, the existence of an accountability gap is one of the main issues of this dilemma. In an interlocking condition, accountability between stakeholders is very sensitive in the politics of management, especially the management of natural resources, such as kulukubuk. Moreover, the study by Alter, K.J. & Meunier, S. (2008) The politics of international regime complexit, shows that management politics actually shows complex symptoms, apart from having right-left dimensions, it also has leveling, namely sub-local, local, to national, as well as management politics tourism in Kulukubuk, it turns out that the actors involved in the stakeholders are not only local residents, but officials at the local level, both in the district and the province. The locals have their own self-interests that they will fight for. Intervention has occurred since the beginning of development, related to developers, material suppliers, and transport operators passing by delivering development materials, becoming an inevitable part of being indirectly involved in the formation of the governing political pattern.

Meanwhile, the White J. (2022), in The De-institutionalisation of power beyond the state, The European Journal of International Relations, states that malgovenance occurs due to the state's de-institutionalization process, namely when the state is like a direct project implementer, its position becomes equal with other stakeholders, resulting in the

delegitimization of state formalities in the eyes of all stakeholders, which causes the state to lose its authority in determining Decisions and development direction. In addition, Myrza Rahmanita (2022) in his study of stakeholders in Kulukubuk, explaining the various actors involved in the politics of managing Kulukubuk with their various interests, which Kulukubuk managers must pay attention to as a form of collaborative management of natural resource-based destinations in the Mentawai.

Furthermore, regarding the politics of tourism management, Ana Catarina CA, and Wilker RM, (2019) Governance in tourist destinations: challenges in a contemporary society, highlighting the politics of tourism management in modern society. Likewise, in Nunkoo's (2017) study, the politics of tourism management is closely related to sustainability, namely not just building facilities, but how to manage them for the long term with optimal levels of profit for all stakeholders.

The study of natural resources in politics, relates to 3 main things that directly contribute to society's governance capacity (Kooiman, 2013), namely natural resources that are used as objects of management, called the system-to-be-governed (SG); the entity that manages natural resource, called the governance system (GS); and the interaction between SG and GS is called interactional-management practices (governing relations or interactions (GI)). Each part has a different level of influence according to each condition and situation. Diagrammatically, the relationship is explained Figure 1.

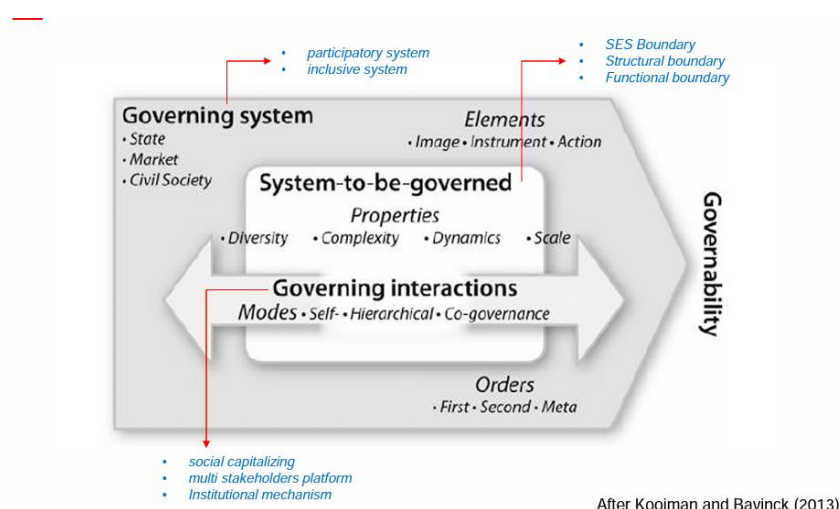


Figure 1. Governability mapping
Sources: Koiman, 2013

Moreover, for Kooinan, management capacity (Governability) always changes depending on external and internal factors, at one time the level of governance is high, and

at another time it decreases. In addition, there is time when governance is very effective, but in other places it is ineffective. This occurs because all share-holders must be conditioned to show high support for each other for governing implementation. This is the main key in governance, namely cohesion as systemic work, not work on just one shareholder.

Governability is the collective work of the whole, all SG, GS and GI components, involved in all stages and command procedures that are mutually involved a systemic process. This is the basis for understanding governance. In simple terms, in governance, all parts must understand each other's limitations and potential, as a foundation for developing interaction patterns in governing between social, political and natural resources, namely in terms of dynamics, scale, differences and complexity. This diversity is the basis for determining the initial attitude regarding what actions must be taken by all parties included in the SG, GS and GI entities. This awareness is an argument for the working of innovation in governance, while complexity is an unavoidable condition of social structure, dependency and interrelation which forms an argument about combined interdependencies.

Furthermore, dynamics, is the behavior of government both during normal and abnormal conditions, related to where development will be achieved together. This dynamic is the potential for changes that are bound to occur and accompany governance and interrelationships between systems. This is the difficulty, reducing it appropriately and in a responsible way. So, in this dynamic there is not only the potential for creativity but also the potential for disruption to the collective religious consequences.

In addition, the scale concerns the space-time dimension for analyzing and executing goals. This scale shows the level of combination of diversity, complexity and dynamics that can be observed and analyzed. Governability as a component of a social system contains the potential for differences, complexity and dynamics. So that it displays behavioral patterns with different scales in the system. This relationship can be observed from the bodies above.

It is very important to diagnose the stakeholders in Kulukubuk in order to find out what interests they are fighting for as a basis for building interrelationships between social systems within it. In tourism, there are two theories to analyze relations between stakeholders, namely stakeholder theory, and social change theory (Harrill 2004; Kalsom 2000) and social exchange theory. These two theories work complementarily, with stakeholder theory, causing social change in the tourism environment. Change occurs because there are dynamics between stakeholder actors by building exchanges of resources, services and access. Freeman (2010) noted that in tourism, there are several

actors, both groups and individuals, namely employees, customers, suppliers, government and other community members who are involved directly or indirectly with tourism. Stake holder is defined by Freeman as "any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of the organization's objectives", which then according to Jones (1995) builds managerial relationships, or what Freeman calls "to be an effective strategist you must deal with those groups that can affect you, while to be responsive (and effective in the long run) you must deal with those groups that you can affect." The table 1. are the interest holders in tourism, including Kulu Kubuk.

Table 1. Interest holder in Kulukubuk Tourism

No	Interest holder	Actor	Interest
1	Local authority	Madobag head districts	Tax increased
2	Infrastructure administration	Youth, Sports, and Tourism Office	Economical benefit
3	Host community	Suku Sopojai	Shared benefits
4	Event organizer/operator	Local cultural group	Tourist
5	Small business	Local merchant	Income generation
6	NGO	Mangobay, AMAN (Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara), Yayasan Citra Mandiri (YCM) Mentawai, Kirekakat Indonesia, Kinapat	Balancing issues
7	Supplier	Not yet identified	Shared benefits
8	Employee	Not yet identified	Working available
9	Borad of director	Not yet identified	Income
10	Logistical operator	Youth, Sports, and Tourism Office	Income
11	Education	Not yet identified	Shared cultural, technologies and insight
12	Environment organization/individual		Environment conservations
13	Researcher		Conceptual and values development
14	Investor		Profit shared
15	Media		Issue management
16	Government	Youth, Sports, and Tourism Office	Increased tax and
17	Communities		Sustainable development
18	Transportation		Traject benefits
19	Utilities/amenities	Prepared by Youth, Sports, and Tourism Office	Rent benefits
20	Local resident	Kulu kubuk, madobag, matotonan, saliguna	Economical and cultural benefits
21	Landowner	Elisabet Takkou Sapojai keturunan Aman Arepat Sopojai from suku Sakerengan Leleggu	Economics benefits
22	Ethic community	Mentawai	Cultural cultivated
23	Catering	Not yet identified	Benefits shared
24	Tourist	Local and international tourist	Pleasure benefits

Source: adaptation from Bui Duc Sinh, 2016

RESEARCH METHOD

This research is field research by conducting observations and interviews and Focus Group Discussions with several respondents related to the Kulukubuk governing body, such as the government, local residents and local managers. Observations were carried out in November 2022 for field observations and social media observations regarding the hot issues around Kulukubuk.

Data were analyzed using descriptive techniques, using Kooiman's (2013) theoretical reasoning structure as an analytical lens. The stages of analytical work, namely the problem identification stage, based on the results of onsite and on-media observations, to find traces of work governance. Data collection method: Mixed data collection technique, between on-site observation and on-media observation, all data obtained can be categorized according to the indicators of Kooiman's Governability Theory, where all stakeholders or shared interests can be recorded, then the interrelation of all actors in the field can be found. management of Kulukubuk. Analysis: everything can be processed and grouped according to the actors, events and work space, the final stage. Through stakeholder analysis, efforts can be made to identify the needs and expectations of all dominant or affected actors who are able to form governance patterns in Kulukubuk. Data interpretation is finding relationships between data as data that describes relationships between Governability actors in the management of Kulukubuk, including finding serious injuries that cause governance to experience frustration and then collapse.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The Kulukubuk destination, which was rehabilitated by the Mentawai Regency Tourism Agency, is a natural tourist destination in the Mentawai tribal area. Since being rehabilitated, this destination has become an area of exclusive hope, legitimacy problems, and centralized and decentralized

a. Exclusive hope

Mentawai Regent Yudas Sabaggalet inaugurated the Kulukubuk waterfall tourist location in Madobag Village, South Siberut District, Mentawai Islands Regency on Wednesday November 4th 2020. Mentawai Islands Regent Yudas Sabaggalet said, since he was regent for two terms, he thought about what could be developed in Madobag Village, because sources such as coconuts, and others are not in madobag. After the inauguration of the Kulukubuk tourist attraction, the Regent advised that the Kulukubuk

destination must be utilized by the community. Tour operators from nearby communities will be trained so they can understand what tourism is and how to manage it. This destination is exclusive because the community hopes that this tourism can boost the economy and all parties can enjoy the results. (Hendrikus Bentar Samonganuot, Menawaikita, 2020).

The Head of the Mentawai Islands Regency Youth and Sports Tourism Office explained to the media that the inauguration of the Kulukubuk tourist attraction had been held, in the future this tourist attraction will become a paid tourism area where in Kulukubuk there are already several facilities, there are gates in front and counters, up to the location there is a paved road. wooden, along the road there are 7 gazebos built left and right, so that if it rains you can rest, inside there is also a food court building which is a kind of cafe selling drinks, it just depends on how the people of Kulukubuk use it, then there is a laundry room for children, and an arts building. The Kulukubuk building was built by the tourism department funded by the 2019 DAK worth IDR 4.7 billion and the plan management system is managed by the community but requires guidance.

"Later we will give our staff 2 or 3 people and in it there will also be a tourism awareness group (Pokdarwis), they will take care of guests, someone will take care of parking, and the results of the processing will be included in the Regional Budget Revenue (PAD) of the Mentawai Regional Government, which will later be a system "sharing so that if there are staff they will automatically be paid. We also hope that the community can sell and the community's economy can be distributed in the Kulukubuk area only and there will be an economic impact on the community,"¹

The Government's strategy for the Kulukubuk destination is:

"If there is a lot of innovation in Kulukubuk, the hope is that it can develop and become a natural tourist destination. If there is innovation, the Pokdarwis will make tracking roads on the hills and in future plans regulations will be issued, so apart from waterfalls, outbound games will also be made. So, we continue to encourage people to open their minds, so if people just keep quiet, they will become spectators. We hope that people will not become spectators, if they remain spectators for too long, they will become guests in their own area. "Let's not criticize, in this tourism we have to live in it, and it is a place for us together, the problems in it are actually our involvement together involving those here, let's not fight, let's work together to support this Kulukubuk tourism"

That is the hope for exclusivity from the Kulukubuk arrangement, especially for people living around tourist areas. This has indeed become the target of the district government to foster and develop tourism which they call "3 M 1 K" (Muntei, Madobag, Matotonan and Katiet). Muntei Village as cultural tourism, Kulukubuk Madobag Village

as natural tourism, Matotonan Village as natural and cultural tourism, and Katiet as marine tourism, which was built by the Mentawai Regional Government for only two plus one catiet which has not been completed yet is still continuing, while for other destinations such as Sikakap waterfall, and water North Siberut Falls is already in development planning. It is make-sense for Kulukubuk to be exclusive because the Regional Government has seen that the tourism sector will be a significant contributor to PAD in Mentawai Regency. Based on data from UNWTO, tourism growth reached 4% and labor absorption was dominated by the tourism sector. Apart from that, tourism also contributes 7% of global exports.

b. The problem of legitimacy of land ownership

Regarding the land issue in Mentawai, it is indeed complicated (Adri Febrianto and Erda Fitrian, 2014), including ownership of the land where the Kulukubuk waterfall is located, it seems that there is still no agreement, because there are people who are contesting the status of the land (Hendrikus Bentar Samonganuot, Mentawaikita, 2020). Elisabet tells her version of the origins of land ownership in Kulukubuk. Initially, the land where the waterfall was located belonged to the Sakerengan Leleggu tribe in Saibi Samukop, which was the land discovered by the ancestors of the Sakerengan Leleggu. Then Elisabet's grandfather, Aman Arepat Sapojai, married someone from the Sakerengan tribe.

Then Aman Arepat carried out a panikkeli mone (purchase of land by paying with a number of chickens and pigs) to the family of Aman Arepat's wife from the Sakerengan Leleggu Tribe, and got land in Batmakukuet which is in the Attabai area, Taileleu section.

"A long time later the Sakerengan Leleggu family came from Saibi, at that time represented by Aman Totoinot and asked our grandfather (Aman Arepat), the land that was given previously (in Batmakukuet Atabbai) they wanted to take back because it was their place of life, so from there the land "All of them were taken back by Aman Sitotoinot,"¹

Because the land that Elisabet's grandfather had previously purchased through the panikkeli mone process was taken back by the Sakerengan Leleggu Tribe, Aman Arepat went to Saibi to report that the land he had previously bought had been taken back. Because of this, the alatului sinikkeilat process (the process of paying for land replacement) was carried out by Sakerengan Leleggu to Aman Arepat.

"and by that, Sakerengan Lelekgu, Amat Arepat's brother-in-law said, in exchange for the land that had been taken, take control of the Kulukubuk area, the river and the land, you own Kulukubuk, since that Kulukubuk still belongs to our grandfather, this is their previous agreement, between my grandfather and Sakerengan Lelekgu. The location of Kulukubuk that was given, starts from downstream to the waterfall, which is now a recreation area, from there there is no longer any power from Sakerengan Lelekgu as the owner and our grandfather Aman Arepat did not sell to anyone (the land), so not all of the Sapojai tribe went "palului (payment) for bringing pigs and chickens to the Sakerengan Leleggu Tribe in Saibi, only my grandfather went, because of that in Mentawai custom¹, Simon Sapojai who donated the land had no power because it was not their grandfather who went to the palului,"

Moreover, the story of how Elisabet's family came to own the land, Aman Arepat has two children, Bailei Sapojai and Toronan Sapojai (Elisabet's father). Bailei Sapojai had no children while Toronan had Elisabet's child but he had no sons. Then after Elisabet married Stepanus Sakaliou. One day Stepanus carried out a alatului mone (buying land by paying with pigs and chickens) to his father-in-law Toronan Sapojai and Toronan's brother, Bailei Sapojai. During the Palului event, Stepanus brought one large pig and two chickens.

"So after my husband did this Palului, from there his father gave the Kulukubuk land to my son (Andreas Sakalio) to replace the pigs and chickens that had been brought to my father. After that my husband also gave some money to my father Toronan,"¹

After that, a letter of land grant was made from Toronan Sapojai and Bailei Sapojai to Andrenas Sakalio while at the same time attaching an irip wooden barrier (land barrier) which was limited from Battarap to Batlimu with the letter written saying 'land grant of sinikkeilatpalului from sitoronan. The land grant also included a land grant letter from Toronan Sapojai and Bailei as the first party and Andreas Sakalio (Elisabet's son) as the second party, then the letter was signed by Andreas and the fingerprints of Toronan Sapojai and Bailleu Sapojai, and was acknowledged by the Head of Madobag Village, Antonius Sanambaliu as well as two witnesses Nilus Sakulo and Nairep, the letter is dated 16 August 2003.

"After that there was information that tourism would enter, from there we made a refusal, to find out who owned the land, not against development or tourism, in 2018 we wrote a letter and didn't want Simon to finish, we were sued by Sakerengan Lelekgu, at that time we were present but only as listeners, but at that time the Village Government did not sign the minutes, after that on November 4 this year there was an inauguration of Kulukubuk, the Village Government invited Simon Sapojai but he also did not come,"

Until now, after being built, the Kulukubuk tourist attraction has been neglected. This happened because various agreements and equipment needed to operate the Kulukubuk location with new facilities had not yet been resolved, and the dispute with the land owner where the waterfall was located was still not resolved.

c. centralization vs decentralization

Data from the media obtained from the Mentawai Islands Regency Tourism, Youth and Sports Office, the budget disbursed from the Special Allocation Fund (DAK) for the construction and development of the Mapaddegat and Madobag tourist destinations has reached IDR 12.5 billion. Developing tourist destinations in Mentawai was initially in 2017, the Mentawai Islands Regency Youth and Sports Tourism Office started to build an arts stage, souvenir kiosk, toilets, rinse room and gazebo. The funds used came from DAK worth IDR 1.9 billion.

Looking at the situation of the Mapaddegat tourist area, there are several buildings and facilities around it that are neglected and many parts of the building are damaged and rotten because they are not maintained. Previously, in this area, the Mentawai Regional Government had used the facilities in this area as a place to isolate Covid-19 patients and now it looks neglected. Then in 2018, the construction of a Tourist Information Center (TIC), pedestrian, cafeteria, identity gate at the Mapaddegat intersection, and directional signs was carried out with a total budget of IDR 3.7 billion. In 2020, pedestrian roads, taluds, garden or landscape arrangements and gazebos will be built in the same area, the total budget spent is IDR 2.6 billion.

Moreover, the development of the Kulukubuk natural tourism area, Madobag Village, was implemented in 2019, where the budget still comes from DAK or financial assistance from the central government. The construction of facilities in the Kulukubuk tourist area consumed IDR 4.1 billion amount of budget. The facilities built from this budget include ticket counters, footpaths or pedestrians (boardwalks, arts stages, cafeterias, toilets, gazebos and rinse rooms.

The portrait of the Kulukubuk tourist area that was built is also unkempt and many of the facilities are damaged and the pedestrian road (broadwalk) is potholed and difficult to pass. This condition also made the Regional Secretary of the Mentawai Islands Regency, Martinus Dahlan, angry with the Head of the Mentawai Disparpora at the 2021

RKPD Musrenbang in the Bappeda Hall who asked him to be more serious about improving the Mentawai tourist destination.

*"The Regional Secretary sees that Mentawai has now attracted the attention of many people, and hopes that this opportunity can be seized by all parties, especially the Mentawai Tourism Office, to improve existing destinations. This was seen by the Regional Secretary in March 2021, many people were starting to arrive in Mentawai, as seen in the manifest of fast boat passengers going to Mentawai. Management is carried out by the OPD, as instructed by the Regional Secretary"*¹

*"It means that we need to fix this specifically for tourism destinations that you said, don't just make it, make it in Siberut but no one goes there, it has no impact, and ask the relevant OPD to take part, for example in the construction of road access, agriculture, fisheries can be present in tourist areas. If not, it's just like that, people come and then leave, there is no impact on the community, there was downstream and upstream but what impact, we need to try this together with other OPDs including roads"*¹

Regional Regulation No. 8 of 2015 concerning Levy for Recreation and Sports Places which has been hammered for a long time in November 2015 at the Mentawai DPRD, however levy collection in coastal or natural tourist areas such as the Mapaddegat tourist area, Kulukubuk waterfall cannot yet be carried out because there is no Perbup that specifically regulates it.

Head of the Mentawai Islands Regency Youth and Sports Tourism Office, Jhoni Anwar, admitted that levies cannot be collected in tourist areas such as Mapaddegat and Kulukubuk because there are no regulations regarding Regional Regulation No. 8 of 2015 concerning Levy for Recreation and Sports Places in the form of a regent's regulation (Perbup) due to Covid-19. This is the reason: "Construction was in 2019, then after that the Covid pandemic entered at the beginning of 2020, in 2021 our plan was to prepare regional regulations and other regulations but Covid is still continuing,"

Furthermore, after the facilities and equipment are built, the next problem is, who is the main operator, whether the residents, the Kulukubuk tourism authority, the local sub-district government, or the land owner. From field observations, it was found that the government as the holder of the development project, until the building was abandoned, did not issue a decree regarding who was the main operator managing the Kulukubuk tourist attraction. Because there is no clarity, the community, especially the local

¹ Pernyataan Sekda Kabupaten Kepulauan Mentawai, Martinus Dahlan, dimuat dalam Hendrikus Bentar Samonganuot, Mentawai Kita, 2021)

Pokdarwis, do not want to take the initiative to open operations for all the land and facilities. (Hendrikus Bentar Samonganuot, Mentawaikita, 2021)

The following is a photo during on-site observation. All the facilities that have been built are abandoned. The bridge for pedestrians is no longer functioning because the wooden steps are all broken. Likewise, the gazebos erected on either side of the road are all rotten and damaged. The situation is no less miserable, and the condition of the hall where cultural performances are held is no longer maintained, with weeds covering it. Despite this, the condition of the waterfall remained undamaged because at the location of the waterfall, there was no arrangement, it was left natural. These facilities are planned to be managed directly by the local community. Apart from that (Figure 2), the area is also equipped with an art building to present a variety of Mentawai arts and culture to visitors.



Jembatan dan Aula Pertunjukan



Sungai Kulukubuk



Gazebo, jembatan dan Air terjun Kulukubuk



Tempat retribusi masuk wahana



Pintu Gerbang menuju Lokasi



Aula Pertunjukan kesenian

Figure 2. Images of Abandoned Facilities

Sources: primary data

DISCUSSION

The neglected condition of the facilities that have been built indicates that the state government is “misgoverning” in managing Kulukubuk. As is the function of the state government, namely to be the administrator (fix governed) of Kulukubuk, even though many interest holders are involved. This is what causes a governing dilemma. Governing dilemma is a condition where there is low capacity or low capability accompanied by low leadership for all actors involved.

Dilemmas occur mainly among dominant actors, due to conflicts of interest, overlapping issues, low levels of accountability, transparency, ethical violations, and unresolved conflicts with land owners where Kulukubub is located. As a result, governance has become increasingly slack and the government has lost its control function over the initial plan for Kulukubuk to be rehabilitated by the government. The following is the relationship between governing capacity, needs and expectations:

Table 2. Stakeholder, Needs and Interest

Capacities Governing	Aspects	Interest Holder's Expectation
Knowing (learning capacity)	Awareness	Awareness is foundation for doing cooperation all parties in Kulu Kubuk, this is first step should be earn by all interest holders
	Useful knowledge	All parties know better what should be done, and what the risk will come. It is rational choice not emotional choice, high efficiency
	Continuous learning	Some dilemmas will arrive, all parties together should find the way out in effectively
Wanting, political capacity, managerial capacity, legal capacity	Interest holder engagement process	High income and benefits for all parties
	Management ambition	Quick earning money, and get high salary
	Agent of change	Gain benefits and quick operated
Enabling Resources capacity	Multi-level network potential	High financial generated, steady operated, business captivated
	Financial visibility	
	Implementing capacity	

Suources: Choi, 2021

In reality, the government as the dominant actor does not present itself as a democratic system, more as a big boss, but a big boss with low capacity. The table above explains the governing capacity that all actors in Kulukubuk must have, including the government. It turns out that all the demands for this capacity are shared by all actors, especially low-scale governments. As a result, it appears that it has lost direction in controlling the dilemma that has arisen, which has become unresolved, made worse by the Covid-19 outbreak, all of the government's automatic performance has been paralyzed. This condition is also getting worse because several powerful stakeholders, namely local indigenous communities, communities around Kulukubuk who used to be operators of Kulukubuk before it was rehabilitated, have limited space for innovation and are even pressured not to start anything by the government before all development is complete. The limited space for innovation means that the main stakeholders cannot do

anything because the government does not open up space for outside innovation-creation to parties other than the government. All stakeholders in the Kulukubuk area can be depicted in the following diagram, after being classified as State Governance, System-to-be-Governed, and interrelation Governance.

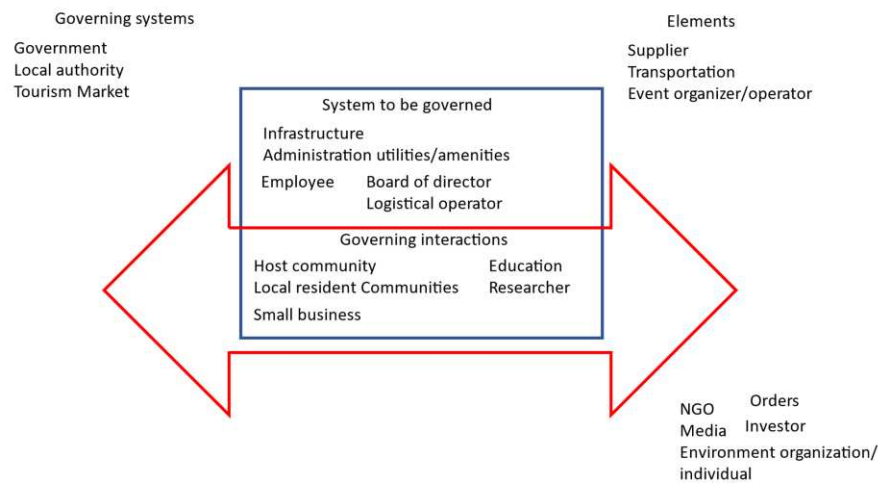


Figure 3. Governability in Politics of Management of Kulukubuk
Sources: Primary Data

Regional government take role as governing System along with the Madobag sub-district government, and the local tourist market which has long formed the Kulukubuk market. Meanwhile, the system managed is Kulukubuk Tourism itself, which includes managers, administrators and amenities providers. In addition, SG will meet with local residents, local traditional authorities, education, MSMEs, and researchers who will help in the future development of the area. And outside the governance space, there are supported elements involved in observing and improving control of the working of governance in Kulukubuk, namely suppliers, tourism operators, NGOs, media, investors and community leaders as individuals who care about the existence of Kulukubuk.

All stakeholders have positive hopes for the sustainability of Kulukubuk, which has long made a positive contribution to the lives of the surrounding community, both economically and strengthening their traditions. This hope had to be dashed for the time being, because a dilemma occurred that could not be resolved properly. This condition certainly would not have occurred if from the start all stakeholders carried out joint planning to form tourism management in Kulukubuk, resolving land disputes with previous owners with legal protection. This clarity is the beginning of building dynamic governance in the interrelation-system.

Overall, democratic mechanisms and sustainable development require clarity in the roles and capacities of each actor that exceeds the average in the governing frame in Kulukubuk, so that they can share mutual interests as well as profits, as expected by each stakeholder. The following is an identification of the interests that they fought for and hoped for and the conditions they obtained when this research took place, namely:

Table 3. Interest holder-aktor-interest-resulted

No	Interest holder	Actor	Interest	Current Resulted
	Local authority	Madobag head districts	Tax increased	No increased
	Infrastructure administration	Youth, Sports, and Tourism Office	Economical benefit	Economic less
	Host community	Suku Sopojai	Shared benefits	Benefitless
	Event organizer/operator	Local cultural group	Tourist	Local people
	Small business	Local merchant	Income generation	Income less
	NGO		Balancing issues	Against
	Supplier	Not yet identified	Shared benefit	Benefits less
	Employee	Not yet identified	Working available	No job opportunities
	Board of director	Not yet identified	Income	Incomeless
	Logistical operator	Youth, Sports, and Tourism Office	Income	Incomeless
	Education	Not yet identified	Shared cultural, technologies and insight	Separated
	Environment organization/individual		Environment conservations	Damaged
	Researcher		Conceptual and values development	Separated
	Investor		Profit shared	No invested
	Media		Issue management	Unsolved issues
	Government	Youth, Sports, and Tourism Office	Increased tax and	Increase less
	Communities		Sustainable development	Sustain less
	Transportation		Trajectory benefits	Underconstruction
	Utilities/amenities	Prepared by Youth, Sports, and Tourism Office	Rent benefits	Benefits less
	Local resident	Kulu kubuk, madobag	Economical and cultural benefits	Benefit-less
	Landowner	Elisabet Takkou Sopojai keturunan Aman Arepat Sopojai dari suku Sakerengan Leleggu	Economical benefits	Benefit-less
	Ethnic community	Mentawai	Cultural cultivated	Cultivate less
	Catering	Not yet identified	Benefits shared	Benefit-less
	Tourist	Local and international tourist	Pleasure benefits	Pleasure benefits

Sources: Primary Data

The Table 3. shows the distribution of needs and expectations of stakeholders in Kulukubuk which should be the basis for governance. Indeed, there is no strong definition

of governing capacity, but UNDP defines it as "the exercise of political, economic and administrative authority in the management of country's affairs at all levels" (UNDP 1997) Sn capacity as "the ability of individuals, institutions, and societies to perform functions, solve problems, and set and achieve objectives in a sustainable manner" (UNDP 2010). This definition is the basis for the transformation of authority into collective problem-solving and efforts to achieve common goals in Kulukubuk. With the abandonment of all facilities and infrastructure that have been built by the Regional Government, this is an indicator of ineffectiveness in governance. With the 3 main problems described above, it proves that governance in Kulukubuk is very low in scale. All stakeholders appear to not have adequate capacity in governing themselves, there is no adequate initiative for management, causing interdependence between each other, so that all actors stop for quite a long time along with that, their trust in the existing system in Kulukubuk also decreases, getting thinner and disappearing. Moreover, after the inauguration, Kulukubuk was not visited by tourists from outside Mentawai due to the lockdown policy during the pademic period from 2020-2022.

Dilemma of governability in Kulukubuk

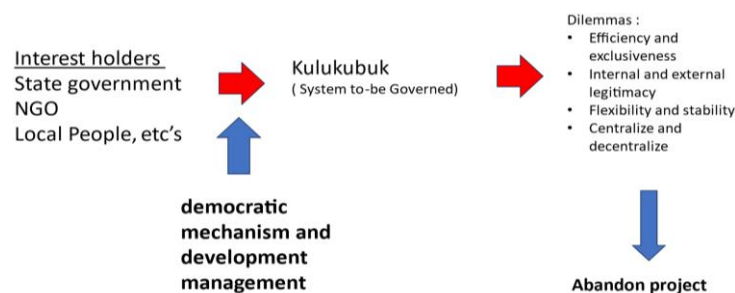


Figure 4. Dilemma of governability in Kulukubuk

Sources: Primary Data

Figure 4. in fact, if trace the basic capabilities of the stakeholders in Kulukubuk, the strength of the tourism market is greatly influenced by the actors who control the capital, namely stakeholder groups in the surrounding area, such as land owners, communities adjacent to the Kulukubuk location, travel agents or travel agencies, which controls the arrival of visitors from outside the Madobag area, and the government itself which holds the power over governing policy. Even the supplier group that guarantees market turnover and dynamics occurs in Kulukubuk. They all have resilience and dependence on each actor, including the operators or employees who manage Kulukubuk.

Apart from that, all those actors involved, have the same role in achieving collective social welfare, which is why they have the same authority in the sustainable management and development of Kulukubuk itself. In addition, they should also be able to exchange their respective interests according to their respective capacities in a balanced manner, without altruism or exclusivity, because they use joint public facilities and infrastructure. In this way, there will be balancing in the management of self-interest, both GS, SG and GI. In other words, there is a high dependence in entrepreneurial decisions, the value of decisions, there is also a compromise in achieving a shared orientation against the arrogance of one-sided interests. Moreover, it cannot be avoided if governance relies on values as a guide for Governance Interrelation, which originate from community norms and the professional ethics of stakeholders. This value foundation is very useful in controlling misuse or bribery by some stakeholders in order to fight for their personal interests in valuable assets belonging to the collective, and maintain the capability of each stakeholder to work professionally and with integrity.

Furthermore, in the interactive management process, this starts from a basic assumption, namely understanding that governability is a property of the system as a whole, because the system itself is a totality of interrelationships between existing entities. The social system is the space in which relations work, and interaction is also a consequence of existence under certain conditions which will create internal dynamics. Likewise, a dilemma is a consequence of interactions within a system that cannot simultaneously disentangle all self-interests mixed in conditions that are urgent, complicated, and at the same time come together repeatedly with equally serious consequences. This is what happens to governance in Kulukubuk, namely governing relations or interaction (GI), by the governance system (GS) to the system to be governed (SG). However, what is striking about all this is the capacity of the Government system, which shows a low capacity in building collective action for all stakeholders, coordination, resilience, learning and resources, both human resources, knowledge, technology and also managerial. This is an illustration of malgovernability or governance practices that do not meet the standards of governance as management and a political technique for managing joint assets. In addition, in terms of planning and structuring the tourism market management plan in Kulukubuk, it is in accordance with good governance administration, but in terms of political techniques, it experiences management behavior that is far from democratic or sustainable procedures. So, it is very rational if all the facilities and infrastructure that have been built are neglected. Practices that do not meet

these standards are formed because of incapacity and incapability in all lines, both GS, SG and GI, which causes the dilemma to not be resolved for a long time. Apart from that, there is also domination of several self-interests from the main stakeholders, neglecting the management of self-interest from various other parties involved in GI and supported governance in the Kulukubuk tourism market. This reality is referred to as Malgovernability, which is the poor skills in political governance between all stakeholders in the Kulukubuk space, so that the Kulukubuk tourism revitalization program runs beyond its original expectations.

CONCLUSION

Governability in Kulukubuk faces a dilemma that causes all systems, facilities and infrastructure that have been built by the government to be abandoned and can no longer be used. So, it was hoped that Kulukubuk would have an impact on improving the community economy and welfare, and increasing PAD, all of which have not been realized until now. Governability analysis found that there were deficiencies in the GS cluster as the dominant actor, showing low management capacity, as a result, the dilemma in the tourism system could not be corrected, and even long-standing neglect occurred, which had an impact on the Kulukubuk Tourism destination management system itself, as the operator of the functioning of the tourist market, became paralyzed because after the inauguration of the location, the management of Kulukubuk tourism operators was not followed. Moreover, the conflict is getting hotter with land disputes by families who feel they own the land where the waterfall is located. The next impact, namely the existence of internal conflicts and disputes, causes Governance interrelation to experience relaxation, because the tourism market that was promised after the inauguration, is increasingly difficult to achieve by other stakeholders who take role as supportive agents. In addition, there are also obstacles to transportation facilities to the location which are still unavailable and when this research took place it had not yet been paved. In fact, the lack of adequate transportation for the Trans Mentawai development from the Harbor to Madobag District is not too disturbing, because even before there were good roads, Kulukubuk Waterfall was already busy with visitors.

Thus, this research finds malgovernability conditions in tourism market governance in Kulukubuk. Mal-governability is a term that explains the existence of governing behavior that is not in accordance with work standards, because governability is not only in fulfilling administrative-managerial requirements but also the ability to manage interest

transactions between stakeholders, and most importantly, the ability to control dilemmas that occur due to the strong interdependence of all stakeholders. Moreover, with these 3 capabilities, governability becomes a new paradigm in managing shared resources in a democratic and sustainable manner that can optimally achieve mutual benefits based on norms that provide a balanced and sustainable pattern of behavior between stakeholders. Through governance, it is hoped that all actors will have an interest. democratically and continuously able to resolve dilemmas that occur in a jointly managed system.

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