

DYNAMICS OF ENVIRONMENTAL CONSERVATION MOVEMENT IN RESPOND- ING TO TOURISM POLICY

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Abstract

This research is focused on examining the water source conservation movement as an act of participation arising from tensions between tourism policy and ecological sustainability. Therefore, a qualitative method within the Participatory Action Research (PAR) framework, was used to discover state-facilitated hotel development triggered collective resistance driven by actors across diverse background communities, NGOs, and academics. Participation effort generated alliance configurations that adopted advocacy strategies from issue framing to litigation. Although grounded in rembug bersama (collective deliberation), this proved unsustainable due to fragmented local leadership and urban structural conditions. The movement shows that participation is not merely technical engagement but a political arena influenced by power relations, unequal access, and the absence of institutional support. As a result, the relevance in water conservation reflects complex local political dynamics that is structurally non-neutral.

Keywords: *environmental conservation movement; tourism policy; participation, actors dynamic*

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INTRODUCTION

Tourism is a strategic development sector that has a broad impact on social and economic changes in community. However, policy regulating its activities result in both positive and negative impacts in communities. The diverse positive impacts include economic development, social exchange and community environmental awareness (Saluja et al., 2022). The economy was significantly strengthened based on the number of employment opportunities, infrastructure development constituting highway, and communication network, as well as increased income generated from local businesses and improved quality of life (Kronenberg and Fuchs (2021).

Regarding the description above, the negative impacts include social disruption, economic inequality, environmental degradation, and unsustainability, as well as the materialization of social exclusion (Guo & Jordan, 2022; Higgins-desbiolles, 2022). According to Mikulić et al., (2021), the adverse effects of tourism intensification on the purchasing power of local communities, consisted of employment fluctuations, difficulties in maintaining economic status, as well as income instability in areas vulnerable to seasonal tourism variations. Social conflict responsible for stimulating protest tended to occur specifically when tourism policy was without meaningful participation of the surrounding communities (Mikulić et al., 2021).

Social scholars perceived the contradictions of tourism as an interesting subject that needed to be explored. However, previous research reported that the integration of tourism strategies, economic growth, and sustainability objectives were aimed to create inclusive and sustainable benefits from this sector (S. Liu et al., 2025). The relationship between tourism development and investment reduced income disparities and alleviated poverty, when properly managed and targeted at underdeveloped regions. (Castilho & Fuinhas, 2025). The integrated development level of the cultural and tourism industries in spatial and temporal dimensions was based on the degree of coordination. Positive and negative emotions, includ-

ing national identity, were the main mediators in enhancing subjective, psychological, and social well-being in tourism (Y. Liu et al., 2025). Furthermore, the implementation of mandatory and control environmental policy in rural tourism destination played an important role in the transition from PEI (Pro-environmental Intention) to PEB (Pro-environmental Behavior). The effectiveness of the policy were supported by increased public information, ecological investment, and community incentives (Huo et al., 2025). In line with this perspective, sustainable tourism was practiced by (i) adopting environmentally friendly accommodation and transportation, minimizing waste and pollution, as well as conserving natural resources (ii) working with local communities, including (iii) providing educational and cultural opportunities (Capucho et al., 2025).

Considering that previous research focused on economic growth, the analyses on sustainability, investment, emotional dimension, and environmental policy in respect to the role of community participation perceived as a crucial element in sustainable tourism were rarely conducted. In addition, lack of communication and participation were regarded as an obstacle to the dynamics of collaborative tourism governance (Sentanu et al., 2023). The inactive participation of communities in the formulation and implementation of government policy, result in low support. However, effective participation improved policy legitimacy, and implementation, as well as strengthened the adaptive capacity of communities to changes in tourism (Jia et al., 2024). Participation played an important role in collective activities such as decision-making, improving the legitimacy, quality, acceptance and effectiveness of decisions. It also empowered communities assigned with key roles toward sustainability and resiliency at the local level (Schauppenlehner-kloyber & Penker, 2016). Effective participation motivated the expression of dissatisfaction to the management model and natural resource conservation policy (Feoli, 2023), influencing outcomes that contributed to organization capacity and cohesion (Bradlow, 2024). The concept also catalyzed democratic innovation and more effective governance through citizens'

knowledge and expertise in addressing environmental issues (Sønderskov, 2023).

The type of community participation is greatly influenced by social capital such as social networks, mutual trust among communities, and reciprocity norms (Thompson et al., 2011). In tourism management, participation refers to community visits to tourist destination (Lingling Wu, Junyi Zhang, 2012). Additionally, it also empowered the community through planning and evaluation, contributing to improved standard of living (Hammond et al., 2025). Active community participation led to a creative and sustainable tourism model centered on authenticity, cultural values, and environmental preservation (T. Liu & Esther, 2024).

As a consequence, participation assures the development of tourism in line with the local needs and values of communities, fostering a sense of ownership, and empowerment (Burton et al., 2025). Augusto et al., (2025), stated that strengthening the protection of tourism resources and raising awareness regarding the importance of ecosystems was a major tourist attraction (Ekha et al., 2025). This condition was due to social relationship and participation in social organization that influence tourism development (Hwang & Stewart, 2016)

Several social scientists described participation as an open and transparent process required to achieve sustainable development, as well as reducing the frequency and severity of economic crises. However, no standardized definition was regarded as a common yardstick for the description (Eyssen et al., 2011). Some scholars defined participation as the engagement of communities or groups in decision-making processes, planning, and program implementation aimed at achieving exceptional outcomes that impact lives. In a broader context, participation refers to community voices in policy-making, goal-setting and resource allocation. The concept also entailed empowering marginalized groups to ensure significant contribution, including the feeling of its impact.

Arnstein stated that there are diverse participation types namely manipulation, therapy, information, consultation, engagement, partnership, empowerment and public

control. The seven typologies of participation include manipulative, passive, consultation, material incentives, functional, interactive and self-mobilization (independent participation). In this context, self-mobilization is regarded as the maximum participation due to the independent initiative of external institutions to change the system (Pretty, 2020)

Based on the description above, the definition of participation varies with no single standard widely accepted. Most literature limits the concept to the engagement of communities or groups during planning, decision-making, and implementation of programs, with the aim of improving the quality of outcomes that directly impact lives (Oakley, 1991). However, in a broader context, participation refers to the voices of communities in policy-making, goal-setting and resource allocation. The concept also entailed empowering marginalized groups to ensure significant contribution to the process, including feeling its impact (Arnstein, 2019).

Certain obstacles and challenges affect participation, namely long lead times, outcomes that are often ignored, the influence of vocal interest groups, and loss of decision-making control by authorities (Ianniello et al., 2018). In practice, participation tend to face the following challenges, lack of access to information, unequal distribution of benefits, and public distrust of external actors (Reindrawati, 2023).

Education about tourism and opportunities to engage in planning were essential for collaboration and community participation in tourism destinations that are friendly to communities (Eyisi et al., 2021). As a result, citizen participation was completely motivated through the support of an effective political or governance system. In this situation, government institutions respect the perspectives and actions of unofficial participation (Pallett et al., 2019). The responsibility and influence of stakeholders aided in distinguishing participatory mechanisms with the intention to identify challenges and opportunities for more inclusive conservation (Oteros-rozas et al., 2020). Moreover, stakeholders opted for Empowered Participatory Governance (EPG) to increase citizen engagement and participation in decision-

making processes that affected the quality of lives. This promoted bottom-up participation, and practical orientation, enabling citizen related activities to influence public policy (Fung & Wright, 2003).

In this context, EPG has three main elements, first, bottom-up participation, which consisted of new channels for those directly affected by the targeted problem. Second, solution by deliberation, where participants listen to each other's positions and reach a group choice after careful consideration. Third, practical orientation or governance structure by which circumstances were created inciting actors to compete with each other for power, resulting in cooperation and the development of congenial relationships (Allen, 2017). The EPG aimed to increase citizen engagement in decision-making, as well as ensuring significant participatory impacts, promoting social justice, and enabling more responsive governance structures. These motivated local participation, strengthened democratic engagement and enforced the opinions of citizens affected by the implemented policy (Jr, 2010).

EPG requires the government to cooperate with citizens through a balanced top-down power and bottom-up community influence. Meanwhile, a reflexive view of participation as a performative practice that considers both intended and unintended consequences in terms of inclusion and exclusion was adopted to examine the implications of citizenship, governance and democracy as well as the actions of actors in influencing related processes (Turnhout et al., 2010).

In Indonesia, the research on correlating the dynamics of participation and the management of grassroots movement in terms of criticizing tourism policy were still rare. Therefore, this research explored participation in respect to the implementation of tourism policy, as well as the impacts in Batu City, East Java. During conservation movement, the type and characteristics of participation enriched the social movement evaluation through novelty. Firstly, the civil community movement controlled tourism policy voluntarily with sustainable conservation. Secondly, social control was implemented successfully by civil community for

four years (March 2012-2016; Susilo, 2019). This initiative led to the creation of new mobilization area and participation resulting in local democracy without the intervention of the state (Voss & Williams, 2012). As a result, the present research aimed to explain the deficit phenomenon of participation as a process, which led to the formulation of the following problems

1. What participatory activities were carried out during conservation movement in Batu City?
2. Why and how did its deficit occur in conservation movement?

This research further described the water source conservation movement in respect to participation, collaboration, and disorganized or deficit phenomenon. In addition, the connection of disorganized participation was also described. The research benefit focused on the development of participation concept in the context of tourism policy implementation.

METHOD

The present research was conducted in Batu City, East Java Province, Indonesia. This was because grassroots-based environmental conservation movement had been opted for by actors from 2002 to 2024 (for twenty years). The movement were developing rapidly, as well as impacting the implementation of city policy related to tourism, environment and natural resource management. Specifically, conservation movement observed in three villages was an important factor that needed to be considered by the government during the implementation of policy.

A qualitative method with the participatory action research were adopted. The purpose was to review political or social changes based on the control of processes related to the defined problem, information gathering, and decisions about its actions. The target was to modify the situation, by improving the knowledge and ability of actors (Fernandes, 1993).

The method motivated actors to collaborate, and promote reflective cycles, where subjects collect and analyze data. This was aimed at determining appropriate ac-

tions to be taken, sharing control and power over decision-making, including increased participation of subjects from different backgrounds. The process led to the generation of policy proposals, changed perceptions and shared knowledge from diverse research to community partners as well as meaningful negotiation (Bröer et al., 2023).

The subjectivity of actors regarding local knowledge developed by the community, was explored by collecting data through in-depth interviews, observations, document research and FGDs (Focus Group Discussions). This included participation of actors in the organization of the movement, which influenced the design and direction until the concept degenerates or becomes deficit. The subjectivity moved actors towards social change. In addition, the voices of participants were strengthened through discussion, reflection and interaction, leading to the recognition and value of local knowledge. This ensured that actors' understanding was more relevant to the conditions (Genat, 2009). The current project was carried out by professionals, including the gathering of data, interpreting the results, and recommending relevant actions to the client organization.

The purposive sampling method was used to determine the subject criteria

and informants constituting community actors engaged in conservation process in Batu City. The main informants consisted of the community, and NGO activists, NGO facilitator including civil servants as shown in Table 1. The data collection method adopted was the interview process aimed to explore perspectives, opinions, and motivations in carrying out certain activities as community activist and members. As a result, both structured and unstructured interviews were selected. Structured interview explored the description of conservation activities initiated by actors, while unstructured method focused on data regarding actors' experiences during the movement.

In this research, the data obtained was analyzed using the descriptive-qualitative method, in line with the following procedure.

Collecting data on tourism policy, collaboration, and participation.

The instruments used were policy documents, meeting notes from actors, and information compilation regarding the activities of the movement. These documents were reviewed to analyze the focus of the research, as well as to deeply understand the evolution and collaboration of environmental movement.

Comprehending movement process and dynamics experienced by actors, alongside ex-

Table 1: List of Informants

No	Informants as community actors	Roles	Times	Informant Types
1.	AF	Community leader	October 3, 2022	Key Informant
2.	BY	Community leader in rural Cangar area	May 1, 2022	Main Informant
3.	BR	Community leader and member of BPD Sidomulyo	June 22, 2022	Main Informant
4.	HJT	Conservationist of natural water source in Cangar	January 2, 2023	Supporting Informant
5.	ZNL	An activist of FMPMA from Sidomulyo Village	October 2, 2022	Main Informant
6.	SS	Field facilitator for social movement	October 20, 2023	Main Informant
7.	YSK	A civil servant and community facilitator	September 15, 2021	Supporting Informant
8.	YNT	Community member in rural Cangar area	August 18, 2021	Supporting Informant

plaining the causes of the phenomenon.

The instruments adopted focused on participation in the movement process. This included planning activities, lobbying decision-makers, conducting interviews with subjects, observation in the field, and analyzing the dynamic patterns of the movement.

Analyzing participation deficit experienced by actors and then exploring the occurring principles.

The instruments used centered on designing a tabulation analysis of factors related to collaboration deficits. This entailed identifying similarities and differences in collaboration deficits, describing and analyzing the overall causes and effects.

RESULTS

Tourism Policy and Historical Background

Batu City, in East Java Province, Indonesia was selected as the research area for two reasons. First, this city had become a tourist destination due to the following natural resources forests, mountains, and water resources. Second, tourism-supporting infrastructure was also widely distributed, for the management of the resources. Tourism had been practiced since the pre-colonial period, specifically during the Japanese occupation. At that time, Abe Tomoji, a member of the Japanese propaganda troop who was sick, had to recover for two months in the Selecta region (Sunjayadi, 2019). Business actors supported tourism infrastructure namely hotels, villas, homestays, cottages, and resorts, cafes, souvenir sellers, as well as travel and tourism agencies. In the 2000s, artificial tourism using natural conditions dominated the Batu City.

As a development option, in terms of tourist visits, this initiative had yielded positive results. The Medium-Term Regional Development Plan (RPJMD) of Batu City for 2017-2022 stated that the number of tourist visits reached 3,834,021 in 2014 and increased to 3,961,021 in 2016 (Batu, 2019). According to the RPJPD, there were 382 registered hotels and accommodations in the city in 2007, with 482,372 guests. A total of 1,906,170 tourists visited in 2009, with an increase of 2,178,794 recorded in 2010. A

total of 2,584,777 tourists, both domestic and foreign, visited 14 Tourist Attractions and Sites (ODTW) in 2011 (Batu, 2012). Policy related to this issue were the Batu City Regulation No. 1 of 2013 on tourism organization, confirmed by the Integrated Tourism Village Plan. Based on this perspective, the plan was incorporated into the development of the agropolitan area with a budget of Rp 300,000, 000 in the Batu City Long-Term Development Plan (RPJPD) for 2017-2022 (Batu, 2019).

Building upon the description above, tourism was included in the five-year development planning. During the 2007-2012 period, the city's vision was to ensure Batu City was made tourism hub based on agriculture, supported by human, natural and man-made resources. This included creativity, innovation, and good governance for the entire community, guided by faith and devotion to the Almighty God. Meanwhile, the vision for the 2017-2022 period was to develop strong, and prosperous villages, transforming the city to an international agro-tourism hub with great character, competitiveness, and prosperity. The Strategic Plan of the Agriculture and Forestry Department of Batu City for the period 2007-2022 also prioritized organic agriculture (Fadlina et al., 2013), but this program had been discontinued since 2017.

Considering that tourism development had been administratively implemented for several years, the city lacked a Master Plan for the process. However, in Indonesia, this regulation had a strong legal basis, with Article 30 stating that district/city governments were authorized to establish master plans for regional development (Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 10 of 2009 concerning Tourism, 2009).

Tourism sector faced ecological problems, as the implemented policy had been proven to cause the conversion of agricultural land into tourist areas. This social issue led to dualism between agricultural and tourism development. As a matter of fact, tourism in Batu City generated an economic dualism including capital-based versus community-based or village tourism. The most visible representation comprised unequal distribution, transformation, and capital turn-

over. This condition was difficult to modify, because capital turnover had been in existence for years.

The root cause of environmental crisis arose from regulatory violations motivated by the business drive to become Tourism City. The easy issuance of permits for new tourist attractions led to land conversion, degradation of agricultural value, and threats of natural disasters. Hotel construction permits was granted in all districts, despite Batu City Regulation No. 7 of 2011 limiting it to specific areas.

Water conflicts arose between farmers in the Perhutani forest area and those in Tulungrejo Village (2014). A similar incident was observed in SumberBrantas Village, because land users drained the water. In addition, this incident left the downstream villages without access to water. The communities of Oro-Oro Ombo Village lacked water and had complained about the fulfillment of domestic needs, leading to the establishment of HIPPAM (Association of Water Users/Water Supply Cooperative). This was because PDAM (Regional Water Supply Company/Government-Owned Water Supply Company) was considered unable to provide certain services (2016). The phenomena showed that cultural, economic, social, and political values influenced the meaningful perspectives of water in Batu (Seftyono et al., 2017).

This condition contradicted Regional Regulation No. 1 of 2013, which stated tourism area development must consider environmental conservation and should not be carried out on land responsible for protecting natural resources. However, the licensing division often violated these rules, threatening the existence and sustainability of water sources. Regarding this perspective, licensing issues were frequently ignored by stakeholders, leading to some movement that opposed tourism development. In Batu City, groundwater was extracted by hotels, resorts, and cottages. The situation was also experienced by communities in central tourism areas such as Oro-Oro Ombo. Based on interviews, it was found that water crisis occurred in Bulukerto and Bumiaji villages, causing local communities to prohibit those from other villages from taking water from own sources (2013).

Asides from ecological issues, tourism development encountered moral and ethical problems because the process weakened the rationality of communities that tended to be subsistence-oriented and simple. Morality and ethics had declined, proven by the offering of a 50% discount for a one-night stay to share love during Valentine's Day at Batu Wonderland Hotel in January 2015. This advertisement sparked protests from religious leaders. Due to tourist visits, traffic congestion often occurred, specifically on weekends, and the villagers frequently complained about the issue. Before the tourism development, traffic flowed smoothly, enabling the communities to move from one place to another within a short period however, longer hours were spent travelling due to congestion.

The problems and paradoxes of tourism development in relation to business, ecology, implemented regulation, and the local economy had given rise to criticism, particularly from community leaders. Meanwhile, whether driven by dissatisfaction or local knowledge that promotes sustainability, participation of these leaders had led to collective action and engagement. A typical example was conservation movement to save water sources, which functioned for four years from March 2012–2016 (Susilo, 2019).

Local Interests and Alliance Configurations in Conservation Movement

Actors collaborated in response to tourism policy that the community perceived as damaging water sources. This led to the building of an organization that motivated advocacy to reject the issuance of license to hotels considered to be the main cause of the problem. Actors also established an organization called FMPMA (Forum Masyarakat Peduli Mata Air/the Community Forum for Concern Water Sources), formed independently by maximizing the potential local resources of the community, both material and immaterial (social), found in Bumiaji, Cangar Hamlet, Bulukerto, as well as Sidomulyo Villages. The establishment of the organization led to the division of labor with contributions from each village and group. Meanwhile, tourism policy was criticized and opposed by collaborative efforts. Previous research reported that participation fur-

ther centered on the empowerment of marginalized groups in terms of making significant contributions to the process, as well as experiencing the impact (Arnstein, 2019). The consensus was intended to maintain farmlands amid the conversion process.

Participation opposed the permission for the construction of hotel in less than 500-meters distance as a part of decision making policy implemented by the government (Oakley, 1991). The anxiety and dissatisfaction within the community prompted the water source users in Bumiaji, Bulukerto, and Sidomulyo villages to collaborate with NGOs in Malang on advocacy and conservation efforts from 2013 to 2017. Prior research reported that this participation was perceived as a means of empowerment and public control (Arnstein, 2019; Burton et al., 2025; Augusto et al., 2025). Additionally, the typology referred to was self-mobilization or independent participation (Pretty, 2020).

Participation successfully led to the formulation of strategies such as initiation, framing issues, coercing policy makers, meeting, lobbying, demonstration, litigation, and regeneration (Susilo, 2017). Furthermore, strengthening participation enabled actors benefit neighborhood associations or cultural activity group as a response to political and cultural changes (Kousis, 2000), resulting in new skills, self-confidence and meaningful friendship network (Freudenberg & Steinsapir, 1991). The movement successfully pressured government policy through its advocacy actions from 2012 to 2018. FMPMA, also reversed lawsuits regarding hotels at the Malang District, the Surabaya High, and Supreme Courts.

Actors who engaged in this movement related and participated in social organizations (Hwang & Stewart, 2016). These included community and NGO leaders from Yayasan Pusaka (local NGO), Malang Corruption Watch (MCW) (local NGO), Konservasi Brantas (local NGO), and Wahana Lingkungan Hidup (national NGO). The NGOs played crucial roles due to the established platform on environmental issues, community empowerment, and local self-reliance. Despite the several issues of environmental ethics, and advocacy, community

mentoring concentrated on the implementation of the organization's programs. CBOs supported HIPPAM (the water cooperative association,) Cangar sub, Bumiaji and Tonggolari Sidomulyo Villages, with interests based on locality. HIPPAM Cangar sub Village was interested in maintaining the Gemulo Water Source as the largest user. participation of HIPPAM Bumiaji Village was because of the interest in protecting this water source. This village had similar intention as the largest user which covered three hamlets namely Beru, Banaran and Binangun. Meanwhile, the HIPPAM Tonggolari Sidomulyo Village participated in the movement because of its conservation interests among the influential figure. NGOs acted as facilitators, representing the movement in negotiations with the government and building conservation awareness among external audiences. The CBOs and community actors worked extensively on implementing joint decisions by adopting mass mobilization strategies.

Actors' engagement in community participation was triggered by concerns about water source damage caused by hotel construction as an impact of tourism policy implemented by the local government. This was due to anxiety about the possibility of the water sources being damaged. In addition, the livelihood of communities from the three villages depended on the large water source in Batu City.

The motivations of the participating actors was evident by the results of the interview. For example HJT does not want to be blamed by future generations, because these communities have the right to demand for own share of water. Meanwhile, AF stated that an ideal community was one who was considered useful to others. AF was motivated by an aspect of worship. The same applies to YNT, who was motivated by an expression of gratitude to God (syukur). In view of this perspective, participation was marked by advocacy movement with the main target focused on revoking hotel permits. The level of participation increased with a few actors alongside the realization and strengthening through collective activities based on culture (customs). As a result, actors were personally motivated through

the participation of those who influenced public policy. This was perceived as an important part of EPG (Fung & Wright, 2003).

The impact of actors' participation on conservation movement was to create awareness on the sustainability of water sources. This awareness strengthened community control over the sustainability of the surrounding. Local tourism governance in Batu City was functional, with the community expressing certain aspirations through protests, and the government responding through both formal or informal channels. For example, the government frequently followed the mediation proposals offered by public agencies and peaceful activities carried out by the community. In this context, community control influenced the implementation of state policy related to tourism and environmental conservation.

The awareness further led to citizen participation in the control of policy related to tourism where the government cautiously issued license to large projects in the city. Regarding this perspective, citizen participation motivated EPG that benefitted both the government and democratic system. The model of governance reform aimed to increase citizen engagement, prompting bottom-up participation and practical orientation (Fung & Wright, 2003). Actors were directly affected by the implemented policy, leading to deliberation and group choice after careful consideration and practical orientation (Allen, 2017). Additionally, these also resulted in enhanced democratic engagement, ensuring citizens' opinions were affected by policy (Jr, 2010).

This movement which lasted for only four years was effective when actors protested against the construction of hotels, after the license was revoked by the government, and the movement receded. Consequently, the movement was not sustainable, resulting in the ineffective functioning of public control.

Actors, Dynamics, and Structural Factors: Unsustainable Movement as Consequences of the deficit of participation

The deficit of participation refers to a condition in which the number of active participants in the movement declined signifi-

cantly, leading to reduced capacity for collective action and weakened organizational sustainability. This concept reflected the quantitative loss of actors, including the qualitative erosion of meaningful engagement, dialogue, and shared decision-making. In the case of conservation movement, this deficit evolved as the initially broad coalition—which concentrated on the gradual reduction of actors from Cangar, Bumiaji, and Sidomulyo villages,. However, only a handful of committed communities from Cangar Hamlet and a few NGO activists continued to participate actively. This dwindling base of participation centered on collaboration and consensus-building among stakeholders.

At the onset of the movement, participants from the following three villages Cangar, Bumiaji, and Sidomulyo—formed a broad-based coalition. However, only a few actors from Cangar Hamlet and several NGO activists consistently participated in the initiative. This reduction in actors engagement marked the beginning of participation deficit. Actors from Bumiaji and Sidomulyo villages gradually withdrew from the movement due to various personal and social factors. For example, participation of S and H, two influential figures from Bumiaji—was affected by family obligations that demanded quality time at home. As the movement progressed, it became increasingly dominated by a small group of actors from Cangar Hamlet, who served as the initial mobilizers as well as assumed the roles of decision-makers and implementers. The concentration of roles signaled a narrowing participation, both in terms of actors diversity and organizational representation.

The role of MCW, a major local NGO, diminished over time. WALHI, a national environmental NGO, had to substitute MCW's function as a facilitator. Although MCW never formally exited the movement, its active contribution substantially decreased. The persistence of a limited number of actors and the disengagement of others led to pronounced participation deficit, which significantly eroded the quality, sustainability, and legitimacy of this community-based conservation movement.

DISCUSSION

Factors or Causes of Deficit Participation

The two contributing factors to the deficit of participation in the movement, were reported as follows

First, Cultural and Structural Conditions

In relation to the cultural conditions, sociologists viewed structure as informal, vulnerable-to-conflict, and patterned (Rootes, 1997). Meanwhile, structural conditions included the distrust of outsiders by the local community, as well as the unfair distribution of costs and benefits. This was due to the lack of awareness regarding the benefits of tourism, power disparities and conflicts of interest in the Batu City, dwelled by the Javanese cultural community known for prioritizing harmony.

On several occasions, virtually all problems were solved through dialogues. The community believed dissenting opinion or social conflict made life difficult, resulting in the need for solution. Therefore, it was ensured the natural resource conflict did not last for long, due to cultural condition. Reindrawati, D. Y. (2023), reported that the challenge of operational participation such as lack of access to relevant information about planning and development, was not considered prominent in this movement (Reindrawati, 2023)

Second, The Construction of Local Leadership

The participatory dynamics was characterized by influencing the collaboration highly determined by the leadership responsible for constructing collective identity and strengthening social movement (Reindrawati, 2023). Additionally, the leadership was able to manage the structure, logistic and other strategic issues (Lauby, 2021), motivating the organization to provide and direct certain actions, along with defining and solving these problem (Morris & Staggenborg, 1977).

The results showed that the movement was operated without the central figure. Moreover, actors' personal experiences in the beginning implied that the central figure was detectable to counter-movement, gov-

ernmental apparatuses, business or security forces. All actors did not feel like leaders, and were able to assign responsibilities to each other, resulting in a decline in advocacy initiation and creativity.

Community actors relied on the figure considered as movement leader. However, community leadership became ineffective, after the cessation of hotel construction, including the execution and cadre formation functions. This was basically because the central figures failed to learn from literature, resulting in the inability to receive input easily (Interview with YNT, May 12, 2024). Leadership problem was confirmed based on the central figure's decision to enter the political world by being norminated as the chairperson of PAN (Partai Amanat Nasional) in Batu City. The figure presumed that the engagement in legislature was a mandate of the movement to save natural water source. In view of the description, after being elected as the chairperson of a political party, the figure was personally nominated as the Mayor in Batu City's Local Leaders in 2017.

The decision led to the division into two groups, namely those who agreed with political and non-political paths. In respect to the political path, the mayor was the holder of licensing authority. Therefore, it was expected that the Mayor of Batu could revoke the permit of The Rayja Hotel construction easily. The other actors did not agree with the idea of saving water sources through the political path recalling its effectiveness. ZNL, BR and WGM, reported that the political path could be used, although the struggle to save water sources would remain unsuccessful recalling that politicians were regarded as dishonest persons not undertaking the community's mandate seriously. In this case, the dependence of the movement was on a certain figure. The community actors and figures relied on the movement, acting as facilitators of actions and related strategies.

The local leader election (Pilkada) of Batu City was held in 2017, and the central figure failed to win the Mayor seat. The votes were used during nomination in legislative election as a member of Batu City's DPRD (Local Assembly). Eventually, the

central figure was successfully elected as a member of Batu City's DPRD representing PAN faction. Even in this position, actors were not satisfied with the role in fighting for conservation issue as the community's representative led to trust issues affecting the compactness of movement (interview with AF, October 3, 2022). The disorganized collaboration deficit was viewed from the movement initiator's dissatisfaction with its sustainability, such as figures from Sidomulyo village (ZNL, BSK) and those from Cangar Hamlet (YNT, AF and HJT). ZNL stated that the movement no longer fought for environmental conservation, as showed by only few person enjoying the political benefit. Additionally, BR reported that consistency of the movement reduced when it entered political world, particularly Pilkada (local election).

HJT and BR stated that the essence of the movement differed from the initial perspective to conserve Batu City. Presently, it pursued pragmatic interest only, and AF stated that the movement was no longer compact as proven by facilitators incapable of collectively discussing conservation activity. HJT further cautioned movement actors' behavior that did not reflect values fought for during the collaboration process. For example, these actors remained the same as local assembly members (field observation, 2002).

NGO actors encountered leadership weakness, playing with own program leading to community actors' distrust. This condition caused some community actors to become inactive, eventually resulting in disorganized participation (Interview with BY, October 15, 2022). Leadership regeneration in environmental organization tended to guide potential and new leaders. However, this formal process was perceived as difficult by small collaborative organization (Tranter, 2009).

Consequences of Participation Deficit

Lorem The deficit of participation was due to the loss of the main issue, namely the revocation of hotel licenses by the government. Therefore, most activists presumed that this condition meant the end of the movement. The water source-saving agenda

was discontinued during the sustainable conservation discourse.

According to SS, the movement facilitator/ NGO activist

"..the movement referred to hotel cessation, because it was considered to harm community, therefore; the cessation was perceived as reasonable (Interview, October 20, 2023)."

The freeing perception determined advocacy and conservation deficit, for example actors were not persuaded to engage in movement beyond the hamlet. This was because the dream of developing conservation movement was destroyed. The evaluation process should be familiar with historical context and aspect of distance underestimated (Conley & Moote, 2003). Previous research reported that motivation was determined by the sacrifice and advantage perceived during participation (Klandermans & Oegema, 1987). The motivation of short-term movement actors was only to cease the construction of the hotel. This condition was affected by actors' economy that was lower on average, considering the main problem as a strong driving force resulting in the return to respective habitat (Interview with YNT, August 18, 2021).

Actors from Cangar Hamlet cooperated with those from WALHI to develop *perdes* (Village Regulation) regarding water source prevention. This activity also engaged members of Bulukerto's BPD (Village Deliberation Agency) that kept drafting similar regulation. A young actor, I, actively engaged in conservation movement, by facilitating discussions about land use for commercial purpose in the forest.

The action group was more personal and disorganized, with NGO actors often visiting Cangar Hamlet to address the communities. Disorganized participation simply implied that the movement failed to vanish, while actors participation gradually decreased. This condition contradicted the collaboration process. In the beginning of the movement, actors from Sidomulyo, Bumiaji, and Bulukerto Villages, including Cangar Hamlet, engaged in active participation. However, a decline was observed with only one actor from Cangar Hamlet actively en-

Table 2: Depreciation Stages of Participation

No	Stages	Description
1.	Initial stage as solid phase	Unity of actors and various strategies aimed to obstruct hotel construction. Mass actions based on collective awareness and strengthened social network. The winning in District Court and Provincial Court.
2.	Depreciation stage	Decreased actors participation Participation of actors from Cangar Hamlet including Bulukerto, Bumi-aji, and Sidomulyo Villages. Decreased participation of actors from Bumi-aji Village. Disconnecting to make decision collectively as it narrowed down to actors from Cangar Hamlet and NGOs.
3.	Setback stage	Community actors became more inactive and were replaced by NGOs. Inactiveness of actors from Sidomulyo Village Activists were dominated by actors from Cangar Hamlet and some NGOs.
4.	The Decline Stage	Participation of Cangar actors declined, even majority no longer concentrated on environmental conditions. Participation vanished with pandemic.

Source: analysis of field data

gaging in the entire process. Initially, four NGO actors participated, but then eventually reduced to only one.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, hotel construction a form of tourism policy consequence that threatened environmental sustainability triggered the materialization of local community participation. This was realized through an organization that facilitated cooperation and collaboration between village actors and NGOs, with forms of participation including issue initiation, and packaging, pressuring policymakers, organizing meetings, lobbying, demonstrations, litigation, and regeneration. These actions successfully halted hotel development, resulting in the revocation of the license, prompting policy shift which served as a warning to the government.

The impactful participation form, caused the research to remained vulnerable due to a deficit in sustained citizen engagement as shown in Table 2. This participation gap was caused by three interrelated factors, namely cultural and structural limitations as well as the fragmented construction of local leadership. These results outlined the importance of participatory governance from the community's perspective, while also showing the fluctuating nature of public engagement in policy processes.

An effective participation form realized from the surrounding communities was regarded as an active control measure of tourism policy in Batu City. This was also considered as a form of EPG. The threat of water source damage, which was a push for community participation, served as an ideal initiative of productive citizens. Furthermore, the joint management among communities was executed by local/national NGOs and community-based organizations. Participation process resulted in the institutionalization of movement, formation of social learning and cessation of hotel buildings.

In the future, participation must be continued because conservation movement played a relevant role in environmental sustainability. Therefore, the movement was sustained, with the strengthening of participation realized by the development of effective mechanisms, as well as increased community awareness. Participation should also be accommodated through community engagement in the formulation, implementation, and evaluation of policy. Identifying the concerned policy issue was an act of advocacy or protest, including other environmental conservation activities such as forestation, garbage management, related training, and critical regulatory analysis.

The present research was limited in its

scope, focusing predominantly on communities' responses, thereby lacking a comprehensive analysis of the roles and perspectives of government actors as policy implementers. This shortcoming was a methodological limitation that restricted a thorough understanding of policy dynamics. In addition, the research failed to examine the evolution of broader protest action as a possible consequence of sustained civic participation.

Future research should consider exploring the dynamics of collaboration between communities and government agencies, particularly in the formulation and implementation of sustainable tourism policy. This research was conducted in Batu City, a tourist destination characterized by abundant environmental support and natural resources, which differed from other regions with dissimilar natural conditions. Therefore, a comparative analysis should be conducted across regions to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the variations in the forms and effectiveness of citizen participation. Strengthening EPG was also essential for resisting environmentally harmful developments, ensuring inclusive and sustainable tourism policy outcomes in the long term. This research contributed to the discovery of participation forms and models as active roles of community actors and civil community in the development of participatory tourism governance (Sentanu et al., 2023).

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