

Advocacy Coalitions in Baduy Tourism Policy: Navigating the Dynamics Between Industry Interests and Sustainable Empowerment

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Abstract

The political participation of the Baduy indigenous community in sustainable tourism policy has led to the emergence of two advocacy coalitions with differing views: one supports tourism for its economic potential, while the other opposes it to protect local values and the environment. This division reflects the community's involvement in policy-making. The pro-tourism group believes proper regulation can yield economic benefits without harming the culture or the environment. Conversely, the anti-tourism group prioritises cultural preservation and environmental conservation. The Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) helps understand these interactions. Although pro-tourism advocacy dominates policy decisions, initiatives like tourist restrictions from the Baduy Customary Organisation are also recognised and implemented, indicating that political participation can result in more balanced policies. The opposing coalitions also highlight the dynamics of political participation in shaping sustainable tourism policies in an area where an indigenous community lives.

Keywords: *Advocacy coalition; Baduy indigenous people; Political participation; Sustainable tourism*

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Introduction

This research discusses the dynamics in the development of Baduy tourism, which is claimed to be sustainable on the one hand and detrimental on the other in the context of government policies involving various stakeholders and advocacy coalitions (UNEP and WTO, 2015). The analysis highlights the dilemma between economic growth and tourism's impact on the environment and customary order, as well as the influence of modernisation brought by tourism development on the younger generation of the Baduy Tribe.

More specifically, this research explores the struggle between the two opposing groups. The first group consists of those who highlight the economic growth from tourism development, such as increased revenue, jobs, and infrastructure in Baduy's surrounding areas. This view aligns with the

interests of the industry and government policies to capitalise on the cultural and natural resources of the Baduy region to increase local economies. The opposing group stands for the preservation of local wisdom and ecological sustainability. This group upholds the integrity of traditional values and ecological balance that might be degraded by unregulated tourism growth. This study examines how advocacy coalitions navigate the tension between economic empowerment and sustainable cultural and environmental stewardship amid conflicting approaches. This discussion is set against the backdrop of a growing international emphasis on sustainable tourism (Bramwell & Lane, 2005). Sustainability is considered insufficient in the tourism development in the Baduy region. It often overlooks cultural and environmental issues and focuses more on



resource exploitation. Bramwell and Lane (2005) highlight the importance of sustainable tourism to ensure environmental protection and cultural conservation. They emphasise the need to balance the interests of various stakeholders, i.e., governments, local communities, and industry leaders, in developing policies for tourism to be sustainable in the long run. Their study forms the basis for understanding how sustainability principles are integrated into tourism policies and practices.

In the context of Baduy tourism, there is Kanekes Village Regulation No. 1/2007 on *Saba Budaya* and Protection of Indigenous Peoples of Tatar Kanekes concerning *Saba Budaya*, and Protection of Indigenous Peoples of Tatar Kanekes is one of the legal guarantees for the conservation of culture, environment, and self-management within the

Baduy community. Through this law, a cultural gathering known as *Saba Budaya* has been made an integral part of tradition in this community and a place where they would pass on cultural values and heighten social cohesion. It also focuses on safeguarding indigenous practice and environmental viability in the conservation of community land against exploitation and over-tourism. Recognition of indigenous self-governance by the Baduy people means the regulation protects traditional leadership. As such, external policies cannot undermine their customs. This decree fits into the broader trend of preserving indigenous peoples' rights while allowing them to enter into contact with the modern world on their terms. It is an important model for indigenous protection in Indonesia and beyond. However, tourism development

in Kanekes Village remains extremely vulnerable to social, economic, and environmental risks (Khamdevi, 2016). The approach focuses mostly on economic growth and disregards the cultural and environmental aspects. Therefore, this research urges the need for another view of tourism development by balancing it with environmental preservation and the maintenance of local wisdom.

Against the backdrop outlined above, this research examines the tension between the sustainable development of Baduy tourism and its profitability, especially in the context of government policies on tourism that involve political participation and various advocacy coalitions in the Baduy indigenous community. The research question is, “How do advocacy coalitions shape tourism policies in the Baduy region, and to what extent does

the concept of ‘*Saba Budaya Baduy*’ address the balance between economic development and the preservation of Baduy cultural values?”

Literature Review

The Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF)

Advocacy is a strategic effort by individuals or groups to fight for certain issues to be included in the policy agenda and encourage solutions to existing problems. The goal is to influence gradual changes in public policy. Advocacy is also a tool for coalitions to influence decision-making to suit a particular agenda and an effort to achieve social change through various channels, including political democracy. Overall, advocacy requires collaboration and strong coalitions to support or for common issues (Topatimasang et al., 2016).

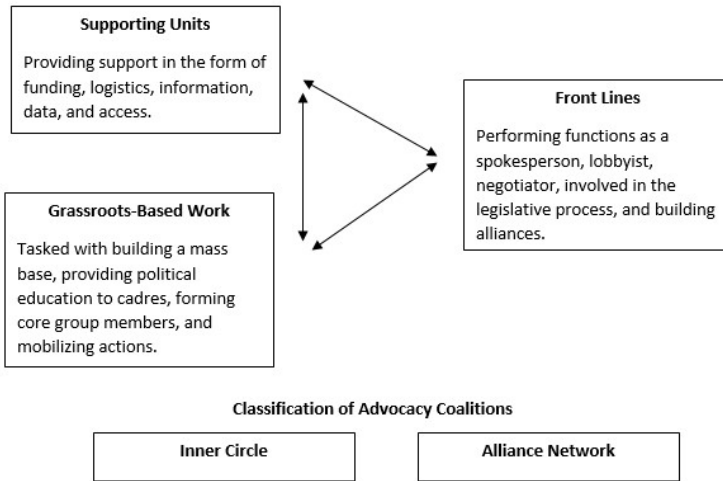


The initial step in resolving conflicts involves identifying the direction and exploring alternatives for resolution. The choice of strategy is crucial, as it can significantly influence policy outcomes. Advocacy strategies can be categorised into litigation and non-litigation approaches, each employing a combination of formal and informal channels. The selection of strategies depends on their suitability to the advocacy objectives (Sosin & Caulum, 1983). According to Loue (2006), there are four types of advocacy strategy classifications, namely through media, courts, regulation and legislation, and through coalitions. Meanwhile, the success of an advocacy strategy

depends on the cooperation between organisations and institutions, as well as the network or coalition formed.

In advocacy activities, it is important to build coalitions between various parties to achieve common goals. These coalitions may consist of organisations or individuals focusing on the same issue and can be divided into core circles and allied networks (Topatimasang et al., 2016). The core circle consists of strategic parties who work in the front line and have similar perceptions and commitments, while the ally network is a party that has a common perception of the policy issue being advocated without strict requirements. The involvement of various parties in a coalition is crucial because it affects the success of advocacy.

Figure 1. Triangle Chart of Multi-Stakeholder Coordination



Source: Topatimasang et al., (2016)

The Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) is also an important tool in understanding policy-related learning and policy change. ACF analyses the interactions between policy networks and policy actors in impacting public policies through three main dimensions: stable relative parameters, policy subsystems, and external events. ACF highlights the importance of the policy arena where advocacy

coalitions interact to influence a policy (Sabatier, 1991). The main objective of ACF is to influence decision-makers, gain support from the bureaucracy, and manipulate the decision-making forum. Although external changes can influence policy, a greater force is needed for policy shifts (Esa, 2016).

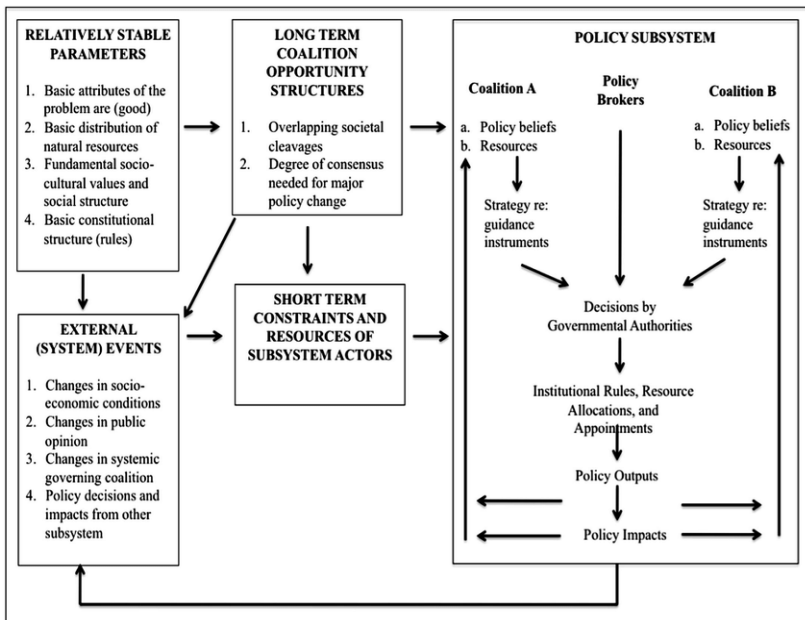
The ACF emphasizes the importance of policy-oriented learning as a driver of policy



change. Within a policy subsystem, key elements such as beliefs, resources, and strategies shape the process, with resources playing a pivotal role in determining outcomes. Policy debates often give rise to competing advocacy coalitions, necessitating the involvement

of decision-makers and policy brokers to mediate conflicts and achieve balanced solutions. ACF provides valuable insights into the interactions and dynamics of these coalitions within the policy-making process.

Figure 2. Diagram of Advocacy Coalition Framework



Source: Sabatier, 1991

The ACF offers a valuable perspective for understanding how coalitions representing industry interests and advocates of sustainable empowerment interact within the policy subsystem of Baduy tourism development. It identifies three main components influencing policy outcomes: belief systems, resources, and strategies (Jenkins-Smith & Sabatier, 1994).

1. Belief System: Each coalition's belief system forms the foundation of its goals and approach. The industry-focused coalition likely values economic growth, viewing tourism as an essential revenue source for the region, which aligns with core economic development ideologies. In contrast, the sustainability-focused coalition emphasizes cultural preservation and the protection of Baduy

traditional values, grounded in a belief system that respects indigenous autonomy and ecological balance.

2. Resources: The resources available to each coalition determine how much influence it can exert on the Baduy tourism policy. For instance, industry coalitions may have financial and political backing, allowing them to afford lobbying, marketing, and access to policymakers. Conversely, the sustainable empowerment coalition may lack comparable funding but can draw on the social capital of the Baduy community and the moral authority associated with cultural preservation. This contrast in resources highlights the challenges that sustainability-focused



advocacy coalitions face in competing against well-funded industry stakeholders.

- 3. Strategies:** Each coalition's strategies within the Baduy tourism policy arena reflect its beliefs and resources. The industry-aligned coalition may use lobbying, political networking, and economic incentive strategies to support tourism expansion. Meanwhile, the sustainability-focused coalition is likely to adopt grassroots approaches, community engagement, and environmental advocacy to emphasise the importance of protecting Baduy culture and land from exploitation.

This theoretical approach not only underscores the complexity of Baduy tourism policy but also provides insight into the advocacy dynamics

that influence whether the policy will lean towards short-term economic interests or long-term cultural and environmental preservation.

In Salzia Raihan's 2022 study on street vendor arrangements in Cihideung, the ACF theory highlights how advocacy coalitions influence policy change. The Pepmatas coalition, with resources like public opinions, information, and leadership, used strategies including legislation and networking. Meanwhile, the Cihideung Street Vendor (PKL) Association, holding formal legal authority, focused on non-litigation and networking. Despite Pepmatas' advantages, the mayor's decision ultimately favoured the Cihideung PKL Association's pedestrian concept. This finding emphasises the importance of formal authority in policy outcomes (Raihan, 2022).

Netty Herawaty Manurung's (2005) study examined the policymaking process around the release and termination of transgenic cotton in South Sulawesi. The findings show how conflicting coalitions were formed due to differing value systems. Actors engaged in policy learning but maintained their core beliefs. The policy was terminated, driven more by political dynamics and external interests rather than internal changes (Manurung, 2005).

This study applies the ACF to analyse policy formation in Baduy tourism, focusing on the actors, their motivations, and coalition dynamics. The ACF enables a detailed comparison of coalition beliefs, values, and policy preferences, providing insights into the complex policy process.

This policy debate revolves around the development of tourism in the Baduy area and

presents two main advocacy coalitions with opposing views. The pro-tourism advocacy coalition, consisting of the HPI-DPU Baduy (Indonesian Tourist Association – Baduy unit), local tourism actors, and the local government, advocates for tourism development as a tool for economic growth, believing that with proper regulation, it can align with sustainable principles. On the other side, the contra-tourism advocacy coalition, represented by the Baduy Customary Organisation, strongly opposes tourism development, fearing that it threatens their cultural traditions (*pikukuh*) and the environmental sustainability of their land.

The pro-tourism coalition enjoys a significant resource advantage, with support from the local government, financial backing for training programs, and media presence. Their strategy primarily involves



non-litigation tactics, such as engaging the public through deliberation and hearings while promoting tourism through mass media campaigns. In contrast, the contra-tourism coalition lacks formal political power but relies on the cultural authority of the Baduy *Puun* (traditional leaders), advocating for environmental and cultural preservation through moral appeals and negotiation. Despite their limited resources, they successfully voiced their concerns through a formal letter to President Joko Widodo, asking for the removal of the Baduy from Indonesia's tourism map, though this appeal did not receive broad political support.

Both coalitions demonstrated policy-oriented learning throughout the conflict. The pro-tourism coalition adapted its approach to incorporate more sustainable and culturally respectful practices, leading to the development of the *Saba*

Budaya Baduy concept, which seeks to balance tourism with cultural preservation. The contra-tourism coalition, although unable to fully halt tourism development, managed to influence policy by advocating for stricter controls on tourist numbers and the renaming of "tourism" to the more culturally respectful "*Saba Budaya*" (cultural gathering). This shift reflects their success in pushing a policy framework that prioritises cultural integrity.

The Local Government of Lebak played a crucial role as a policy broker between the two coalitions. However, its neutrality was compromised due to its alignment with the pro-tourism agenda, as tourism brings significant economic benefits to the region. While the government facilitated separate hearings with both coalitions, it did not bring them together for joint deliberations, limiting the potential for a more balanced



consensus. The *Saba Budaya* Baduy compromise, which permits tourism while ensuring cultural and environmental safeguards, emerged from these mediations.

Ultimately, the *Saba Budaya* Baduy concept reflects a policy compromise. The pro-tourism coalition achieved its goal of continuing tourism under new terms, while the contra-tourism coalition succeeded in securing stricter regulations and preserving cultural values. Moving forward, the pro-tourism coalition should ensure that tourism development continues to integrate environmental protection measures. Meanwhile, the contra-tourism coalition could benefit from aligning with external environmental and cultural organisations to strengthen their advocacy. This case demonstrates the dynamic interplay between economic development and cultural

preservation in policy-making, with the ACF providing a suitable framework to understand how coalitions adapt and influence outcomes.

The negotiation between the pro-tourism and contra-tourism coalitions reveals the steps that led to the policy shift, i.e., the *Saba Budaya* Baduy concept. The pro-tourism coalition, consisting of HPI-DPU Baduy, local tourism stakeholders, and the Lebak government, was primarily driven by economic motivations. They believed that tourism could boost local income, create jobs, and promote sustainable development. Their view was challenged by the Baduy Customary Organisation, which represented the contra-tourism coalition seeking to preserve the cultural integrity and environmental sustainability of Baduy lands and the social fabric of the community.



The pro-tourism coalition had several strategic advantages. They had political support from the local government, as well as financial resources to organise training and promotional activities. Their advocacy was primarily non-litigious, focusing on public engagement through media campaigns, tourism promotions, and community-level dialogues. These resources allowed them to dominate the public discourse around tourism and present it as a sustainable economic opportunity. The contra-tourism coalition, though lacking political and financial resources, held significant cultural authority through the leadership of the Baduy *Puun*. Their strategy was to use cultural advocacy, sending a formal letter to President Joko Widodo requesting the removal of the Baduy region from Indonesia's tourism map. While their appeal resonated with local cultural

concerns, it did not carry the political weight needed to completely halt tourism development.

The policy-oriented learning on both sides has played a critical role in shaping the eventual compromise. The pro-tourism coalition realised the importance of incorporating sustainability measures into their tourism plans, responding to the cultural concerns raised by the Baduy community. This shift led to the development of the *Saba Budaya* Baduy, a model that reframes tourism (and its economic activities) as a cultural gathering that prioritises the preservation of Baduy customs. On the other hand, the contra-tourism coalition also learned to compromise. Instead of insisting on a total ban on tourism, they aimed for more manageable

goals, such as limiting the number of visitors and redefining tourism in a way that aligned with cultural preservation.

The Lebak government, acting as a policy broker, attempted to mediate the two coalitions. However, their role was complicated by their support for the economic benefits of tourism. While they organised separate hearings with both coalitions, the lack of joint deliberation meant that true consensus was difficult to achieve. The government ultimately leaned in favour of the pro-tourism coalition, but the shift to *Saba Budaya* Baduy reflects a degree of compromise. The concept introduced more culturally sensitive tourism regulations, including limits on tourist numbers and a focus on educating visitors about Baduy customs, thus addressing some of the concerns of the contra-tourism coalition.

The outcome of the negotiation demonstrates the power dynamics between the two coalitions. While the pro-tourism coalition achieved its goal of continuing tourism, it had to adapt to the cultural demands of the Baduy community. The contra-tourism coalition, though not halting tourism, influenced the policy framework to ensure that cultural preservation became a key component of tourism development. This resolution reflects the balancing act that policy brokers often face—navigating between economic interests and cultural preservation while also responding to the advocacy efforts of multiple stakeholders.

Methodology

The research method is a qualitative approach with a case study design. This method allows for a detailed description of the complexity



within communities or coalitions and the individuals representing various perspectives (Stark & Torrance, 2005). Data collection took place in Kanekes Village, Lebak Regency, Banten Province, specifically in Kampung Kaduketug I in the Outer Baduy area. This location was chosen because it is inhabited by the Baduy indigenous people and is a designated tourist destination for *Saba Budaya* Baduy. This research consists of informal discussions with nine figures representing varying perspectives on the topic of sustainable tourism in the Baduy area. Conversations were held with advocates of tourism in Baduy, such as *Himpunan Pramuwisata Indonesia Duta Pariwisata* (HPI DPU), *Dinas Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata* (Disbudpar), and the Lebak local government officials, as stakeholders involved in Baduy tourism initiatives. Meanwhile,

discussions with individuals from the *Lembaga Adat* Baduy focus on the viewpoints opposing tourism development in the region. Field research in this investigation examined how the Baduy community handled challenges amid continued opposition from village elders and traditional authorities.

Secondary data was collected from journals, books, newspapers, and online platforms to examine tourism's impact on the socioeconomic and environmental aspects in the Baduy area. This strategy offers valuable insights into the community's perspectives on sustainable tourism practices.

Informants were selected based on criteria put forward by Spradley, as described by Satori and Komariah (2009), which include:



1. Individuals with deep understanding and experience in the enculturation process, such as members of the Baduy indigenous community who interact with tourists
2. Participants involved in the research activities, including customary institutions, traders, farmers, managers, local tour guides, customary village heads (*jaro*), and representatives from the Lebak Tourism Department and Lebak Regional Government
3. Those who provided unbiased information represented by the Culture and Tourism Office of Lebak Regency

The informants were divided into two advocacy coalition groups:

- Supporters of Baduy sustainable tourism: HPI-DPU Baduy, Disbudpar Lebak, Local Government of Lebak, and Baduy tourism actors.
- Opponents of Baduy sustainable tourism: Members of the Baduy Customary Organisation (Lembaga Adat Baduy).

The Local Government of Lebak Regency also acted as a policy broker, mediating between the two competing coalitions in policy-making. Data analysis follows the interactive model by Miles and Huberman (1992), consisting of three main stages: data reduction, data display, and drawing conclusions.



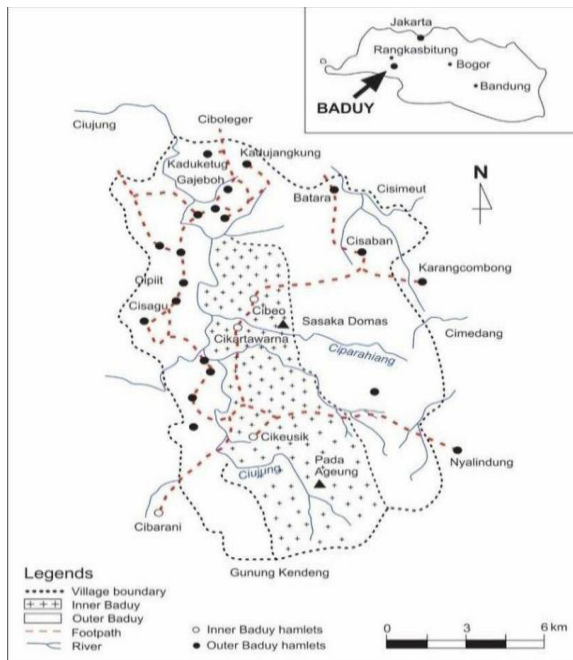
Findings and Discussion

Overview of Baduy Indigenous People

The Baduy Indigenous Community in Lebak Regency, Banten Province, Indonesia, is known for its strong cultural identity and dedication to

preserving traditional practices. Governed by *Perdes* No. 1/2007, which protects cultural gatherings and indigenous rights, the Baduy prioritize environmental sustainability and simplicity. This regulation helps safeguard their customs, natural resources, and autonomy in managing their land.

Figure 3. Map of Kanekes Village where Baduy Indigenous People Live



Source: Iskandar & Ellen (1999)



The Baduy indigenous people are divided into two groups: Outer Baduy (*Panamping*) and Inner Baduy (*Kajeroan*). The Inner Baduy, who occupy about 30% of the Baduy area and live in the villages of Cikeusik, Cibeo, and Cikatarwana, strictly adhere to their traditions and reject outside culture that conflicts with their customary rules (*pikukuh*). They are also deeply concerned about their environment (Danasasmita & Djatisunda, 1984).

The Baduy people’s cultural values are deeply rooted in *pikukuh*, a set of customary rules that prioritise environmental care and social order. *Pikukuh* prescribes behaviours to minimise environmental degradation, such as practising shifting cultivation, replanting, and prohibiting chemical use in agriculture. The regulation (*perdes*) complements these traditions by reinforcing Baduy’s control over cultural and

Figure 4. Inner Baduy (*Kajeroan*) and Outer Baduy (*Panamping*)



Source: Author’s photo documentation



ecological practices, reflecting a paradigm that values cultural sustainability over economic development.

However, this paradigm is challenged by policies that support the growth of the tourism industry, endangering the very customs that *Perdes* No. 1/2007 seeks to preserve. A community where land and tradition are deeply intertwined faces environmental degradation and the erosion of traditional knowledge due to pollution, waste, and external influences, all of which threaten the Baduy's environmental and cultural integrity as tourism grows. The need for a tourism policy that respects and protects the values inherent in *pikukuh* and *Perdes* No. 1/2007, rather than endangering them, is highlighted in the tension between sustainable preservation and economic interest.

Baduy Tourism Paradigm

Tourism development in the Baduy area presents a policy dilemma that requires balancing economic growth, community welfare, cultural preservation, and environmental conservation. Although tourism can boost economic growth, generate employment, and enhance living standards, it also threatens the preservation of local wisdom. There are two perspectives on sustainable tourism:

- a. **Resource-centric:** This perspective focuses on using natural, socio-cultural, and economic resources sustainably, ensuring that tourism development does not harm the natural ecosystem. This approach is typically adopted by protected forest area managers for environmental conservation.

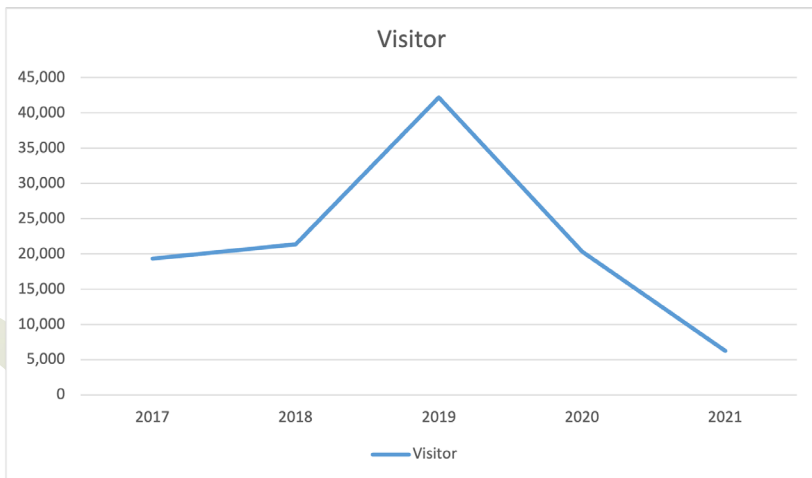


b. Tourist-centric: This perspective emphasises the needs and experiences of tourists.

The resource-centric view is often preferred for its emphasis on environmental conservation and maintaining the balance of the natural ecosystem in tourist destination development. However, in addition to the resource-centric and tourist-centric paradigms, there is also a community-centric paradigm (Saarinen, 2006), which

addresses the issue of over-tourism, where tourism growth becomes unsustainable (Butler, 2019; Wall, 2020). In Kanekes Tourism Village, where the Baduy Community lives, tourism has led to environmental degradation and social disruption, causing the community to reject tourism on their land. Nonetheless, efforts to attract more tourists and economic benefits remain strong, often prioritising market growth and visitor expenditure over sustainable practices.

Figure 5. Graphic of Tourists Visiting Baduy



Source: Pahlevi, 2022



In 2019, Baduy experienced its peak tourist arrivals at 42,228, highlighting its national and international appeal. However, this surge has negatively impacted the environment, including river pollution from soap and other chemicals used by tourists (Ramadhian & Cahya, 2020). Additionally, there is a disconnect between the expectations of the Baduy Tribe as a tourist destination and the behaviour of the visitors (Ramadhian & Cahya, 2020).

In developing sustainable tourism in the Baduy area, both culture and nature are at risk. The community's strict customs could be disrupted by poorly managed tourism, leading to social changes and a shift toward modern lifestyles. To balance tourism growth with the preservation of culture and

nature, careful policy-making and active involvement from all stakeholders, including the Baduy community, are crucial.

On the other hand, environmental sustainability is also a major concern in the Baduy area. The region's natural beauty is at risk from uncontrolled tourism, which can lead to forest destruction, pollution, and resource degradation. Since the Baduy community depends heavily on natural resources for their daily lives, environmental damage from tourism can directly impact their well-being (Tosun, 2001).

Sustainable tourism development is often viewed solely as a means of economic growth, contrasting with the community-centric perspective, which focuses on participatory planning, setting tourism boundaries through negotiation, involving local communities, and prioritizing their benefits.



Achieving sustainable tourism heavily relies on the government's political will. This process is complex and impacts national economic policies, public administration, environmental issues, and international tourism structures (Tosun, 2001).

Efforts continue to be made to bridge the differences in paradigms towards sustainable tourism (Mihalic et al., 2021). In theory, sustainable tourism can balance economic, social, and environmental goals through collaboration among industry, government, academics, and policy actors, but its implementation often faces challenges. Policy failures often reflect and result from the increasingly severe environmental impacts of tourism (Hall, 2011).

ACF Component in Baduy Tourism Advocacy Coalition

The Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) includes three main components that influence policy changes: belief system, resources, and strategy (Jenkins-Smith & Sabatier, 1994). To assess an advocacy coalition's capacity, these components are identified as follows: 1) **Belief System:** The core values and ideologies that shape the coalition's mindset and decision-making. 2) **Resources:** The various assets and advantages held by the coalition. 3) **Strategy:** The approaches used by the coalition to advance their goals in the policy arena. This section identifies the resources component, which consists of various resources, and the strategy used by each advocacy coalition in the policy battle arena.



Actors in Tourism Policy Advocacy Coalition in Baduy

The policy subsystem consists of various parties who have a role in the creation, dissemination, and evaluation of policy ideas. Observation of the policy chronology process as a whole revealed the configuration of stakeholders or related actors in the tourism policy process in Kanekes Village, where the Baduy Indigenous people live, as follows:

1. Baduy Customary Organisation
(*Lembaga Adat Baduy*)
2. Indonesian Tourist Association - Baduy Unit Leadership Council (HPI - DPU Baduy)
3. Culture and Tourism Office of Lebak Regency
4. Local Government of Lebak

5. Baduy tourism actors (from among the Baduy community and outside Baduy)

To be able to explain the role and involvement of each actor, Sabatier's advocacy coalition framework is used in this study. An advocacy coalition can be defined as a group of actors who have different backgrounds but share a certain belief system and are believed to be a set of basic values, perceptions, and causal assumptions towards the problem at hand (Jenkins-Smith & Sabatier, 1994).

The research identified two coalitions formed around shared beliefs, involving public and private actors at both regional and central levels. These coalitions are not resistance movements but alliances with diverse interests, reflecting the complexity of the Baduy tourism policy debate. The dynamics involve both internal community



views and external parties, transcending the traditional Inner and Outer Baduy divide. The analysis also highlights the influence of external events and factors outside the policy subsystem.

1. Pro-Tourism Advocacy Coalition

The pro-tourism coalition includes HPI-DPU Baduy, local and external Baduy tourism actors, and regional government agents, such as the Lebak Local Government and the Lebak Regency Tourism Office. They are united by their shared belief that Baduy tourism can enhance local economic growth and align with sustainable development principles, serving as a tool for sustainable empowerment.

Kanekes Village, home to the Baduy Indigenous People, has been designated a leading tourism destination by the Lebak Regency Government.

Cultural tourism began in 1994 and grew significantly after Banten became a province based on Law Number 23 of 2000 on the Establishment of Banten Province, driven by government promotions. The village saw peak tourist visits in 2019 (lebakkab.bps.go.id, 2019). The Lebak Government supports tourism as a means of economic growth while emphasising cultural preservation and sustainability, including training the Outer Baduy community members as tour guides and benefiting nearby villages like Ciboleger.

Empirical evidence highlighting the economic benefits of opening Baduy as a tourist destination serves as a key resource for policy advocacy within the supporting coalition. Political influence, primarily from the Regent of Lebak and the Culture and Tourism Office of Lebak Regency,



plays a crucial role in advancing the tourism agenda. The Lebak Regional Government leverages media platforms to promote Baduy tourism, aiming to increase visitor numbers and enhance regional revenue (kompas.com, 2016).

Meanwhile, Baduy Indigenous Peoples, particularly tourism actors and guides engaged by the Lebak Regional Government and Dispar Lebak, support a coalition. They participate in MSME empowerment and national tour guide training initiatives. These efforts have led to the formation of the Indonesian Tourism Association - Baduy Main Leadership Council (HPI - DPU Baduy), advocating for tourism development in the Baduy region.

“Actually, the Baduy community in Kanekes Village is officially included in the HPI group or the Indonesian Tourism Association, which has a national

standard, with local Baduy guides, tour guides, and others,” (Aditiya, representative of Lebak Tourism Office, interviewed 09 November 2023).

The tour guide community in Baduy is organized into five key roles: Head, Secretary, Treasurer, Humanitarian Division, and general members. The community, known as HPI-DPU Baduy, has undergone multiple training sessions facilitated by the Lebak Regency Culture and Tourism Office. These sessions aim to enhance the skills and competencies of tour guides, focusing on language proficiency, public speaking, and effective guiding techniques to improve service quality in the tourism sector.

The pro-tourism advocacy coalition for Baduy holds a strategic advantage over its opposing contra group due to access to key resources, including financial support

and media outreach. Leveraging mass media, the coalition actively promotes Baduy tourism to attract visitors and garner public support. It also benefits from superior information resources, particularly regarding the needs of the Baduy community involved in tourism.

Unlike traditional mobilisation tactics, the coalition focuses on achieving its goals through consensus-building rather than demonstrations. Financial support from the Lebak Regional Government and the Culture and Tourism Office has facilitated frequent training and capacity-building initiatives aimed at enhancing the skills of both indigenous and non-indigenous tour guides.

Leadership within the coalition, notably through HPI-DPU Baduy led by Mulyono (Kang Mul), has played a pivotal role in managing tourism activities

despite occasional conflicts with neighbouring communities. However, challenges remain, particularly in the absence of a long-term strategic plan for sustainable tourism development in Baduy.

The third component of the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) involves advocacy strategies. For the pro-tourism coalition, most advocacy is non-litigation, focusing on audience engagement, discussions, and deliberations rather than legal action. When tourism issues arise, the coalition typically addresses them through hearings and meetings with relevant institutions and communities. Additionally, the local government and the Lebak Regency Tourism Office work on building networks by organising tourism actors from both within and outside the Baduy community.



2. **Contra-Tourism Advocacy Coalition**

This contra-tourism coalition emerged in response to a tourism development plan in the Baduy area by the Lebak Regency Regional Government. It is primarily composed of the Baduy indigenous people, represented by the Baduy Customary Organisation, which governs and preserves their ancestral customs. This institution plays a key role in the coalition, actively pushing the government to halt tourism development and protect the Baduy area from being exploited as a tourist attraction.

In July 2020, the Baduy Customary Organisation initiated advocacy by sending a letter to President Joko Widodo requesting the removal of Baduy's customary territory from the tourist destination map. This request was driven by concerns over environmental pollution,

disruption of customary order, and the negative impact of technology and modernity on the younger generation of the Baduy community. The letter was also delivered orally by community leaders, including Jaro Tangtu of Cikeusik Village and Jaro Saidi. In response, the government agreed to hold a hearing to seek a compromise. However, the advocacy did not achieve its intended outcome, as the Tourism Office and Lebak Local Government quickly engaged in negotiations with the customary elders to establish tourism regulations for the Baduy region. In the letter, it is written:

“We request the President, through his bureaucratic apparatus, to make and arrange a policy, so that the Baduy customary area is no longer included as a tourist attraction



location. In other words, we request that the government can erase the Baduy customary area from Indonesia's tourism map,"

The negotiations resulted in limiting the number of tourists visiting the Baduy area. Hari Santoso from the Ministry of Tourism proposed creating an app for tourist registration and information. However, Uday Suhada from the Baduy community suggested using the term "*Saba Budaya* " instead of "tourism," in line with local regulations. Ayah Mursid, an Inner Baduy elder, called for clear rules and guidelines on allowed routes and activities. The Regent of Lebak, Iti Octavia Jayabaya, announced plans to provide land near the Baduy area for an information centre to educate tourists about *Saba Budaya* activities before entering the area.

The advocacy efforts by the Baduy Customary Organisation failed as the local government and the Lebak Tourism Office continued to promote Baduy as a tourist destination. Instead of heeding the advocacy, the government proposed a compromise by reducing tourist restrictions and developing an information centre in the Baduy area. The opposition to the Baduy tourism policy, however, emerged from a collective effort within the Baduy Customary Institution, driven by concerns over the negative impacts of tourism. These included issues such as waste, the exposure of the Inner Baduy area to the Internet, and the erosion of traditional lifestyles in favour of modernization.

According to Prasetyo et al. (2021) since the presence of tourism activities in the Baduy area, the Baduy indigenous people have begun to depend on their lives on the tourism sector



by opening stalls in the yard and selling goods, such as souvenirs, woven fabrics, and forest honey. The presence of stalls in the Baduy customary area has an impact on tourism activities; this becomes a problem because there is a shift in the values of the life of the Baduy indigenous people from traditional to modern and materialist. Of course, this is contrary to the law of Baduy *pikukuh*.

Horton (2009) explains that tourism can lead to consumerism, materialism, and commodification in communities. The Baduy community has experienced cultural shifts from traditional to modern due to the high influx of tourists with different cultural behaviours. This has resulted in the marginalisation of traditional values, cultural commodification, and the adoption of external habits, affecting the Baduy indigenous community.

The Baduy contra-tourism advocacy coalition lacks strategic positions within the formal authority and has no formal allies or support, placing it at a disadvantage compared to the pro-tourism coalition. This group rarely utilises mass media and instead seeks support through community engagement, particularly in Kanekes Village. The coalition relies on direct information from the Baduy Customary Organisation regarding violations of customary law in tourism activities. Rather than organising demonstrations, the coalition mobilizes its members by appealing to traditional teachings. Financially, the coalition is weak, as it focuses on preserving customs without significant operational funding. However, it benefits from strong leadership, as it is led by the Baduy traditional leaders or *Puun*, who hold considerable

authority over decisions affecting Baduy customary land. The *Puun*, through consensus within the customary institution, plays a key role in upholding and enforcing customary laws within the community.

The Baduy contra-tourism advocacy coalition primarily employs non-litigation strategies, focusing on deliberation, negotiation, and discussions with the Lebak Regional Government. Additionally, the coalition uses a network-based advocacy approach, engaging various stakeholders, especially within the Baduy community. Although the coalition generally avoids litigation, it did pursue a formal strategy by sending a letter to President Joko Widodo, urging the removal of Baduy from the tourism map of Lebak Regency due to concerns over the impacts of tourism.

Intermediary Coalition (Policy Broker)

The Lebak Regency Government acted as a mediator in the debate over opening the Baduy area for tourism, facilitating dialogue between the Baduy Customary Organisation and the Lebak Regional Government in response to an open letter addressed to President Joko Widodo to eliminate Baduy from the destination of tourist destinations. A key meeting on July 18, 2020, resulted in recommendations to rename Baduy tourism to *Saba Budaya Baduy* and build an information centre outside the customary land.

However, an audience or meeting that directly involves both coalitions has never been conducted. The hearing was conducted separately: the local government and the tourism agencies held a meeting with



the HPI-DPU Baduy group, and, at another time, the local government of Lebak held an audience with the Baduy Customary Organisation. To reach a consensus, Sabatier (1991) recommends including all parties in the negotiation and giving advocacy coalitions the right to veto. Sabatier (1991) also recommended that all relevant parties be included in negotiations and that advocacy coalitions be granted a right to veto. This is crucial in achieving a balanced consensus, especially in contentious issues like the opening of the Baduy area to tourism. In this case, although the local government has assumed a mediating role between the pro-tourism and contra-tourism coalitions, they have yet to implement an inclusive negotiation process, as Sabatier suggested. Meetings were conducted separately with each coalition—the Baduy

Customary Organisation and the HPI-DPU Baduy group—instead of involving both sides at a single table for direct dialogue.

The separation of meetings between the two coalitions resulted in missed opportunities for a more inclusive and productive discussion, preventing direct dialogue, understanding, and compromise. By not bringing both sides together, the local government missed the chance to foster effective policy negotiation. Granting each coalition veto power, as suggested by Sabatier, would have ensured a more balanced and legitimate decision-making process, supporting sustainable and consensus-based outcomes that consider both cultural protection and tourism interests in Baduy.

The local government has positioned itself as a neutral party in the tourism debate despite being aligned with the

pro-tourism coalition from the outset. This reflects an inconsistent stance, where bureaucratic reasoning is used to present a neutral image, aiming to accommodate the aspirations of all parties involved. However, political motivations are evident as the government continues to prioritise Baduy as a key tourist destination in the region. This political stance is reinforced by the designation of six major tourist destinations in Lebak Regency, with Baduy prominently featured among them. The designation of Baduy as one of the main tourist destinations in Lebak Regency aligns with the local government's strategy to boost tourism in Banten. Among the six "fantastic destinations" prioritised by the Lebak government, the Baduy area stands out due to its unique cultural heritage and traditional practices, attracting both domestic and

international visitors. However, this prominence raises concerns among the Baduy indigenous community, particularly regarding the cultural and environmental impact of increased tourism. The government's efforts to balance tourism with sustainable practices, including initiatives like *Saba Budaya*, emphasise responsible tourism that respects local traditions and conserves resources (Umarella et al., 2020).

The dynamic reflects the tension between the government's push for tourism and the community's focus on cultural and environmental preservation. While a policy broker should remain neutral, the local government favoured one coalition, contrary to Sabatier's model of impartiality.



Government's Decision on the Baduy Tourism Policy

The final decision on the Baduy tourism policy, made by the Regent of Lebak Regency, involved changing the term from “tourism destination” to *Saba Budaya*, reflecting the Baduy tribe's preference for more culturally respectful tourism. This decision followed a deliberation with the Baduy Customary Organisation's leader and the Head of the Lebak Regency Culture and Tourism Office (Antara & Budiman, 2020). Despite the shift from traditional conventional tourism, visitors can still visit Baduy under specific conditions.

The *Saba Budaya Baduy* concept is a tourism approach that focuses on cultural and environmental preservation, with the Baduy community playing a central role in managing

sustainable tourism. Unlike previous models that prioritised economic gains over culture and the environment, *Saba Budaya* emphasises community involvement and includes educational efforts to promote respect for local culture and environment. This concept aims to establish a fair, sustainable tourism model aligned with Baduy values.

Saba Budaya Baduy is a tourism approach designed to align with the cultural and environmental values of the Baduy people. It shifts the focus from traditional tourism, reframing the experience as an interactive cultural and educational engagement that respects Baduy traditions. This model represents a sustainable tourism paradigm that integrates indigenous cultural principles into tourism practices, prioritising community-led management, ecological preservation, and



cultural integrity. By granting the Baduy community authority over tourism regulation, the model aims to prevent environmental harm and preserve traditional values, ensuring that visitors interact with Baduy culture in a manner that respects local customs.

“Here, we prioritise good relationships rather than just tourism, naming *Saba Budaya Baduy* means *Saba* is a relationship because if it is categorised as tourism, it is like a spectacle and there is development everywhere. While we reject that, the word relationship is the right word to see the culture and customs of the Baduy community.” (Jaro Saija, Interview on 21 October 2023).

Regent Iti Octavia agreed to replace the term “tourist destination” with *Saba Budaya* and will evaluate policies to prevent environmental pollution

and preserve nature. Dedi Mulyadi, from the House of Representatives, emphasised that tourists should respect and learn about the Baduy community rather than view it as a spectacle. The Indonesian Ministry of Tourism and Economy supports limiting tourist numbers and embracing sustainable tourism (Mutiah, 2020), with Hari Santosa Sungkari suggesting an application to manage and record visits to the Baduy area.

The concept of *Saba Budaya Baduy* was chosen because it can fulfil the demands and desires of the two competing advocacy coalitions. This is due to the continued economic activity of Baduy tourism, alongside the implementation of visitation limits and the shift to the *Saba Budaya* tourism concept. Therefore, the concept of *Saba Budaya Baduy* was considered the most viable solution by the Lebak Regency



Government. This may not fully indicate a consensus in the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) sense. Within ACF, a consensus involves compromises across coalitions where each party's core values and beliefs are acknowledged and upheld through policy, often requiring open dialogue and negotiation.

In the case of *Saba Budaya Baduy*, the "compromise" largely reflects the local government's strategic attempt to maintain tourism activities in a format that superficially acknowledges Baduy cultural principles without fundamentally shifting the balance of influence away from pro-tourism interests. Changing the term to *Saba Budaya* and setting certain visitor limits may appear to address Baduy's preservation concerns, but if the primary decision-making power

remains with the government and tourism proponents, this may not meet the conditions for true consensus.

In a true consensus, as per Sabatier (1991), both coalitions, the tourism supporters and the Baduy advocates for cultural preservation would have not only their input considered but also possess the power to negotiate terms that uphold their core values. This would entail giving the Baduy Customary Organisation an active role in managing tourism limits and visitor conduct and determining the extent of cultural presentations, aligning with the concept of community-led tourism (Bramwell & Lane, 2005). Thus, while *Saba Budaya Baduy* may be a step toward compromise, the absence of significant control by the

Baduy over these processes suggests that it may fall short of a true consensus or balanced power-sharing model.

The final decision on tourism policy in Baduy favours the pro-tourism advocacy coalition, which holds significant advantages over the contra-tourism coalition. The pro-tourism coalition benefits from strong support from influential parties, such as the Regional Government and the Regent of Lebak Regency, which shapes the policies in favour of sustainable tourism development in Baduy. However, the advocacy efforts of the Baduy Customary Organisation, despite being less powerful, have led to positive outcomes, such as the implementation of tourist number limitations and the shift towards the concept of *Saba Budaya*, marking a compromise between tourism development and cultural preservation.

Conclusion

Tourism development in Baduy has raised a conflict between economic growth and preserving local culture and the environment. While tourism activities offer economic benefits, concerns about its impact persist. Efforts to balance resources, tourist visits, and community needs have been challenging due to environmental issues and policy shortcomings.

The advocacy coalitions surrounding Baduy tourism are divided into two main groups. On one side, the pro-tourism coalition supports the development of tourism to stimulate economic growth in the local community while upholding sustainable tourism principles. In contrast, the opposition coalition focuses on environmental preservation and the protection of traditional customs, which they feel are increasingly threatened by the influence of tourism. The



division reflects a balancing act between enhancing local livelihoods through tourism and safeguarding Baduy's cultural and environmental heritage, which is at risk of erosion due to growing tourism activities.

The pro-tourism coalition, supported by the local government and tourism stakeholders, advocates for eco-friendly tourism to boost the economy through hearings and discussions. In contrast, the contra coalition, led by the Baduy Customary Organisation, prioritises tradition and limits tourism, promoting the *Saba Budaya* concept. The Lebak Regency Local Government acts as a mediator, supporting tourism development while attempting to reconcile the opposing coalitions through discussions. However, this

approach has been ineffective due to the failure to unite both sides and inconsistencies in the government's position.

The final decision on the Baduy tourism policy, made by the Regent of Lebak Regency, was to change the term from "tourist destination" to *Saba Budaya Baduy*, based on recommendations from a deliberation with the Baduy Customary Organisation and the Local Government. While this decision aimed to balance both advocacy coalitions' wishes, it largely favours the pro-tourism coalition. Despite this, the Baduy Customary Organisation's advocacy successfully limited tourist numbers and shifted the tourism concept, contributing positively to policies that prioritise the sustainability and preservation of the Baduy culture.



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