

# Policy Conflict Framework: Conflict Analysis of Alaska Natural Tourism Development in Batu City

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## **Policy Conflict Framework: Conflict Analysis of Alaska Nature Tourism Development in Batu City**

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### **Abstract**

*A decision in the form of public policy is prone to conflict. This can be caused by many factors, such as target groups who do not need or benefit from policies. Policy conflicts are related to many interests in determining and enforcing policies. Conflicts in tourism involve many stakeholders with diverse values and complex interaction dynamics. This study uses a qualitative approach with a case study method. The conflict occurred during the development of Kasinan pedestal nature tourism, known as Alaska tourism, located in Pesanggrahan Village, Batu District, Batu City. Through the perspective of the Policy Conflict Framework (PCF), it can be analyzed related to the nature of conflict from the groups involved, the intensity of conflict, the causes of conflict in terms of context and process, and feedback consisting of output and outcome. Based on the PCF, this conflict is a mixed conflict with moderate conflict intensity caused by the desire between actors to compromise with each other.*

**Keywords:** Policy Conflict, Tourism Policy, Policy Conflict Framework.

### **1. Introduction**

Tourism development is believed to be able to produce positive multiplier effects in economic, social, cultural, and environmental terms, such as its contribution to GDP (Gross et al.), infrastructure improvement, cultural protection, and revival, and increased ecological awareness (Wang & Yotsumoto, 2019). With its complexity, tourism development requires careful planning because it is a strategic investment strategy (Putri et al., 2024). At the same time, tourism also produces negative consequences like rising prices, increased crime, traffic congestion, increased prostitution, and degradation of traditional cultures. In addition, tourism development is often followed by massive environmental pollution (Campbell et al., 2016). Conflicts in tourism development can be grouped into several categories: socio-cultural conflicts, economic conflicts, and environmental conflicts. Conflicts in tourism often arise when different parties have incompatible interests and tend to achieve different results; for example, the government and entrepreneurs focus more on the economic benefits of tourism development. Conflict occurs when two or more people have different opinions, values, and beliefs (Utomo et al., 2020). However, the community is more concerned with environmental and cultural aspects (Suartika, 2015).

Research on the adverse effects of tourism development that eventually led to conflict has been carried out by many researchers, including (Qu & Chen 2011) (Wang & Yotsumoto, 2019), which describes the conflict that occurred in rural China precisely in Tuluo Fujian tourism since it was added to the UNESCO world heritage list. Villagers destroyed tourist facilities such as telephone lines, then continued blocking the entrance for tourists carried out by the villagers and burning the security post. The research conducted by (Guo & Jordan, 2022)



explained social exclusivity and conflict in tourist areas in Likeng Village, Wuyuan, China, caused by the absence of optimal community participation in tourism activities. This indeed results in unfair income distribution for the community due to restrictions on product marketing. The third research conducted by (Wibawa et al., 2017) on the causes of conflicts that occur among villagers in Pindul Cave, Gunung Kidul, is caused by the need for more constructive collaboration from stakeholders in managing tourist areas. This then led to conflict in the form of unhealthy competition between stakeholders.

Conflict also occurs in the development of Kasinan or Alaska. Natural tourism is located in Pesanggrahan Village, Batu District, Batu City. In 2019, Perhutani Forest Management Unit (KPH) Malang and the manager of CV Alaska, Sadar Alas, conducted a Cooperation Agreement (PKS) Number 043.7/PKS-WST/MLG/Divre-Jatim/2019 related to the development of natural tourism on Kasinan protected forest land. This agreement then facilitated the private party, CV Alaska Sadar Alam, in developing tourism with the concept of outbound in Kasinan protected forest plot 86B covering 3.2 hectares. The development of Alaska's nature tourism has changed the function of forest space due to the construction of gazebos and artificial ponds in the water source flow area. This reduces the water discharge the local community uses for agricultural and plantation irrigation needs and daily life (Jatim Pos, 2020). In addition, in the development of Alaska tourism, there was also tree cutting in the Kasinan forest area; this occurred due to the absence of several tourism establishment permit documents such as Amdal (Environmental et al.), Building Permit (IMB), and TDUP (Tourism Business Registration Certificate) (Radar Malang, 2020a).



**Figure 1. Local Community Demonstration**

(Source: Surya Malang, 2020)

On September 9, 2020, there was a citizen action by holding a rejection banner in front of the City Hall Among Tani of the Batu City Government. Then, there was an audience on September 11, 2020, between the local community who are members of the Kasinan People's Joint Movement (GEBRAK) with the mayor of Batu Dewanti Rumpoko, as well as representatives of Perhutani KPH Malang. As a result of the meeting, Perhutani KPH Malang sent a letter to the manager of Alaska through letter Number 610/044.6/HPPKPS/MLG/Divre-Jatim, which contained the termination of all Alaska nature tourism development activities. In addition, CV Alaska is required to carry out reforestation and cleaning efforts around the tourist site. Based on the chronology of the conflict above, the author is interested in analyzing how





the conflict over the development of natural tourism in Kasinan (Alaska) from the perspective of the policy conflict framework (PCF).

## 2. Method

This research uses the case study method within the framework of a qualitative approach. An essential aspect of the case study method is that the case study context is always unique, and empirical data must be balanced with theoretical data (Gammelgaard, 2017). The types of data used in this research are primary and secondary. Primary data is obtained by researchers directly from the object under study through interview activities. At the same time, secondary data from national and internationally published journal articles, books, and previous research relevant to the research topic. The researchers used data analysis, according to Miles & Huberman. The steps taken by the author include collecting data from various primary data through interviews and secondary data through journal articles, then reducing the data to obtain relevant data, presenting the data, and drawing conclusions from the data that has been presented.

## 3. Results and Discussion

Conflict is one of the most essential phenomena underlying political science and public policy studies. Any public policy decision can involve conflict, albeit at different intensities. However, in the previous phase, there was a definitional and theoretical vacuum surrounding the concept of conflict. Policy and political theories and frameworks only see conflict as a background that is assumed to exist. At the same time, it is essential to look at how conflict is, including its sources or the effects of conflict. It is also necessary to see conflict as political mobilization, political activity, or competing values (Weible & Heikkila, 2017). The Policy Conflict Framework or PCF then tries to move a conflict from a background to a foreground concept. PCF is designed to advance knowledge about policy conflict, both local knowledge of the sources, levels, and effects of conflict, as well as general knowledge of the nature of the conflict itself. PCF centers on episodes of policy conflict formed by policy settings in which two or more policy actors express cognitive and behavioral characteristics. The intensity of policy conflict will be generated through cognitive traits, which will be related to its behavioral characteristics. At the end of the PCF, there is a kind of feedback consisting of outputs and outcomes that will influence the determination of a policy.

### 3.1 Nature of Conflict

The nature of conflict is interpreted as how an actor sees the issue comprehensively. There are pro and con groups in the Alaskan nature tourism development conflict. The pro group consists of Perhutani (Government) and CV Alaska (Private), and the con group consists of local people who are members of the Kasinan People's Joint Movement (GEBRAK) and NGOs, namely the Indonesian Forum for the Environment (WALHI) East Java. The deep beliefs of each group in the pro group are:

#### a. Perhutani KPH Malang and CV Alaska (Material)

The development of Alaska tourism is motivated by a cooperation agreement carried out by Perhutani KPH Malang and CV Alaska through a Cooperation Agreement (PKS) with



Number 043.7/PKS-WST/MLG/Divre-Jatim/2019. The narrative built by one of the administrators of CV Alaska, Gigih Abdilah, is that apart from being profit-oriented, the existence of Alaska tourism will have an economic impact on residents (Republika, 2020). For the government through Perhutani, tourism development is expected to increase economic growth and community welfare. However, in the planning process, community participation was absent, resulting in resistance from residents. In addition, problems arise when tourists start coming, and issues related to the diminishing water discharge become the most significant demands of the community. This was conveyed by resource person X, who is a local community in Pasanggrahan Village, Batu District, Batu City, interviewed by the author on Monday, October 10, 2022, who stated that :

"The government and managers should have involved the community in the planning. So many people need to learn about the development of Alaska tourism. In addition, they also still need to get socialization related to the benefits they will get. They think the existence of tourism will only benefit certain parties (managers), and the community will suffer losses." (interview on Monday, October 10, 2022).

Indirectly, the purpose of Perhutani and CV Alaska in building Alaska tourism is to have a positive economic impact on local communities. However, this positive goal was not successfully captured by the community due to the lack of maturity in the planning process's absence of participatory involvement of community elements in tourism development planning. Based on their character, it can be concluded that the government and the private sector have a material conflict character. Based on the explanation above, the pro group consisting of the government (Perhutani) and the private sector (CV Alaska) has a material conflict character. Then for the deep belief of each group that is incorporated into the contra group including:

#### **b. Local Community (Material)**

The development of Alaska tourism is considered detrimental to the local community. The water sources derived from the Kasinan protected forest area have been reduced (Radar Malang, 2020b). So far, the local community has utilized the existing springs for their daily clean water needs and irrigation of community agriculture. This is in line with the argument conveyed by resource person X, who is a local community in Pasanggrahan Village, Batu Subdistrict, Batu City, interviewed by the author on Monday, October 10, 2022, who stated that:

"Many residents have demonstrated in front of the Batu City government to stop the tourism development process immediately. The main reason for the residents is that it is a protected area with many springs; tourist development in the area automatically reduces the flow of water because most of the water flows into the fishpond. Then, because there is a rice field area, the local community is worried that the water that can be used to irrigate the rice fields will become smaller." (interview on Monday, October 10, 2022).





Based on statements from resource persons, due to the development of Alaska tourism, the discharge of springs originating from the forest area has decreased because they are channeled into artificial rides such as fishponds. This is a problem because residents have used the existing water flow for clean water needs and irrigation of rice fields and plantations. According to data released by the Batu City Population and Civil Registration Office, the total community is 13,802 people, 691 farmers/planters and 65 farm laborers (Pesanggrahan Village, 2020). So, it is not surprising that the development of Alaska tourism is very detrimental to their economic sustainability. Based on their character, it can be concluded that local communities have a material conflict character.

### c. Wahana Lingkungan Hidup Indonesia/ WALHI East Java (Ideological)

The role of the Indonesian Forum for the Environment, or WALHI East Java, took part in voicing rejection of the Alaska tourism development issue. The value brought by Walhi East Java is environmental sustainability. This is because, with the development of Alaska tourism, there has been a change in forest function where trees are cut down in protected forests to build artificial rides such as ponds and gazebos, which are remarkably close to the water flow (Baca Malang, 2020). Protected forest areas should be conserved to preserve the Environment for community life (Firmansyah, 2020). This is also undoubtedly contrary to Law Number 41 of 1999 concerning Forestry, which states that it is prohibited to cut trees in forest areas with a radius of up to 100 meters from the left and right banks of the river (Government Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia, 2004).



Figure 2. Demands to Restore Forest Functions

(Source: Republika, 2020)

In addition, the Kasinan protected forest is a protected forest and water catchment area by the Batu City Regional Regulation No. 7/2011 concerning spatial planning. The designation of protected forest areas is not allowed to reduce the function of the forest, and there must be strict supervision. Then, the utilization of protected forests is only allowed in the form of area utilization (Nafiah et al., 2022). Conversion into a tourist spot will negatively impact environmental sustainability, decreasing water discharge. In addition, with the development of tourism, the waste problem will be a part that must be prioritized. So Walhi strongly supports the demonstrations carried out by the community to stop the construction of Alaska tourism. Based on its character, it can be concluded that Walhi has an ideological conflict character with the ideology of environmentalism. Environmentalism is a group belief system about the relationship between humans and the environment that regulates human rights and obligations to nature (Milfont et al., 2019). Lestari, 2018) explains the focus of environmentalism as a social and political movement that focuses on aspects of environmental



conservation, restoration, and efforts to improve the quality of the environment.

Building on the previous explanation, the counter group, comprising local communities and the East Java chapter of the Indonesian Forum for the Environment (WALHI), exhibits a mixed conflict character. However, the author argues that the dominant conflict character is material rather than ideological. This is evident from the community's primary demands, which revolve around the issue of water resources for the continuity of clean water supply and the economy of residents for agricultural irrigation and plantations.

### 3.2 Conflict Intensity

Based on the results of the analysis conducted by the author, the Alaska tourism development conflict is included in the conflict with moderate intensity. This is based on the narrative built by the author, as shown in the table below.

**Table 1. Conflict Intensity of Alaska Tourism Development**

<i>Divergence in policy positions</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Government (Perhutani Malang): Economic growth.</li> <li>b. Private (CV Alaska): Profit from Alaska tourism management.</li> <li>c. Local community: Sustainability of water sources that have an impact on the supply of clean water and the economy of residents.</li> <li>d. WALHI East Java: Environmental sustainability in protected forest areas.</li> </ul> <p>Government and private sector VS local community and Walhi (NGO).</p>
<i>Moderate Threat from Policy Position</i>	Local communities feel threatened by the existence of Kasinan pedestal nature tourism because it will threaten the preservation of water sources for residents. In addition, the Kasinan protected forest is one of the critical areas included in the Regional Regulation (Perda) of Batu City Number 7 of 2011 concerning the Regional Spatial Plan. The impact of the development of Alaska tourism is that starting in 2020, the water discharge has decreased. This is very detrimental to the Pasanggrahan community, where some of its citizens work in the plantation agriculture sector and rely on agricultural products.
<i>Willingness to compromise</i>	A compromise process between the Pasanggrahan Village community, Perhutani, and tourism managers resulted in an agreement to stop the construction of Alaska tourism. In addition, the demolition of permanent buildings in the Kasinan forest area was also carried out, as well as conducting a study of the condition of tourist objects in the Kasinan forest area.

6 Source: Author's Report 2024

Based on the table above, it can be concluded that the intensity of conflict that occurs in the development of Alaska tourism is moderate because of the desire between actors to compromise.

### 3.3 Causes of Conflict

#### a. Complexity of the Content of the Cooperation Agreement (PKS)

The contents of Cooperation Agreement (PKS) Number 043.7/PKS-WST/MLG/Divre-jatim/2019 discuss the development of nature tourism on Kasinan protected forest land. In terms of complexity, it is included in a single-faceted model. This is because the issue raised is single, namely, discussing conflicts over tourism development in the Kasinan forest area. Then, when viewed from the type of benefit, the development of Alaska tourism only benefits the private sector (CV Alaska) and the government (Perhutani et al.), while local communities and





WALHI feel disadvantaged both in terms of the economic sustainability of residents and disruption of environmental sustainability. This was conveyed by resource person X, who is a local community in Pasanggrahan Village, Batu District, Batu City, interviewed by the author on Monday, October 10, 2022, who stated that:

"Then, as seen from the benefits, the community is disadvantaged with reduced water and waste while the manager benefits profitably. If Alaska tourism is continued, it may raise local potential, but the negative impacts become more, such as waste problems, unclear waste management." (interview on Monday, October 10, 2022)

Based on the above statement, it can be concluded that the complexity of policy content is faceted with the type of benefit from the development of Alaska tourism is divisible because it only benefits the private sector (CV Alaska) and the government (Perhutani et al.). This is in line with the statement conveyed by (Yoon, 2018) that policy conflicts often occur in the process of determining or implementing a policy in connection with the issue of many interests.

### **b. Alaska Tourism Development Conflict Process**

The Alaska tourism development conflict, when viewed from the process, is included in the open participatory conflict in which the local community in the Kasinan People's Joint Movement (GEBRAK) carried out a demonstration on September 9, 2020, in front of the City Hall Among Tani of the Batu City Government. This action then received a response from the mayor of Batu City, so there was a kind of hearing or meeting between the community and Perhutani KPH Malang. The results of the hearing contained three main points: (1) stop all development activities of Alaska nature tourism, (2) implement the provisions of Law No. 41 of 1999 concerning Forestry, and (3) develop, restore, and carry out the function of the forest as a protected forest. Based on the process, the Alaska tourism development conflict is an open participatory conflict because there are accesses and voices in the form of accommodated interests, in this case, the interests of local communities and the interests of NGOs (WALHI).

### **3.4 Output and Outcome**

According to (Weible & Heikkila, 2017), output is a deliberate change in both the substance of public policy, changes in institutional arrangements that structure the policy action situation, and changes in officials who hold positions in government. As academic researchers, policymakers, and students in the field of public policy and governance, your understanding of the Alaska tourism development conflict is crucial. The output produced is the dismissal of all Alaska natural tourism development activities through a letter canceling the cooperation with Number 610/044.6/HPPKPS/MLG/Divre-Jatim.

Meanwhile, the outcome is the effect of the output (Weible & Heikkila, 2017). The outcome of the cancellation of cooperation is (1) The conflict between the actors stopped after the termination of the construction of the Alaska tour; (2) Then there is a reforestation process by planting 600 greening seedlings with the help of the Batu City Environmental Service and cleaning around the Alaska location which has started since the end of September 2020.

### **3.5 The Role of Context**

Tourism development often leads to conflict in the tourism sector when different parties have incompatible interests and tend to achieve different results; for example, the





government and entrepreneurs focus more on the economic benefits of tourism development. However, the community is more concerned with environmental and cultural aspects. Public perception of the development of Alaska tourism in the Kasinan protected forest area is felt to be very detrimental to them materially and in terms of environmental sustainability. So that the community and NGOs can make demonstration efforts to voice their demands and aspirations. On the other hand, the narrative built by the government and the private sector is that the existence of Alaskan tourism will provide a trickle-down effect on the local economy. However, due to the need for more planning involving the community and implementation errors in the form of forest conversion, local communities and NGOs are against the development of Alaska tourism. On September 11, 2020, there was an audience between actors, and a compromise was reached to stop the construction of Alaska's tourism.

#### 4. Conclusion

Through the perspective of the Policy Conflict Framework (PCF), conflicts that occur in the development of natural tourism Kasinan pedestal (Alaska) can be seen from various sides, including (1) The nature of the conflict, namely the pro group consisting of Perhutani (Government), and CV Alaska (Private) has a material character. In contrast, the character of the counter group, namely the local community and the East Java Indonesian Forum for the Environment (WALHI), has a mixed conflict character, where the dominant conflict character is material rather than ideological environmentalism. (2) The intensity of the conflict is moderate because of the desire between actors to compromise with each other. (3) The complexity of the policy content is single-faceted, and the type of benefit from the development of Alaska tourism is divisible. (4) The conflict process of Alaska tourism development is open participatory conflict because there are access and voices in the form of accommodated interests. (5) The resulting output is the termination of all Alaskan natural tourism development activities, while the outcome is that the conflict between actors stops, as well as efforts to restore forest functions through reforestation.

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