

POWER, RESOURCES, AND COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT IN TOURISM POLICY: A STUDY OF ADVOCACY COALITION IN LEMBANG, INDONESIA

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ABSTRACT

Organizations and individuals with substantial resources, particularly information and capital, significantly influence tourism development policies, creating opportunities for investors but limiting locals' participation and benefits. Political factors favor the powerful, disempowering weaker community members. This study uses the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) by Sabatier and Weible (2007) to analyze competing advocacy coalitions shaping policy. Results reveal a rivalry between alliances with differing views on tourism policy regulation in Lembang, with third-party policy brokers also playing a role. Crucially, findings highlight the minimal involvement and participation of local communities in influencing tourism policymaking. This underscores the need for stronger efforts to empower local communities and enhance their participation in development and policymaking processes, ensuring they benefit from the tourism industry in their region. Empowering locals and encouraging their involvement is essential for equitable development and sustainable tourism, allowing them to reap the benefits of their labor and influence the industry's direction.

Key words: *Advocacy Coalition; Tourism Polic; Community Empowerment; Community and Government Perspective; Tourism Investment*

INTRODUCTION

Lembang is a subdistrict of West Bandung Regency, West Java, Indonesia. This sub-district is approximately 22 kilometers northeast of the capital of West Bandung Regency, Ngamprah. The center of government is in Lembang village. Lembang is famous as a tourist destination in West Java and is brimming with tourist attractions (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2017). Lembang is also known for its natural attractions like Tangkuban Perahu volcano, Cibodas Botanical Garden, and the Floating Market. It also features recreational spots such as De Ranch and Milk Farmhouse Lembang. The area benefits from its agricultural activities, producing fresh vegetables, strawberries, and flowers. Lembang's combination of cultural charm and natural appeal makes it a favored destination for both local and international visitors. Although tourism in the district relies heavily on natural attractions, investors have developed numerous purpose-built tourist attractions almost every year. Lembang, located in West Bandung Regency, has experienced significant tourism growth, with the tourism sector contributing substantially to the region's locally generated revenue. Of the 153 officially registered tourist attractions, only three remain under direct government management, while the majority are operated by private entities under long-term management permits (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2024).

Accordingly, permanent structures built around these various attractions have effectively yielded rights of ownership to these private entities. This is a common prevailing issue within the tourism sector in Lembang, West Bandung. Throughout the past years, the Lembang area has rapidly grown due to increasing interest among investors in the tourism industry in this area. Without any hesitation, tourism income plays a vital role in supporting most infrastructure and social services in this area. However, the increase in investments and tourism developments brings a set of problems and adverse impacts. It may cause unwanted effects on sustainability if such economic potential is excessively exploited (Chang et al., 2018). Most of the developments ignore issues of sustainability and environmental protection, raising concerns about their social, cultural, and environmental impacts. For example, the conversion of agricultural land into tourism facilities has reduced productive farmland and altered the traditional livelihoods of local farming communities. There is also non-conformity with the existing regulations on land ownership and building rights. This presents an engrossing area for an in-depth analysis of tourism policy in the region. Added complexity to the location of Lembang in the highland includes the fact that the primary livelihood of the people revolves around agriculture and animal husbandry.

Two techniques for problem analysis were applied in this study: the Advocacy Coalition Framework and Dependency Theory. The Advocacy Coalition Framework's methodology contributes significantly to a better understanding of the policy-making process for policy change to occur within a policy-making subsystem. This subsystem involves a variety of policy stakeholders, ranging from government

officials to study institutes, media, and policy intermediaries, in the logic of their operations. As a result, such policies are unquestionably geared toward the common well-being of society (Gabehart & Weible, 2023). At this point, our case study is the Lembang district in West Bandung Regency. Tourism policies will unavoidably have an impact on local communities as they are developed and implemented.

On the other hand, the reasons advanced by dependency theorists are compelling: tourism is an industry that has the potential to maintain the developing nation's dependency. According to dependency theorists, rather than diminishing existing regional socioeconomic inequities within developing countries, the tourism industry perpetuates them through its enclaving structure. Indeed, such crude implementations of the dependency theory, implying that the rise of tourism entails peripheral nations being exploited by core nations, tend to be excessively deterministic (Chaperon & Bramwell, 2013). Dependency Theory opens a window to comprehend the helplessness of society due to the excessive dependence of countries or regions on private investment at the national and international levels. Huge inflows of investment are usually hailed as an indication or sign of successful growth. Paradoxically, however, it may turn into dual policies, which at the beginning might be formulated under the pretext of community welfare but finally lead to binding limitations for local industry development, basically the tourism sector. There is a tendency to have a model of economic development too closely aligned with the interests of large investors setting up large industrial projects in the region, rather than guiding local populations toward cooperative efforts for their well-being.

Content analysis was conducted to identify advocacy coalition groups involved in the formulation of tourism investment policies in Lembang District. This study will also conduct a review of how community empowerment regulations in the context of the tourism industry are governed within the applicable legal framework.

In this respect, this article attempts to answer the following question: who are the key actors involved in advocacy coalitions in Lembang's tourism sector? In addition, the study examines the factors that shape the dynamics of advocacy coalitions in the region. By doing so, it provides insights into tourism policymaking and elucidates the roles and influence of various advocacy coalition groups in the decision-making process.

The dynamic excitement of the tourism sector in Lembang raises an interesting background for gaining deeper insights into the processes and impacts of policy-making on community empowerment and local industrial development. The Advocacy Coalition Framework combined with Dependency Theory provides a holistic view of the complex problems associated with the confluence of tourism, policy, and local empowerment within this unique sub-district. Precise elements of both approaches will be teased apart, offering meaningful insight into the challenges

and opportunities the people of Lembang have encountered in negotiating these complex spaces of tourism policy and development.

According to Lickorish in Mason (2003), tourism offers positive benefits such as increasing the income of tourism businesses and the government, opening employment opportunities, and contributing towards regional development. In more elaborate form, Ryan (2003) describes the effect of tourism development as increasing state income from foreign tourist visitors, which is accounted for as export income; direct or indirect effect of tourist expenditure on government levies and taxes; profits from tourist expenditure that will fortify capital in the tourism industry; open job opportunities; give rise to externalities; increased currency turnover; enhance the country's economic performance in such a way that its impact can spread and be felt even in peripheral areas.

The bureaucratic political approach and the dependency theory approach are used to adjust to the conditions of society, which still feel helpless. In their original form, both approaches recognized disadvantaged people as groups at the mercy of an upper economic class, a less responsive bureaucracy, and strong foreign capitalists who all significantly limit their opportunities to develop as independent small and medium entrepreneurs. At the national level, they include those utterly impoverished, beggars, and hawkers around tourist spots.

In the Indonesian context, limited access to political power and bureaucratic constraints may hinder community participation and local initiatives in tourism development. Similar challenges have also been reported in other developing countries, where centralized governance structures tend to limit the involvement of local communities in tourism policymaking (Bramwell 2013). This bureaucratic structure still has a strong tendency to practice corruption and nepotism, even though the central government is starting to introduce efforts aimed at improving it by increasing transparency in performance and services.

Dependency theory is defined by several experts, including Sunkel (1969), as an explanation of a nation's economic development in terms of many external impacts on national development strategies, including politics, economy, and culture. Dependency is defined by Santos (1970) as a historical situation that shapes a particular structure in the global economy, favoring some nations at the expense of others and limiting the potential for the growth of secondary economies. The case where the economy for a certain set of countries is driven to growth and development by other economies, which they are susceptible to. In this instance, three types of dependency are distinguished by Santos (1970): industrial technological dependency, financial-industrial dependency, and colonial dependency.

The empowerment of society in the form of non-bureaucratic groups, such as political parties, NGOs, associations, students, entrepreneurs, and other community organizations, will reduce dependence on a political-bureaucratic system. Such a group may further diminish disparities and probably decrease political-bureaucratic practices (Mariana, 2015). Sabatier & Weible (2007) confirmed that Non-bureaucratic groups can impact the existing public policies of formal legal authority by mobilizing public opinion, collecting various sorts of information, mobilization/empowering society, and enhancement in skill and financial resources with the help of resource typologies. Advocacy groups sometimes get more success when they hold similar viewpoints on issues of public policy if they can work together toward common goals in a coalition.

METHODOLOGY

This type of study is a critical literature study. The literature review method is a series of activities relating to library data collection, reading and taking notes, and managing study materials. Researchers conduct literature studies after determining the research topic and formulating the research problem before collecting the required data. The data used comes from textbooks, journals, scientific articles, and literature reviews, which contain concepts that have been studied critically. A literature review can broadly be described as a more or less systematic way of collecting and synthesizing previous studies (Baumeister & Leary, 1997; Tranfield et al., 2003). An effective and well-conducted review as a study method creates a firm foundation for advancing knowledge and facilitating theory development (Webster & Watson, 2002). By integrating findings and perspectives from many empirical findings, a literature review can address study questions with a power that no single study has.

In addition to using a library study approach, this study also employs a qualitative descriptive approach that aims to develop the stages of critical scientific thinking. These stages involve the collection, analysis, and attempt to theorize various facts or social phenomena through observation, analysis, and subsequent thought. This approach focuses on studying the policies put forward by local governments, especially those of the West Bandung Regency. This involves a thorough understanding of how the policy is executed and its effects on local populations. This impact encompasses a variety of factors, including employment creation, infrastructure development, poverty reduction, and other features related to the growth of tourism destinations.

To obtain a more comprehensive understanding of the policy process, semi-structured interviews were conducted online. Interviews were carried out through WhatsApp and telephone conversations with key informants representing various stakeholder groups involved in tourism development in West Bandung Regency. These stakeholders included tourism associations, local government organizations, tourism-related institutions, and community groups. Representatives from

organizations such as the Regional Tourism Promotion Agency, the Indonesian Hotel and Restaurant Association, the Association of Indonesian Travel Companies, the Indonesian Tourism Industries Association, the Indonesian Tour Guide Association, and Tourism Awareness Groups (Pokdarwis) were consulted. Additional perspectives were obtained from youth and creative communities, including the Mojang Jajaka Community and several local community-based initiatives. The interviews focused on issues related to advocacy coalitions, stakeholder interactions, and tourism policymaking, and were complemented by requests for supporting documents and secondary data from relevant institutions.

The collected data were analyzed using content analysis. Information obtained from document reviews and interviews was coded and categorized to identify the actors involved, their interests, resources, and interactions in tourism policymaking. The analysis was guided by the Advocacy Coalition Framework proposed by Sabatier and Weible (2007) and supported by dependency theory to examine the relationships between external actors and local communities.

This paper presents both the bureaucratic political method and the dependency theory approach as ways of investigating the condition of those who continue to be powerless. According to the bureaucratic political perspective, the backwardness of people results from political and bureaucratic barriers that hinder the potential of people to become independent small and medium-sized business owners. These include the domination of economic ruling classes, authoritarian bureaucrats, and foreign capitalist intervention in tourist destination development strategies.

The dependency theory approach, on the other hand, emphasizes the extent to which a community is dependent upon external investment and legislation. This may impact local communities and influence how tourism destinations develop. Communities dependent on outside sources of support would have less potential or opportunity for taking the initiative, steering growth, and making adequate progress.

Through this study, ideas are generated to help local communities overcome their limitations in the context of tourism destination development in Lembang, West Bandung. This study requires stringent and various methods of study to gain better insight into the complicated problems involved in the implementation of these policies from all parties concerned in the process. Hence, one strategy that needs further probing is community empowerment to increase their participation in the development of tourist sites and reduce the level of backwardness that exists.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The arguments of Dependency Theory

The story of the Indonesian economy spans over seventy years, from colonialism to the development of neocolonialism, striking at the very heart of central problems within this country's economic structure. Better put, this is the story of the

dynamics and challenges Indonesia has gone through in managing its economy throughout modern history. To understand the context of Indonesia's economic journey, we can refer to the scientific journal article written by Rifiyan (2016), entitled "Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Dalam Politik Birokrasi Pariwisata" (Community Empowerment in Tourism Bureaucratic Politics). This journal covers a variety of subjects connected with the Indonesian economy: domestic and foreign debt issues which become an integral part of the economic development of Indonesia. From the article, it is clear enough that Indonesia's government debt keeps increasing with time.

During Soekarno's administration, the amount of public debt reached a substantial level, approximately Rp 532 billion. Then, the Soeharto era brought more intricate developments. The quantity of public debt continues to grow, reaching an astonishing sum of roughly Rp. 2,679 trillion. This demonstrates that throughout this time, Indonesia's economic structure was heavily influenced by a variety of variables, including foreign loans.

In addition, there were also fluctuations in the rupiah value during the administration of Habibie. It depreciated to as low as Rp 7,000 against one US dollar; however, the overall debt of the state is estimated at around Rp 1,246 trillion. This indicates that a shift in currency values may alter a country's total debt.

Indonesia's debt surged dramatically under Abdurrahman Wahid, sometimes referred to as Gus Dur. The overall debt of the state amounted to an extremely alarming figure approximately Rp 2,460 trillion. This period reflects the economic hardship that Indonesia was going through then. The public debt also increased during Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's leadership, known as SBY. The total debt in the Indonesian economy reached approximately Rp 2,532 trillion, which means the problem is still spiraling.

Under President Joko Widodo's leadership, Indonesia still suffers from the most serious cases of debt. According to the Indonesian Ministry of Finance, the total amount of state debt has currently increased to a worrying figure of approximately Rp. 3,958.6 trillion. It shows that the issue of foreign and domestic debt is still one of the keys influencing the Indonesian economy up to the present time. Long years over seventy of Indonesia's economic journey have to be understood in this light. This is not simply a record of figures or statistical data but reflects complex dynamics in managing the economy of a country that has diverse potentials and challenges. Greater depth in investigating the origins, use, and impact of state debt, and a critical question to be answered in understanding Indonesia's economic history.

In the current administration under President Prabowo Subianto, concerns regarding economic sovereignty and national self-reliance have been increasingly emphasized. Prabowo has repeatedly highlighted the importance of strengthening

domestic production capacity, reducing excessive reliance on imports, and ensuring food and energy security as strategic priorities.

This political stance can be interpreted as a response to long-standing structural challenges described by Dependency Theory. The emphasis on self-sufficiency suggests an awareness that prolonged reliance on external resources—whether in the form of foreign debt, imports, or global market dependency—may weaken national economic resilience.

However, this also opens a critical question: whether such policies represent a genuine structural shift away from dependency, or merely a rhetorical repositioning within the same global economic system. Therefore, examining Indonesia's current economic strategy under Prabowo requires not only a historical lens but also a critical evaluation of how far policy directions can transform structural dependency into economic autonomy.

Finding ways to solve current problems and steer Indonesia's economy in the direction of more sustainable growth requires an understanding of these economic factors. Better development of the Indonesian economy requires addressing the myriad issues raised by the shift from colonialism to neocolonialism. To this end, more economic study is a crucial first step.

This indicates the vital role of foreign investment in the Indonesian economy and also reflects an increasing tendency of dependence on investment from developed countries. Concerns are raised by this form of dependence since Indonesia might not have the strongest negotiating position. This is because Indonesia is occasionally subjected to pressure from specific groups' interests, which in turn can have an impact on the accumulation of debt that entangles the country. As a concrete example, we can refer to legal provisions in Indonesia regarding natural resources, which are increasingly open and easily interfered with by foreign investors. This is reflected in two key laws, Law Number 25 of 2007 on Capital Investment and Law Number 19 of 2003 on State-Owned Enterprises. These two laws have clauses that allow foreign investors to invest in a wide array of sectors in Indonesia.

However, the impact of allowing foreign investors to invest without having to be Indonesian citizens is an issue that needs to be questioned more profoundly. How can a country or region eradicate poverty if business actors or employees in important sectors are not indigenous? This query raises a conundrum on how to strike a balance between encouraging foreign investment to spur economic growth and making sure that these gains are shared fairly and benefit nearby communities.

Furthermore, dependency on foreign investment might lead to reliance on foreign technology and human resources. It would presumably challenge the long-term economic and technological sovereignty of Indonesia. Therefore, there should

be a wise strategy for accepting foreign investments that prioritize the long-term interests of Indonesia and the welfare of its people.

However, accepting foreign investment also offers the chance to promote job creation, technological advancement, and economic progress. Stringent planning and monitoring are required to ensure that such benefits trickle down to both local and foreign entities. It is also vital to ensure that foreign investment does not have a detrimental impact on the nature and culture of the region.

Therefore, the question of Indonesia's dependence on foreign investment is a complex matter and puts the country in a precarious balancing act of embracing international capital and protecting Indonesia's long-term interests. Under these circumstances, the government must balance the need for stricter legislation, plans for sustainable development, and mechanisms that ensure that all sections of society including indigenous peoples can benefit economically from foreign investment.

The study area is Lembang District, West Bandung Regency. According to the West Bandung Regional Tourism Development Plan (2021, p. IV-86),

"In the case of an influx of investors from outside West Bandung, which cannot be avoided, or large investments by residents, it should be noted that residents get the first opportunity as workers. This is not always easy to attain considering that needs or qualifications are not necessarily met. It has been part of a common problem that residents of a destination do not have the necessary qualifications. The Regional Government should appeal to entrepreneurs so that residents are given priority in filling available jobs (currently there is no specific study on where workers live in various tourism businesses in West Bandung)."

This study has found evidence that the Regional Tourism Development Plan of West Bandung (2021) recognizes dependence on investors in regional tourism development, especially in Lembang. This recognition can be interpreted as the opportunity to mobilize potential efforts in the use of expansion and equalizing development in tourism throughout the entire region of West Bandung. However, the northern area, including Lembang, has grown to be a highly well-liked travel destination and is frequently visited by travelers. Although this context offers several opportunities and benefits, it also presents major obstacles. To better manage the tourism sector in the long run, investors are frequently encouraged to purchase land as personal assets and then transform it to suit their corporate needs. This is a severe issue that must be addressed, and strong communication is required for investors to understand that such actions can have a substantial detrimental impact not just on residents but also on the environment.

Alterations in land use for private commercial interests may have an impact on urban growth and spatial patterns. The area's natural and cultural character may be harmed by dense, uncontrolled development that could arise from this. These kinds of modifications could also have an impact on the environment, for example, by decreasing the amount of open green space and raising pollution levels. Therefore, it is crucial that the government and all relevant parties establish stringent oversight

procedures and unambiguous rules governing land management in the context of tourism.

More of the problems that emanated from the investors while developing tourism in Lembang, West Bandung:

"Geological tourism in Cipatat-Pawon Cave; the location is planned to be the development of the Stone Garden by the Provincial Government. Conflicts of interest between investors who hold mining concessions, local communities, traditional miners, and stone craftsmen, however, pose issues in this area. Mining activities are not compatible with tourism activities." (Regional Tourism Development Plan of West Bandung, 2021).

Many demands have been forwarded to the public through advocacy to denounce the government regarding applicable legal regulations. Many parties have stated that the district government is not using the available resources well for the benefit of the community through tourism in Lembang, West Bandung. According to Sukriah (2023) in her book about land capitalization for tourism in Lembang, West Java, "The government's policy path towards investment in land for tourism has been declared insignificant." It turns out that the capitalization of land for tourism has a negative influence and deteriorates the economic position of the Lembang community.

It shows that with the natural potential of Lembang, encouraging investors to buy land and change the agricultural land use into tourism has resulted in a decline in the economic conditions of the people of Lembang due to a change of function in types of work in the agricultural sector. Aside from that, the government's influence in managing and supervising licenses, particularly in terms of land conversion, remains limited. This condition is the underlay of the policy so the rights of the people around Lembang should be taken into account. This is important in terms of involving the community to create participatory citizens within the Lembang area (Kurniawan, 2014).

Lembang has natural potential that draws in investors, resulting in the development of an artificial tourism area. This has an impact on the work of farmers who inevitably switch to being tourism workers because their land is being converted. On the other hand, the government must also be able to pay attention to the type of land conversion permit given to investors to pay attention to the social side as well. This condition is the basis for policy, so the rights of the community around Lembang must be taken into account. This is important to involve the community to create participatory citizens in the Lembang area by using an "up and down" approach that involves the community and government together to maintain the sustainability of the ecosystem (Widaningrum et al., 2020).

Identification of tourism policy advocacy coalition in Lembang

In this section, the author will identify six resource factors that can influence public policy according to Sabatier and Wible, 2007. These factors were adapted from

the Advocacy Coalition Framework or ACF system in use in Europe. The following are the factors:

1) Formal legal authority for policy decisions

Those human resources that have formal legal authority, such as officials who are influential in decision-making with regard to tourism policy in Lembang, play a central role in determining the direction of policy within the region. High-ranking officials, starting from the head of Lembang District to the regent of West Bandung Regency, have the power to influence and make the tourism policies influencing the development of the sector.

Interviews and an examination of the Regional Tourism Development Plan of West Bandung (2021) revealed that the power of tourist industry leaders to establish targeted policies that support Lembang's potential locally is still insufficient. Rather, a lot of policies continue to follow broad national regulations. Due to a heavy reliance on foreign capital, land that ought to be utilized for public purposes is frequently turned into private property through long-term management permits.

The current situation has brought forth several negative consequences: local communities lose access to land to which they are entitled, and the land is used in ways from which local communities do not benefit. If these unfair situations result in a feeling of injustice, they may lead to conflicts.

Significant work must be put into developing tourism policies that are more centered on utilizing the potential and needs of the local community to overcome this problem. It is recommended that tourism agencies and local governments contemplate the adoption of specific laws aimed at fostering equitable and sustainable land usage. Furthermore, it is imperative to reduce dependence on foreign investors and give local people's interests priority when deciding which tourism-related investments to make. It is taken that such activities can make Lembang's tourism development more sustainable and benefit the whole local community.

2) Public Opinion

The selection of regional leaders at the sub-district and district levels is heavily influenced by popular opinion. General elections are the principal way by which public opinion influences people's decisions about possible leaders. Public opinion is often formed through conversations and arguments concerning public topics that are supported by various societal groups.

In Lembang, regular Focus Group Discussions are conducted in an attempt to solve various issues related to the tourism sector. Through the discussion, all stakeholders in the tourism business, either from the local community or from the government, can convey their opinions on this matter. The results of the FGD then become the fundamental elements in shaping public opinion, which has resulted in

either support of or critique against tourism development in the region. Against the backdrop of Lembang, however, there is a scenario of issues. The growing public opinion is attributed to the inability of the tourism department or any other related body to manage investments in the tourism sector. These have led to land-use changes, inappropriate pricing for tourist attractions, disputed claims over the assets by third parties, and many other issues that have changed the perception of the people towards tourism in Lembang.

To overcome this problem, a more serious effort of management regarding investments in the tourism sector in Lembang is required. The tourism department and related parties should be more proactive in managing and supervising, as well as ensuring that supportive policies regarding sustainable tourism are in place. More transparent management, wider participation by the community, and more intensive dialogue with the stakeholders could, in the future, turn public opinion towards sustainable and positive tourism development. With this approach, the Lembang area would be able to manage problems that harm its image, resulting in sustainable development.

3) Information

The more information that is passed on to the public, the greater the chance of a shift in public opinion. Messages and views can be passed on through different media and channels of communication to sections of society. The print media, such as magazines, brochures, and newspapers, still serve efficiently in reaching out to the older section of people. Through computers and other digital means, online news, articles, and social networks play a significant part in molding public thought today. Discussion forums, small and large, open up spaces for people to actively engage in important issues and express their opinions. One must make sure that the kind of information that gets exchanged is accurate and credible. Misinformation, often in the form of false news or "hoaxes," can very easily go viral in today's information age. This calls for professional media that provides factual information backed by critical analysis. The process of checking and verifying the information becomes vital in the formation of reliable public opinion. The plans have been made for an official government website that will help keep the public up-to-date with regard to developments in the tourism sector in West Bandung. However, there has been very little publicity for the website, and it doesn't seem to be stirring much in the way of discussions, getting feedback, and addressing public grievances. The response of the government and other stakeholders towards emerging issues has also been very poor.

Alternatively, one can use more popular social media among the local population for the same purpose. Social media has become a great platform for interaction, sharing opinions, and expressing grievances. Of late, the government is on the receiving end of most feedback and complaints that directly and indirectly surface on social media. It needs to take a more proactive role in tackling and

managing them. This will maximize public participation and increase its visibility and effectiveness in observing and responding to important issues.

4) Groups that can be mobilized

The system seeks to effectively use resources such as costs, budget, and time. The approach strengthens the Community Organizations found in various regions and assembles the views and objectives of the coalition; this has overwhelming advantages. It allows for more coverage of areas without extra expenses incurred in transporting and accommodating coalition members to visit different areas.

For instance, in the Regional Tourism Development Plan of West Bandung (2021) (page VII-132) there are official organizations associated with the tourism sector and its supporters. West Bandung District has created various organizations to assist in developing tourism, including tourism associations, regional tourism promotion bodies, hotel and restaurant associations, local government organizations, village apparatus associations, tourism industry associations, other institutions related to tourism, and various creative communities and youth.

This system enables the government, community-based groups, and local communities to be more collaborative in their efforts to support tourism sector development. In the near future, tourism promotion and development efforts in the West Bandung will become more effective and efficient while conserving costs and resources. As per the Regional Tourism Development Plan of West Bandung (2021) (pages VII-132 - VII-147), there are already registered tourism-related and tourism-supporting organizations in West Bandung Regency:

a. Tourism associations

- *Regional Tourism Promotion Agency* responsible for promoting and developing tourism in the local area, as well as running various tourism promotion programs.
- *Indonesian Hotel and Restaurant Association of West Bandung* is an organization that accommodates hotel and restaurant entrepreneurs in West Bandung and works together to improve the quality and service of the hotel and restaurant sector.

b. Local government organization

- *The Association of Regency Administrations* in Indonesia accommodates and collaborates with district administrations throughout Indonesia to enhance and strengthen regional autonomy.
- *The Association of Village Officials* is an organization that brings together village officials (government officials at the village level) to share information, experience, and collaboration in the advancement of the village.

c. Other Associations

- *Association of Indonesian Travel Companies* offers a forum for Indonesian travel companies to liaise and build up the travel industry.

- *The Association of Indonesian Tourism Industries* acts as an umbrella for all tourism organizations and government partners with the task and function of bridging government programs and activities with tourism entrepreneurs, as well as increasing the quantity and quality of human resources, marketing, and destinations.
 - *The Indonesian Tour Guide Association* has the task and function of facilitating communication between tour guides and the government and private sector, improving the skills and competencies of members, and managing tour guide training and certification.
- d. Other Tourism-related Institutions
- Pokdarwis: Pokdarwis is an abbreviation for "Pengelolaan, Pengembangan, dan Pemberdayaan Kawasan Wisata" (Management, Development and Empowerment of Tourism Areas). This organization is involved in management and development regarding Indonesian tourism areas in Indonesia.
- e. Creative Community and Youth
- Paguyuban Mojang Jajaka (Mojang Jajaka Community): This organization supports youth to promote their region's culture and beauty.
 - Ulin Jarambah Community: This group preserves the local culture and traditions.
 - West Bandung Creative Community: A community supporting the creative and arts sector in West Bandung.
 - West Bandung Urang Community: this group advances various positive activities in West Bandung
 - My Trip My Adventure (West Bandung area): Documents adventure and natural beauty in West Bandung.
 - West Bandung Has Stories: A channel for the people to express and share their stories from West Bandung
 - West Bandung Cycling: A platform for cycling communities, from recreational and transportation reasons
 - Indonesian Rock Climbing Federation (West Bandung area): An association that provides a medium for promotion and organization in the sport of rock climbing within the West Bandung region.

The local population may receive tourism-related information more readily now that these different groups and institutions are in place. The aforementioned empowerment and mobility facilitate the appropriate integration of the opinions and perspectives of the created advocacy coalition into the planning and development of the tourism sector. Through efficient utilization of its existing resources, West Bandung will enhance its capacity to bolster the expansion of its tourism sector

5) Resourceful leadership

In most cases, the leadership role that is formally vested with authority over tourism policy is located within the West Bandung Tourism and Culture Office. This is the department that takes on a vital role in the screening process of tourism-related programs and policies before these are taken up for approval and, consequently, put into practice by the regional heads. Thus, such leadership roles must be supported through good leadership skills, whether held by regional or department heads.

Effective tourism leadership calls for an in-depth understanding of the area's potential and challenges. The regional heads and departmental heads should have an excellent insight into the tourism industries, the global trends, and the probable socio-economic and environmental impacts. Having this informed background, they can devise appropriate policies to optimize Lembang's tourism opportunities.

Moreover, good leadership skills involve making wise and sustainable decisions. It calls for public decisions taken by the regional heads and the service heads to pay attention to all aspects, including the interests of the local community, preserving the environment, and the economic impacts on the community. For instance, a proper balance in sustainable tourism development against the protection of natural resources with cultural sustainability is very important in tourism.

Good leadership also includes the ability to minimize the negative impacts that may result from such tourism policies. Land conversion, rising tourist attraction rates, ownership rights of assets, and others are some issues that need handling. It is through good leadership that potential problems will be identified and solutions found that are going to be fair and sustainable for all those involved.

Quality leadership will optimize the potentials and opportunities in the tourism sector in Lembang and minimize the negative impacts. Effective and strong leadership and leadership skills are, therefore, very key to realizing the envisioned objectives for tourism development in Lembang.

6) Financial Resources

The stages of a public policy process are, therefore, very important in trying to understand how funding affects advocacy coalitions aimed at supporting a certain policy. Each stage requires adequate funding to provide accurate information and maintain the strength of a coalition. The availability and sources of funding thus have a big impact on the activities an advocacy coalition can engage in. Edgell et al. (2018) state that cost-benefit analysis is the best tool to provide information to convince policymakers on development programs. With this tool, all the financial resources spent and benefits derived would be carefully analyzed. However, not all areas of tourism development at our study location can be analyzed with monetary approaches.

This is due to the fact that not every component of tourism growth has a monetary equivalent. Certain effects, such as alterations in culture, environment, or

society, are exceedingly difficult to quantify. Analysis of the various non-financial factors influencing policy decisions may have been something the West Bandung Regency administration, and more specifically the Lembang regional administration, did not consider when preparing the policy proposal for the tourism sectors. This may be the reason that important factors that are difficult to quantify monetarily are occasionally disregarded when making decisions about public policy.

However, each member of the coalition of public decision-makers at all levels will make an effort to further their interests, therefore it is important to view the policy-making process as a political one. Identification of the coalition's actors in charge of determining Lembang's tourism policy can be seen in Table 1:

Table 1. Coalition groups, actors, and roles within the coalition in determining tourism policy in Lembang

<i>Coalition Groups</i>	Actors	Roles
<i>Group A</i>	District Leaders	Create policy decisions
	West Bandung Regency Tourism and Culture Office	Supply funds
	Association of Rural Administration	Resourceful leaders
	Indonesian Regency Government Association	Mobilization of organizations
	Indonesian Tourism Industry Association	Promote tourism
	Association of Indonesian Travel Companies	Provide information
<i>Group B</i>	Indonesian Tourism Association	Build public perception
	Indonesian Hotel and Restaurant Association	Assist with financial resources
	Regional Tourism Promotion Agency	Mobilization of organizations
<i>Broker</i>	Academics (from all universities in West Java Province)	Mediators in determining policy

Source: Processed by Author, 2022

From the identification of coalition group actors above, it could be concluded that the existing community participation in empowering resources still has not yet reached its potential, be it in providing information, driving the economy, or even as actors in the tourism industry. Because of that, the development of the tourism sector in Lembang is still dominated by more financially competent actors. However, the impact of its activity remains imperceptible to the indigenous people of Lembang. As isolated in the previous table, the established associations have not been able to serve

as an impetus towards developing the resource skills of local communities so that they can actively contribute to tourism industry development in their region.

Aside from that, community participation in the development of the tourist industry in Lembang remains low, even though the tourism potential in this area is designed to benefit the welfare of indigenous people who have lived in Lembang for a long time. In the absence of a specific policy governing the operations of foreign investors in Lembang, it may endanger the local indigenous population. The indigenous Sundanese cultural values are also under threat of extinction due to a lack of legislation protecting the Lembang area from foreign investors, particularly in tourism.

Participation and community political power are essential for the establishment of social order in the making of public policy, particularly in the tourism industry. More significantly, social order should arise as a response to the requirements of society as a whole rather than only as a result of pressure from those in positions of authority. Through the direct and indirect engagement of all actors in the Pentahelix model, society would be able to strengthen itself. The strategy aims to lessen the reliance of the town on the tourism industry, which is now dominated by foreign investors. As a result, this would provide the local people with more opportunities to take charge of the growth of Lembang's tourism industry and contribute to the welfare and preservation of local culture.

Reflections of Indonesia

As clearly expressed in the above analysis, there are limitations of the Advocacy Coalition Framework theory and the complexity of its application within the Indonesian context, specifically Lembang, West Bandung. The ACF theory developed by Sabatier and Weible is very robust for understanding policy processes, at least in relatively more stable European political contexts. However, when this was to be applied in Indonesia, several challenges ensued because the system of policies is not yet completely stable and different political dynamics come into play.

The political dynamics in Indonesia are rather unique and change frequently. Thus, the application of ACF theory calls for a more dynamic approach. Very often, the policy process within Indonesia demands that changes be made rapidly in line with the changing political environment. Moreover, the actors involved in the process of policymaking have to be capable of adjusting to keep up with complex political dynamics. Despite the well defined structure in the ACF theoretical framework, the joining actors in the process of policy-making in Indonesia, especially in Lembang, West Bandung, have to possess strong political capabilities. The actors have to be capable of operating according to their roles and responsibilities in a political context full of various interests and complex dynamics.

As such, in an Indonesian context, the theory ACF still applies, but its application calls for further adaptability and dynamism concerning political environmental changes. This therefore calls for close cooperation of the actors, effective communication in the lines, and active engagements that lead to outcomes reciprocally beneficial in a framework that is not always stable.

The political dynamics of tourism policy in Lembang, West Bandung, must be understood in detail. It is close collaboration among advocacy coalitions, local government, and other relevant stakeholders that would be the key to the attainment of policies conducive to tourism development and improvement in locals' welfare.

ACF theory remains very helpful in attempts to make better sense of policy processes, even if the application will have to be varied across different political and social contexts. With regard to Indonesia, the keys are adaptation and dynamism in participation toward positive outcomes against an ever-changing environment in policymaking.

CONCLUSION

From the data, analysis, and discussion above, it can be concluded that the involvement of local communities to provide influence in determining public policy remains inadequate. Strong investment encouragement in the tourism sector has resulted in the conversion of land belonging to local communities to be purchased by owners of capital, triggering land capitalization from agriculture to tourism. Changes in function transfer and economic activities do not reflect the economic improvement of the local community because job opportunities for the local community in the tourism sector remain low due to a lack of requisite skills.

This study puts forward the backwardness in terms of access to political power and excessive bureaucratic pressure, which remains an issue in the West Bandung. Such empirical issues show the real challenges in terms of enabling the realization of the positive impact of policies in tourist destination development on the local community.

Community empowerment can become the key out of backwardness and increase their participation in tourist destinations development. This can be achieved with the establishment of non-bureaucratic groups: political parties, NGOs, associations, students, businessmen, and other community organizations. These groups could play a role in minimizing social inequality and decreasing political bureaucratic practices that are harmful to society.

The solution provided by the dependency theory is to form non-bureaucratic groups like political parties, NGOs, associations, students, entrepreneurs, and other community organizations where these groups can reduce gaps and probably reduce political bureaucratic practices.

After identifying the factors that the advocacy coalition in Lembang cannot adapt to when the theory has to be created, this theory can be a reference for the actors involved in developing the tourism policy in Lembang. However, with the unstable Indonesian political situation, this theory becomes dynamic to be adjusted according to the condition of the country, especially Lembang, to reach a policy agreement that would benefit both parties: the coalition and the people of Lembang itself.

Community participation in influencing public decisions can be done in 2 ways, directly or indirectly. Through this form of indirect participation, popular social media applications can be used by the public to explicitly or implicitly voice out their suggestions, criticism, or ideas. The role of the media as a channel for community aspirations in providing information to shape public opinion will later influence the determining policy, especially in the tourism sector in Lembang.

It is hoped that the association built could embrace the community further to empower themselves in improving their expertise and skills so that they could contribute to the world of tourism in Lembang. This is accompanied by supervision so that the activity of local community empowerment can continue to be sustainable.

The West Bandung Regency Government should make regional regulations, especially through the Tourism Office, to bind tourism business actors to provide employment opportunities to nearby local communities in a certain amount and then supervise them under the Village Head or the Head of the Village Heads. Otherwise, it would increase cooperation with the department functioning as spatial planners so that it could allow them to make zoning regulations for tourism areas, meaning that there would be a percentage of land about to be invested and not eat up land belonging to the local community, giving space to local people to be able to work within their own homes.

Government, business actors, society, media, and academics should be the role of pentahelix actors involved in tourism. On the contrary, the associations that have been formed within West Bandung have not been involved by the community with the ideal number of representatives. Therefore, the role of academics is important since they are considered neutral and can conduct special surveys on communities that are not yet represented. It can be supported by the government through policies that provide the best solution to all parties to maximize the role of the actors within the pentahelix.

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