

THE RELATIONSHIP OF INTEREST IN LAND ACQUISITION POLICY OF TOURISM AREA IN LOMBOK ISLAND, INDONESIA

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Abstract

The tourism sector has become one of the mainstays of regional economic resources in Indonesia and has prioritized its development policies. But in Lombok West Nusa Tenggara Province, the land acquisition policy for the development of tourism areas has led to an action of community rejection because it is considered detrimental to the community interests. This study drew on the perspective of public policy formulation to understand the values of interest thriving in the process of land acquisition policy formulation. This study was designed with a qualitative method, which determines the informants using snow ball sampling. Data collection is done by interview, observation, and documentation. The study found that the process of land acquisition policy formulation in the tourism areas in island showed the competitive relation of interests between public and private sectors against the local community. The competition had placed private business values as the main consideration in the policy of society's land acquisition, which made the latter feel marginalized.

Keywords

interest, actor, policy, tourism, land acquisition

I. INTRODUCTION

The existence of tourism sector in various countries is believed to give a significant contribution on the rate of economic growth of the country (Parker, 1999) because it affords employment opportunities, income, living standard, and activates other production sectors in tourist recipient countries. Even when Indonesia was in a global crisis, tourism had increased its contribution to the country's foreign exchange, from 10% to 17%, and was ranked 4th as the country's highest foreign exchange contributor, with a contribution value of 10 billion USD (Widagdyo, 2015). Tourism development has become a strategic issue in regional development planning because it includes a decentralized sector as regional affair in the context of regional autonomy implementation (Jupir, 2013). Some regions independently manage tourism sector as a mainstay to run their regional economy (Haryanto, 2013).

Unfortunately, some regions cannot keep the mandate of management decentralization of their tourism sector properly (Awang & Aziz, 2011) because the policy which is 'played' to support their regional tourism sector has caused a number of issues locally and detrimental to the interests of local communities (Mwesiumo and Halpern, 2016). One of tourism development policy formulations, which is often 'shown' by Regional Government, and never goes well and always gets action

objection of the communities because it is often not in favor of the interests of local communities is the land acquisition policy (Manoppo, 2012).

Local community opposition to land acquisition policies for tourism development has also occurred on the island of Lombok as the leading tourism area of the West Nusa Tenggara Province of Indonesia. The location of the land is in the Mandalika Resort area which covers an area of 1,249.4 hectares. The presence of this policy is interpreted by the local community as a form of marginalization of its existence because its impact has resulted in thousands of people losing their homes and livelihoods as farmers (SPI NTB, 2014).

Even though it caused problems, the local government still did not change, let alone cancel the land acquisition policy. Even the local government continues to urge the seriousness of development companies handled by a tourism development company, namely *PT Lombok Tourism Development Corporation (PT LTDC)* starting in 1999, *PT Bali Tourism Development Corporation (PT BTDC)* starting in 2008, and *PT Indonesia Tourism the Development Corporation (PT ITDC)* starting in 2013 to immediately carry out the process of building tourism facilities in the Mandalika Resort area (Lombok Post, 15th January 2014).

As a result of local community opposition to the land acquisition policy, the development process of various infrastructure and tourism facilities in the Mandalika Resort area has stagnated. Some local people still defend their land and do not want to release it to the state. Even though this tourism area has been designed for its development model with the concept of integrated tourism (BTDC, 2012) which costs around Rp. 30 trillion. In addition, based on Government Regulation No. 52 of 2014, the Mandalika Resort area is designated as a Special Economic Zone (KEK), which only focuses on selling tourism sector excellence, such as hotels, resorts and agro-industries and eco-tourism (Culture & Tourism Office, 2014).

The phenomenon of community opposition to land acquisition policies for tourism development explains that the regional tourism management system has brought about a number of problems with the existence of communities related to land use, such as the loss of the source of communities' life as farmers, not to mention their homes, unjust and untransparent valuation and compensation. In the policy formulation process, the existence of local communities is often not involved and their interests are not positioned as the main consideration in policy making. As a result, tourism development policies do not have a positive impact on community empowerment (Wever et al, 2012) and even people are always in a disadvantaged position. In fact, the policy of decentralizing the management of the tourism sector to the regions is intended to build the regional economy and the welfare of local communities (Sin and Minca, 2014).

The marginalization of local communities due to tourism development policies in Indonesia is in line with the view of the "dependency theory" that tourism penetration has a negative impact because it often acts as an instrument for institutionalizing community poverty constructed by the state. However, contrary to Law no. 10 of 2009 concerning Tourism and Law No. 23 of 2014 concerning Regional Government which mandates community empowerment in every regional development policy process.

Tourism development policies that only pay attention to the interests of economic benefits will only provide space for the formation of relations between state and private interests so that various policies are created only to facilitate the interests of the ruling elite and entrepreneurs (Sjahrir et al, 2014) even though their impact causes marginalization to local communities (Delgado & Lopez, 2012). As a result, public policy does not play a moderating function of the problem, but instead triggers problems due to its inability to allocate interest values that can satisfy all interest groups (Subarsono, 2016, p. 3).

The purpose of this paper was to investigate the content and interest relations of policy actors in playing their role in the arena of land acquisition policy formulation for the development of tourism areas whose policy decisions have received opposition from community groups as one of the main actors in regional tourism development. This study has urgency because the public policies formulation is full of conflict in interest perspectives (Madani, 2011: 20). By using the perspective of public policy formulation, it is hoped that this study can provide recommendations for a model of interest relations that needs to be built to improve the performance of tourism development policy formulation so that it is not considered detrimental to the interests of local communities.

II. METHODOLOGY

This study drew on the public policy formulation approach using qualitative method. The informants were selected through snowballing technique, where samples were obtained through a process of rolling from one informant to another to explain social patterns or communication from parties who had shared interest in the tourism land acquisition policies in Lombok Island West Nusa Tenggara Province, Indonesia.

Snowball sampling defined as a technique accesses informants through contact information that is provided by other informants. This process of determining informants is repetitive by necessity and refer to other informants, who are contacted by the researcher and then refer her or him to yet other informants, and so on (Noy, 2008). In practice, the snowball sampling technique is a multi-stage informant determination technique, which begins with several people or cases, then expanded based on relationships with informants which began with the key informants determination. The reason for using snow ball sampling is because the researcher does not yet know who has in-depth information and is involved in the case that is the object of the research.

The key informant was The Head of Tourism Office of Central Lombok District. Then, referring to the information and the clues of key informant, the next informants were The Head of Kuta Village, The Head of Pujut Subdistrict, The Head of The Regional Development Planning Agency, The Head of National Land Affair Agency, The Head of Governance Section, The Head of Central Lombok District, The Attorney of PT. LTDC, and The Head of Indonesian Farmer Association involved as the policy formulation actors. Because this study is a case study, the number of informant does not become the main consideration, but the depth and sufficiency of

the data needed from the informants who exactly understand about the research object.

A deep interview and document study were conducted as the data collecting method. The collected data were analyzed by referring to analytical work design and interactive model the activity processes were data collection, condensation, display, interpretation, and verification (Miles et.al, 2014) that were conducted simultaneously, so each of collected data was directly analyzed at each stage of data collection. In order to avoid the data retraction, a validity test technique is beginning with the data transcript check, giving the definition and meaning of data coding clearly, doing cross-check and comparing the data coding arranged by the information and other similar researchers (Creswell, 2009).

III. RESEARCH FINDING AND DISCUSSIONS

A. The Policy Formulation Process of The Land Acquisition of Tourism

The Mandalika Resort in Lombok Island has been declared as a tourism superior area in West Nusa Tenggara, exactly since 1989, based on The West Nusa Tenggara Governor's Decree no. 20 in 1989. As the process of various infrastructures constructions and the tourism facilities, the regional government evidently expanded the surface area of Mandalika Resort to be 1.249,4 hectares through the mechanism of local society's land acquisition policy. However, this cannot be the solution to accelerate the tourism development of Mandalika Resort, but it just causes the conflict that cannot be solved yet (SPI, 2014).

Several reasons by the community to sue the claim of Mandalika Resort land ownership by the government whose right of use has been given to tourism development companies are: first, there is a seizure of society's land. According to them, there are still 135 hectares of land owned by local people in the Mandalika Resort area, which until now has not been acquired. Still, the land has already been taken by several tourism development companies that are associates of the Regional Government. Second, there was eviction of people from their arable land. The community complained the granting of the Building Rights Certificate and Land Management Rights Certificates to the tourism development companies associated with Regional Government, because it caused thousands of people to be evicted from the land they had been working on for years. Third, in the process of determining the land acquisition policy, the people were never involved and asked for their opinions, especially related to the price of compensation and the relocation of their homes (Lombok Post, 11th December 2013).

In a political approach, the formulation of public policy is a battle arena for policy actors to fight for interests. Policy formulation becomes the core of the policy process because it is in this phase that the boundaries of a policy are determined in intervening in public life (Nugroho, 2012). Public policy formulation is like a social event and an arena for the struggle of actors with different views and social strata to compete to

win their respective interests through a series of negotiations involving a number of actors from interest groups who participate directly.

The diversity of political beliefs and interests of actors involved in the formulation of public policies explains that the policies that are born are not neutral, whenever and wherever it will contain the interests and values of the political economy of the actors involved. The existence of policy products that are created eventually become structures and instruments that function as constraints for the losing actors and enabling relations for the interests of the winning actors. Therefore, the formulation of public policy is a forum for policy actors to create a structure as a means to achieve the goals or values of the strived interests (Turner, 2012).

The public policies formulation carried out with a "society centered" approach, which means placing state power under the control of its citizens (Hakim, 2014) will produce more solution policies to solve public problems. Meanwhile, if it is carried out with a "state centered" approach, namely placing the state as an elite and dominant group, it will produce policies which are a manifestation of the interest relations of the ruling elite group and ignore the value of the interests of society. This perspective can explain the phenomenon of land acquisition policies for tourism development that have received opposition from local communities.

In the policy formulation process of the land acquisition of Mandalika Resort, that people are not involved in giving the preferences of policy shows that policy in the interest relation between actors is competitive, because the interaction between the regional government and PT. LTDC was actually not aimed at developing tourism in Mandalika Resort area, but had a land business interest cooperation. This cooperation is available in Regional Regulation no. 10 in 1989 about The Inclusion of Regional Asset through Establishment of Limited Liability Company. The Regulations include the determination that the management of Mandalika Resort Area was given to the Limited Liability Company in the period of 70 years with the share composition that 65% was The Developer Company's and 35% was The Regional Government's that was freely given by the company. After the periods of corporation ended, the company gave all of their assets and shares to The West Nusa Tenggara Provincial Government (SPI, 2014).

The above case explains that the government as the 'play maker' in the formulation of the policy has been unfair in providing opportunities between the private sector and society to influence policy decisions. On the one hand, the government provides the biggest opportunities for the private sector to dominate the formulation of the policy, while on the other hand, the role of the community as the main actors is ignored. Finally, the existence and activity of state actors involved in the formulation of land acquisition policies for the development of the Mandalika Resort area is a description that being human means being an actor of purpose, which has a reason for its activities. Ideally, in formulating quality and legitimate policies, the formulation of public policies must involve multiple actors in order to expand information as a basis for determining policy choices implemented by the government (Sun et al, 2015).

The elitist formulation of the land acquisition policy of the Mandalika Resort area in Lombok tends to simplify the policy-making structure because of the smaller number of interest groups. The formulation of policies that are elitist makes the pattern of behavior of actors more in the style of court politics, and the mechanism of mutual influence in the policy formulation tends to be in private relationship (Darwis, 2011, p. 58). In fact, the involvement of all stakeholders in the formulation of public policy is a key component in a democratic governmental order and is a reflection of freedom of association. Necessarily, the more democratic a governance, the more the role of all stakeholders in influencing government policy decisions based on their interests, because the policy formulation process basically reflects the activities of stakeholders, so it becomes a significant policy actor (Hamdi, 2014, p. 61).

In facing the complexity of tourism development, the position of The Regional Government as a determinant of regional policy should function to protect and provide legal certainty for the rights of its citizens. The government must be accommodative, aspirational, and responsive to the interests of their people, so that the various processes on formulating tourism development policies must be democratic-participatory rather than authoritarian, and willing to build connections with all policy stakeholders, so that a close and mutually supportive relationship of interests is formed, and no interest groups are monopolized by other groups (Sun et al, 2015).

In the democratic governance era, which has provided an authority for the region in tourism management, for reasons of public interest, the Regional Government is indeed justified to cooperate with other parties or even transfer resolving efforts on an issue to another party. However, reducing the role of the community as a determinant of land acquisition policy for the development of the Mandalika Resort area in Lombok is understood as if the state has positioned itself as hegemonic, excessive, and dominative towards its people, resulting in the characteristics of authoritarian and conservative (anti-democracy) political system. Injustice in the role of the society shows the big and strength of the state's role in carrying out cooperative actions in public, so it will reduce, even get rid of the dynamics or the role of civil society as the main actors in a democratic state (Subarsono, 2016, p. 4).

In tourism management, the existence of the society is a major factor, because it becomes the creator, protector, and distributor of the whole or part of the tourism (Mwesiumo & Halpern, 2016). This means that the advance and development of state or regional tourism are centered on the strength of the society, so that society's land acquisition policies for the development of tourism areas must involve and consider the values of society's interests. The formation of relations of interests of policy actors by involving the society can minimize problems and influence the society's obedience on the sustainable tourism development policies (Biaggio, 2014).

B. The Relationship of Interest in Land Acquisition Policy of Tourism Area in Lombok

The release of 1,249.4 hectares of local community's agricultural land into the hands of the government and private sector through the process of formulating land acquisition policies for tourism development shows the relationship of interests built by policy actors who are not synergized, but contest with the interests of the local community. In tourism management as the generator regional economy, the interest relation between state, private sector, and society must be synergic instead of contestation, so that the process of development policy must be responsive and accommodative. Thus, the policies decided by the state will not tend to support the private sector because of the tax contribution paid by the capital's owner (SPI, 2014).

In tourism management systems, conflicts of interest on the tourism policies are commonly happened. It can be caused by dissatisfaction, injustice, contestation of interest, scrambling for opportunities, and different perception among actors of stakeholders (Mwesiumo & Halpern, 2016). Land conflicts in Mandalika Resort also prove that in developing countries, the power of relations of state and private sector's interests in the policy formulation cause relation between the interests of the state and citizens often patron-client, so that it only plays a very small role in the formulation of public policy (Arnaboldi & Spiller, 2011).

The land conflict that occurred at Mandalika Resort is a plural implication in the country due to the contestation of interests in the policy determination (Murray & Jabour, 2015). The era of local political democracy is also not a guarantee that the interests of the society will always be the main consideration in every policy choice determined by the government (Muhammed & Inoue, 2014). However, in the era of democratic regional government, the existence of the community has higher opportunities to be involved in influencing policy decisions standing for their interests (Suadi et al, 2016). The occurrence of community resistance to the Mandalika Resort land acquisition policy is a reflection that the goals and interests of individual state actors are sometimes not always in line with the goals and interests of the state (Prasetyo, 2011). The behavior of individual policy formulation actors from state institutions cannot be avoided from the content of economic and political interests. Even trade-offs between state and private interests are a common occurrence in the arena of policy formulation and are often a major consideration in policy making (Belleti et al, 2015).

The land acquisition policy in the Mandalika Resort area in Lombok explains that the recognition of the sovereignty of the community who has the authority to determine the values of their interests is ignored by the state (Humalisto, 2015). This treatment greatly, because affects the legitimacy of policy decisions set by the state (Halim, 2014, p. 21). Neglecting society as the main actor in the process of creating policies can eliminate synergies and create contestations in the inter-factor interest relationship. The consequence is that it creates policy decisions that are not accommodating to all the interests of policy actors. In addition, the dominant role of the state in the formulation of public policies can kill the role of civil society as the main actor in a democratic country (Aminah, 2014, p. 21).

What happened to Mandalika Resort's land acquisition policy is proof that the existence of the policy is like an arena of struggle to articulate interests. The issue of tourism development is strategic and rational for local governments to respond (Wever et al, 2012), but the involvement of multi-stakeholders as actors in policy formulation should be facilitated, because it will determine the colors and dynamics at the next stage of the policy process (Muadi et al, 2016). In the formulation of tourism development policies, the relationship between the interests of the community must not compete with the interests of the government and the private sector, but must work together and collaborate. Public political support for policies is a major factor in tourism management policies because they are the ones who create the attractiveness of regional tourist destinations that tourists will enjoy so that the existence of local people must be placed as the main actor (Nunkoo & Smith, 2013).

Differences in interests between policy factors cannot be avoided and will always appear in policy formulation, and each has the potential to produce different understandings and views on the existence of issues of public interest (Belletti et al, 2015). However, these differences in interests can be harmonized and synergized if each stakeholder is given the opportunity to channel their preferred interests. This condition requires the presence of a government that plays a neutral role, in order to make it possible to better understand and solve problems through the policy decisions it carries out (Humalisto, 2015). In the formulation of public policy, the orientation of the interests of actors is influenced by the intensity of interaction between the factors because it provides space for negotiations so that if it runs in an elitist conversion it will only harm the interests of the community (Azhar, 2013).

Finally, the birth of a land acquisition policy for tourism areas in Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara Province emphasizes that state policies are not always motivated by the desire to realize community welfare, which is built on the basis of ethical and harmonious relationships that exist in elements of society, but sometimes it is born to serve the interests of certain elite groups, especially if it is based on economic interests involving private elements. This can be an indicator of poor performance in the formulation of public policies at the regional level (Hamka & Burhan, 2013) so that a neutral state attitude is needed in order to create synergy and collaboration in the relationship of interests between the state, the private sector and the community which is realized by involving multi-actors in the policy formulation (Jordan & Turnpenny, 2015).

IV. CONCLUSION

Tourism development is one of the strategic sectors that intervene in regional public policies to build regional economies and community welfare. However, if the emergence of a tourism policy is only motivated by economic interests, it will open up space for a contestation of interests that is detrimental to society, especially when the state has a business-private relationship. For this reason, in the era of local political democracy facilitated by regional autonomy policies, the relationship between the interests of policy actors in the formulation phase of tourism development policies must be built on the basis of synergy and collaboration between interest groups consisting of government, private sector, and local communities. This will be realized if the policy formulation process is staged in a democratic manner,

where each interest group is involved and given the opportunity to channel their interest preferences.

However, because the period of this study has a considerable time interval with the context of the event, it causes the results of interviews and documentation as the main data source. Therefore, the empirical reality of the phenomenon of this problem can be different from other places. But, the most important thing is that in order to moderate the relations of interests between the state and society that are more responsive and accommodative, the policy formulation process must be oriented to find best action among the available alternative policies, and involving multi-stakeholders to communicate their respective preferences as a reference for determining the best alternative policy choice. Thus, the land acquisition policy for the interest of the development of tourism areas does not cause a negative impact on the societies' social welfare, because they do not feel loss of their source of life, but are ready with alternative solutions.

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