

# The Interest of Actors in Sustainable Urban Tourism Policy in Yogyakarta City

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Abstract. This research aims to explore the interests of actors in sustainable urban tourism policies in Yogyakarta. This research is qualitative research. Data collection was carried out by observation, interviews, and documentation review. Secondary data is obtained through literature studies, documents, reports, and images/photographs. The study results show differences in interests, goals, cultural values, and finances among each interest actor. Although all actors understand how important the sustainability paradigm is, the orientation of economic growth and increasing revenue among actors are the biggest obstacles to encouraging sustainable urban tourism policies. The difference in goals arises from the difference in the orientation of each actor in viewing and utilizing the tourism industry in Yogyakarta City. The conflict of cultural values occurs because local communities want to maintain their lives which are closely related to tradition, while others prioritize economic aspects and tourist attractions. Meanwhile, in the financial aspect, there is a budget scramble between local governments involved in this policy. Organizations that have formal authority in the field of tourism tend to dominate budget allocations. Stakeholder engagement needs to gather all the actor's interests to develop a comprehensive urban tourism policy.

Keywords: Interests, Policy Actors, Sustainable Urban Tourism.

### 1 Introduction

This study examines the various interests of different groups involved in shaping sustainable urban tourism policies in Yogyakarta. Understanding these interests is crucial because they directly influence the development of sustainable tourism policies. Different actors have varying interests based on their backgrounds. For example, city governments often prioritize programs and budget allocation, private sectors focus on business interests within the tourism industry, local communities are concerned with the benefits of tourism growth, while non-governmental organizations (NGOs) prioritize environmental conservation [1], [2]. The success of achieving sustainable urban tourism depends on aligning and addressing these diverse interests.

The growing global demand for sustainability requires a response from both the industry and urban tourism policies, particularly in developing countries [3]. These

countries frequently concentrate solely on economic growth, leading the development of the tourism industry to be primarily oriented towards profits, promotions, destinations, and accommodations. This narrow focus can result in negative consequences such as environmental degradation, social displacement, inequality, and poverty within urban areas. Although the urban tourism industry is a key driver of the urban economy, it's important to consider these potential drawbacks [4].

Sustainable tourism development realizes interdependence between environment, social, and economy. The sustainable development paradigm is present as a solution to optimize the standard of living conditions of the population by promoting local economic benefits, protecting the environment, and meeting the needs of visitors to get a high-quality experience [5]. Another important development in this concept is the recognition of the different interests of all tourism stakeholders, which is considered a key factor in sustainable tourism development [6]. If all interests are not taken into account, tourism in an area can continue to operate but is not sustainable. It is possible that one of the stakeholder actors involved in tourism does not have full confidence in tourism, thus increasing division and contestation among competing interests. This position also reinforces the argument that sustainable tourism development is a concept that may involve *trade-offs* between competing interests [7]. These actors are not spared from the nuances of their interest contestation, where each actor seems to compete for public attention and recognition for the interests they want. The narrative of sustainable tourism policy has proven to be dynamic because the absence of universal, institutionalized, and rights-based policies has led to significant variation resulting in a contest of interests between actors[8]. The large number of actors and policies, lack of collaboration and high levels of discretion have created conflicts of interest of actors [9]

The development of sustainable urban tourism policies in Indonesia also faces the same problem. Cities in Indonesia have a great dependence on tourist visits and the tourism industry on a large scale, but on the other hand, various negative externalities arise. Yogyakarta, as one of the main urban tourism destinations in Indonesia, faces major obstacles in formulating and implementing sustainable urban tourism policies. The development of tourism destinations and supporting accommodations has changed the landscape of Yogyakarta. This visitor growth provides economic and development opportunities, but it also poses challenges in maintaining sustainability and balance between economic, social, and environmental aspects. Overtourism has a worse impact if studied more deeply, causing uncontrollable, unmanaged, and unsustainable tourism. Policy-making actors in urban areas are competing to improve events and tourist attractions which often place local communities as marginalized, environmental damage and loss of job opportunities. The city of Yogyakarta faces externalities because of the mass tourism industry, especially environmental degradation and social problems.

The city of Yogyakarta has not shown a strong commitment to the development of sustainable urban tourism. This is reflected in several problems, such as *overdevelopment*, environmental pollution, uncontrolled consumption of resources, high tourist density, and weak management and regulatory policies. The lack of coordination between stakeholders in effective policy management and implementation has resulted in contestation between actors. This contest reflects the complexity of the challenges in developing a sustainable tourism industry in Yogyakarta City. In the

context of sustainable urban tourism policy, the contestation of actors' interests refers to a dynamic process in which various parties seek to influence policies according to their own policy agendas.

The problem that arises is that each actor has diverse interests and conflicts with each other[2]. Another problem that causes the process of sustainable tourism development to stall is the overlapping policies in Yogyakarta City. This proves that the issue of sustainable tourism policy in Yogyakarta is very complex and generally influenced by internal factors, namely institutional power and political culture [10]. Campaigns and demonstrations with the theme "Jogja Ora Didol" (Jogja is not for sale) are still being carried out by the community. In fact, in 2022, the Mayor of Yogyakarta faced a corruption case in the construction of tourism accommodation. Based on these problems, this study explores the interests of actors in sustainable urban tourism policies.

### 2 Theoretical Review

An actor is defined as a social entity, a person or organization that is able to act and influence a decision. In other words, actors are parties who have a certain interest in the system and have the ability to influence the system either directly or indirectly [1]. The term actor can refer to an individual, group or organization that has an interest in the decision-making process so that it can influence or be influenced by the evaluation process or its findings [2]. Actors are determinants in the policy process so that they can give a dynamic color to the policy.

Actors in the context of government, private, or organization refer to individuals or groups who have an interest or stake in an issue or decision in certain decision-making[6], [11]. There are several ways and approaches to look at actors in various contexts, methodologically, opinions, values, and perceptions of actors, namely through primary sources and secondary sources[5]. An actor is influential in shaping certain policy issues to create dynamics of social interaction. Interactions between actors can be dynamically established because of power, but at other points, the power relations of actors can change depending on potential sources of power [12]. In the context of interest groups, governments, business owners, individuals, or other entities that could act and influence outcomes in relevant contexts. Contestation often occurs in situations where resources and power are limited so that they compete to be able to control it [13]. Stakeholders are very influential in the success of a project. In this case, stakeholders are groups and individuals who can basically influence or be influenced by the achievement of goals. According to Marques et al. 2020, Actors' interests are associated with goals, cultural values, and finances.

In the context of sustainable urban tourism, it is a tourism concept that refers to the development and management of urban tourist destinations by considering economic, social, cultural, and environmental aspects over a long period of time [14]. Tourism prioritizes existence for a long time to harmonize socio-economic interests with environmental interests to ensure the sustainability of change. Basically, sustainable urban tourism emphasizes that tourism must be based on sustainable criteria. This

means that tourism must be economically viable, socially comfortable, and environmentally friendly [15].

Tourism is a complex multi-actor system involving various public institutions, private companies, local public bodies, and communities that work together for mutual benefit (Kapera, 2018; Yuanjaya & Fajri, 2020). An actor is an institution, group, or individual that plays a major role in a system. Actors have a hand in the evolution of systems because of their ability to mobilize resources and directly influence the system's results [18]. Actors' abilities are related to actors' knowledge of systems and ownership of economic resources that determine actors' capacity to define and legitimize institutions, rules, and system values [19], [20].

The multi-factor system triggers the emergence of conflicting interests related to the strategic goals the system wants to achieve. This is related to the characteristic of actors who are free to set their own goals and take strategic actions to achieve those goals [21]. Therefore, understanding the complexity of tourism, in particular how actors act, react, and interact with each other, is a fundamental necessity in any decision-making in this sector [22].

In the multi-actor approach, the system is formalized as a game pattern between actors who have different positions and interests (salience) and influence the outcome (influence) using personal preoccupation (clout) (Beyers et al., 2014). Actors are defined as entities that have a position in the system being studied and mobilize their resources to influence outcomes directly or indirectly through influence on other actors.

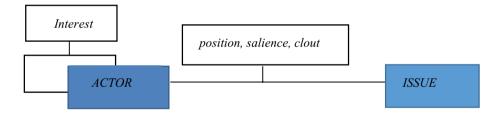


Figure 1. Basic Concept of Multi-actor [3]

## 3 Methods

This study uses a qualitative approach to explore and understand the meaning of individual and group behavior, as well as describe social problems among policy actors. The goal is to describe the existing phenomena, focusing on the interests of actors in sustainable urban tourism policies in Yogyakarta. The location is in Yogyakarta City as the main destination for urban tourism in Indonesia with an implementation time from January to February 2024. The subjects of this research include the Provincial Government of the Special Region of Yogyakarta, the Yogyakarta City Government, the Private Sector, the Local Community of Yogyakarta City, tourists, and Non-Government Actors. Data collection was carried out through three main techniques:

observation, interviews, and secondary data from literature studies, documents, archives, and images. This technique is also used to compare answers from various related agencies, such as the Yogyakarta Special Region Tourism Office, Yogyakarta Special Region Regional Development Planning Agency, Yogyakarta Special Region Planning, Yogyakarta Special Region Regional Secretariat, Yogyakarta City Regional Secretariat for Economy and Cooperation, Yogyakarta City Tourism Office. Yogyakarta City Regional Development Planning Agency, Yogyakarta City Environment Agency, Yogyakarta City Culture Office, Java Villas Boutique Hotel & Resto, Hotel Orlen Yogyakarta, Cheap Travel Jogia Company, Local People of Yogyakarta City, Tourists in Yogyakarta City, and the Indonesian Tourism Industry Association (GIPI) Yogyakarta City. Data analysis is carried out through four stages: data collection, data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion. This approach allows researchers to observe in depth, detail, and detail the dynamics of the interests of various actors in the context of sustainable urban tourism policies in Yogyakarta. With this comprehensive methodology, the research aims to provide a holistic understanding of the complexity of sustainable urban tourism policies in Yogyakarta.

## 4 Result and Discussion

# 4.1 Tourism in Yogyakarta

Yogyakarta City has an area of 32.50 km² or equivalent to 1.02% of the total area of the Yogyakarta Special Region. The city of Yogyakarta has the potential to be known as a tourist, educational and cultural city. In addition, the tourism potential of Yogyakarta City is formed from the geographical, historical, and cultural conditions of the City of Yogyakarta. Tourism potential derived from geographical conditions includes object the atmosphere of the city, especially the Malioboro area. Malioboro area is one of the growth centers in Yogyakarta City. The development of the Malioboro Area, which is regulated in the Yogyakarta Provincial By-law No. 1 of 2012 concerning the Master Plan for the Development of Regional Tourism of The Special Region of Yogyakarta 2005-2025, also directs the Malioboro Area as a cultural heritage area and shopping tourism corridor. Malioboro stretches over an imaginary axis connecting the Yogyakarta Palace, Tugu, and the top of Mount Merapi. The revitalization of tourist destinations is an elaboration of the past and current modes that demand that every component of spatial planning represent a strong culture and philosophy.

Yogyakarta has special autonomy from the central government, which merges the Yogyakarta monarchy into a provincial-level republican system with authority to 1) elect governors and deputy governors, 2) institutions, 3) culture, 4) land, and 5) spatial planning. The special autonomy also provides additional fiscal capacity from the central government to support special authority. In the context of tourism policy, the government introduced the philosophy of Memayu Hayuning Bawana to support the concept of sustainability. Memayu Hayuning Bawana can then be an example of one of the philosophies widely used in building Yogyakarta and in aspects of the people's lives. In the context development of regional spatial planning, the meaning of Memayu

Hayuning Bawana about human relations with nature is essential. This philosophy can be interpreted by placing man as a being who must maintain harmony with nature and God. This was then strengthened by the development master plan of the Yogyakarta Special Region, which stated that the Memayu Hayuning Bawana philosophy became the basis for the development of the Yogyakarta Special Region as a lofty ideal to realize the life value system of the people of Yogyakarta based on regional cultural values that need to be preserved and developed. Despite the concerns of many parties regarding developments that can continue to grow uncontrollably, the sustainable development model is becoming a growing trend in the international world. This makes a new color in regional spatial policy because now the development concept is focused on the importance of environmental sustainability.

The progress of the tourism sector in Yogyakarta City has made a good contribution to economic growth and the preservation of local culture. However, during the progress of the tourism sector, several economic, social, and environmental problems have arisen. Based on the results of the study show that the economic impact of the development of the tourism sector in Yogyakarta City occurs in people's lives, such as changes in jobs and people's income, labor distribution patterns, employment opportunities, and business. In addition, the high level of property and rent as tourist accommodation has increased the cost of living and rent for local people in Yogyakarta City. In the social aspect, the impacts are congestion, crime, and social dislocation. Meanwhile, the environmental aspect, the impact caused is in the form of waste problems, floods, dengue fever, and air pollution. The volume of waste produced by the City of Yogyakarta is 200 tons/day, while the management capacity is only 75 tons/day. This condition results in a lot of garbage piled up in temporary disposal or on the pedestrian.

# 4.2 The Interest of Actors in Sustainable Urban Tourism Policy in Yogyakarta

In facing the problem of sustainable urban tourism policy problem in Yogyakarta, this study focuses on analyzing the interests of various stakeholders. To conduct this analysis, the researcher adopted a conceptual framework developed by Marques et al., (2020) with three main indicators; 1) Goals, 2) Cultural Values, and 3) Financial. The selection of these indicators is based on the consideration that all three can cover key aspects that are the focus of competition and negotiations between actors in the formulation and implementation of sustainable tourism policies. Using these indicators, the study aims to uncover the complex dynamics that affect the decision-making process and implementation of sustainable tourism policies in Yogyakarta City, as well as to understand the various interests of each actor in the context of sustainable tourism development.

Table 1. Identification and Analysis of Actors' Interests in Sustainable Urban Tourism Policy

A	ctors	Role	Interests
Yogyakarta	Yogyakarta	Authority on tourism in	Making tourist areas in
Special	Tourism Agency	Yogyakarta	Yogyakarta City a comfortable
Region			tourist area for tourists
(Provincial	Yogyakarta	Authorities at the	Control and supervise the planning
Government)	Regional	provincial level of	of the budget for the development
	Development	Yogyakarta, especially	of (physical) tourist areas in
	Planning Agency	in the process of	Yogyakarta
		planning and budgeting	
		infrastructure	
		development	
	Paniradya	Authority that manages	Overseeing the implementation of
	Kaistimewan	the Special Fund	the special fund
	Yogyakarta		
City	Yogyakarta City	Yogyakarta City	Control and coordinate matters
Government	Regional	Executive Council	related to sustainable tourism
	Secretariat for	related to the economy	policies
	Economy and	and cooperation in	
	Cooperation	Yogyakarta City	D : 1 : 0 H
	Yogyakarta City	Authorities related to	Ensuring the preservation of all
	Tourism Office	sustainable tourism in	tourism potentials in Yogyakarta
	Variation City	Yogyakarta Authorities at the level	Control and amorphism torright
	Yogyakarta City Regional	of Yogyakarta City in	Control and supervise tourism development planning
	Development	the planning and	development planning
	Planning Agency	development process	
	Environment	Environmental	Realizing the improvement of
	Agency	authorities in	environmental quality in the
	Agency	Yogyakarta	context of environmental
		Тобушкана	conservation in the sustainable city
			tourism policy in Yogyakarta
	Yogyakarta City	Cultural authorities in	Preserving the potential of cultural
	Cultural Office	Yogyakarta City	heritage in Yogyakarta City so that
		2,7	it becomes a leading tourist area
			with sustainable tourism
Private Sector	Java Villas	Related parties are	Benefit from travellers staying in
	Boutique Hotel &	private parties that have	Yogyakarta
	Resto	a role in providing	
		accommodation	
		facilities	
	Hotel Orlen	Related parties are	Benefit from travellers staying in
	Yogyakarta	private parties that have	Yogyakarta

Actors		Role	Interests
		a role in providing accommodation facilities	
	Travel Murah Jogja Company	Related parties are private parties that play a role as services in the tourism sector	Benefit from tourists who use their services in tourism
Local Community	Local Community of Yogyakarta City	The relevant parties are local people in Yogyakarta City who work as street vendors, parking attendants, pedicab drivers, and tour guides	Fighting for their fate in the future as parties who have an impact and are affected by the sustainable urban tourism policy in Yogyakarta
Tourist	Tourists in Yogyakarta	The relevant parties are tourists who come to Yogyakarta City	Get comfortable and use public space
Non- Governmental Organizations	Indonesian Tourism Industry Association (GIPI) Yogyakarta City	Outsiders who try to help oversee the issue of the importance of sustainable tourism	Bridging and striving for sustainable urban tourism policies not to have a negative impact on the community

### 4.2.1 Goals

In general, goals are ideal conditions that are desired to be realized through the implementation of certain policies. However, each actor's differences in interests, roles, and motivations trigger polarization in interpreting these goals. In this context, the objective variable clouds the contest of interests, both as a driver and an obstacle to achieving sustainable urban tourism.

The term "interest in public policy" refers to the goals or preferences that individuals or groups want to achieve through the development and implementation of policies. In the context of sustainable urban tourism, various actors are concerned about this issue and seek to influence policies to align with their own interests [2]. As society evolves, tourism must also adapt to become more sustainable. The government believes that sustainable urban tourism development should go hand-in-hand with improving community well-being through adequate public services. Based on this principle, the Special Region of Yogyakarta are working to enhance the tourism sector to establish Yogyakarta as a sustainable tourism destination.

However, in this study, it was revealed that the involvement of multiple actors' triggers polarized interests and goals, both from actors who own and run programs and other actors affected by the policy. Some of the actors involved in the sustainable city tourism policy in Yogyakarta include the Provincial Government, which includes the Yogyakarta Tourism Office, the Yogyakarta Regional Development Planning Agency,

and the Paniradya Kaistimewan. Meanwhile, the Yogyakarta City Government includes the Yogyakarta City Regional Secretariat represented by the Economy and Cooperation Division, the Yogyakarta City Tourism Office, the Yogyakarta City Regional Development Planning Agency, the Yogyakarta City Environment Agency, and the Yogyakarta City Cultural Office. The other related actors are private parties represented by Java Boutique Hotel & Resto, Hotel Orlen Yogyakarta, and Cheap Travel Jogja Company. In addition, there are also local communities, tourists, and non-governmental organizations, namely the Indonesian Tourism Industry Association (GIPI).

The Provincial Government and the Yogyakarta City Government aim to develop tourism as a key economic sector while preserving cultural and environmental sustainability. To achieve this, they have implemented programs to increase tourist visits, organize destinations, and improve public services. However, other stakeholders like the private sector, local communities, tourists, and non-governmental organizations have differing interests that often clash with government policies. These stakeholders, who can directly or indirectly influence policies, have vested interests in the system and can potentially shape it.

The government's efforts to attract more tourists have faced criticism from those concerned about the negative impact on the environment and culture in tourist areas, particularly Malioboro. Despite the growth in tourism activities, there has been a lag in developing facilities and infrastructure. Limited opportunities for public interaction, coupled with diverse goals and interests among stakeholders and a lack of awareness within the local community, create complex challenges in sustainable urban tourism policy in Yogyakarta and trigger horizontal conflicts.

The root of the contestation also comes from the imbalance of power between actors of interest and each other. In this case, the imbalance of objectives occurs when interested actors have limited authority and authority. This is reflected in the conflict of interests and limited authority experienced by private parties such as Java Boutique Hotel & Resto, Hotel Orlen Yogyakarta, and CV. Cheap Travel Jogja compared to the Yogyakarta City Government, which has greater authority. The existence of contestation between the authority of interest actors often occurs in situations where resources and power are limited, so actors compete to be able to control it.

During a vortex of varying interests, it was identified that there was a dominance of the interests of the Yogyakarta Provincial Government and the Yogyakarta City Government as actors with the highest authority in policy implementation and program budgeting. Meanwhile, the interests of local communities, tourists, the private sector, and non-governmental actors tend to be marginalized due to the lack of authority in the development of sustainable urban tourism policies in Yogyakarta. The asymmetrical interaction between interest actors has the potential to trigger the contestation of interests that arise in the community [2].

Based on the description above, it can be concluded that at the goal stage, the implementation of sustainable urban tourism policies in Yogyakarta is very colored by the contestation of interests involving various stakeholders, ranging from the Regional Government, private parties, local communities, tourists, and non-governmental organizations. At the beginning of the program's implementation, the multi-chord carries polarized interests and goals. In the contest, the main goal achieved was the

interests of the Yogyakarta Provincial Government and the Yogyakarta City Government, namely the Yogyakarta Tourism Office and the Yogyakarta City Tourism Office as the actors with the highest authority. They are interested in developing tourism through their priority programs, such as increasing the number of tourist visits, arranging tourist destinations, and fulfilling good public services. Meanwhile, the goals and interests of other actors tend to be marginalized in the vortex of government power domination.

### 4.2.2 Cultural Values

Cultural values in this context can be understood as norms, traditions, and preferences embraced by an individual or group that affect the way of interpreting and acting in the process of formulating and implementing public policies. It can be understood that cultural values play an important role in the policy implementation formulation process, especially in the sustainable urban tourism policy in Yogyakarta. Cultural values play a role in determining strategies and ways that are considered legitimate for actors to fight for their interests in the policy process. In this context, actors from the Yogyakarta Provincial Government and the Yogyakarta City Government, local communities, tourists, and the private sector conflict with each other to pursue their interests. The existence of cultural values to preserve Malioboro as part of the philosophical axis area by the Yogyakarta City Government is often tarnished by various individuals, such as vandalism in the Malioboro area. The existence of cultural values embraced by the government, which in the future is expected to issue policies to further maintain the beauty of the Malioboro area in line with what was stated (Marques et al., 2020) that the values embraced by local communities will affect how they perceive a problem, determine priorities, and legitimize the actions taken.

The conflict of interests related to the arrangement of destinations in the Malioboro area as an effort of sustainable urban tourism reflects the clash of different cultural values among the actors involved. For the Yogyakarta Provincial Government and the Yogyakarta City Government, the arrangement of Street Vendors is a strategic step to increase tourism attractiveness in the context of a sustainable urban tourism policy in Yogyakarta. However, for the local community and the Indonesian Tourism Industry Association (GIPI) of Yogyakarta, street vendors are part of a long-standing cultural identity and tradition. They consider the sustainable urban tourism policy efforts to be a threat to the livelihoods they have been engaged in.

This difference in viewpoint is influenced by the cultural values embraced by each party. In the end, these differences in values trigger a contest between actors who are pro and actors who are against sustainable tourism policies, one of which is the arrangement of tourist areas. This contestation is not only fixated on verbal arguments, but also in real forms. The pros often enforce the rights of street vendors, while the opponents hold protests and demonstrations to demand their rights. The protest from street vendors is a reaction to the interaction of tourism actors.

This conflict of interests is not just a problem of the local community not wanting to fulfill the wishes of the City Government; there are other aspects that make it difficult for each party to reach a common understanding. Several things are the source of the

problem of interest contestation. The existence of differences in determining aspiration levels is the source of the cause of the contestation of interests. The factor of the party with more authority is also an aspect that plays a significant role in the contest.

The sustainable urban tourism policy in Yogyakarta is not only an arena for the contestation of the actors who are represented but also a marginalization of the public interest. Marginalization of public interests, either in the technical process or in substance cultural values, is oriented to answer various strategic issues that are of public concern. In this context, between the actors of the City Government and the local community, it can be concluded that this creates information asymmetry in the sustainable urban tourism policy in Yogyakarta, namely the City Government. The existence of interaction between the government and the public, which is often a matter of public concern, proves that there is political behavior with various goals.

Based on this description, it can be concluded that the clash of different cultural values between each actor involved triggers the contestation. These differences in cultural values ultimately make a real contest in the form of street vendor control on the one hand and protest action on the other. This contest of interests is also not only about non-compliance but also a dilemma caused by differences in determination, level of aspiration, and authority of each party. The interaction and contestation between actors in this policy process reflect political behavior that marginalizes public interests.

#### 4.2.3 Financial

Finance or finance in a policy program is crucial. In its implementation, especially in planning and budgeting, the Yogyakarta Provincial Government and the Yogyakarta City Government have an interest in proposing policy activity programs and calculating budget needs. Undeniably, the Yogyakarta Provincial Government and the Yogyakarta City Government have different visions and missions in developing sustainable tourism in their respective regions. This certainly has an impact on program priorities and budget needs proposed by each local government. The difference in sustainable tourism management in the government also affects the financial differences of interested actors.

The Yogyakarta Provincial Government, as the holder of authority at the provincial level, tends to prioritize macro and strategic programs in developing sustainable tourism in the entire area of the Special Region of Yogyakarta on a large scale. Meanwhile, the Yogyakarta City Government is more focused on more specific programs such as the structuring and management of tourist attractions in the city area as well as handling related to social and environmental issues in the city of Yogyakarta. In the budgeting process, each local government agency certainly strives to allocate a sufficient budget to support its priority programs.

The related Regional Apparatus Organizations maximize each other's work plans to get the desired budget. However, limited financial resources are often the main obstacle problem. This has led to a scramble for the budget between various local government agencies and parties involved in sustainable city tourism policies. Especially in programs that overlap or overlap related to the proposed programs. In practice, local government agencies often face challenges in budget allocation. The Yogyakarta City

Tourism Office and the Yogyakarta City Culture Office, as the spearhead in tourism development, certainly have an interest in obtaining adequate budget allocation as an effort to support sustainable city tourism policies. On the other hand, the local government agencies must compete with other local government agencies to get sufficient budget allocation to realize its programs.

The dynamics of budget competition between actors occur in actors who have authority over sustainable city tourism policies. This can cause inefficiencies in the use of resources and a lack of coordination in the implementation of sustainable tourism programs. The situation that occurs due to the expectations of each actor in policy and the ability of actors to carry out negotiations is one of the determinants of success during the contest for budget, policy options, and the limitation of budget resources to solve these problems. Each actor will use his tactics in the fight for the budget and increase the bargaining position. This bargaining is used when prioritizing each local government agency's authority base, which aims to increase its bargaining power to reach a consensus. In conditions like this, it is called a contest of interests in budget policy.

To find a common ground in the form of an agreement, each actor who contests often shares and bargains interests. These activities are manifested in the sharing of resources and the distribution of resource allocation in the form of budgets such as the APBD and the Privilege Fund for each program brought by each actor. In the sustainable city tourism policy, this sharing can be in the form of approval of the budget allocation used to carry out the planned programs. In the public arena, there are two classes, one class that controls and one class that is controlled. In this context, the Yogyakarta City Tourism Office and the Cultural Office have legality and can enjoy the integrity of their position and authoritarianism. Meanwhile, the second class tends to be controlled. In this study, the elites are the Yogyakarta City Tourism Office and the Yogyakarta City Culture Office, which have formal legality in the sustainable city tourism policy program. The second class is local government agencies that are not directly related to tourism, and hotels represent the private sector. The contestation of interests of each actor and the collective agreement that is finally formulated often do not look at the public interest.

This condition shows the dominance of certain actors in the process of formulating budget policies. Actors who have high authority in the tourism sector tend to prioritize their own interests and agendas, while the interests of other local government agencies are less considered. This can certainly result in unbalanced budget allocation and a lack of attention to the needs and priorities of other local government agencies that are related to tourism. It is known that the dominance of certain actors in the budget can occur due to the imbalance of power and resources among various stakeholders. Actors with formal authority, political influence, and access to greater resources tend to have a stronger bargaining position when fighting for their interests. This certainly causes a contest for the budget among the chords involved.

Based on this description, it can be concluded that in this contest of interests, the budget is a thing that causes problems for various local government agencies, both the Provincial Government of the Special Region of Yogyakarta and the City Government of Yogyakarta. The budget is a contested resource because it greatly influences the

determination of priorities, and the implementation of programs related to sustainable urban tourism policies in Yogyakarta. Each local government agency strives to obtain a larger budget position with the aim of being able to carry out its agenda and interests in tourism development. However, limited budget resources cause competition and even contestation of interests between one local government agency and another. Local government agencies that have formal authority and direct access to the tourism sector, such as the Yogyakarta City Tourism Office and the Yogyakarta City Cultural Office, tend to dominate the budget scramble. This large allocation of funding is used to fund their priority programs and agendas in developing sustainable urban tourism. They can leverage their position and influence to secure a high budget allocation. Meanwhile, other local government agencies that are not directly related to tourism often find it difficult to get an adequate portion of the budget.

Certain aspects that are the focus of the local government agencies with a large budget will receive more attention, while other equally important aspects will be neglected. In the view of public policy, this condition is called the brokerage phenomenon. The brokerage phenomenon is a condition in which the substantial interests of each actor involved slip into a hidden interest for the actor himself. Therefore, a better mechanism is needed in budget allocation to accommodate the interests of various local government agencies in a more proportional manner. Effective coordination and collaboration between stakeholders can help create a more balanced budget distribution so that sustainable urban tourism policies in Yogyakarta can be implemented optimally.

### 5 Conclusion

The conflict of interests among various actors involved in sustainable urban tourism policies in Yogyakarta arises from differences in objectives, cultural values, finances, and understanding. These actors include the government, private sector, local communities, tourists, and non-governmental organizations. The disparity in goals stems from distinct interests, roles, and motivations. Cultural value conflicts are evident in street vendor control and protests, while financial conflicts arise from budget disputes among local government agencies due to limited resources. The practice of sharing and bargaining among these actors has led to the phenomenon of brokerage, where hidden interests are often embedded in the administration of sustainable urban tourism.

The interactions and conflicts among these actors reflect political behavior that marginalizes the public interest. Both the Provincial and City Governments of Yogyakarta tend to prioritize policies that align with the public's wishes rather than the voices of the local community. The lack of local community participation and involvement in policy formulation is also a significant contributing factor to these conflicts. In this context, each actor competes not only for personal or group interests but also in shaping and determining sustainable urban tourism policies in Yogyakarta.

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