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Policy Implementation of Kayutangan Heritage Area Development in Malang City

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Abstract: The Kayutangan area in Malang City holds historical, socio-cultural, and economic value, recognized as a heritage district with unique appeal. However, the excessive modernization of the area, primarily driven by the private sector, has begun to erode the existence of heritage buildings and local values, posing a significant challenge to heritage preservation. In response, the Malang City Government has implemented policies focusing on preservation and development, including slum area reduction, infrastructure revitalization, and local tourism growth. Despite these efforts, gaps remain in managing the sustainability of heritage values in the face of modernizing pressures. This study explores the implementation of the Kayutangan Heritage Area development policy through Grindle (2017) policy implementation framework, focusing on policy content and outcomes. A qualitative descriptive approach was used, including semi-structured interviews, observations, and documentation. Data was analyzed using qualitative coding, involving collection, categorization, and conclusion drawing. The study found that while the policy has led to positive impacts such as slum reduction, improved infrastructure, increased MSMEs, higher tourist visits, and historical preservation, challenges to sustainability emerged. These include modernization misaligned with the heritage theme and a lack of clear regulations on visual design, which undermine the area's heritage branding. The absence of dedicated management authority and weak coordination among local government agencies also hinder effective intervention. The study recommends strengthening regulations by establishing a dedicated heritage area management authority and expanding the policy's impact to ensure long-term development sustainability and a more equitable distribution of benefits.

Keywords: Policy Implementation; Local Governance Policy; Kayutangan Heritage.

1. Introduction

Heritage areas are essential elements that shape the character and identity of a city. These areas reflect historical and cultural values and create deep social bonds between the community and the space they inhabit. According to UNESCO, heritage areas hold exceptional value that must be preserved for the benefit of future generations, as they reflect the long journey of a city's transformation and serve as symbols of identity that distinguish the city from others (Tang et al., 2025). Heritage areas play a crucial role in shaping the character and identity of a city through their authenticity, which strengthens the psychological attachment of residents in cognitive, affective, and evaluative ways, thus encouraging the preservation of local culture (Nursanty et al., 2023). The development of heritage areas is closely linked to the development of tourism based on cultural values and reinforces the sustainability of the local economy (Rodrigues et al., 2025).

In Indonesia, the revitalization of heritage areas has become part of a trend in urban development policies, not only as a historical symbol but also as an economic and social asset (Buwono et al., 2023). One example of such a policy is the development of the Kayutangan Heritage Area in Malang City, with a sustainable development model that sees heritage values as economic, social, and environmental assets (Sasongko et al., 2024). In 1914, the center of Malang City was located along the Kayutangan area up to Alun-Alun Kota, with Kayutangan being the main activity hub during the Dutch colonial era. This area contains a number of colonial buildings that have maintained their original architectural forms (Mulyadi et al., 2019). Recognition of the importance of this area is reflected in various strategic policies. The Malang City Regional Regulation No. 4 of 2011 on the Regional Spatial Plan (RTRW) 2010–2030 designates Kayutangan as a socio-cultural strategic area, with priority given to its spatial planning due to its significant impact on the economic, social, cultural, and environmental aspects. Additionally, the Malang City Regional Regulation No. 1 of 2018 on Cultural Heritage designates Kayutangan as a cultural heritage area.

The policy for developing the Kayutangan Heritage Area faces several significant challenges, particularly in sustaining the preservation of the social and cultural values that characterize the area. The imbalance between the development of economic aspects and the preservation of culture has become a key issue in the policy's implementation. Many policies related to the Kayutangan area focus more on economic aspects, such as infrastructure development and the growth of the tourism sector but neglect the cultural preservation and sustainable management aspects (Primasari et al., 2023). The management and planning of heritage areas require a strategic approach that is not only conservative but also adaptive to the challenges of modernization and urbanization (Liu et al., 2022).

The implementation of policies in the development of the Kayutangan area requires more attention, particularly in balancing preservation efforts with economic development, to support the area's sustainability. This study aims to analyze the implementation of the Kayutangan Heritage Area development policy using the Grindle (2017) policy implementation model. This model highlights key dimensions in policy implementation, including policy content, context of implementation, and the outcomes. Policy content includes how interests and objectives are met, the available resources, and the policy instruments used, while the context of implementation includes external factors such as the capacity of policy implementers and community support.

In line with this, policy implementation theory suggests that the success of policy implementation depends not only on regulation and planning but also on the availability of resources, commitment of implementing actors, and public participation. In the case of Kayutangan Heritage, several challenges have been identified, such as low coordination between agencies, limited implementation capacity, and a lack of active community participation (Ulinuha et al., 2024). These issues pose challenges in the policy implementation regarding the preservation of heritage areas (Mekonnen et al., 2022).

The planning of heritage areas that emphasizes only physical aspects without involving intangible social values and the engagement of local communities' risks creating inequalities and losing local identity (Cabrera-Jara & Greene-Zuñiga, 2024). The success of branding local identity does not depend solely on planning and infrastructure, but is also heavily influenced by coordination between sectors, community participation, and proper regulation (Hamjen et al., 2023). In the context of developing the Kayutangan Heritage Area, this serves as an important reminder that revitalization efforts should not solely highlight the aesthetic of physical architecture, but also address social sustainability and the historical attachment of the community to the space they inhabit, integrating a participatory approach to ensure that the community feels ownership and is actively involved from planning to implementation (Kim et al., 2023).

This research also refers to previous findings, such as those by Yulianto et al. (2024), which state that continuous monitoring of the impact of area development is necessary. Positive impacts of revitalization or area development can only be sustained through long-term monitoring and adaptive management mechanisms (Lotfi & Aly, 2025). This monitoring serves to establish more systematic strategies for sustainable tourism development, with an emphasis on community participation and more cohesive destination management (Syahrul et al., 2024). Furthermore, strengthening institutional capacity and clearer regulations are also needed to support sustainable development (Hermawan & Hutagalung, 2024).

Therefore, policy aspects must be the focal point in the development of heritage areas. The development of regulations and policies for the preservation and development of cultural heritage will create an effective framework for ensuring its sustainability by setting appropriate management standards. Although policies have been made through the Medium and Long-Term Development Plans, their implementation is often weak in several aspects, such as the development of supporting infrastructure, coordination between policy implementers, and lack of attention to environmental aspects (Koerner et al., 2024). Analyzing the policy aspects allows for a deeper examination of the extent to which regulations, strategies, and public policy tools are truly relevant, contextual, and capable of driving sustainable outcomes (Boz & Cay, 2024).

To date, few in-depth studies have explored how policy approaches in the development of the Kayutangan area can be analyzed using policy implementation theory. Therefore, this study will explore the implementation of the Kayutangan Heritage Area development policy, focusing on analyzing policy content and the resulting impacts. With this approach, the study is expected to contribute to the formulation of more integrated and sustainable policies and provide practical recommendations for the development of similar heritage areas in the future.

2. Methods

This study used a qualitative method to deeply explore the implementation process of the Kayutangan Heritage Area development policy in Malang City. The qualitative approach was chosen because of its ability to help the researcher understand complex phenomena from the perspectives of individuals and groups involved in the process (Creswell, 2013). This research aimed to gain an in-depth understanding of the policy implementation, focusing on the policy content and the outcomes generated in developing this heritage area. Kayutangan was chosen due to its unique characteristics as a heritage area that integrated historical, socio-cultural, and economic values while being part of the city's cultural preservation and tourism development policies. Its uniqueness, integrating historical value with the needs of economic modernization, made it a relevant example for studying the implementation of complex heritage policies.

Data was collected through in-depth interviews with ten informants selected using purposive sampling. These informants included six local government officials, one legislative member, and three residents involved in or knowledgeable about the policy. Secondary data were obtained from planning documents, budget reports, and official policy documents.

The data collection techniques used were semi-structured interviews, observations, and documentation. The interviews, lasting 30–60 minutes, were recorded and transcribed verbatim, with ethical guarantees such as informed consent and confidentiality of identity. Data analysis was performed using qualitative coding with the help of NVivo 12 software, through stages of categorizing data based on themes and indicators from Grindle (2017) policy implementation theory. The codes were developed inductively based on themes that emerged during the interview process and then linked to theoretical indicators. A triangulation process was also used to ensure the reliability of the analysis. The sustainability and accuracy of the coding results were verified through data triangulation and source triangulation to ensure the reliability and validity of the analysis.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1. Implementation of Kayutangan Heritage Area Development Policy Based on Policy Content Analysis

Several key aspects of the policy content in the development of the Kayutangan Heritage Area were analyzed based on the theoretical framework by Grindle (2017), including Interest Affected, Type of Benefits, Extent of Change Envisioned, Program Implementor, Site of Decision Making, and Resources Committed.

3.1.1. Interest Affected

According to Grindle's theoretical framework (2017), the actors affected (interest affected) in the implementation of the policy for the development of the strategic Kayutangan Heritage Area show a complex and layered configuration of interests. Field findings indicate that the local government (through Bappeda, DPUPR PKP, and Disporapar) has a strategic interest in building the city's identity through the revitalization of the area based on history and tourism. The government's agenda includes city branding efforts and increasing tourist visits, which are expected to have a dual effect on the local economy and the city's infrastructure.

On the other hand, the local community, as the direct recipients of the policy's impact, has diverse preferences. MSMEs and the Community-Based Tourism Group

(Pokdarwis) benefit economically from increased visits and business activities. However, at the same time, they face negative consequences such as overtourism, disrupted quality of life, and concerns over losing local identity due to the commercialization of space. There is even a tendency for local values to be displaced by modern visual exploitation that does not align with the heritage theme of the area.

The involvement of private sector actors and investors further broadens the spectrum of interests. The private sector's interests are primarily focused on the area's economic profit potential, but this strengthens a market-oriented approach that is less sensitive to the preservation of local values. This imbalance underscores that developing heritage areas is not merely a technocratic agenda but an arena for contestation between cultural preservation and commercial exploitation.

This phenomenon reaffirms Grindle's (2017) view that the interaction between the competing interests heavily influences policy implementation. Therefore, a collaborative approach and participatory mechanisms are needed for a more meaningful articulation of the community's voice in both the planning and implementation processes. Without these, the policy risks failing to deliver benefits that are equitable and sustainable.

3.1.2. Type of Benefits and Extent of Change Envisioned

According to Grindle (2017), the success of public policy implementation is also highly determined by the clarity of the promised benefits (type of benefits) and the extent of change envisioned (extent of change envisioned). In the context of the development of the Kayutangan Heritage Area, this policy promises improvements in aesthetics and physical revitalization of the area and social, economic, and cultural benefits for the local community.

The most tangible benefits are infrastructure improvements, such as the widening of sidewalks, drainage systems, the arrangement of green open spaces, and the installation of decorative lights and other tourism facilities. Additionally, this policy encourages strengthening the local economy with a significant increase in the number of MSMEs, from 23 to more than 253 in less than three years. The digitalization of services through the QRIS payment system and the involvement of the Financial Services Authority (OJK) mark additional benefits in the modernization of the area's economy.

However, these benefits are not homogeneous. For the local government, the main benefit is the enhanced city image and increased investment, as seen from the surge in investment value from IDR667.14 billion (2022) to IDR1.917 trillion (2023). For the local community, the benefits include job creation, increased income, and recognition of their area as a strategic destination. Meanwhile, for tourism stakeholders and the private sector, the benefits include the opening of business expansion opportunities and brand promotion in strategic public spaces.

Regarding the extent of change envisioned, the transformation occurring in Kayutangan can be categorized as a high-complexity structural change. The revitalization of the area not only targets physical changes but also alters the value system and behavior of the community. These changes are evident from:

- a. Increased public awareness of cleanliness, tourism etiquette, and environmental aesthetics.
 - b. Adjustment of social norms, such as the shift in the time of community interactions due to the high volume of night-time tourist visits.
-

- c. Change in the function of spaces from residential areas to public economic and recreational spaces.

However, the scale of these changes is not matched by policies that are fully responsive to cultural and ecological challenges. Some areas have experienced commercial pressures that conflict with local values, and there is a development disparity between the main corridors and residential areas. This indicates that the changes produced tend to emphasize physical and economic aspects but still lack a deep engagement with social and cultural aspects.

Thus, the promised benefits and the degree of change designed in this policy reflect the ambition for multidimensional transformation, but its implementation tends to lean toward physical and economic aspects. In [Grindle's framework \(2017\)](#), this shows that the policy's success is not yet fully equitable and inclusive, and still requires a balance between modernization values and cultural preservation.

3.1.3. Program Implementor and Site of Decision Making

The implementation of the Kayutangan Heritage Area development policy in Malang City demonstrates a collaborative model among government institutions, operating integratively across local government agencies, communities, the private sector, academia, and media ([Rahmat et al., 2023](#)). The planning process is led by Bappeda as the driving force, aligning the policy direction with strategic planning documents, such as the RPJMD, positioning Kayutangan as part of the city's socio-cultural strategic vision.

Technically, the physical planning of the area is managed by the Public Works and Spatial Planning Office (Dinas PUPR-PKP) through the revitalization of infrastructure such as corridors, sidewalks, and architectural elements. The Environmental Office (Dinas Lingkungan Hidup) handles ecological aspects like green open spaces and cleanliness, while the Transportation Office (Dinas Perhubungan) manages traffic and parking to respond to overtourism. The Tourism and Creative Economy Office (Disporapar) play a role as a facilitator for community empowerment through training, institutional strengthening, and the promotion of culture-based tourism, coordinated with the Office of Cooperatives and Industry (Dinas Kopindag) to support MSMEs in the heritage tourism sector.

At the community level, implementation is supported by the Pokdarwis (Tourism Awareness Group) of Kampoeng Kayutangan, established through Disporapar Decree No. 60 of 2021. Pokdarwis acts as the community implementer for tourism education, environmental preservation, and a communication bridge between residents and the government.

The success of implementation largely depends on the synergy between the actors involved, the completeness of technical and social capacities, and the effectiveness of coordination and reporting mechanisms. Cross-sector coordination between OPDs and with community stakeholders is key to smooth implementation. However, there have been challenges in the reporting mechanism of Pokdarwis, which has only recorded the quantity of tourist visits without outlining the social dynamics and issues arising from the increased tourism. This presents a challenge in conducting a comprehensive policy evaluation and anticipating negative impacts such as overtourism, which affects congestion, reduces comfort for residents, and puts environmental pressure. A comprehensive and integrated reporting system is essential to strengthen participatory governance and provide a solid data-driven decision-making basis for the government.

This situation emphasizes the importance of a systematic participatory governance approach, including written reporting as a formal tool to improve policy responsiveness and strengthen the strategic role of Pokdarwis in community-based tourism development and the preservation of local culture.

One of the failures of the implementers is the lack of control over the visual changes to buildings, especially shops in the heritage area. The initial expectation that commercial buildings would maintain a heritage architectural style has not been fully realized. The reality on the ground shows that many buildings have been modernized, with bright colors used according to each store's brand image. This results in disharmony in the corridor's appearance, obscuring the heritage identity of the area. In many cases, these changes were made without technical approval or studies on their alignment with the heritage theme (Erdiyanto et al., 2024). As a result, the initial goal of revitalization, which was to revive the historical ambiance and heritage values of the area, has not been fully achieved.

According to the Planning Expert at Bappeda Malang as one of the interviews of this study stated:

“The lack of a formal authority body to manage the area is the root cause of the issues in managing Kayutangan Heritage. In fact, Malang City Regional Regulation No. 1 of 2018 on Cultural Heritage mandates the formation of a Management Body by the local government and/or customary law communities, involving government, business, and community elements. As a cultural heritage area regulated by this regional regulation, Kayutangan should have had an Authority Body or Management Body for the area.”

The idea of forming a cross-sectoral authority body was once designed but has been delayed due to changes in leadership positions and weak policy continuity. A commitment to forming an Authority Body or Area Control Team with cross-sectoral authority in supervision, technical verification, and business owner education is needed to address this. Additionally, clear regulations governing the intervention limits on heritage buildings, including guidelines on color, materials, and architectural elements, are necessary. In the context of heritage area management, the role of this authority body is not only to implement technical preservation but also to be a policy actor involved in the production or control of local wisdom values and the management of the social-economic impacts of the area (Del Barrio-Tellado et al., 2023).

3.1.4. Resources Committed

The commitment of resources, including financial, technical, and human, is a key factor in managing historical and cultural heritage. Without adequate resource allocation, even the best conservation strategies will fail in implementation. This also shows that resources are not merely supplementary tools, but an integral part of institutional design and sustainable policy (Seila et al., 2025).

One important finding in the implementation of the Kayutangan Heritage Area development policy is the dominance of resource allocation towards physical development, supported by a multilevel funding structure, with the largest contribution coming from national programs. The primary source of funding comes from the National Slum Upgrading Program (NSUP) of 2021, managed by the Ministry

of Public Works and Housing (PUPR) through the Directorate General of Human Settlements, and supported by loans and grants from international institutions such as the World Bank. This program, known as KOTAKU, uses a collaborative approach between the central government, regional governments, and communities.

The KOTAKU program is based on regulations such as the PUPR Ministerial Regulation No. 2 of 2016 and the National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN) 2020–2024, which targets slum areas for eradication. Its implementation is divided into two scales: a community-based scale at the neighborhood (RW) level, and a district scale managed by the local government, focusing on physical improvements.

In Malang City, the program targets two main areas: Polehan (residential and water park areas) and Kauman (the Kayutangan corridor on Jl. Basuki Rahmat). Interventions in the residential areas include the construction of roads, drainage systems, green corridors, heritage spots, public open spaces (RTH), and hydrants. In the Kayutangan corridor, interventions are carried out in three zones: Zone I: Toko Avia – BCA Office, Zone II: BCA Office – Kayutangan Shopping Complex, and Zone III: Shopping Complex – Sarinah.

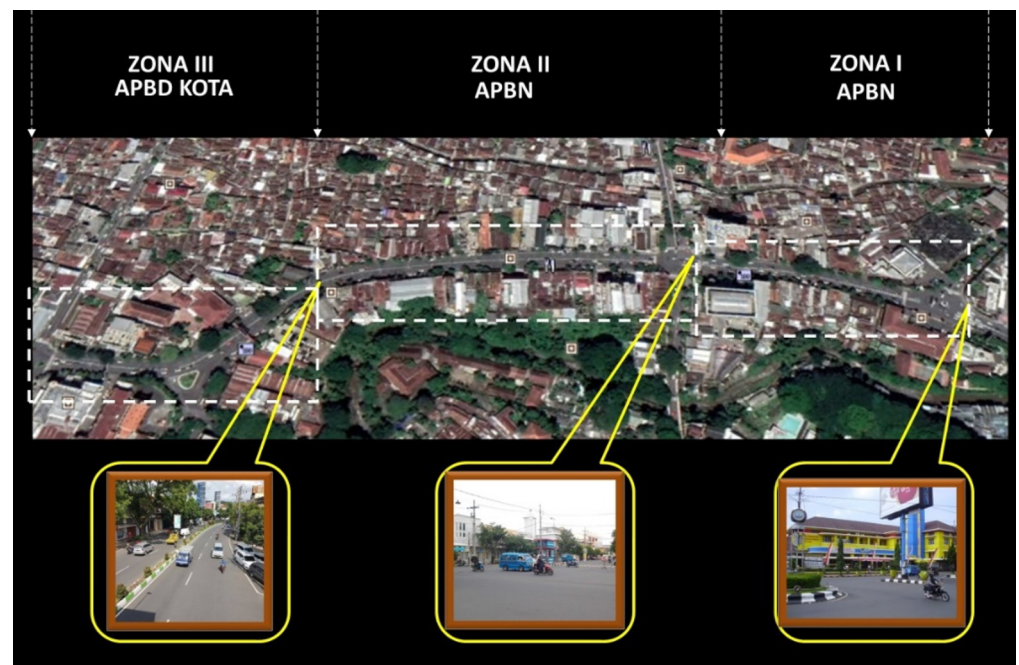


Figure 1. Keyplan Zone of Kayutangan Area

Source: BAPPEDA Malang City Document (2019)

The central and provincial governments carried out the planning of Zones I and II through the KOTAKU program. At the same time, Zone III was entirely managed by the Malang City Government through the Public Works and Spatial Planning Office (Dinas PUPR-PKP) with a 2022 APBD budget of IDR4,555,757,483. An interview with the staff from the Cipta Karya Division of Dinas PUPR-PKP revealed that:

“The infrastructure development in Zone III was not based on an independent design but rather followed the plan of the previous zones developed by the central and provincial governments. The physical interventions included widening sidewalks, stormwater drainage, decorative lighting, park benches, trash bins, and installing underground ducting for aerial cables.”

The financial data obtained in this study for the development of Zones I and II, which were the result of collaboration between the central and local governments, are as follows:

Table 1. Sources and Budget Allocation of the KOTAKU Project

Funding Source	Amount (IDR)	Physical Activities	Non-Physical Activities
NSUP	23,079,435,000	Roads, drainage, communal septic tanks, waste bins, fire protection, green open spaces (RTH), street lighting	-
State Budget (APBN)	4,732,000,000	Roads, drainage, green open spaces (RTH)	-
Regional Budget (APBD)	2,000,000,000	Pedestrian arrangement, inspection of roads	-
Total Funding	29,811,453,000		

Source: Processed from Bappeda Malang City Document (2025)

The data indicates that no explicit allocation was made for non-physical activities such as community training, institutional strengthening, or socio-economic empowerment based on local cultural values from the budget.

On the other hand, the development of the Kayutangan Heritage Village has also grown independently through the management of Pokdarwis, with its primary financial sources coming from ticket sales that differentiate rates for domestic and international tourists, as well as from the sale of thematic tour packages. These revenues are allocated for supporting infrastructure development, such as street lighting, seating areas, and photo spots (such as graffiti walls), as part of the area's attractions. This reflects the resource mobilization strategy by the local community that strengthens participation and the independence of the community.

This condition indicates that the development of the area does not solely rely on external funds such as the local government budget (APBD) or central government programs but also requires innovative management by local actors (Maninggar et al., 2023). However, reliance on tourism-based revenue poses risks, as evidenced during the COVID-19 pandemic when there was no income due to the suspension of tourist visits. Therefore, diversification of resources and institutional support becomes essential to build more resilient alternative funding schemes during crises (Destin & Narottama, 2020).

Thus, the commitment of resources in the implementation of the Kayutangan Heritage policy remains adaptive and locally initiated, but faces sustainability challenges due to limitations in fiscal support, institutional capacity, and long-term financial planning.

3.2. Outcome of Kayutangan Heritage Area Development Policy

3.2.1. Impact on Society, Individual, and Group Change

The implementation of the Kayutangan Heritage development policy has had an impact not only on the physical aspects of the area but also on social, economic, and behavioral changes within the community. One of the key factors contributing to these changes is the success of Kayutangan Village in making it into the top 75 nominees for the Indonesian Village Tourism Award (ADWI), which served as an accelerating momentum for increasing the exposure of the area as a leading tourist destination in the heart of Malang City.

Since being officially recognized as one of Malang's tourist destinations, the number of visitors to the Kayutangan Heritage area has increased every year. Although there was a decline due to the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020, which led to the temporary closure of tourism activities at that time, the area has seen a steady

recovery. The following table presents a comparison of the number of visitors to Kayutangan Heritage from 2019 to 2024:

Table 2. Tourist Visits to Kayutangan Heritage from 2019 to 2024

Year	Domestic Tourists	International Tourists	Total
2019	47,278	224	47,502
2020	47	0	47
2021	50	0	50
2022	3,698	66	3,764
2023	99,069	932	100,001
2024	282,651	2,313	284,964

Source: Processed from Disporapar Malang City Data (2025)

The data shows that visits to the Kayutangan Heritage Area sharply declined in 2020–2022 due to the COVID-19 pandemic. However, since the transition to the new normal, visitor numbers have steadily increased, particularly until 2024, from both domestic and international tourists.

Interviews with the management of the heritage village revealed a significant increase in the number of MSMEs, from only 23 units to more than 253 units in less than three years. This growth reflects the mobilization of the community-based economy (Antariksa et al., 2024), with the community actively opening businesses such as food stalls, crafts, tour services, and homestays.

At the group level, there was a significant institutional transformation. Pokdarwis Kayutangan Village evolved from an administrative body into an active actor in destination management, facilitating training, institutional strengthening, and acting as a bridge between the community and external parties (Krisnanda et al., 2023). Additionally, new initiatives like Pasar Talun emerged, functioning as both an economic center and a social space that strengthened the collective identity of the heritage village.

Through the community-based tourism approach, interviews with the head of Pokdarwis revealed that:

“The village has implemented a transparent and structured economic benefit distribution scheme. Income from tourism over six months is divided into: 30% for the RW, 30% for the paguyuban operations, and 40% for the destination’s operations. This scheme ensures that tourism-related economic benefits are directly returned to the community.”

One tangible form of redistribution is social subsidies, such as waiving cleanliness fees and providing death benefits, now covered by the village system. This reflects a locally based sharing economy practice, where tourism benefits are not concentrated in the hands of individuals or elites, but are distributed to improve the collective welfare of the community.

Such a model also serves as an early example of good village governance, which integrates transparency, participation, and accountability in community-based financial management (Putra & Huda, 2022). This scheme has the potential to be a replicable model for other heritage tourism villages that rely on local social strengths, local cultural protection, and synergy between the community and the government (Purwanto et al., 2023). Some benefit redistribution schemes tried in Kayutangan Heritage, such as supporting MSMEs and involving the community in

tourism activities, share similarities with community-based tourism approaches in George Town (Malaysia) and Hoi An (Vietnam), where economic benefits are more directed toward local actors (Hanafiah et al., 2021; Pham Hong et al., 2021). However, this effort is not yet fully systematic and is at risk of experiencing elite capture, where benefits are concentrated in the hands of actors with access to strategic assets (Rahman et al., 2024). Without an inclusive institutional design and a sustainability monitoring system, this model risks failing to be replicated or sustained in the long term.

The development of the Kayutangan Heritage Area not only impacts the economic and institutional aspects but also has a significant influence on the environment and socio-cultural elements. Interviews with the head of Pokdarwis revealed that the transformation of public spaces through infrastructure improvements, such as pedestrian paths, lighting, and area landscaping, has enhanced the physical environment. This planning has transformed the area from a previously dark and quiet space into one that is more open, well-lit, and pedestrian-friendly. Facilities such as park lights, wide sidewalks, and well-maintained landscapes create a sense of security and comfort, while strengthening the inclusive and aesthetic atmosphere of the city.

From a socio-cultural perspective, the area contributes to the preservation of local historical values. The presence of colonial-era houses that have gained more attention, as well as the resurgence of local cultural elements such as traditional cuisine and regional dances, indicates a revitalization of cultural identity that had previously been overlooked. In this regard, the policy for the area's development has created new opportunities for strengthening cultural heritage through tourism appeal.

However, the surge in tourist visits has resulted in ecological consequences, particularly increased waste volume and pressure on cleanliness. Waste management in the Kayutangan area still faces various limitations, with no system based on the 3R principles (Reduce, Reuse, Recycle), resulting in most waste being sent to landfills without proper sorting or recycling processes. The waste generated by tourist activities, as well as the behavior of tourists who disregard environmental cleanliness, has the potential to diminish the area's aesthetics and pollute the surrounding environment (Sameer Basrawi, 2024).

The surge in tourist visits to heritage areas often puts pressure on the social and cultural shifts within local communities (García-Hernández et al., 2023). The increased number of visitors to Kayutangan has led to a reduction in privacy for the residents, disruption of children's play areas, and changes in social interaction patterns within the community. Local norms, such as restrictions on outdoor activities during Maghrib, have started to shift due to the high volume of nighttime tourist activities. Additionally, controlling visitor behavior has often been difficult, even though regulations have been implemented. This reality highlights the tension between the traditional values of the community and the logic of openness in public spaces in tourist destinations (Li et al., 2024). A development model that is too focused on economic aspects without considering social and ecological sustainability has created resistance from the local community (Milano et al., 2019). Therefore, the need for more participatory governance, a system for controlling tourist behavior, and strengthening institutional capacity to manage ecological and social impacts is increasingly urgent to ensure the sustainability of heritage destinations amidst overtourism pressures and the dynamic changes occurring in the Kayutangan area.

3.2.2. Change and Its Acceptance

The transformation of the Kayutangan Heritage Area involves not only physical changes and spatial planning but also reflects the dynamics of social acceptance within the local community. Referring to the social acceptance theory in tourism (Campbell, 2008; Soini & Aakkula, 2007), the community's acceptance of a policy depends on a combination of perceived benefits, procedural justice, and involvement in decision-making processes. One of the main findings in this dimension is the initial disparity in the level of community acceptance towards the policy for developing the Kayutangan area. Support for the policy was not automatically granted, as the community demanded economic benefits and recognition of their voice in the decision-making process (Zhao et al., 2023). This was evident in the early stages of the policy's socialization and implementation in Kayutangan Heritage. According to interviews with the Planning Expert at Bappeda Malang City, it was revealed that not all neighbors responded enthusiastically to the program. Some community groups (RW) initially rejected participation, and as a result, development interventions were focused only on areas willing to engage. However, as the area's popularity as a tourist destination grew, previously reluctant areas began to feel left behind. This finding emphasizes the importance of a perception alignment strategy and capacity building from the early stages of implementation to ensure that the benefits of development are more evenly distributed.

Initially, the Kayutangan community viewed their village as a regular area without any tourism value. However, external perspectives, especially from the city government and heritage enthusiasts, identified colonial-era houses from the third and fourth generations as historical assets with development potential. This underscores the importance of involving local residents as the custodians of the authentic values of the heritage area.

The community's attitude toward the village's status as a tourist destination changed over time. From a stance of indifference and feeling disconnected from tourists, the community began to form a collective awareness to be more welcoming, maintain cleanliness, and organize daily activities. This demonstrates a shift in social values in line with the strengthening of the area's function as a community-based public space. The city government, through the Dinas PUPR-PKP, actively invited the public to participate in forums regarding the development of corridors, accessibility, and parking management. The community's response was generally positive, despite concerns about the impact of daily mobility.

A significant change occurred in 2023 when Kayutangan participated in the Anugerah Desa Wisata Indonesia (ADWI) competition. This momentum led to a comprehensive overhaul, including strengthening institutional capacity, improving facilities (access, toilets, parking), and enhancing human resources. The village also began implementing professional service standards, including the ethics of welcoming tourists through a culture of smiles, greetings, and salutations. This transformation indicates the occurrence of a collective learning process, where external evaluation from the competition serves as a reflective mirror for internal improvements in the area. There is a visible social mechanism where individuals and groups gradually build new understandings through shared experiences, dialogue, and reflection on the changes taking place (Pahl-Wostl et al., 2007). Thus, social acceptance of policy development is not static but develops through dynamic interactions, social learning, and collective experiences within the local community (Klusens et al., 2024; Pahl-Wostl et al., 2007).

4. Conclusion

The implementation of the Kayutangan Heritage Area development policy in Malang City shows significant results in transforming the area, both in terms of policy content and the outcomes produced. This policy represents a paradigm shift from passive conservation to active revitalization grounded in local cultural values. This shift is reflected in the multilevel collaboration between the central and local governments, the community, and private sector actors, resulting in tangible achievements such as the reactivation of previously dormant spaces, increased MSME activity, and enhanced local tourism-based economic activity.

However, despite these significant outcomes, challenges remain. The absence of formal heritage management authority and the dominance of physical aspects over socio-cultural dimensions pose barriers to achieving long-term inclusiveness. The community-based redistribution schemes, such as those implemented by the Pokdarwis, reflect the application of localized sharing economy principles. However, these efforts are not yet fully systematic and are at risk of elite capture, where benefits are concentrated in the hands of those with access to strategic assets. Furthermore, the social acceptance of the policy has undergone a significant shift from initial resistance to active participation, supporting the branding of the heritage area. However, there are risks to the authenticity of the heritage values, such as the rampant visual modifications to buildings and excessive commercialization. This underscores the urgent need for more stringent technical regulations and for establishing a heritage management authority with legal legitimacy and cross-sectoral coordination capacity.

The findings of this study highlight the relevance of collaborative governance and participatory planning approaches in managing the complex transformation of heritage areas. Additionally, this study contributes to the discourse on sustainable urbanism by demonstrating how local institutions can play a key role in producing shared values through heritage-based development.

This research also enriches Grindle's implementation theory by showing that public policy does not always manifest as a single, formal regulation but is often implicit, fragmented, and dispersed across various documents, as seen in this policy (e.g., RTRW, RPJMD, and sectoral programs such as KOTAKU). Policy continues to be enacted through practices, initiatives, and sectoral interventions, even if not fully formulated within one normative document.

This research has not fully analyzed the policy implementation context, which is integral to [Grindle's theory \(2017\)](#). Moreover, the methodological limitations of this study should be acknowledged. The qualitative approach and purposive sampling technique have effectively explored the depth of meaning but limit the generalization of the findings. Future research should use longitudinal or mixed methods approaches to validate and broaden the insights across other case contexts.

The sustainability of Kayutangan's development in the future largely depends on the government's ability to institutionalize inclusive governance mechanisms, expand the distribution of benefits to surrounding areas, and maintain a balance between economic goals, heritage preservation, and socio-cultural values. An adaptive, balanced, and community-rooted approach is crucial to ensuring that Kayutangan's identity remains preserved and resilient in the long term.

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