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## CONFLICT RESOLUTION AS A GAME: THE GOVERNMENT'S POLICY AGENDA HAS BEEN NEGLECTED THROUGH NEGOTIATION AND COMPENSATION

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### ABSTRACT

**Purpose:** This research examines how official actors play a role in resolving conflicts between the farming community and the cement company.

**Method:** This qualitative research focuses on farmers in Puger District affected by PT Imasco Asiatic's irrigation canal closure, as well as community leaders. In-depth interviews will be conducted with participants, and data will be confirmed using GIS for accuracy. GIS is used to verify the accuracy of the information.

**Result and Discussion:** Commodity factories in Indonesia have refused to implement the government's policy agenda and instead negotiated with the Water User Farmers Association (HIPPA) and provided compensation. Both official and unofficial parties, including community and religious leaders, tried to resolve the conflict, but HIPPA, without deliberation, agreed to accept compensation. The change in attitude of the Puger Kulon farming community made the government's struggle meaningful. The role of actors in the policy process is complex, with each actor competing to open policy windows and influence the agenda-setting stage.

**Implication of the Research:** This research contributes to the existing literature by providing insights into conflict resolution between government companies and citizens. On the other hand, highlighting the role of actors in the policy process is complex, with each actor competing to open policy windows and influence the agenda-setting stage.

**Originality/Value:** Official actors (government) dominate in policy making. However, the government has no coercive power since there is a non-official group (outside government) that has negotiated and changed the behavior of farmers.

**Keywords:** Conflict Resolution, Government's Policy, Local Government, Indonesia.

### A RESOLUÇÃO DE CONFLITOS COMO UM JOGO: A AGENDA POLÍTICA DO GOVERNO FOI NEGLIGENCIADA ATRAVÉS DE NEGOCIAÇÕES E COMPENSAÇÕES

### RESUMO

**Objetivo:** Esta investigação examina o papel dos actores oficiais na resolução de conflitos entre a comunidade agrícola e a empresa de cimento.

**Método:** Esta investigação qualitativa centra-se nos agricultores do distrito de Puger afectados pelo encerramento do canal de irrigação da PT Imasco Asiatic, bem como nos líderes comunitários. Serão realizadas entrevistas aprofundadas com os participantes e os dados serão confirmados com recurso ao SIG para verificar a sua exatidão. O SIG é utilizado para verificar a exatidão da informação.

**Resultados e discussão:** As fábricas de produtos de base na Indonésia recusaram-se a aplicar a agenda política do governo e, em vez disso, negociaram com a Associação de Agricultores Utilizadores de Água (HIPPA) e concederam uma indenização. Esta atitude enfraqueceu o poder do grupo de agricultores de Puger Kulon contra a

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PT Imasco Asiatic. As partes oficiais e não oficiais, incluindo os líderes comunitários e religiosos, tentaram resolver o conflito, mas a HIPPA, sem deliberação, concordou em aceitar a indenização. A mudança de atitude da comunidade agrícola de Puger Kulon deu sentido à luta do governo. O papel dos atores no processo político é complexo, com cada ator a competir para abrir janelas políticas e influenciar a fase de definição da agenda.

**Implicações da investigação:** Esta investigação contribui para a literatura existente ao fornecer informações sobre a resolução de conflitos entre empresas governamentais e cidadãos. Por outro lado, ao salientar que o papel dos atores no processo político é complexo, com cada ator a competir para abrir janelas políticas e influenciar a fase de definição da agenda.

**Originalidade/valor:** Os atores oficiais (governo) dominam a elaboração das políticas. Mas o governo não tem poder coercivo, uma vez que existe um grupo não oficial (fora do governo) que tem negociado e alterado o comportamento dos agricultores.

**Palavras-chave:** Resolução de conflitos, Política governamental, Administração local, Indonésia.

**Palavras-chave:** Resolução de conflitos, Política governamental, Administração local, Indonésia.

## LA RESOLUCIÓN DE CONFLICTOS COMO UN JUEGO: SE HA DESATENDIDO LA AGENDA POLÍTICA DEL GOBIERNO MEDIANTE LA NEGOCIACIÓN Y LA COMPENSACIÓN

### RESUMEN

**Propósito:** Esta investigación examina el papel que desempeñan los agentes oficiales en la resolución de conflictos entre la comunidad agrícola y la empresa cementera.

**Método:** Esta investigación cualitativa se centra en los agricultores del distrito de Puger afectados por el cierre del canal de riego de PT Imasco Asiático, así como en los líderes de la comunidad. Se realizarán entrevistas en profundidad con los participantes y se confirmará la exactitud de los datos mediante el SIG. El SIG se utiliza para verificar la exactitud de la información.

**Resultados y discusión:** Las fábricas de productos básicos de Indonesia se han negado a aplicar el programa político del gobierno y, en su lugar, han negociado con la Asociación de Agricultores Usuarios de Agua (HIPPA) y les han ofrecido indemnizaciones. Esto ha debilitado el poder del grupo de agricultores de Puger Kulon frente a PT Imasco Asiático. Tanto las partes oficiales como las no oficiales, incluidos los líderes comunitarios y religiosos, intentaron resolver el conflicto, pero la HIPPA, sin deliberar, accedió a aceptar la indemnización. El cambio de actitud de la comunidad agrícola de Puger Kulon dio sentido a la lucha del gobierno. El papel de los actores en el proceso político es complejo, y cada uno de ellos compite por abrir ventanas políticas e influir en la fase de establecimiento de la agenda.

**Implicaciones de la investigación:** Esta investigación contribuye a la bibliografía existente aportando ideas sobre la resolución de conflictos entre las empresas públicas y los ciudadanos. Por otra parte, destaca la complejidad del papel de los actores en el proceso político, ya que cada uno de ellos compite por abrir ventanas políticas e influir en la fase de establecimiento de la agenda.

**Originalidad/Valor:** Los actores oficiales (gobierno) dominan en la elaboración de políticas. Sin embargo, el gobierno no tiene poder coercitivo, ya que existe un grupo no oficial (ajeno al gobierno) que ha negociado y cambiado el comportamiento de los agricultores.

**Palabras clave:** Resolución de conflictos, Política gubernamental, Administración local, Indonesia.

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## 1 INTRODUCTION

This article discusses how to resolve the conflict between farmers and a cement company. This company is a joint venture between the Chinese company Hongshi Holding Group and PT Imasco Asiatic Indonesia (Pratama & Fitriana, 2023). The conflict was triggered when the cement company needs space for the construction of a factory on the site of the irrigation canal. The irrigation canal must be closed. Even though the company has built a new canal, the water cannot flow directly to the farmers' land. Almost 300 hectares of farmers' land in the village of Puger Kulon have difficulty getting water supply during the dry season (Zuhro & Hakim, 2020). Water has to be pumped and every farmer in Puger Kulon must pay 300 IDR to buy fuel. A nightmare for farmers in Puger Kulon, but not for those in Puger Wetan. Puger Wetan Farmers' land never gets dry, even in the dry season (Sandi, 2021).

The conflict resolution game started when the farming community wanted the cement company to return the old irrigation canals (Otsuka & Sugihara, 2022). In this context, the role of the government is an important actor through government agenda policy making. According to Guppy & Alnabhani (2023), the key to resolving the conflict was the government's policy agenda, the official brain trust, the policy advisers, and a group of citizens who submitted suggestions on public affairs in the form of a letter to a central decision. In line with that, Tigray (2023) found, conflict resolution involving the government occurs in the parliamentary system with clear legal procedures. Other institutions are various interest groups experts, and election-related actors (Buchheim et al., 2020). On the other hand, actors outside of government are unofficial actors, while government actors are official actors. Kingdon's model is known as a multiple-stream framework (MSF) (Sabatier, 2019).

The MSF has the following characteristics (Sabatier, 2019): (1) The problem stream is filled with perceptions of problems that are seen as “public” in the sense that government action is needed to resolve them. These problems usually reach the awareness of policymakers because of dramatic events such as crises or through feedback from existing programs that attract public attention (Hoppe, 2022). People come to view a situation as a “problem” based upon its variance with their understanding of some desired state of affairs, (2) The policy stream is filled with the output of experts and analysts who examine problems and propose solutions. In this stream, the myriad possibilities for policy action and inaction are identified, assessed, and narrowed down to a subset of ostensibly feasible options (Baekgaard et al., 2021; Lwamba et al., 2021), (3) Finally, the political stream comprises factors that influence the body politic, such as swings in



national mood, executive or legislative turnover, and interest group advocacy campaigns (Siddiki & Curley, 2022).

MSF also called as Multiple Stream Approach (MSA) has been used by many scholars in their analysis. Mukherjee & Ishani (2019) found that both official and unofficial actors play a role in agenda-setting. Entrepreneurs are individuals (sometimes small groups of people) whose characteristic consists of advocating an idea. Which state that policy entrepreneurship is yet to be broadly integrated within analyses of policy change. The entrepreneurship policy analysis became more comprehensive by adding theorizations of policy change: incrementalism, policy streams, institutionalism, punctuated equilibrium, and advocacy coalitions. However, the issue of Kingdon's research on policymaking has limitations (Baekgaard et al., 2021; Gomes et al., 2017).

On the other hand, some scholars have endorsed the use of the multiple-streams framework in comparative policy research. They suggested important points that should be amended or combined with aspects of other approaches to provide a more accurate and more powerful depiction of policymaking reality (Mistur et al., 2023; Siddiki & Curley, 2022). The official actor's role are to formulate policies in the parliamentary system. They initiate most legislation, control informational resources, and monopolize legislative agenda-setting procedures using official legislative procedures (Baekgaard et al., 2018; Heo & Seo, 2021).

Furthermore, Firdaus *et al.*, (2023) defines policy agenda as a process by which problems and alternatives gain or lose the attention of the public and elites, or the activities of various actors and groups that cause a problem from getting greater attention or prevent certain problems from getting attention. Agenda setting consists of four elements: power, perception, potential, and proximity (Bali & Halpin, 2021; Herd & Moynihan, 2019; Sabatier, 2019). Power is the priority element, allowing individuals or groups to influence policy decisions. Perception influences what matters are important and why, while potential refers to the intensity of consequences (Mukherjee, 2019). Proximity, directly or indirectly, affects public attention to issues with direct impacts on their lives. These elements always exist in agenda setting, impacting both direct and indirect outcomes (Baekgaard et al., 2019; Siddiki & Curley, 2022).

Configurations of power and perceptions dominate the placement of issues and their movements across the agenda. Proximity and potential have an indirect effect on the agenda because they are filtered through power and perception (Ntienjom Mbohohou, 2023). Likewise, in the formulation of the policy agenda, there are several levels of the agenda that must first be known so that it can be further understood where a problem lies (Otsuka & Sugihara, 2022). Bali & Halpin (2021) propose four levels of policy agenda: universe, systemic, institutional,



and decision. The universe agenda contains all ideas that can be discussed in society or political systems (Christensen et al., 2020). Systemic agendas include problems or ideas that the government might consider in the policy process, provided they are within established norms (Baekgaard et al., 2018). Environmental issues are a significant concern in government, and they have received attention in the past. Institutional agendas contain issues considered by government agencies, while decision agendas contain actions to be taken by the government. The agenda-setting process is crucial for understanding the complexities of the policy process, as it involves actors influencing each other's dominant perceptions of a problem (García-Tejeda & Vieira-Silva, 2023; Mistur et al., 2023). (Valle-Cruz et al., 2020) have proposed three approaches to analyze the agenda-setting process: (1) Moving from problem definition to a complex process, (2) Taking a critical stance on the alleged objectivity of social problems, (3) Emphasizing the role of power, and (4) political manipulation in problem definition and agenda-setting.

Agenda setting is a complex process, focusing on the role of actors in advocating for a problem. It explains that an issue becomes meaningful as it is debated in public and political arenas and that some issues may not get on the agenda due to problems, budget shortages, public acceptance, opposition to interests, or less urgent issues (Green-Pedersen & Walgrave, 2019; Langer & Gruber, 2021). The process narrows down the systemic agenda to the government agenda (institutional agenda) (Khairunnisa et al., 2023; Lim & Kwon, 2019). The main factors influencing an agenda's superiority are active participants in agenda setting and the processes in which agenda items and alternatives stand out. The process involves the distribution of ideas among professionals and policy elites and the influence of mass media on the agenda-setting process (Baekgaard et al., 2021; Hoppe, 2022; Purnomo et al., 2018). The agenda-setting process is divided into three streams: problem stream, policy stream, and political stream (Heo & Seo, 2021).

Policy stream is a process of gradually accumulating knowledge and perspectives among experts in certain policy fields and making policy proposals by these experts containing various alternative solutions to problems that are on the government's agenda. This involves academics, consultants, and policy analysts as outlined earlier. The policy stream also talks about the pressures in the policy environment that realistically describe the forces driving the agenda, what values influence the process, how much are people motivated by their desire to change the existing order in line with their conception of the ideal order and the extent to which persuasion and diffusion of ideas, good or bad, affect attention to a particular problem.



Futhermore, some scholars identifies four factors that influence a government's policy agenda: regional situation, political organization power, and changes in government administration (Lim & Kwon, 2019; Nurmandi & Purnomo, 2011; Shannon, 2022; Valle-Cruz et al., 2020). The policy agenda is a discourse battle between actors in government institutions involving the formulation of a policy, policy formulation, and policy adoption stages. The policy agenda is a result of public officials' attention to new problems and the mobilization of their organizations to respond (Baekgaard et al., 2021; Ho, 2022). There are two agendas: systematic and institutional. The systematic agenda includes issues that require the views of political community members and fall within the government's jurisdiction. The institutional agenda involves issues brought to a government agency with the authority to take appropriate action (Christensen, 2021; Masuku & Jili, 2019).

The institutional agenda is a specific and concrete action agenda that government officials focus on, focusing on issues that receive serious attention (Ho, 2022; Kim & Lee, 2017). Agenda-setting is a strategic process in public policy, influencing the government's agenda and understanding why certain issues appear on it. If an issue gains status as a public problem and gets priority, it will receive more allocation of public resources than any other issue (Wang et al., 2023). Agendas are specific patterns of government action and analyze how problems are developed, defined, formulated, and resolved (Luo et al., 2022; Townsend et al., 2020).

The policy window opens, and stakeholders manage the meeting, managed by policy entrepreneurs who can bring together the three streams to form the agenda (Mistur et al., 2023). Policy entrepreneurs come from various backgrounds, including international and non-governmental organizations, private businesses, politicians, and civil servants. They can be categorized into citizen, expert, and elected, and can be based both within and outside the state or in the third sector. Policy entrepreneurs appear when the window opens, having their proposal or concern for a problem available and encouraging it when the time is right (Buchheim et al., 2020; Firdaus et al., 2023; Hunter, 2017). They function as a combination of solutions to problems, problems for political power, and political power for proposals (Sandi, 2021). Entrepreneurs bring key resources through hearings, discussions, and political relations and use their negotiation skills with the utmost diligence. consist of government officials, career civil servants, lobbyists, academics, or journalists (Hoppe, 2019; Zuhro & Hakim, 2020).



## 2 METHOD

This research was conducted in Puger District, Jember Regency. This type of research is qualitative. The study participants were farmers in Puger District who had been affected by the impact, when PT Imasco Asiatic closed the irrigation canal (Zuhro & Hakim, 2020). Other participants are the Head of Puger Wetan Village, and other community leaders who understand the problems of this research. Participants will be interviewed in depth. Participant data were confirmed through field observations using spatial analysis techniques (GIS). GIS is used to prove the correctness of information obtained through in-depth interviews and secondary data (Purnomo et al., 2018, 2020).

The data were then analyzed with Kingdon model, which contain of three streams: problem stream, policy stream and political stream. These three streams flow along different channels and remain more or less independently of one another until, at a specific point in time, a policy window opens. Window openings could sometimes be triggered by apparently unrelated external focusing events, such as crises, accidents, or the presence or absence of “policy entrepreneurs” both within and outside of governments (Kabiri et al., 2021). At other times, these windows are opened by institutionalized events such as periodic elections or budget deadlines (Amini rarani & Asadi, 2021). Kingdon model is a modification of the garbage can model that sees organisations as loose collections of ideas, that discover preferences through action more than acting based on preferences (Brasil & Jones, 2020; Langer & Gruber, 2021).

## 3 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### 3.1 DYNAMICS IN THE PROBLEM POLITICAL STREAM AND POLICY WINDOW

The Imasco Asiatic cement company has received an exploration permit for 41 hectares of land in the Sadeng mountains (Zuhro & Hakim, 2020). The cement factory is located in the middle of farmers' lands in the villages of Puger Wetan and Puger Kulon. In this area, there is an irrigation canal which has been the source of farmers' water for years. The factory needed the canal land to develop a building (Sandi, 2021). Then the canal was closed and the company built a new canal which turned 400 meters from the old location. The new canal no longer flows straight to the farmer's land. The impact of the turning of the new canal, there are 300 hectares of farmers' land, in Puger Kulon Village has become drought. A farmer with the initials N who became the informant stated.

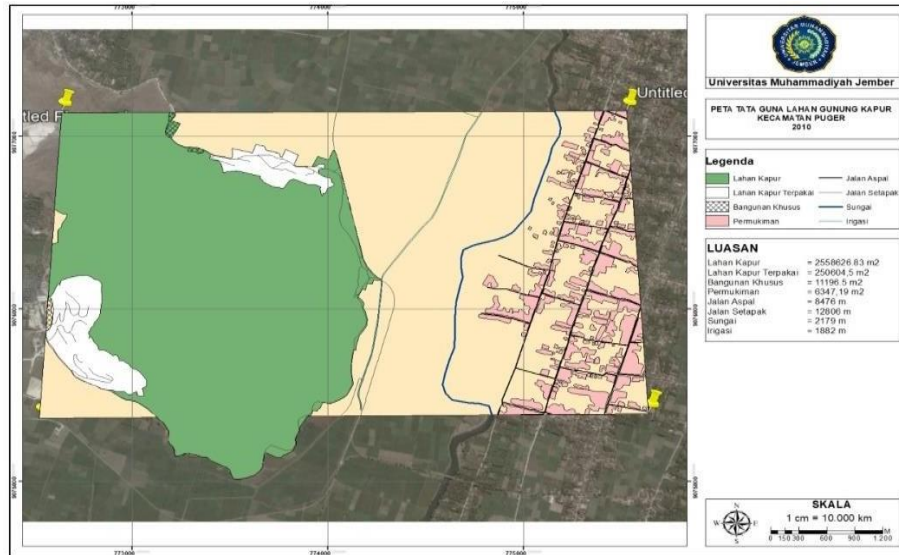




*The width of the new irrigation canal in Puger Wetan Village is smaller than in Puger Kulon Village. This condition has triggered the accumulation of garbage in the upstream and water becomes difficult to flow 300 hectares of farmer land in Puger Wetan due to drought. Water can be pumped but cannot be maximized (interview, 10 September 2020).*

**Figure 1**

*PT Imasco Asiatic concession area*



In the other season, farmers both from Puger Kulon and Wetan villages easily get water. But in the dry season, the farmers from Puger Kulon difficult to get water. They have to pay 300 thousand rupiah as the cost of buying diesel to pump water.

**Figure 2**

*The old canal (right), the new canal (left)*





Farmers community in Jember are demanding responsibility from cement companies for their dry land. The company still needs to address the impact of closing irrigation canals, leading to four demonstrations (Tigray, 2023). The first protest took place in front of the company's office, but the company did not respond. The farmers then moved to the village head's office, where they met with local village staff who informed them about recommendations for irrigation canals. However, the company closed the canal and diverted water flow to a new canal (Zuhro & Hakim, 2020). The farmers' demonstrations gained support from community and religious leaders, and the Jember parliament office was invited to invite factory representatives. However, the farmers' struggle continues with the Jember regent's office, which promises to continue the struggle with provincial authorities (Sandi, 2021).

Kingdon named the policy stream the policy primeval soup" where ideas and proposals were formulated (Amini rarani & Asadi, 2021; Brasil & Jones, 2020; Langer & Gruber, 2021) This process started when the members of the Jember local parliament invited representatives of demonstrators, farmers, factories, and the DPU BM SDA office to a hearing session to clarify the conflict. This hearing session was held on March 11, 2020. The representative of farmers from Puger Wetan Village who were affected by the construction of a new irrigation canal was (Tigray, 2023).

The Imasco Asiatic cement factory has been found to have violated three government regulations: regulation No. 77/2001 regarding irrigation security, regulation 20/2006 stating farmers have the right to plan and make decisions in irrigation activities, and Law 7/2004 concerning water resources. Following a hearing session, local parliament members recommended that the factory should restore the irrigation canals as before. The government sent a letter to the factory, requesting the old irrigation canals to be returned and new canals to be built as long as they do not damage the flow of water to Puger farmers' land. However, the water from the upstream of the Bedadung Dam did not reach the lowest point of 22 hectares of land, resulting in the cancellation of the factory's licensing.

The second letter, No. 032/1947 / 35.09.312 / 2020, also asked the factory to close the new irrigation canal and restore the old one. The factory ignored the letter and instead tested the water flow during the dry season for three days. The poor test result strengthened the government's order to restore the old irrigation canals. The factory compensated the diesel pump to ensure smooth water flow to the farmer's land in Puger Kulon village.

The conflict between farmers and the Imasco Asiatic cement factory occurred during the campaign period for regional head elections, with the Regent of Jember being a candidate (Tigray, 2023). The farmers demonstrated in front of the regent's office, which was crucial for



the regent's campaign. She read the government's warning letter to the cement factory, explaining that PT Imasco Asiatic had to close the new irrigation canal and return as before (Sandi, 2021). The letter was sent to the Head of the Surabaya Brantas River Basin Center, the Public Works Office for Water Resources of East Java Province, and the Head of the Regional Office V of Jember. The response of the Regent of Jember is related to the "national mood" and the farmer demonstration in front of her office was the moment she was expecting to be elected in the election (Bali & Halpin, 2021; Zuhro & Hakim, 2020). The policy window has united the three streams of problems, policy, and politics, allowing public problems to develop as a policy agenda for conflict resolution between farmers and the Imasco Asiatic cement factory. Stakeholders, such as the Regent of Jember, DPU BM SDA, and local parliament members, interact to negotiate and seek the lowest risk for conflict resolution (Guppy & Alnabhani, 2023; Pratama & Fitriana, 2023).

### 3.2 THE ROLE OF POLICY ENTREPRENEURS: COALITIONS AND NEGOTIATIONS

The conflict between farmers and the Imasco Asiatic cement factory was primarily due to the factory's closure of an old irrigation canal, which previously connected the land to the farmers' land. The Regent of Jember, local parliament, and DPU BM SDA mediation efforts led to a policy agenda that pressured the factory to restore the canals. However, the factory ignored the letter and instead offered compensation, drilling wells, and other benefits to farmers. The second group, which had agreed, explained their problem had been solved. The first group, which had rejected the factory's offer, lost power and accepted the chairman of the Water User Farmer Association (HIPPA). With the acceptance of the second group, the conflict was resolved, and the farmers were able to access water during the rainy season and pump water during the dry season. This mediation effort aimed to address the issue and ensure the farmers' rights were respected.

The conflict resolution policy between the community and the Imasco Asiatic cement factory has been set by policy entrepreneurs who have united three streams into an agenda (Guppy & Alnabhani, 2023). The Jember government has studied the conflict, while local parliament members have clarified it and recommended restoring the old irrigation canal. PMII Students have expressed their demands to the factory, while the Water User Farmer Association (*Himpunan Petani Pengguna Air/HIPPA*) consists of two farmer groups. HIPPA has played a mediator role during the conflict. The DPU BM SDA has given the Imasco Asiatic cement



factory a letter of recommendation to submit to the provincial government, but the factory has ignored it.

During the hearing session, the factory representatives offered solutions for farmers in Puger Wetan and Puger Kulon Villages by giving compensation: the factory will build drilled wells at seventeen points, normalize secondary BPU 1 to BPU 4, manufacture mountain belts and reservoirs, maintenance of embankments, making tertiary canals in two villages, pumping water if the land is dry, making ten wells and pumps, and providing incentives to the Association of Water Users. This offer has divided the farmers of Puger Wetan and Puger Kulon into two groups. The first group refused, but the second accepted. According to the party that refused, the new irrigation canal could be covered with soil carried in by rain. This will endanger 300 hectares of land in the Puger Kulon and Puger Wetan regions.

However, PT Imasco claims that the problem was rectified by drilling wells at 17 sites. For farmers, drilling wells endangers the ecosystem and depletes groundwater, causing those living near Sadeng Mountain to run out of water. The second group has accepted PT Imasco Asiatic's offer. This group includes HIPPA members as well as the Association of Farmer Groups (Gapoktan), whose land is free of water, according to the farmer group that obtained the concession. Farmers can utilize the factory's incentive money of IDR 300,000 to buy gasoline, which powers the diesel pump engine and allows water to flow freely. Only the farmers of Puger Kulon have experienced water scarcity throughout the dry season. However, irrigation water can still flow properly through pumps. Based on this logic, there is no reason for them to refuse. As a result, horizontal conflict arose among the farmers.

*In fact, the only one who had agreed was the chairman of the farmer group association, the other members never agreed with the new irrigation canal that the factory had built. Farmers have also been asked to buy water pump fuel. This is burdensome. Therefore we do not stop to struggle and ask the factory to pay attention to farmers who have suffer from water (interview, 20 October 2020).*

The actors choose the policy agenda, and how do they arrange it? According to (Brasil & Jones, 2020; Fischer & Miller, 2019; Green-Pedersen & Walgrave, 2019), actors are divided into two categories: official actors (within government) and unofficial actors (outside government). Official actors are representatives of the government (bureaucracy), the president (executive), the legislature, and the court (Baekgaard et al., 2018, 2021; Hoppe, 2022).

The conflict resolution between PT Imasco Asiatic and farmers involves both official and non-official actors. Official actors include the regent of Jember, local parliament members,



and DPU BM SDA. Non-official actors include HIPPA, environmental activists, community leaders, and religious leaders. Kingdon concept (Brasil & Jones, 2020; Fischer & Miller, 2019; Kabiri et al., 2021), the plant, has refused to fulfill the government's policy objective and prefers to negotiate with the Water User Farmer Association for compensation. These offers include drilling wells, normalizing secondary BPU 1, and building tertiary canals (Zuhro & Hakim, 2020). The Puger Kulon farmer group's strength against PT Imasco Asiatic has weakened. HIPPA and Puger Wetan Village farmers agreed to this offer, making the government's efforts ineffective (Sandi, 2021; Tigray, 2023). The government controls policymaking, but it lacks coercive power due to the influence of a non-official entity (Herd & Moynihan, 2019; Sabatier, 2019; Siddiki & Curley, 2022).

#### 4 CONCLUSION

Two groups of actors helped to resolve the disagreement between farmers and Imasco Asiatic Cement. The first was official actors or inside of government, such as the regent of Jember, DPU BM SDA Office, and members of Jember's local parliament; the second was unofficial actors or outside of government, which included community and religious leaders, as well as the Water User Association (HIPPA). Both official and unauthorized actors attempted to resolve the disagreement and agreed to request that the factory restore a new channel, as before. However, without consulting with other actors, HIPPA agreed to compensate the factory. HIPPA has also influenced the farmer group in the village of Puger Wetan, whose water runs smoothly and in accordance with the factory agreement.

Howlet illustrated the role of actors by examining their position and influence. Kingdon presents process factors in three streams. Each actor competes with each other to open the policy window. Each actor will engage with one another to open policy windows, allowing the concerns they raise to be prioritized on the policy agenda. However, their perspectives as policymakers, particularly at the agenda-setting stage, needed to explain how the actors interacted. These actors and the belief systems that they contribute to agenda shaping, where the belief system is disguised and not presented as the issue raised by each actor. These two factors also influence their engagement in the agenda policy process, which involves advocating for issues that are important to them.



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