

Political Ecology of a Spring: People's Resistance to the Construction of a Hotel

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The tourism industry has significantly contributed to a decrease in the number of springs in Batu City, Indonesia. One example is the Umbulan Gemulo spring which is being threatened by the development of the Rayja Hotel in Batu City. This study aims to explain the relationship between the Umbulan Gemulo spring and the society living around the spring. Furthermore, this research seeks to describe the form of resistance of the local society to the hotel construction. This research was conducted using a qualitative research method with an approach informed by a political ecology understanding. The results of this research show that the Umbulan Gemulo spring was the site of collective resistance by local society. In addition, it looks at the Anjir forum, through which the people decided to resist the construction of the Rayja Hotel.

Keywords: *political ecology, springs, collective representation, resistance, Umbulan Gemulo Spring, Batu City*

Introduction

At a local scale, tourism is a strategic sector that develops the potential of an area (Cárdenas-García et al. 2015) and gives a multiplier boost to the economy of an area (Priambodo 2015). Indonesia is an example of an area affected by tourism in such ways. The large-scale development of tourism in Indonesia began in the 1960s (Hampton and Jayacecha 2015) and showed a vast development in the 1980s (Booth 1990). The number of foreigners who visited Indonesia reached up to 11.5 million in 2016, and this influx of tourists has had a significant impact on the increase in Indonesia's GDP (Nesparnas 2016). Several popular sites for tourism in Indonesia are Bali, Lombok, and Yogyakarta (Kinseng 2018). Furthermore, Bali has become one of Indonesia's national pilot projects for tourism. This example encourages and supports other areas to develop their own tourist potential, such as what has been carried out in the City of Batu.

Tourist activity in Batu has become one of the driving forces of the regional economy, both by contributing to the locally generated revenue (PAD) (Afandi et al. 2014) and reducing unemployment (Waluyo and Yuliati 2011). Batu is an area that relies on its agricultural sector, which produces a wide variety of fruits and vegetables. As a city that encourages the development of the tourism sector, Batu has about 35 explicit tourist destinations. Besides these, there are numerous educational theme parks and amusement parks which have been built and subsequently become tourist attractions (Martaleni and Gunadi 2017). Many of these attractions provide fascinating choices for local and foreign tourists alike. In 2014, the annual number of tourist visits to Batu increased to more than three million. In developing the tourism offerings of their city, the government of Batu has provided and encouraged the development of accommodations and facilities such as restaurants, resorts, hotels, and such, in order to support the tourism sector. Based on data from the Central Bureau of Statistics of Batu City (2015), the number of hotels in Batu has significantly increased each year, and in 2014, there were 500 hotels total in the city. The growing number of hotels is expected to satisfy the demands of local and foreign tourists.

Generally, the presence of a hotel in an area influences the growth of the regional economy (Tugores and Valle 2016), especially in tourist destinations (Peiró-Signes, Segarra-Oña, Miret-Pastor, and Verma et al. 2015). The existence of hotels in tourist destinations tends to promote competition (Mendieta-Peñalver et al. 2016). Such competition starts with determining

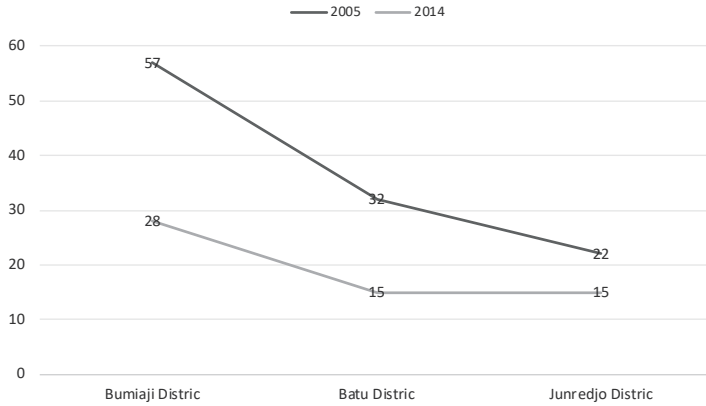


Fig. 1.—Decrease in the Number of Springs in Batu City

the strategic location of the hotel to best satisfy the needs and desires of tourists (Yang et al. 2017). Besides this, in order to capture the market, many hotels work in cooperation with travel agents (Guo and He 2015).

Hotels then become vital in the context of tourism development since they affect tourists' comfort and they may have an impact on the duration of visitors' stays in Batu. In line with efforts to grow the regional economy, the government of Batu has a well founded interest in developing the economic potential of the area effectively and efficiently by increasing the amount and enhancing the quality of accommodations and other facilities associated with the tourism sector.

However, in its development, the tourism industry can bring about not only positive impacts but also adverse effects (Baoying and Yuanqing 2007) as can be seen in Batu. The massive project of tourism development undertaken by Batu has created innumerable new problems for the city's residents. In attempting to develop tourism, the Batu government has indirectly caused the transition from agricultural modes of life to built-up tourist amenities and infrastructure such as resorts and hotels (Kodir 2018). In addition, the development has caused various environmental damage, including the destruction of a number of important natural springs. In the Bumiaji Sub-district, there were originally 111 springs, but recently the number decreased from 57 in 2005 to 28 springs in 2014. Even in the Batu Sub-district, there were only 15 springs left in 2014, down from the previously recorded 32 springs in 2005. While in the Junrejo Sub-district, there were only 15 springs remaining from the previously recorded 22 springs (Walhi 2017).

The tourism industry is not only a problem in Batu, but also has had an impact on the ongoing water crises in Bali (Cole 2012) and Labuan Bajo (Cole 2017). Gössling et al. (2012) states that at the global level, water consumption by tourism activities makes up less than 1% of the total global water consumption and that it does not seem to increase significantly over time, although the tourism sector has been anticipated to grow 4% every year. However, such a situation is different when viewed at a regional level, and drainage associated with tourism always happens to occur in Zanzibar, Tanzania (Gössling 2001). Furthermore, there is an increase in water consumption during the holidays (Hadjikakou, Chenoweth and Miller 2013). This also happens in some developing countries, where water consumption by tourists occurs at a relatively higher level when compared to local residents, potentially causing conflicts with local peoples (Becken 2014).

Conflicts, such as the construction of hotels in tourist areas causing water crises, have occurred in multiple areas of Indonesia such as Yogyakarta and Batu. In Yogyakarta, people in the Miliran region came into conflict with the Fave Hotel. Fortunately, in this case, the conflict was resolved by both parties in the end (Huda 2017). However, the case in Yogyakarta differs from the social conflict and contestation related to the Umbulan Gemulo spring in Batu, which is characterized by the people's opposition to the construction of the Rayja Hotel. The resistance to the construction of the Rayja Hotel in proximity to the Umbulan Gemulo spring arose because this spring supports the lives of the local people. Besides being used for the irrigation of agricultural land, the spring supports 9,000 households, namely in Bulukerto Village, Bumiaji Village, Pandan Rejo Village, Bumiaji Sub-district, Sidomulyo Village, and Batu Sub-district. Moreover, the building of the Rayja Hotel near the Umbulan Gemulo spring is considered to be threatening to the existence of the spring. Besides having an economic function, the spring is the gathering place for people of all ages and, in this sense, is an object of communal ownership (DeVore 2017).

Problems surrounding the development of buildings near the Umbulan Gemulo spring in Batu City began with the construction of a water pipeline by the regional government in 2002. The strategic position and accessibility of this spring tempts people, especially private investors, to use the water for private purposes despite the fact that local people's lives also depend on this spring. The Rayja Hotel obtained a building permit from the government of the city of Batu. However, before receiving this building permit, the Rayja Hotel was required to successfully complete an Environmental Impact Analysis (EIA). However, the fact was that the government of Batu provided a

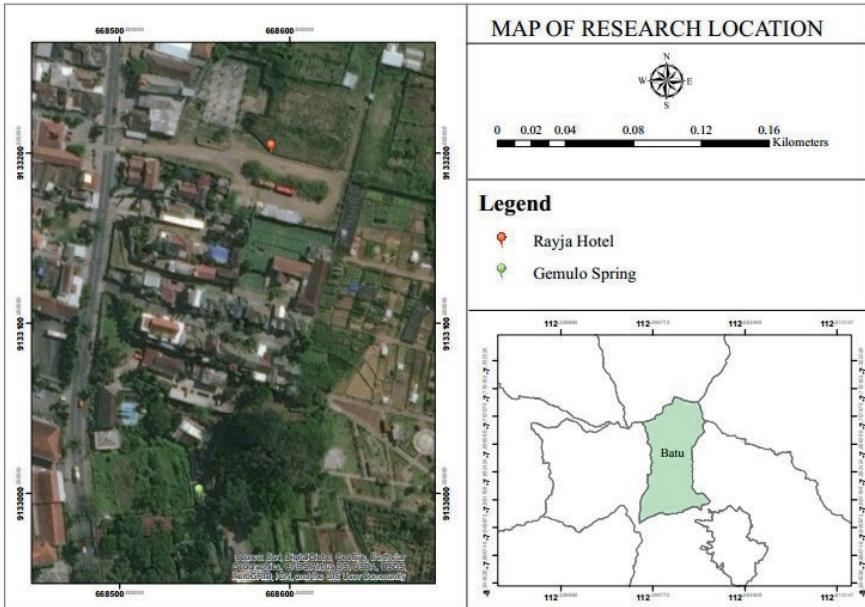


Fig. 2.—Location of the Umbulan Gemulo spring and the Rayja Hotel, Batu

building permit to the Rayja Hotel without having them first conduct an EIA. As time goes by, villagers also consider the building of the Rayja Hotel to be violating the EIA since the hotel is located within a mere 150 meters of the Umbulan Gemulo spring.

The decision by the government of Batu City to issue a building permit to the Rayja Hotel spurred the villagers who live in proximity to the Umbulan Gemulo spring to take action. The residents of Bulukerto Village, who were the first to learn about the construction of the Rayja Hotel, were disappointed with the decision. They were worried that the construction of the Rayja Hotel would threaten the preservation of the Umbulan Gemulo spring (See Figure 3 and 4).

On the judicial side, the construction of the Rayja Hotel also faced a litany of problems: 1) the breakdown of the social contract from the government of city to the villagers and the affected society or the users of Umbulan Gemulo spring, 2) the lack of any prior ecological, social, or cultural study on the impacted society, 3) the breaking of Law of the R.I No. 7 of 2004 on Water Resources, 4) the breaking of the Law of the R.I No. 11 of 1974 on Irrigation, 5) the breaking of the Regulation of Government No. 82



Fig. 3.—Umbulan Gemulo Spring



Fig. 4.—The Proposed Location for The Rayja Hotel

of 2001 on Water Quality Management and Pollution Controlling, and 6) the breaking of the Regional Regulation of Batu City 2010–2030 No. 7 of 2011 (Amiruddin 2016).

After first surveying the empirical facts of the dispute surrounding the Umbulan Gemulo spring, the researcher decided to frame this research through a political ecology approach. Blaikie and Brookfield (1987) define the concept of political ecology as a combination of ecological problems and the development of political economy. Both constantly shift the dialectic between people and resources as well as the dynamics between classes and groups within the society itself. Furthermore, Bryant and Bailey (2000) explain that the primary assumption in political ecology stands on the principle that environmental change is not neutral, but it is a politicized realm which includes many actors pursuing their own interests working on global, regional, and even local levels. However, Robbins (2004) presents limitations of the meaning of political ecology in regards to establishing access to and control over resources which have implications for environmental conditions and the sustainability of local life.

Political ecology is an appropriate approach by which to analyze tourism problems and threats of water crises (Gosling 2001; Cole 2012, 2013, 2017; Becken 2014). In various tourist regions, tourists' consumption of water is relatively high in comparison with local populations. Moreover, there are cases in which the government spends large sums of money to accommodate tourists, such as Labuan Bajo, where the government spent a 30 billion-budget to fulfill the water needs of tourists. Meanwhile, only 24% of the people in the area of Labuan Bajo attained their water from PDAM (the state water company) (Cole 2017). This view is strengthened by arguments presented by Rusca et al. (2017) and Karpouzoglu et al. (2018) who have proven that there is inequality in the water supply network which negatively impacts the quality and quantity of water available, primarily in rural areas.

The political ecology approach is one of many perspectives through which we are able to understand the complexity of problems related to the relationship between humans and the environment (Meek 2015). As an approach, political ecology helps us to understand that environmental problems, such as the decrease in the number of springs and water discharge in Batu, are affected by the regulations of construction for the sake of tourism, which ignore ecologically concerned resistance movements.

Using this political ecology approach, this research aims at explaining the relationship between the local society and the Umbulan Gemulo spring. In addition, this research also seeks to describe the resistance efforts of the

local society to protect the Umbulan Gemulo spring from the threat of destruction.

Methods

This research used a qualitative research methodology. Data was collected through interviews with several key actors and stakeholders. Interview participants were determined through a purposeful sampling technique. The interview participants included those who were a part of the Forum Masyarakat Peduli Mata Air (FMPMA), the Nawakalam Community, Umbulan Gemulo Springs Keeper, Wahana Lingkungan Hidup – (WALHI Jatim), Malang Corruption Watch (MCW), Bumiaji Village Representatives, Sidomulyo Village Representatives, Environmental Agency (Dinas Lingkungan Hidup), the Legislative Member and Village Supervisor Agency (Badan Pengawas Daerah). Both structured and semi-structured interviews were conducted. Interviews were carried out during the researcher's involvement in activities undertaken by the participants. In addition to interviews, data was also collected through observation. The interview process was conducted over several months, alongside the observation process. Interviews lasted in the vicinity of four hours, and were conducted in each participant's home, organization office, or government office.

In addition, the observation process was conducted through a participant-observer method. This process was conducted via the researcher's direct involvement in the activities of research subjects, such as participation in various demonstration activities, attending a trial in the Malang State Courts, and actively participating in environmental campaigns and the annual Spring Festival activities. The process was recorded in field notes and other forms of documentation.

This research emphasizes description and understanding of the situation surround the Umbulan Gemulo spring by explaining the complex phenomena of relationships, patterns, and configurations which exist between factors, using a political-ecology approach. Political ecology emphasizes the analysis of environmental movements of not only the poor, but also middle-class society (Sridhar 2015). The context of this study is a social movement to prevent the loss of a spring due to plans to construct a hotel. However, from the perspective of urban political ecology, a hotel is one of multiple actors that also plays a role in a city's urban metabolism (Delgado-Ramos 2015).

Data analysis for this study was performed using thematic analysis (Aronson 1994). In the initial stage, the researcher transcribed the interviews of all informants and made some crucial notes during observations. Next, the researcher classified the data according to the themes of the discussions. During the final stage of analysis, the researcher built an argument using the theoretical framework chosen for this study. The theoretical framework employed in this study is one of collective representation and collective consciousness (Durkheim 1964, 2001) as well as resistance (Scott 1985). Resistance or activist movements are an essential instrument in political ecology since they are related to territorial control and environmental governance, particularly in their relationship with the inequity, power, and marginality of societies in the Global South (Zanotti 2014). The researcher made use of several analytical frameworks in order to focus the analysis only on the studied phenomenon. In addition, this was done to differentiate this work from other research carried out on a similar subject.

Findings and Discussion

Springs as the Realization of Collective Representation

The people's resistance to the building of the Rayja Hotel in Bulukerto Village stemmed from their anxiety that the construction would threaten the existence of the Umbul Gemulo spring. This contestation of the spring is the realization of collective representation. According to Durkheim (2001), collective representation is realized through symbol, religion, myth, and so forth. All of these represent a belief, norm, or collective value which inspires people to adopt a collective claim. Collective representation cannot be reduced to individuals, since it arises from social interaction, and it only can be learned directly, for it tends to be associated with the material symbols such as signs, icons, or pictures, or practices such as ritual acts. Durkheim's explanation of collective representation can be traced through his classical work, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (2001). In this work, Durkheim explained that a "totem" was the realization of collective representation of the aboriginal tribe which he was studying. In the context of the research presented in this article, the form which collective representation takes on in Bulukerto society is that of a spring. This also indicates that collective representation is not only an aspect of primitive societies, as explained by Durkheim, but that it is also present in modern societies as well.

In addition to symbol, religion, myth, and so forth, collective representation is also realized through what is imagined and done (Liu and Ravenscroft 2016). However, thought and action are also parts of society (Descombes 2000). As the findings of research conducted by Unhaler and Scola (2015) demonstrate, race, ethnicity, or gender can become a form of collective representation which allows people to mobilize into political participation from which they had previously been excluded. This is because collective representation enables social orders, certain logics, and rationales to form in societies (Burns and Engdahl 1998). This is the case of the society which is situated around the Umbulan Gemulo spring.

This spring is a material symbol for people, as it is the source of life for the surrounding villages. People utilize this spring to fulfill their daily needs. Most people use its water to irrigate their farm land since the majority of those residing in its vicinity are either farmers or work the land. Its water is also used for cooking, ablution, livestock, and other purposes.

As the form of collective representation for the local community, the Umbulan Gemulo spring enables people to perceive specific social situations and consider and judge what should or should not to be done in such a situation (Burns and Engdahl 1998). Residents of Batu view the preservation and continued existence of the spring as paramount since it provides a living for villagers. When there is a threat to the existence of this spring, the local people understand what should be done to protect it.

When the existence of the Umbulan Gemulo spring was threatened by the building of the Rayja Hotel, local people took an effort to protect the spring. The first step taken by the villagers of Bulukerto village was to employ a cultural mechanism called an *Anjir* forum. An *Anjir* forum is one of the forms of local wisdom specifically practiced by Bulukerto Villagers. An *Anjir* forum is an effort to solve problems faced by the Bulukerto people conducted through collective deliberation. This particular *Anjir* forum was held because the chief of Bulukerto Village and the developers of the Rayja Hotel did not inform the villagers of their plans to construct a hotel. The village authorities did not provide any information and tended to conceal this issue.

“[An] *Anjir* forum is a step deliberately taken by the community to discuss the problems that occur in this village ... Where all communities have the same right to talk ... whether they agree or do not, they are given the same rights ... no poor people are silent then the rich people are told to speak, that doesn't happen in *Anjir*.” (Nawakalam Community 2017)

The *Anjir* forums of Bulukerto village have successfully gathered all kinds of people throughout the society, including those in the village apparatus, social figures, youth figures, and so forth. The representations of people from all parts of society form a collective consciousness which encourages involvement in solving the problem their community is facing; in this case, the construction of the Rayja Hotel which threatened the preservation of the Umbulan Gemulo spring. This collective representation influences the participation of the group at a broader social level (Unhaler and Scola 2015). It should be understood that the *Anjir* forum of Bulukerto Village is a cultural forum held when the village encounters a problem that must be overcome out of mutual interest. The *Anjir* forum also signifies a manifestation of deliberative democracy wherein all members of society have similar status and position (O'Flynn 2016) in decision making regarding public space. Of course, decision making does not only accommodate the interests of all the people, but also contributes to their emancipation (Rostbøll 2008). Such emancipation emerges from the transformative dialogue (Healy 2011) generated during *Anjir* forums.

Through the *Anjir* forum, people discussed their anxieties that the opening of the Rayja Hotel would affect the quality of the water source of the Umbulan Gemulo spring. People were also worried that the waste produced by the Rayja Hotel would greatly impact the Umbulan Gemulo spring. The four-story hotel has the potential to create food waste, which could affect the water quality of the spring, in part because the distance between the hotel and the Umbulan Gemulo spring is only about 150 meters. This is perceived by the local society as a threat of pollution to the spring.

Generally speaking, one of the largest sources of waste generated by a hotel is food waste (Juvan et al. 2017). Food waste is one of the key types of pollution which can negatively effect the environment (Gössling et al. 2011). The consumption and production of food have the potential to cause problems related to environmental change. This is supported by the findings of research by BIO Intelligence Services (2010) which explain that about one kilogram of food waste results in almost two kilograms of CO₂ equivalent emissions, which could bring about the decimation of 2.9 tonnes of natural resources (such as species extinction and loss of biodiversity). Additionally, the EPA (2016) stated that unconsumed food usually ends up in landfills, which have a great toll on the land, where it creates methane gas, which is 25 times more harmful than CO₂. This is relevant to our discussion because almost all hotels or tourist facilities do not have independent waste planning or maintenance services, and are not connected to waste disposal

infrastructure systems (Kotios et al. 2009).

Besides the threat of food waste, the planning of the Rayja Hotel endangers the underground river flow. The results of an investigation carried out by the local people showed that under the location for the proposed hotel building there is an underground river which flows directly to the Umbulan Gemulo spring. The Rayja Hotel building will indirectly damage the underground rivers flowing around Umbulan Gemulo spring as well. The destruction of groundwater will negatively affect the quantity of drinking water (Kotios et al. 2009).

The decision which was arrived at during the *Anjir* forum of Bulukerto Village was a people's agreement to resist the building of the Rayja Hotel. This decision was made because the building of the hotel not only troubled them, but threatened their lives and livelihoods. The action undertaken after the decision reached in the *Anjir* forum serves to strengthen the people's resistance. Feelings such as a sense of anxiety, the feeling of being threatened, and caring are all associated with belonging to the Umbulan Gemulo spring, as people's livelihoods form the basis of their collective consciousness. The collective effort to fight for the Umbulan Gemulo spring became more accessible when a collective consciousness formed in the local people. Any kinds of irregularities in the process of building the hotel, such as the absence of any consultation with the local community during planning, also stimulated an increase in people's collective consciousness and subsequent resistance. The most significant thing to note here is that the *Anjir* forum in Bulukerto village enables people's collective behaviors or mutual acts in facing a problem.

Durkheim (1964) defined collective consciousness as all common beliefs and feelings held by the majority of people in a society that form a fixed system that has its own life; we may call it collective consciousness or general awareness. Thereby, collective consciousness is not similar to individual consciousness since it only can be recognized through individual awareness. There are several points that should be noted from this definition. First, collective consciousness exists in a society when beliefs and sentiments become commonly shared. Second, Durkheim understands collective consciousness as a specific concept beyond creating other social facts; collective consciousness is not only a reflection of material basis. The third is that collective consciousness can be recognized through an individual's awareness.

Durkheim (1964) explained that collective consciousness refers to the general structure of the definition, norm, and common belief. Therefore,

collective consciousness is an exceptionally open and unfixed concept. Durkheim uses this concept to state that primitive society has a strong collective consciousness, namely of definitions, norms, and common beliefs. Meanwhile, in modern society it tends to be multi-complex, and thus solidarity between individuals weakens (Thijssen 2012).

In one sense, the research presented in this article strengthens this theory. What happened in the society of Bulukerto village proves that the people have a strong collective consciousness. The improvement of their collective consciousness originates from the common belief that all people must work to preserve the Umbulan Gemulo spring. Moreover, the collective consciousness which forms can result in some values which are ideal for the individual. In this case, the Umbulan Gemulo spring has an essential value for society since it unites people from neighboring villages, namely Bulukerto village, Bumiaji village, and Sidomulyo village. The Umbulan Gemulo spring is utilized not only by the villagers of Bulukerto but also by people from these other villages. Therefore the building of the hotel that could threaten the preservation of the Umbulan Gemulo spring elicited a response from all those who make use of the Umbulan Gemulo spring.

In the context of this research, the collective consciousness of Bulukerto villagers is enhanced when something they believe to have a significant value to their lives is threatened by the construction of a hotel within their village. The construction of the Rayja Hotel engendered a domino effect of cascading social issues, which led to popular resistance. People's anxiety regarding the waste produced by the hotel, the awkwardness of the situation surrounding the granting of the hotel's building permit, as well as the absence of community consultation regarding the building by Bulukerto Village and the Rayja Hotel reinforced the people's conscience, which was directing them to resist.

However, conversely, the findings of this research also challenge Durkheim's view that only primitive societies have significant social solidarity or collective consciousness, whereas modern society has weak social bonds. In some cases, Durkheim's analysis of the relationship between the individual and society shows ambiguities and inconsistencies (Bowring 2016). The findings of the research presented here are a counterexample to Durkheim's thesis. In the current context, Bulukerto villagers could be called a modern society because they live in the increasingly tourist city of Batu. Furthermore, they have a relatively complex job distribution due to the massive tourism industry and their traditional occupation as farmers.

The realization of a collective con closely relates to the synthesis of

individuals' consciences (Thijssen 2012). Every individual's conscience exists within the system of society. It does not need to remind people of that the building of the hotel threatens the preservation of the Umbulan Gemulo spring. Hence, when the issue of the construction of the Rayja Hotel first arose, the people's collective consciousness was strengthened and it directed them to resist the development.

The Type of People's Resistance to the Building of the Rayja Hotel

Resistance, according to James Scott (1985), is all actions of the members of low-class society to sustain their life. Every action taken by members of the lower classes aims to reject the demands of the upper-class (such as landlords, the state, the owner of a machinery, loan providers) or to propose their own demands (such as jobs, land, generosity, rewards) of the upper-classes. Resistance, in the conceptualization by James Scott, intends to elicit the reaction of the opposing party. Moreover, Scott (1985) also categorized some types of resistance as follows:

1. Closed resistance: symbolic or ideological. Namely gossip and slander regarding that which is forced upon society and the withdrawal of respect for the ruler.
2. Semi-open resistance: social protest or demonstration
3. Open resistance: an organized, systematic, and principled resistance. Resistance is manifested in violent forms such as slapping, tossing, spitting, throwing, snapping, cursing, shouting, declassing, glaring, pouting, and staring at with threatening looks.

Such categories are differentiated based on the form that resistance takes. Open resistance is characterized by an open interaction between different classes. Meanwhile, closed resistance is indicated by closed and indirect interaction between subordinate and superordinate classes. To see the more visible differences between these types of resistance, Scott (1985) characterized open resistance as resistance with the following characteristics: 1) organic, systematic, cooperative; 2) principled, not self-seeking; 3) having a consequence or aiming at eradicating the basis of domination.

The people's resistance to the construction of the Rayja Hotel can be characterized as open resistance since it was undertaken both systematically

and cooperatively, as well as having a clear principle and not being self-seeking. This is demonstrated by people's common interest in halting the building of the Rayja Hotel in Bulukerto village to maintain the Umbulan Gemulo spring.

“Resistance efforts carried out by residents have been repeated ... Started from demonstrations in front of the Batu City Government Office to the Supreme Court in Jakarta ... However, initially, we have already begun the steps by mediating with several related stakeholders, but they did not respond ... so the only way is to fight.” (Leader of FMPMA in 2017)

During the period of fighting, the local people practiced diverse types of resistance, including: protesting Bulukerto village and Bumiaji Sub-district offices; demonstrations at offices of Bulukerto village, Bumiaji Sub-district, and Government of Batu City, as well as Brawijaya University (involved in issuing the letter of EIA of the construction of the Rayja Hotel); an ongoing legal battle which came to an unclear decision regarding the of the building of The Rayja Hotel; campaigns which held activities such as a festival for the Umbulan Gemulo spring and Indonesian Independence Day ceremony; and the people's refusal to pay taxes to the government.

Moreover, the people's resistance was also supported by organizations and individuals who were generally better-educated, such as students, non-governmental organizations, and intellectual figures. These allies can be classified into two categories: 1) specialist supporters, namely individuals and organizations that specifically had the necessary skills and understanding of the legal issues to contest policy, and 2) general supporters, both individuals or organizations, that consider such a struggle as part of struggling to realize human rights and justice (Sangaji 2000). Organizations such as Walhi Jatim, Nawakalam Community, Pusham Surabaya, Malang Corruption Watch (MCW), Oemah Munir, and others are some of the general supporting organizations that worked together with the local community to realize the rights of the people of Batu to defend their spring from the threat of the hotel's construction.

Besides the acts of resistance, people also led a campaign to show that the Umbulan Gemulo spring is vital for them. They wanted to show the public how significant the spring is for them. Their effort to campaign for the Umbulan Gemulo spring could be said to be successful since it increased people's interest and awareness of the issue, primarily through the Spring Festival which is held each year.

The people's struggle against the construction of the Rayja Hotel remains uneasy. Any of different forms that the people's resistance took on illustrate just how essential the Umbulan Gemulo spring is for them. At times this resistance has resulted in the legal penalization of certain social actors who have challenged the construction of the hotel. Furthermore, after the decision of the Supreme Court to stop the construction of the Rayja Hotel, the spirit of resistance lives on, despite the original cause of their resistance having been resolved. This is because they are still waiting find out for certain whether construction of the Rayja Hotel will be continued or officially halted by the government. Movements to save the environment, like this one, are highly significant in the establishment of a continual community (Toyre 2015).

At the time of writing this article, the resistance continued to take place in Batu, due to counteractions by the hotel which included actively reporting resistors to the police and filing a lawsuit in court over the resistance. However, the activists fighting against the construction also filed a lawsuit against the hotel through Judicial Review (PK) of this case at the Supreme Court level. The court has not yet come to a final decision on a legal case in this matter.

Legal decisions following the Judicial Review at the Supreme Court will open up a new arena of struggle in the resistance of the people. A victory attained by either the Rayja Hotel or the community will trigger action and reaction from both parties, at which point both legal and non-legal developments will give rise to broader issues of resistance.

Conclusion

The resistance of the Bulukerto community to the development of the Rayja Hotel has proven that, at present, the sources of fresh-water springs in Batu are under threat due to the accelerating development of the tourism industry. This resistance was encouraged by the enthusiasm that the spring water source was a collective representation of the community. The people's resistance was carried out in various ways, through both demonstrations and legal channels. However, one lesson from this case is that the resistance in Batu has heartened people in other villages to carry out environmental campaigns to preserve their own water sources.

In this article I have tried to examine the collective resistance of a community in Batu from the viewpoint of the people involved in the movement. For the future, it will be necessary to examine other issues, such

as the empowerment of activists and movements at the community level. In addition to the collaborative relationship between disparate elements within the movement, we should examine how NGO's models or practices empower movements related to environmental issues. The government's attitude and response to this movement is also another interesting theme worth considering in further research.

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