

Change and Continuity of Waste Management in Tourism Destination of Gili Trawangan, Indonesia: A Sociological Field Theory

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Abstract

This paper aims to analyze change and continuity of waste management in the tourism destination of Gili Trawangan after the waste crisis in 2017. By employing sociological field theory, using a case study method, and interviewing 13 key informants, this study comes to the following conclusions. The crisis brought about temporary instability in the waste management field, but simultaneously became a catalyst that led to change although there were things that remained stable as well. There are several changes: 1) mechanization of waste management facilities from traditional to modern; 2) implementation of regional regulations and changes in the position of the governance unit; 3) restructuring of waste management organizations from informal to formal business entities. However, despite the restructuration occurred, the informal networks that conditioning social relation in the field remains unchanged. Sociologically, it did not rupture the configuration of the existing social structure, where local business actors remained the dominant group in the Gili Trawangan. Therefore, the shocks caused by the crisis merely gave a little wave to the waste management field. All in all, learning from the case in Gili Trawangan, this paper offers practical recommendations for policymakers regarding waste management issues.

Keywords

Sociological Field Theory; Social Network; Waste Management; Tourism Destination; Gili Trawangan

INTRODUCTION

Over the last few decades, tourism has rapidly developed into a global industry (Kütting, 2010). It is undeniable that the tourism industry also has a significant impact, especially in the socio-economic development for several countries (Mostafanezhad et al., 2016) including Indonesia. Tourism has contributed to economic activity on small islands in the region since it become an alternative source of income (Kinseng et al., 2018). However, the tourism industry is like a double-edged sword: apart from the positive side of economic growth, tourism also has an

impact on environmental issues. The massive growth of tourism has also triggered ecological damage (Kurniawan et al., 2016), to the issue of waste as well (Ezeah et al., 2015; Koski-Karell, 2019).

While the tourism industry in Indonesia is increasing in many years (LPEM-FEBUI, 2018), the waste problem remains a difficult challenge to deal with. These days, the issue of waste becomes a major concern in the small island tourism of Gili Trawangan. This small island in the north of Lombok has experienced a waste crisis in 2017 (Radar Lombok, 2017). At that time, the main sight along the road in the Trawangan was

dominated by the accumulation of rotting and smelly garbage (CNN Indonesia, 2017). The crisis was triggered by a sting operation carried out by *Tim Sapu Bersih Pungutan Liar* (Saber Pungli) West Nusa Tenggara Province (on February 2, 2017) against the sub-village government of Gili Trawangan (Radar Lombok, 2017). This operation occurred because waste management practices and the collecting fees mechanism were not based on formal regulations (Partelow & Nelson, 2018). Furthermore, due to the fact that a waste organization was under the institution, its operating license was temporarily suspended afterward. Hence, the waste in Gili Trawangan was not handled properly.

Much has been studied about waste management in Indonesia, but most of them tended to focus on environmental management frameworks that include technological limitations and lack of recycling innovations (Indrianti, 2016; Raharjo et al., 2017; Sekito, Prayogo, et al., 2019). Meanwhile, other studies have focused on aspects of the capacity and understanding of human resource in managing their waste (Rohmawati, 2015; Syahli & Sekarningrum, 2017); and based on formal regulations (Harirah et al., 2020; Setiadi et al., 2020). It seems that, apart from being concentrated in the urban context, the previous studies often neglected to analyze existing local socio-political dynamics. Yet, this does not mean that previous studies are less important and relevant whatsoever, but it will have limitations when dealing with waste crisis cases like in Gili Trawangan. Otherwise, the incident on Trawangan Island provides empirical evidence that crisis did not entirely occur due to technological limitations, poor environmental management, or incompetent and unskilled human resources, but rather due to institutional problems.

In addition, waste management studies in Indonesia have paid little attention to the sociological dimension. Referring to the experiences of other countries, regarding waste and its management cannot be separated from power relations such as patron-client relations and social hierarchies in society (For example, in the Indian context see studies: Beall, 1997; Jayasinghe et al., 2019) as well as conflicting interests of various actors in the governing waste (Refer to the context in China: Zhang, 2020). Thus, addressing waste is not merely about environmental issues, but also—like the governance system in general (Agrawal, 2003; Lange et al., 2013)—it has multiple dimensions that socially and politically challenging which have conflictual relations because stakeholders with various positions and powers may have a conflicting interest.

Establishing and implementing environmental governance is a difficult task that is both socially and politically challenging, often presenting conflictual interactions as actors with different positions and powers may also have conflicting interests (Lange et al., 2013). Disharmony about what social and political processes need to be done to achieve goals often occurs at various levels of community (Poteete, 2012). It can be said that waste management is a complex that involves more than just environmental aspects. Therefore, this paper offers a relatively different approach from previous studies in examining the socio-political dynamics of waste management in the context of Indonesian society, especially with the socio-economic characteristics of tourism in small islands such as Gili Trawangan. Considering that most of the previous research focused on the urban context, this research is relevant to enrich empirical studies regarding the study of waste management in Indonesia.

To analyze the case, the author uses the Sociological Field Theory from (Fligstein, 2013; Fligstein & McAdam, 2012) which is an actor-oriented framework that focuses on conflict, power and strategy in explaining change and continuity in a particular social order. The sociological field theory emphasizes on the agency perspective where actors can take advantage of their social networks, even bring about change to the social order (Bourdieu, 1990; Martin, 2003). Field theory is also a critic of the institutional theory since the analysis focuses heavily on the macro level while paying less attention to agency at the micro and meso levels (Achwan, 2014; Ganie-Rochman & Achwan, 2016).

Field can be defined as a social arena where something is at stake and actors engage in social action with others under a set of common understanding (the rules of the game) and with a variety of resources that help define actor's position in the field (Fligstein & McAdam, 2011, 2012). Since the theory is influenced by Bourdieu, the field is characterized by contestations where there are a group of actors with dominant (incumbents) and less dominant (challengers) positions competing to dominate the Governance Units (functions include: administration, information, regulation, enforcement, or certification). The two groups of actors (incumbent-challenger) always collaborate and contest in maintaining and changing the rules and norms contained in the existing power relations. When the economic, political, and cultural resources in the field are getting bigger, the competition for control of the governance unit is getting tougher (Anugrah, 2021; Fligstein & McAdam, 2012).

Furthermore, the field theory highlights the importance of the interconnection aspect since the field does not exist in isolation but

is connected to the broader field environment (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012). There are three sets of binary distinctions in describing the form of the relationship between fields: (1) distant and proximate; (2) dependent and interdependent; (3) nested and hierarchical. The theoretical implication of the embeddedness of field is that the broader field environment becomes a source of change. Intervention from the external, conceptualized as an exogenous shock, may produce instability, and create opportunities for change in the field (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012, p. 189).

In the field, everything is likely to occur from the purpose of the field was formed, to the opportunity for a contest for positioning (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012). For gaining success in winning contests for positioning in the field, actors (individuals or groups) need to engage in strategic actions, that is attempts to secure actor position through collaboration with others (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012). This action model focuses on social skills, which ability of actors to mobilize members, build cooperation, or compete with other actors in the field. The feature that often appears when contestation occurs is the effort to control Governance Units for strengthening or maintaining the actor's position in the field (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012, p. 96).

However, field theory from Fligstein and McAdam (2012) still lacks in explaining how interconnections between fields may be established and how actors can enable to cross fields (Candido et al., 2019; Cuvi, 2016). Cuvi (2016) argues that the intervention of external actors with cross-field expertise is possible so long the actors have access in the form of networks and have assets or resources in the various fields. Interconnected fields provide actors with potential opportunities to exercise the power or legitimacy of a few actors over

others in a field (Evans & Kay, 2008). Socially skilled actors are aware of the field interconnections where they can cross and build alliances with other actors who are appropriately placed in the proximate field. This type of actor is often conceptualized as “alliance brokerage” (Gastón, 2018).

Considering all above, waste management in Gili Trawangan will be conceptualized as a social field (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012) which the following questions are then addressed: (1) what was the structure of the waste management field in Gili Trawangan before the crisis? (2) to what extent did the crisis bring about change and continuity in the field?

RESEARCH METHOD

This research is written based on a qualitative method with a case study approach. By applying the field theory as a framework, hence waste management in Gili Trawangan is theorized as a social field. The data for analyzing the internal dynamics in the island's waste management were obtained through direct observation techniques and semi-structured interviews during field a study in April – August 2021. There were 13 informants representing a variety of social groups, including former and current members of waste organization (*Front Masyarakat Peduli Lingkungan/FMPL*), Gili Eco Trust (an environmental NGO based in Gili Trawangan), Gili Trawangan Businessman Association (*Asosiasi Pengusaha Gili Trawangan/APGT*), Sub-Village Government of Trawangan and Local Government of North Lombok. Additional information was collected from the customers of waste service. Due to ethical concerns, the names of key informants in this study are represented by their initials.

To obtain macro-level situation, this study using secondary sources including previous scientific studies, archives

(reports, yearbooks of local and national statistics), online news (local and national), websites local governments and environmental organizations. Hence, the analysis is not limited to the interactions between actors but considers to the many events in Trawangan as well. The data quality was verified by using a triangulation technique in which each informant was validated with the data from other informants (Creswell, 2014). This technique is necessary to find data consistencies and even the possibility of its discrepancies (Berg & Lune, 2012).

To illustrate key actors in the fields, this study uses a network analysis technique with the degree centrality metric. This is the simplest technique to determine who are the influential actors (representing by nodes) in the networks. Its measurement is determined by the connectedness of relationships (representing by edges) exist between the actors (Carrington, 2011). Hence, those who are connected to other individuals or groups are regarded to be dominant actor in the networks. Additionally, the metric modularity is utilized for identifying network grouping (Alamsyah & Ramadhani, 2020), whether they are categorized as incumbents or challengers in the field of waste management. The data is manually inputted and visualized by Gephi software.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

In this section, the description will focus on the trajectory of waste management in Gili Trawangan over a period of time—starting from emergence, development, crisis, to post-crisis—to present in detail and comprehensively how the dynamics of change and continuity of community-based waste organizations in this field.

Table 1. Cash information 'One Gate System' compiled by the Sub-Village Government

Items	IDR/Month	Explanation
Waste management	100.000.000	Wage and operational cost of waste organization.
Education	45.000.000	Teacher salaries and school supplies in Gili Trawangan Elementary - High School.
Security	40.000.000	Wage security task force.
Total collection fee	205.625.000	Collected from 494 sources (from households to large hotel owners).

Source: Sub-Village Government of Trawangan, 2016.

An 'One Gate System': Governing Waste Before Crisis

Before the wave of crisis hit Gili Trawangan in 2017, waste management in this area was institutionally integrated with the Sub-Village Government. The institutional embedded is termed a "one gate system". This was established with the aim of facilitating the collection of environmental management fees which include waste, security and education sector (see table 1). This system was initiated and built collectively among stakeholders including the Gili Trawangan Business Association/APGT (network of local businessman), Gili Eco Trust (environmental non-governmental organization based in Trawangan), Front of the Community Cares for the Environment/FMPL (waste organization), Security Task Force/SATGAS (security organization), Sub-Village and Village Head of Gili Indah. Although under the supervision of the Sub-Village head, this mechanism was carried out informally due to the fact that there were no formal regulations or laws when this system was established.

Waste management was run by the Environmentally Concerned Community Front (FMPL), as the only waste organization at that time. FMPL is an organization with an informal institutional model, because it has not had a legal entity

since the formation of this group in 1998 (Interview with JM, founder of FMPL, May 2021). Furthermore, the emergence of FMPL in the field of waste management was facilitated by a network of local business actors in Gili Trawangan (Interview with CY, FMPL administrator, April 2021). Given the fact that, historically, the role of the state was little in the tourism trajectory of Gili Trawangan, hence the local business actors on this island became the dominant group in Trawangan's social structure (Hampton & Jeyacheya, 2015; Satria et al., 2006). When the state provides little for the community regarding social security, legal certainty to the need for public services, they will then rely more on informal networks (Aspinall & Berenschot, 2019). Accordingly, FMPL operated informally and was relatively autonomous with the state.

Although FMPL is the only waste organization in the field, in practice they are assisted by the presence of the Gili Eco Trust (GET). As an environmental non-governmental organization based in Trawangan since 2003, GET initially concerned on coral reef, but since 2008 the issue of waste has been specifically included in its movement. At the time, this NGO began to build closeness with FMPL by providing advice and input on how to take care of horses, while gradually encouraging them to implement the 3R (reduce-reuse-recycling) principle in waste management

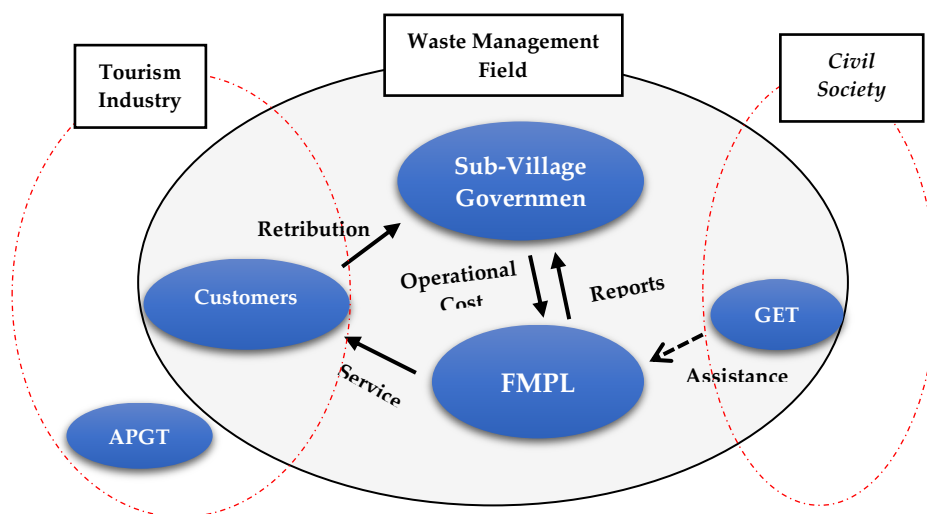


Figure 1. Initial Field of waste management in one gate system phase 2014-2016 (Source: author own compilation).

practices such as waste sorting and recycling (Interview DB, GET member, May 2021). This is an effort to ensure that FMPL is more sustainable in dealing with waste. Previously, when GET was not in the field, FMPL used conventional end-of-pipe methods only. With this regard, GET plays the role of a challenger—though not in the logic of oppositional and open conflict as is often imagined in social movement studies (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012). A challenger in the sense that GET wants to break down the old method and then switch to a more sustainable way, in which waste management is not merely a waste transportation business but also pays attention to environmental concern.

Since being integrated into the one gate system, FMPL's position was under the supervision of the Sub-Village Government. As previously explained, the task of these institutions was to collect fees from business owners and residents as well as provide financial reports monthly; whilst FMPL arrange the required operational budget for the institution (see figure 1). Yet, there are several things, such as the decision on the number of operational costs, service rates, and employee salaries, which remain under

the FMPL's control, instead of the Sub-Village head. The institution merely controls cash inflows and allocations. It was plausible since the head of Sub-Village is the younger brother of the chairman of the FMPL (Interview AK, former of FMPL chairman, April 2021). Given the explanation above, the field of waste management was conditioned by informal social networks, namely family network between its member. The character of informality seems to play a dominant role in configuring actors' position in the field.

The integration between FMPL and Sub-Village government in the one gate system, has a positive impact in the field. Through this system, most of the community—not only households but also entrepreneurs and owners of large hotels for example—were registered. Previously, not all of them paid for waste transportation services by FMPL because they could handle their own waste by throwing it directly around the open waste disposal or burning it in the yard, without the need to depend on the available services (interview AK, Former manager of FMPL, April 2021). However, when the service was under the control of the Sub-Village, most of the local residents were

participated in the scheme (Interview SL, Former of Sub-Village apparatus, August 2021). Since it was formed collectively by stakeholders in Trawangan, there was a social contract between them even though the system was not framed by existing formal regulation. Moreover, Sub-Village is a legitimate institution in the local community either to carry out task for services that are in resonant with the public interest, including waste services. The position of the sub-village becomes the third party that oversees how the system functions well. Referring to the typology of actors from Fligstein and McAdam (2012), the Sub-Village became an internal governance unit (IGU) whose function was to ensure stability and order in the field (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012).

Exogeneous Shock and Onset of Contention: Waste Crisis (2017)

The one gate system—in which FMPL was integrated—only last two years (between 2014–2016) since it was institutionally fragile. Seeing the fact that the collecting fees mechanism was not based on clear legal or formal regulations as well, thus it was considered corruption. In February 2017, the team of *Saber Pungli (Sapu Bersih Pungutan Liar)* of West Nusa Tenggara Province then conducted a sting operation (OTT) on the leader of the sub-village government of Trawangan island (Radar Lombok, 2017). The operation was a response to complaints received to the Extortion Eradication Units headquarters office (UPP). Due to FMPL was supervised by the sub-village, the internal management was involved as witnesses in the case, while the head of the sub-village and his apparatus were the suspects.

It is clear that this incident is the effect of weak state intervention which neglects to provide formal regulations, especially with

regard to the mechanism of retribution collection, business taxes, and operational permits on this island. In fact, in its implementation in the Trawangan community, the one gate system did not encounter resistance from them because its initiation was carried out on the basis of a collective interest in the need for public services. But, as the state began to intervene, the system that had been built and implemented effectively had to be broken.

“This system was built by agreement. Our management is transparent and monthly reports are also available as well. If we look for a regulatory framework it will take a long time. If there is no one, it could take 2-3 years, the process is long while the waste problem is urgent. We need a quick solution. So, we work first, hopefully that later the district government can accommodate our system. We think that this system is not much different from managing residential areas where security and waste transportation are not managed separately and are handled by the residents themselves informally. When there is a mutual agreement among the residents, it is enough. We believed that logically was correct, but it wasn't.” (LM interview, Former Head of Sub-Village, in August 2021).

The sub-village head has committed maladministration for using institutional receipts for commercial purposes and thus was found guilty by the court (Interview with BL, former FMPL secretary, April 2021). Despite the institution engaged in maladministration, they were not proved to committed corruption since the apparatuses could prove the consistency of the budget allocation. In the other hand, the FMPL management actively participated in the process and defended the sub-village head

whom they believed was not guilty. The chairman of FMPL personally denied that sub-village head, that is also his brother, was solely responsible for that since the sub-village has accommodated the people's aspirations for a one gate system (Interview AK, Ex-Chairman of FMPL, April 2021). Instead, they consider this case more of a political issue where actors from outside Gili Trawangan suddenly challenge the system that has been collectively agreed upon the local stakeholders.

"We think the main problem is not in the system, we are all sure about that. Business owners and local residents are helped by this system because it is more efficient. It was proven that during 2014-2016 there were no problems and complaints related to this system. But this is more a political issue, a money issue. We saw that the sting operation report was written by a police officer, but we don't know for sure who it was. According to our guess, he wants to manage what we (the sub-village) control. Seeing the fact that the circulation of money is large under the system, while the legal framework does not exist, there is a gap to be disputed. Money is a sensitive issue." (Interview SL, Former secretary of Sub-Village, in August 2021).

During this period, the FMPL operating license is deactivated. Since FMPL was the island's sole waste organization, the deactivation completely stopped the island's waste transportation for a while. Afterward, the waste crisis is unavoidable (CNN Indonesia, 2017). At the time, Trawangan Island generates roughly 11.8 tons of garbage with the majority (70 percent) is generated by the tourism industry (Sekito, Dote, et al., 2019). This is quite reasonable considering that in 2017

tourism development on Gili Trawangan was growing rapidly, with an estimated 490 businesses (including hotels, bungalows, restaurants, and bars) and approximately 2500 residents live on the island (Partelow & Nelson, 2018). For local businesses, the waste crisis had a detrimental impact because it prevents them from doing business as usual in the tourism sector. Many visitors were uncomfortable because of the smell of garbage.

The sting operation played, according to Fligstein and McAdam (2012), as an exogenous shock that brings about instability to the waste management field. As the consequence, the old incumbent actor lost its control and legitimacy which in turn triggered a crisis because the field was unorganized. In addition, the crisis in the field of waste management has shaken the tourism field as a proximate field. Therefore, the interconnection between the two field demonstrates how the field is neither isolated in a vacuum nor operates relatively autonomous from other (Fligstein, 2013; Fligstein & McAdam, 2012). The waste crisis became an urgent priority because it has a negative impact on the tourism industry.

Suddenly, a local businessman, who is also the chairman of Gili Trawangan Businessman Association (APGT), attempted to deal with the crisis considering that the core members of FMPL left the organization in the midst of a crisis empty. Furthermore, the businessman's initiative was received support from FMPL founders. Since the founder and the businessman are family, a coalition between the two is possible. Afterward, the businessman took over control of FMPL, and to be transformed into a formal business entity called PT Sama-Sama 3 Gili. The strategic actions of actors from the tourism field to invade the waste management field could be possible by family social networks. This

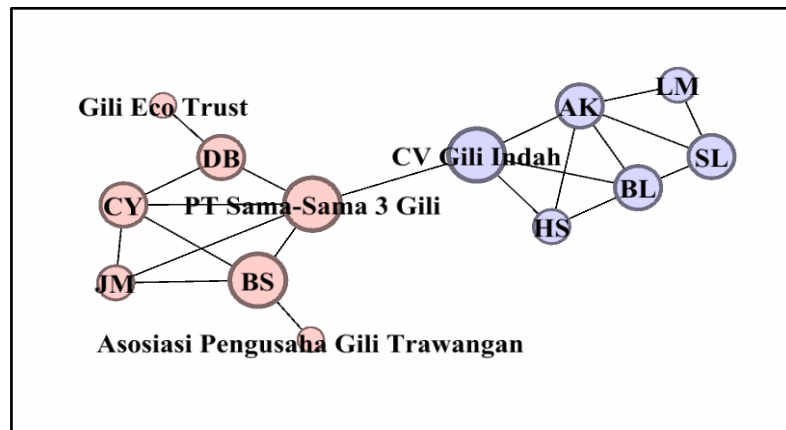


Figure 2. Networks of actor in field (Source: process by software gephi 0.9.2 version)

Note: key figures and organizations in the field of waste management. Average distance between nodes=3.1. The new incumbents in red, while the former management of waste organization in blue (sizes of nodes reflects number of degrees of connection).

finding is in line with a study from Fuch and Hinderer (2016) which revealed that family members could emerge as valuable social capital in fields, even if they are geographically limited (Fuchs & Hinderer, 2016). In the context of Gili Trawangan, the position of the FMPL founder plays an important role as alliance brokerage for cross-field actors.

However, the takeover triggered the onset of contention in the field. The previous FMPL management, or the old incumbents, tried to maintain their position through the establishment of CV Gili Indah as a “counter waste organization” in the field. It reveals that the contestation does not occur between incumbent and challenger, but rather among the dominant groups themselves: a contest for positioning between local business actors (PT Sama-Sama 3 Gili vs. CV Gili Indah). Yet, GET as a challenger secured its position through a coalition with PT Sama-Sama 3 Gili, instead of openly challenging and destroying the existing field order (see figure 2). It occurs due to the fact that the GET members is not Indonesian citizen. In other words, it become a cultural and structural obstacle of GET to taking over the organization even

though they have potential capacity, considering its position as a sole environmental NGO on the island. Hence the movement strategy needs to build a coalition with one of the dominant groups in the field. Important positions such as chairman of the institution, structurally, must be occupied by Indonesian citizens or local people. Therefore, local people continue to occupy a dominant position in the social structure of Gili Trawangan community, while foreigners or expatriates will forever be considered guests on this island (DB Interview, May 2021).

Ever since, there has been a price war between the waste organizations. Waste management becomes a battle field afterward, where it was a site for these actors to compete with each other for business (economic) and existential (social) interests. In this context, the customer becomes resources that is stake by them in order to secure their position in the field. But CV Gili Indah no longer exists since an earthquake with a magnitude of 7.0 shocked Lombok Island in 2018. Conversely, PT Sama-Sama 3 Gili still existed. This organization survives because of its social network with business groups and NGOs.

Since FMPL was transformed into PT Sama-Sama 3 Gili by the new actor incumbent, this organization has a close relationship with the network of business actors considering that its director is also the chairman of APGT. In addition, the organization also has a close relationship with GET because the social interaction between the two has been built historically. Accordingly, from the social network, PT Sama-Sama 3 Gili can afford moral support, funding sources, and others. This explains why the PT position is superior to the CV in the field. Afterward, PT Sama-Sama 3 Gili became the only waste organization in Trawangan. Until 2018, the name was changed back to using FMPL, carried out through an MOU agreement with the north lombok government (BS Interview, FMPL management, April 2021).

According to Fligstein and McAdam (2012), there are actors in the field who can be seen as more dominant (incumbents) and less-dominant (challengers), as well as internal governance units. However, in the case of Gili Trawangan, the contest for positioning occurs between the dominant groups itself, that is among actors from local business networks. GET as a challenger, that its members are expatriates, takes a more secure position by coalition with one of the dominant groups, considering that there are cultural and structural barriers that unable their mobility to challenge the dominant group. In other words, it is not always that the relationship between the dominant and the less dominant groups is in a situation of direct conflict, oppositional logic as is often described in social movements studies.

Change and Continuity in Waste Management Field: Post Crisis

From the crisis in 2017, at least three changes were identified in the waste management field: First, mechanization of waste equipment. The waste crisis creates chaos on this island thus a quick solution is

needed to deal with this problem. Hence, through the CSR (Corporate Social Responsibility) scheme, Bank Mandiri donated cars and motorbikes to support waste transportation in Gili Trawangan. Initially, there has been a custom regulation (locally known as *awig-awig*) that prohibits any kind of motorized vehicles, but the local community made a compromise considering the state of emergency. Simultaneously, this creates institutional changes and marks the modernization of the island's waste management.

Second, the implementation of waste management, including operational permits and fee collection mechanisms, is regulated in North Lombok Regency Regional Regulation (PERDA) Number 3 of 2018 concerning waste management. Through this regulation, the supervision and control of waste management were under the authority of the agency of environment belong to the district government of North Lombok. The position of the Sub-Village, which previously controlled the governance unit, was later deactivated and in turn replaced by the local state (**see figure 3.**). In addition, the district government of North Lombok has the authority to collect taxes from waste organizations in the region. In turn, it has an impact on the waste organization to increase the tariff for waste fees to customers (Interview CY, FMPL management, April 2021). Accordingly, it seems that the local state intervention burdens the operational costs of waste management in Trawangan. The third, organizational restructuring. When the field was uncertain and unorganized during the waste crisis, actors from the entrepreneur group (APGT) took control of FMPL and restructuring it to become PT Sama-Sama 3 Gili—from an informal to a

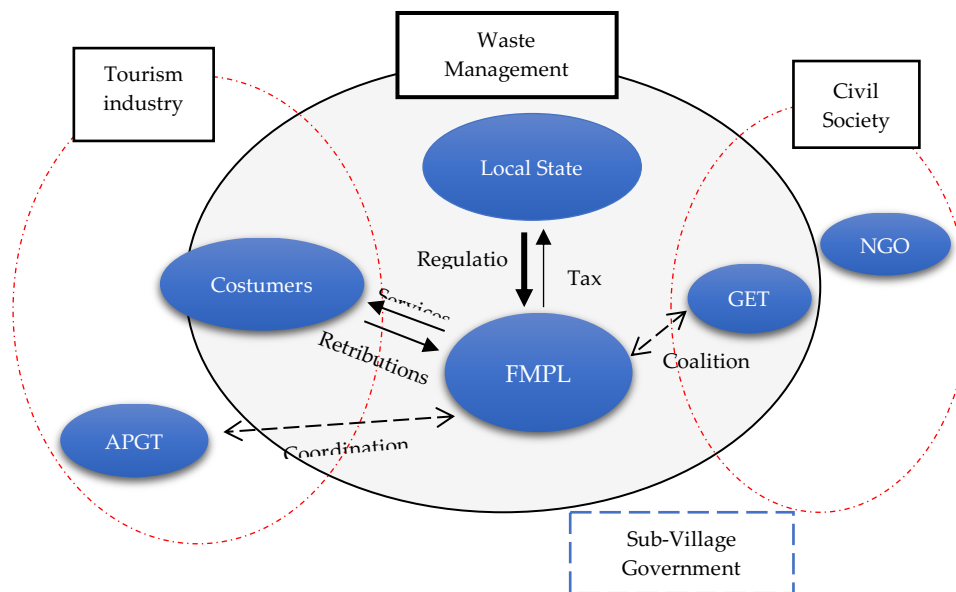


Figure 1. Field order after crisis (source: author own compilation).

formal business entity—to comply with regulations in order to avoid sting operations or any other operation that potentially destabilized the waste management. Substantially there are no significant changes, other than the institutional status and organizational structure.

The things that remained stable before and after the crisis were, first, GET's position in the waste management field. GET's position remains 'behind the scenes' and they play a role as challengers to balance the dominance of business interests. In this context, GET encourages FMPL cooperatively to lead waste management practices more sustainable or more concerned with the environmental aspects. Second, the character of social relations in the field. Although there is a shift in the position of actors in the field, this does not change the pattern of social relations that determine the field of waste management, namely informal social networks. Finally, what has not changed from the crisis is the background of actors who occupy strategic positions in the field which is still dominated by the network of local business

actors Gili Trawangan. FMPL administrators who fill structural positions, and appear in public are from local people of the Trawangan community. Therefore, the subordination of the position of NGOs, the solidity of informal social relations, and the dominance of local business groups are remained unchanged even before and after the crisis shock the order of the waste management field in 2017.

CONCLUSION

From the whole discussion above, it can be concluded that the waste crisis in 2017 reveals a socio-political dynamic between actors in waste management. Through the intervention of the state as an external force, the sting operation created a small wave for the island's waste management field. Yet, it is undeniable that the crisis caused temporary instability in the field, and simultaneously became a catalyst that led to change; although some things remained unchanged as well.

On the one hand, there are several changes brought about by the crisis: 1) mechanization of waste management facilities from traditional to modern; 2)

implementation of regional regulations and changes in the position of the governance unit; 3) organizational restructuring from informal to formal business entities. On the other hand, despite the restructuring occurred, the informal networks that conditioning social relation in the field remains unchanged. Sociologically, it did not rupture the configuration of the existing social structure, where local business actors remained the dominant group in the Gili Trawangan. Therefore, the shocks caused by the crisis merely gave a little wave to the waste management field.

In addition, this study proposes practical recommendations for policymakers regarding waste management issues in Indonesia. The government needs to pay attention to waste management organizations that exist in various social contexts—not only concentrated in urban areas but also tourist areas and small islands, or a combination of them, such as in Gili Trawangan. In this case, the government needs to intervene actively by creating a formal legal framework that is conducive to the work of a waste organization—which has often operated informally in the community—in order to be in compliance with the rules of the game by the state. Learning from the case in Trawangan, at least this effort needs to be achieved as a preventive measure hence the case of a waste crisis like on the Trawangan island does not occur in other places.

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