

Negotiating Heritage Value in Urban Kampung Tourism: A Qualitative Study of Participatory Governance and Stakeholder Communication in Surabaya-Indonesia

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ABSTRACT: Background: Urban heritage tourism raises fundamental questions about how communities participate in the governance of culturally significant sites and how social sustainability is negotiated among diverse stakeholders. In Indonesia, kampung-based heritage areas present distinctive challenges because governance is shaped by informal social networks, musyawarah (deliberative consultation), gotong royong (mutual cooperation), and uneven institutional capacity rather than by formalized management structures alone. Participatory governance theory suggests that inclusive, multi-stakeholder engagement strengthens sustainability outcomes, yet few empirical studies have examined how such participation operates in resource-constrained Indonesian urban heritage settings. Drawing on UNESCO's strategic communication framework for heritage tourism and

informed by participatory development and stakeholder collaboration theories, this study investigates community engagement processes in Kampung Peneleh, Surabaya, an area comprising multiple historically significant nodes managed through fragmented institutional arrangements. The primary objective is to examine how heritage value is collectively articulated, how different community and visitor groups are engaged, and how conservation and development goals are negotiated in a kampung-based heritage setting.

Methods: A qualitative research design was employed, based on semi-structured in-depth interviews with ten participants comprising five heritage site organizers and five visitors. Data were collected between July and October 2025 in Kampung Peneleh, Surabaya, and analyzed through thematic analysis following Braun and Clarke's six-phase procedure. The analysis combined deductive coding derived from UNESCO's communication dimensions with inductive coding emerging from field data.

Findings: Four interconnected findings emerged. First, heritage value articulation remained fragmented across sites, reflecting a deficit in participatory meaning-making. Second, stakeholder coordination was dominated by informal, relationship-based networks, particularly WhatsApp-mediated exchanges and musyawarah practices, which supported flexibility but also generated exclusion and uneven participation. Third, organizers demonstrated limited capacity for differentiating among visitor and community groups, resulting in undifferentiated engagement despite the presence of distinct domestic, international, educational, pilgrimage, and local audiences. Fourth, preservation-oriented discourse was substantially stronger than communication about community economic benefits, creating tension between conservation success and inclusive local development. These findings indicate that the UNESCO framework remains analytically useful but cannot be applied mechanically in resource-constrained kampung contexts.

Conclusion: Effective heritage tourism governance in urban kampung settings requires culturally adapted participatory mechanisms, including staged capacity building, hybrid formal-informal coordination, and transparent linkage between conservation work and community benefit. International frameworks are most productive when translated into locally resonant practices rather than adopted as fixed managerial templates.

Novelty/Originality of this article: This article contributes an empirically grounded community engagement perspective to Indonesian heritage tourism scholarship by

demonstrating how UNESCO's strategic communication framework must be contextualized for high-context, informal, and resource-limited urban kampung settings. It also offers a staged participatory adaptation pathway for heritage stakeholders seeking to improve coordination, narrative coherence, and sustainable tourism outcomes.

Keywords: *community engagement; heritage tourism; participatory governance; Surabaya; urban heritage.*

1. Introduction

The governance of culturally significant sites in urban areas lies at the intersection of cultural preservation, community empowerment, participatory development, and sustainable tourism management. In contexts where heritage tourism is embedded within living neighborhoods, the question of who participates in decisions about heritage interpretation, resource allocation, and tourism development becomes a matter of social justice as much as managerial efficiency. Although urban heritage tourism has been widely studied from economic, conservation, and destination-management perspectives (Timothy, 2011; Bandarin & van Oers, 2012), community engagement and participatory governance in heritage settings remain underexamined, particularly in the Global South (Su et al., 2023; Giampiccoli & Mtapuri, 2021).

Participatory governance theory, rooted in democratic engagement and stakeholder inclusion, posits that sustainability outcomes are strengthened when affected communities are meaningfully involved in decision-making processes (Arnstein, 1969; Reed, 2008). In the context of heritage tourism, this means that the long-term viability of a heritage destination depends not only on physical preservation or visitor numbers, but also on how historical meanings are collectively negotiated, how stakeholders coordinate action, and how a shared narrative is built and communicated to different publics. Stakeholder collaboration theory further emphasizes that effective governance requires the recognition and balancing of multiple, often competing interests among actors with different levels of power, resources, and voice (Freeman, 1984; Aas et al., 2005; Waligo et al., 2013).

In the Indonesian context, community engagement in heritage governance takes distinctive forms shaped by culturally embedded practices. Musyawarah, a deliberative consultation process rooted in Javanese and broader Indonesian cultural norms, functions as a

mechanism for building consensus through dialogue rather than majority voting. Gotong royong, the practice of mutual cooperation and collective labor, provides a social infrastructure through which community-level initiatives are organized and sustained (Bowen, 1986; Koentjaraningrat, 1985). These practices represent indigenous forms of participatory governance that both complement and complicate the application of internationally developed management frameworks. Recent scholarship on community-based tourism in Indonesia has highlighted the importance of recognizing these local governance traditions rather than imposing external institutional models (Purwanto et al., 2023; Scheyvens & Biddulph, 2018).

Kampung Wisata Peneleh in Surabaya offers a compelling case for examining these dynamics. As a colonial-era neighborhood associated with the Indonesian independence movement, the area includes multiple heritage nodes, such as the Soekarno House, H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto House, Lodji Besar Café, the European graveyard, and a local heritage bookstore. These nodes are historically connected yet institutionally fragmented. They involve government actors, community organizers, local residents, small business operators, and visitors, each of whom may prioritize different interpretations of heritage and different expectations regarding tourism development. The kampung setting means that heritage governance is inseparable from everyday residential life, making community participation not merely desirable but structurally necessary for sustainable outcomes (Damayanti & Handinoto, 2005; Setijanti et al., 2015).

To analyze these community engagement processes, this study employs UNESCO's strategic communication framework for heritage tourism (UNESCO, 2011) as an analytical lens. The framework emphasizes four key dimensions: articulating heritage value, understanding visitor markets, integrating conservation and tourism objectives, and promoting collaborative stakeholder governance. In principle, the framework is useful because it connects communication directly to sustainable management. Clear value articulation can help visitors understand why a site matters; visitor segmentation can support more appropriate engagement strategies; integration of conservation and development can prevent purely promotional communication; and collaboration can strengthen legitimacy and coordination (Hall & McArthur, 1998; Harrison, 2013). At the same time, international frameworks cannot be transferred uncritically into Indonesian

kampung settings where heritage governance is shaped by informal communication, dense social networks, and uneven institutional capacity (Wijesuriya, 2015).

Theoretically, this article is informed by scholarship on participatory governance in heritage contexts, stakeholder collaboration, and heritage as a socially constructed process. Urban heritage tourism is not merely about conserving buildings; it is also about managing layered cultural landscapes and the social meanings attached to them (Smith, 2006; Waterton & Watson, 2015). Heritage destinations are shaped by competing value claims, power relations, and selective narratives that privilege some actors and memories over others (Aas et al., 2005; Chhabra et al., 2003). The concept of dissonant heritage, introduced by Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996), is particularly relevant to Kampung Peneleh, where colonial-era architecture, nationalist memory, and everyday kampung life coexist in ways that generate interpretive tensions among different stakeholder groups. In Southeast Asian contexts, such tensions are further complicated by colonial legacies, postcolonial identity formation, and rapid urban transformation (Henderson, 2009; Winter, 2007). Recent studies demonstrate that strategic communication in sustainable tourism has shifted from one-way promotion toward dialogue, participation, and collaborative governance (Jamal & Stronza, 2009; Kim et al., 2023; Nunkoo, 2017). This shift is especially relevant in heritage destinations where residents are not only stakeholders but also heritage-bearers whose daily practices and local knowledge contribute to the meaning of place. Moreover, digital media have expanded possibilities for interpretation, co-creation, and visitor engagement, while also reproducing inequalities when certain groups have stronger digital access and communicative visibility than others (Bareither, 2021; Gretzel et al., 2015; Io, 2023).

Against this background, Kampung Peneleh is analytically valuable because it brings together multiple heritage narratives, fragmented institutions, informal governance arrangements, and active grassroots tourism initiatives within one dense urban neighborhood. The case therefore makes visible the distance between a globally circulating heritage communication framework and the realities of participatory governance in a kampung-based environment. Previous research has explained the general applicability of UNESCO's framework for heritage site management across diverse international contexts (Hall & McArthur, 1998; Harrison, 2013). However, this research is limited to formalized

heritage destinations with established institutional structures and does not account for the informal, high-context, and resource-constrained conditions characteristic of Indonesian kampung settings. Indeed, this research intends to address this gap by providing an empirical account of community engagement in an Indonesian urban heritage context, refining UNESCO's framework for participatory and resource-constrained environments, and developing practical recommendations for staged implementation.

A critical dimension of community engagement in heritage tourism is the question of whose voices are included in the process of heritage interpretation. Authorized heritage discourse, as theorized by Smith (2006), tends to privilege expert and institutional narratives while marginalizing the perspectives of local communities who live within and alongside heritage sites. In kampung contexts, this dynamic is compounded by the fact that heritage governance often intersects with everyday residential governance, meaning that decisions about tourism development directly affect the living conditions, economic opportunities, and cultural identities of resident communities (Setijanti et al., 2015). The concept of social license for tourism, as articulated by Nunkoo (2017), suggests that community support for tourism depends on perceptions of fairness, transparency, and tangible benefit. When these conditions are absent, even well-intentioned heritage conservation efforts may face community resistance or passive disengagement. This theoretical insight is particularly relevant to the Kampung Peneleh context, where the relationship between conservation success and community well-being remains unresolved.

Furthermore, the role of digital media in heritage governance deserves attention. Social media platforms such as Instagram and WhatsApp have become significant channels through which heritage narratives are constructed, contested, and circulated among both organizers and visitors (Io, 2023; Bareither, 2021). In Indonesian kampung settings, WhatsApp functions not only as a social communication tool but as an informal governance infrastructure through which coordination, information-sharing, and collective decision-making occur (Gretzel et al., 2015). The digitalization of heritage communication creates both opportunities for more inclusive participation and risks of reproducing existing inequalities when access to digital platforms is unevenly distributed among community members. Understanding how these digital dynamics shape participatory governance in heritage tourism is therefore an important dimension of the present study.

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Accordingly, two research questions are addressed: (1) How do heritage tourism stakeholders in Kampung Peneleh articulate and negotiate heritage value across diverse community and visitor audiences? and (2) What participatory processes facilitate or inhibit collaborative decision-making among these stakeholders?

2. Methods

A qualitative research design was employed to examine community engagement and participatory governance processes in Kampung Peneleh's heritage tourism setting. A qualitative approach was selected because the research focuses on meaning-making, coordination practices, interpretive differences, and everyday participatory processes that cannot be adequately captured through standardized measurement alone (Creswell & Poth, 2018). Kampung Peneleh was chosen as the research site because it constitutes a historically significant yet organizationally fragmented urban heritage area in Surabaya, making it suitable for examining the practical adaptation of UNESCO's strategic communication framework in a kampung context characterized by informal governance and community-based management.

Data was collected between July and October 2025 through semi-structured in-depth interviews. Ten participants were selected purposively to represent two key stakeholder groups. The first group consisted of five organizers directly involved in heritage site management and community engagement: the manager of Lodji Besar Café (coded as O1), the curator of the Soekarno House Museum (O2), the administrator of the European graveyard (O3), the manager of the H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto House Museum (O4), and the owner of a local heritage bookstore (O5). These participants were chosen because they function as central communicative actors in the area's heritage presentation and inter-site coordination. The second group consisted of five visitors recruited through on-site sampling on different days and at different times to capture variation in visitor experiences: a domestic young adult tourist (V1), an international history-focused visitor (V2), a university student on an educational visit (V3), a pilgrimage-oriented visitor (V4), and a local neighborhood resident who visits heritage sites casually (V5).

The interview guides were developed from UNESCO's communication dimensions while remaining open to emergent themes related to community participation and governance. Organizer interviews explored four areas: the articulation of heritage values, perceptions of visitors and community groups, efforts to integrate conservation with tourism and community development goals, and participation in formal or informal collaboration mechanisms. Visitor interviews addressed how site narratives were interpreted, how coordination among heritage sites was perceived, whether sustainability efforts and community benefits were visible, and how community engagement could be improved. All interviews were conducted face-to-face in Bahasa Indonesia or English depending on participant preference, audio-recorded with participant consent, and supplemented by field notes concerning context, nonverbal cues, and researcher reflexivity.

The sample size was designed for analytic depth rather than statistical representativeness. Saturation was assessed iteratively during data collection when subsequent interviews no longer produced materially new thematic codes relevant to the research questions. To strengthen trustworthiness, the study employed reflexive note-taking, team discussion during analysis, and limited triangulation with field observations and local tourism communication materials, including signage, social media accounts, and printed brochures collected at each site.

Data analysis followed Braun and Clarke's (2006) thematic analysis procedure. The first stage involved familiarization through repeated reading of interview transcripts. The second stage generated initial codes, combining deductive coding based on UNESCO's framework dimensions and participatory governance concepts with inductive coding derived from field patterns. The third and fourth stages involved searching for, reviewing, and refining broader themes across the dataset. The fifth stage named and defined the themes in relation to the research questions, and the sixth stage developed the final analytic narrative. This procedure enabled the identification of both areas of alignment with UNESCO's framework and contextual divergences rooted in local participatory practices, informal governance, and uneven institutional capacity.

The deductive coding framework was organized around four primary dimensions derived from UNESCO's strategic communication framework: heritage value articulation, visitor market understanding, integration of conservation and tourism objectives, and collaborative stakeholder governance. These dimensions were supplemented with codes drawn from participatory governance literature, including community voice, inclusion and exclusion dynamics, transparency of decision-making, and distribution of benefits. Inductive codes that emerged during analysis included digital coordination practices, musyawarah-based consensus building, narrative fragmentation, and preservation-development tension. The combination of deductive and inductive approaches enabled the study to assess the applicability of international frameworks while remaining sensitive to locally distinctive governance patterns.

To ensure analytical rigor, several validation strategies were employed. First, all interviews were transcribed verbatim and checked against audio recordings for accuracy. Second, the coding process was conducted independently by the first author and reviewed by the second and third authors, with discrepancies resolved through team discussion. Third, preliminary findings were presented at a departmental research seminar at Universitas Pembangunan Nasional Veteran Jawa Timur to solicit peer feedback. Fourth, thick descriptions of participant accounts, including direct quotations, were used in the reporting of findings to maintain transparency and allow readers to assess the credibility of interpretive claims (Creswell & Poth, 2018).

3. Results and Discussion

3.1 *Fragmented heritage value articulation as a participatory deficit*

Analysis of the interviews revealed that heritage value articulation in Kampung Peneleh remains fragmented across sites, reflecting a fundamental deficit in participatory meaning-making among community actors. Eight of the ten participants explicitly described narrative inconsistency, while two participants viewed plurality as a potentially productive feature rather than a problem. The dominant pattern, however, was one of interpretive fragmentation rather than coordinated pluralism.

Different organizers emphasized different historical frames depending on their institutional affiliations and personal convictions. The Soekarno House foregrounded nationalist memory and the story of political awakening, whereas the European graveyard relied on minimal explanation and allowed visitors to interpret the site largely on their own. Lodji Besar Café mobilized a nostalgic colonial atmosphere, while the bookstore owner attempted to connect the various heritage nodes through informal walking tours. As organizer O5 explained: “I try to tell visitors that all these places are connected, that Peneleh is one story, not five separate museums. But each place has its own management, its own way of talking about history, so the message does not come together.” These approaches did not converge into a common interpretive framework for Kampung Peneleh as a whole, and no participatory process existed through which organizers could collectively negotiate a shared yet pluralistic narrative.

Visitors repeatedly described uncertainty about what bound the area together. Some were unclear whether the destination should be understood primarily through colonial history, Indonesian nationalism, urban memory, or architectural appreciation. Visitor V2, an international tourist, noted: “I visited three sites in one afternoon, and each one gave me a completely different impression. Nobody explained how they relate to each other. I had to figure it out on my own.” Educational visitor V3 similarly observed: “For our campus assignment, we needed a coherent story about Peneleh’s historical significance, but what we found was disconnected fragments. There was no guide, no map, no unified explanation.” This experience illustrates what Smith (2006) describes as the coexistence of competing heritage discourses. The problem is not simply diversity of meaning, but the

absence of participatory communication mechanisms through which different narratives can be negotiated and linked by community actors themselves.

The same fragmentation was visible in written and digital communication. Social media accounts, signage, and promotional materials operated separately and inconsistently. Local resident V5 commented: “We who live here know the history, but we are never asked what we think the kampung means. The stories are told by outsiders or by the museum people, not by us.” This observation underscores a participation gap: residents as heritage-bearers are excluded from the interpretive process. Compared with more formally curated heritage zones, visitors experienced Kampung Peneleh as a place where they had to assemble meaning independently. From both a UNESCO and a participatory governance perspective, this condition indicates that value articulation has not yet reached the level of an inclusive, destination-wide communication strategy grounded in community engagement (Waterton & Watson, 2015; Su et al., 2023).

3.2 Informal governance networks: musyawarah, gotong royong, and the limits of inclusion

The second major finding concerns the governance structures through which stakeholders coordinate heritage tourism activities. In practice, stakeholder coordination in Kampung Peneleh was dominated by informal networks rather than formal governance mechanisms. Organizers described day-to-day coordination as occurring primarily through WhatsApp messages, personal relationships, ad hoc conversations, and musyawarah-style consultation. Formal meetings with government offices existed, but they were occasional and did not function as the primary channel for operational collaboration.

This informality had mixed consequences for community engagement. On the one hand, it enabled speed, flexibility, and culturally resonant consensus building that reflects the strengths of musyawarah-based governance. Organizer O1 explained: “When there is a tour group coming, I just send a WhatsApp message to the other site managers. We do not need a formal letter or a meeting. It works because we know each other, we trust each other.” Organizer O4 added: “Musyawarah is how we have always done things in the kampung. We sit together, we talk, we reach agreement. It is not bureaucratic, but it works for our situation.” These accounts illustrate how indigenous participatory practices, specifically musyawarah and the relational networks of gotong royong, function as

governance infrastructure in the absence of formal institutional coordination (Bowen, 1986; Purwanto et al., 2023).

On the other hand, this informality produced uneven access to information and decision-making, revealing the limits of participation without structural safeguards. Smaller actors, independent entrepreneurs, and less well-connected community members could be excluded from key conversations or only receive information after decisions had effectively been made. Organizer O3 noted: “Sometimes I only hear about plans when they are already decided. The big sites like Soekarno House, they have more connections to the government, to the tourism office. For us at the graveyard, we are at the edge.” Visitor V5, a local resident, similarly observed: “There is no community meeting where all of us in the kampung can say what we want from this tourism. The decisions are made by the people who manage the heritage sites, not by the people who live here.” This finding resonates with critiques of informal governance in community-based tourism, where relational proximity can substitute for genuine democratic participation (Nunkoo, 2017; Reed, 2008).

Visitors perceived the effects of this fragmented coordination in practical ways, such as inconsistent opening hours, lack of bundled ticketing, limited cross-site information, and weak destination-level planning. Visitor V1 remarked: “I came on a weekend expecting everything to be open, but half the sites were closed. There is no shared schedule anywhere.” Visitor V3, the educational visitor, described a specific coordination failure: “Our professor contacted one site to arrange a group visit, but they could not coordinate with the other sites for the same day. Each site operates independently, so we had to negotiate separately with each one, which was very time-consuming.” International visitor V2 also noted the absence of cross-site coordination: “In other heritage areas I have visited, there is usually a central information point or a combined ticket. Here, each place is an island.”

The governance implications of this coordination pattern extend beyond operational inconvenience. When information flows primarily through established relational networks, those who are not part of these networks are structurally excluded from participation in heritage governance. This pattern is consistent with what Arnstein (1969) describes as tokenistic participation, where the formal appearance of consultation masks the concentration of actual decision-making power among a small number of connected actors.

In the Kampung Peneleh context, the challenge is not to replace musyawarah-based deliberation with formal bureaucratic procedures, but rather to expand the circle of participation to include actors currently at the margins, including neighborhood residents, small business operators, and seasonal workers who contribute to the kampung's social fabric but are excluded from governance conversations.

Thus, informal governance cannot simply be treated as either a deficit or a strength. It is simultaneously a source of adaptive coordination and a mechanism through which inequality and opacity can be reproduced. This finding suggests that collaborative governance in kampung heritage tourism should not aim to eliminate informality, but rather to develop hybrid structures that retain relational flexibility while improving inclusion, documentation, and accountability (Kim et al., 2023; Waligo et al., 2013).

3.3 Limited cross-sectoral engagement and undifferentiated community participation

The third finding was the limited capacity of organizers to identify and engage differentiated visitors and community groups. Most sites did not maintain systematic visitor data, and segmentation decisions were largely based on anecdotal observation. As a result, engagement practices tended to default to generic guided tours, undifferentiated storytelling, and general-purpose promotional content. Organizer O2 acknowledged: "We treat everyone the same. A school group gets the same tour as a foreign tourist or a local family. We know they need different things, but we do not have the tools or the training to do it differently."

Interview data nonetheless revealed distinct audience segments with differentiated engagement needs. Domestic young adult visitors (represented by V1) often sought short, visually attractive experiences combined with nationalist narrative cues. International visitors (V2) required more contextual explanation about Dutch colonialism, Indonesian independence, and the significance of the neighborhood within broader historical processes. Educational groups (V3) needed curriculum-relevant content, structured timing, and learning-oriented interpretation. Pilgrimage-oriented visitors (V4) expected respectful framing of national figures and etiquette information. Local residents and neighborhood visitors (V5) were more concerned with social use, community benefit, and accessible events than with formal heritage consumption. As presented in Table 1, these segments

reveal substantially differentiated communication needs and program implications that are not currently addressed by organizers' undifferentiated approach.

Because organizers lacked segmentation tools and resources, a single communication format was applied across very different audiences. This mismatch weakened interpretive effectiveness and reduced opportunities for more meaningful engagement. Visitor V4, the pilgrimage-oriented visitor, illustrated this gap: "I came to Peneleh because of Soekarno and Tjokroaminoto, figures who are important to my faith and my sense of national identity. But the tour I received was the same general history talk that everyone gets. There was nothing about the spiritual dimension, nothing about what these figures mean as moral leaders." Similarly, visitor V1, a domestic young adult, noted: "I wanted something quick and visual that I could share on my social media, but the tour was like a long lecture. It was interesting, but it was not designed for someone like me."

The issue is not simply missing marketing sophistication; it represents the absence of audience-sensitive participatory design in which different community and visitor groups are recognized as distinct stakeholders with legitimate but varying needs. UNESCO's emphasis on understanding visitor markets remains relevant here, but the Peneleh case demonstrates that even basic segmentation requires prior investment in data collection, staff training, and simplified service design (Io, 2023; Mijnheer & Gamble, 2019). The absence of systematic data collection also means that organizers lack evidence to advocate for resources or policy support from municipal government, perpetuating a cycle of under-investment in community-based heritage management.

Moreover, the local resident segment is particularly significant from a community engagement perspective. Unlike visitors who arrive, consume heritage experiences, and depart, residents are simultaneously heritage-bearers, everyday users of kampung space, and the community whose well-being should be central to sustainable tourism outcomes. Resident V5 expressed this perspective: "We are not tourists in our own kampung. We live here. What we need is not a tour but a voice—a way to say what tourism should look like in our neighborhood." This observation underscores the importance of recognizing local residents not merely as passive beneficiaries or obstacles to tourism development, but as active participants in heritage governance with legitimate knowledge and interests (Su et al., 2023; Scheyvens & Biddulph, 2018).

Table 1. Visitor and community segmentation: engagement needs and program implications.

Segment	Key Engagement Needs	Program/Service Implications
Domestic (Gen Z/Young Adults)	Instagrammable spots, short captions, nationalist narratives, Bahasa Indonesia framing	Visual-first content, clearer wayfinding, integrated packages with food and beverage offers
International (History-focused)	Context on colonialism and independence, English interpretation, mapped routes	Longer interpretive panels, English guides or audio guides, coherent route information
School/Educational Groups	Curriculum-aligned explanations, pre-visit and post-visit tasks, coordinated schedules	Educator guide, timetabled visits, booking coordination across sites
Pilgrimage Visitors	Respectful framing of national figures, etiquette information, quiet reflective spaces	Quiet-hour planning, prayer-space information, heritage-faith linkage materials
Local Residents	Event information, volunteering opportunities, clear community benefit communication	Discount passes, co-creation programs, resident feedback mechanisms, transparent benefit reporting

Source: Primary data (interviews, July–October 2025)

3.4 Conservation-development tensions and social justice in heritage governance

A further tension emerged between the discourse of conservation success and the limited visibility of community economic benefit. Organizers tended to define sustainability primarily in preservation terms, emphasizing building authenticity, artifact protection, and environmental maintenance. Visitors, however, often evaluated sustainable tourism more broadly by asking whether heritage tourism also generated opportunities for local livelihoods, local products, and transparent community benefit.

Organizer O4 stated: “Our main goal is to keep the building original, to protect the history. Economic benefit is secondary—we are not a shopping mall, we are a heritage site.” In contrast, visitor V4 observed: “I expected to see local products, local food, local crafts connected to the kampung’s history. But there is nothing like that. The heritage is preserved, but the community does not seem to benefit.” Resident V5 articulated this tension most directly: “The tourists come, they take photos, they leave. What do we, the people of Peneleh, get from this? The buildings are maintained, yes, but our lives are not improved. If tourism does not help the community, why should we support it?”

This gap reflects a governance and communication problem as much as a development problem. Even where organizers had undertaken environmentally responsible practices, these efforts were rarely communicated to visitors. Sustainability remained operationally present but communicatively invisible. At the same time, the lack of visible mechanisms for local economic participation made it difficult for visitors to see how heritage tourism contributed to neighborhood well-being. The result was a preservation-centered narrative that did not fully bridge into a shared-value narrative connecting conservation with community development. As illustrated in Figure 1, the conservation-development tension matrix identifies a desired shared-value zone in which interpretive coherence, local microenterprise integration, and transparent sustainability communication can coexist.

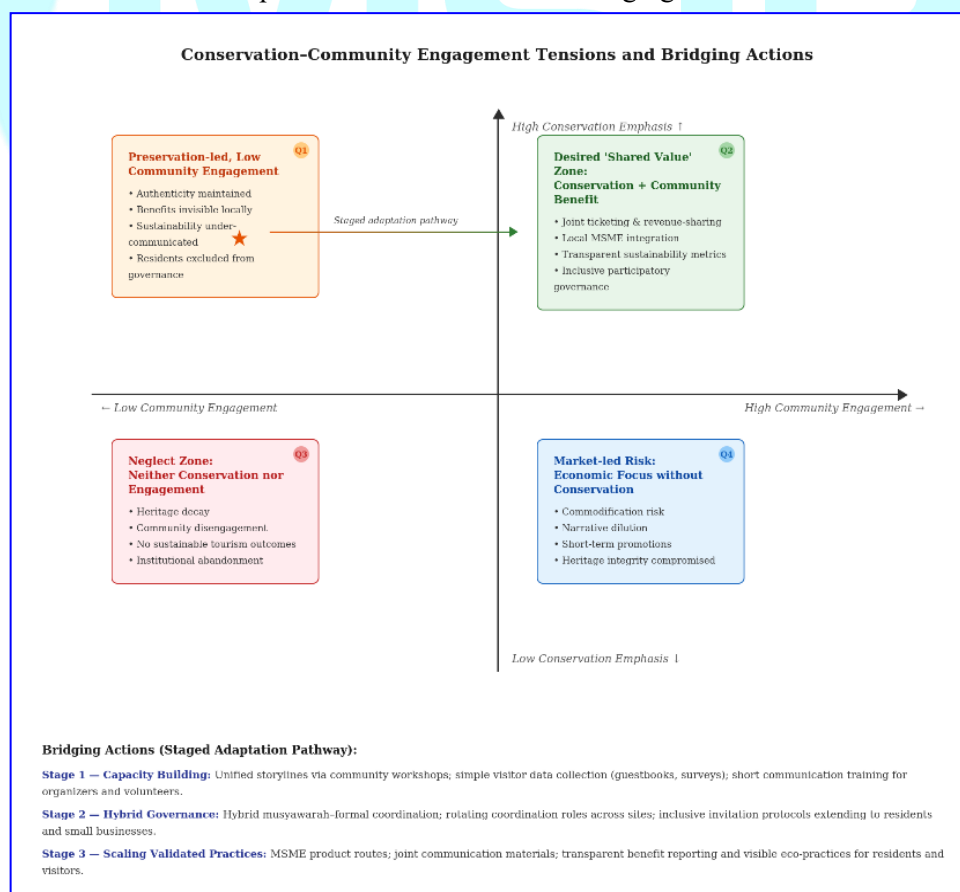
This tension is not reducible to simple managerial failure. It stems from structural constraints, including resource scarcity, fragmented authority, and unresolved differences in stakeholder priorities. Organizer O2 acknowledged this complexity: “We know that the community needs economic benefit from tourism, but our funding is for preservation, not for business development. There is no budget for creating souvenir shops or food stalls. That is someone else’s responsibility, but nobody is doing it.” This fragmentation of responsibility between conservation and development functions reflects a broader pattern observed in heritage tourism governance where institutional mandates are narrowly defined and community-level integration is left unaddressed (Bramwell & Lane, 2013; Waligo et al., 2013).

The social justice dimension of this finding is significant. When heritage tourism generates cultural capital and visitor traffic but does not distribute economic benefits to the host community, it risks becoming an extractive rather than a sustainable practice. The absence

of visible mechanisms for community benefit, such as cooperative enterprises, local product markets, or transparent revenue-sharing arrangements, means that Peneleh's residents bear the social costs of tourism, including congestion, noise, privacy intrusions, and the commercialization of their living environment, without receiving commensurate benefits. This pattern is consistent with critiques of heritage tourism in residential areas where conservation agendas can inadvertently marginalize the communities they claim to serve (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996; Giampiccoli & Mtapuri, 2021).

Nevertheless, the consequences of communication are significant: when sustainability is discussed only as preservation, broader community support for heritage tourism remains weak. This finding supports previous work showing that stakeholder value orientations influence both management practice and visitor expectation (Alazaizeh et al., 2016), and it extends this insight by demonstrating that the absence of community benefit communication undermines the social license for tourism in residential heritage areas (Nunkoo, 2017; Giampiccoli & Mtapuri, 2021).

Figure 1. Conservation-development tension matrix with bridging actions toward a shared-value zone.



Source: Authors' synthesis from interview data

3.5 Emergent participatory strategies and a staged adaptation pathway

Despite these constraints, the interviews also revealed adaptive strategies and emergent opportunities for strengthening participatory governance. Some actors had already begun linking sites through informal storytelling, grassroots walking tours, and cross-site conversation. Organizer O5 described an initiative: “I started organizing walking tours on weekends, connecting the bookstore to the Soekarno House and then to the café. It is not official, just something I do because visitors enjoy the connection. Other organizers sometimes join in.” Younger staff at several nodes identified shared digital communication as a promising avenue for building a more connected destination identity. Organizer O1 noted: “We have been discussing creating a shared Instagram account for Kampung Peneleh, not for each site separately. The young volunteers think this could help.”

Visitors, moreover, often acted as communication bridges by connecting sites through their own travel reviews, social media posts, and personal storytelling. Visitor V1 shared: “I posted a photo series on Instagram connecting all the sites I visited in Peneleh. My followers started asking about the kampung. I think visitors like me can help spread the story.” These bottom-up communication practices represent forms of civic engagement that, while currently informal and uncoordinated, demonstrate latent capacity for participatory heritage management.

These emergent practices suggest that a staged implementation pathway offers the most contextually appropriate adaptation of UNESCO’s framework. The first stage should focus on basic capacity building: shared interpretive briefs developed through inclusive community workshops, standardized visitor logging using simple guestbooks and basic survey forms, and short communication training for organizers and community volunteers. The second stage should formalize hybrid governance by introducing rotating coordination roles among sites, establishing inclusive invitation protocols that extend beyond existing relational networks to include neighborhood residents and small business operators, and maintaining simple public records of decisions while preserving musyawarah-based deliberation. The third stage should scale validated practices, including pilot segmentation surveys, joint communication materials developed collaboratively across sites, and transparent reporting of local economic benefit and sustainability indicators accessible to both residents and visitors. In this formulation, UNESCO’s framework becomes an

aspirational guide translated through locally resonant participatory practices rather than a fixed template imposed from above (Wijesuriya, 2015; Scheyvens & Biddulph, 2018).

3.6 Implications for UNESCO's framework and participatory heritage governance

Taken together, the findings demonstrate that UNESCO's strategic communication framework remains analytically useful but requires significant contextual adaptation when applied to participatory governance in kampung-based heritage environments. The framework's four pillars—value articulation, visitor segmentation, integrated objectives, and collaborative governance—offer a strong conceptual map. Yet they also presuppose a degree of formalization, institutional capacity, and market research infrastructure that may not exist in smaller, fragmented urban heritage settings characterized by community-based management.

In Kampung Peneleh, narrative fragmentation cannot be addressed simply by demanding a unified heritage statement; it first requires participatory interpretive work among actors who currently operate semi-independently, including the meaningful involvement of residents as heritage-bearers. Informal governance cannot be treated merely as a weakness; it constitutes the local infrastructure of collaboration grounded in musyawarah and gotong royong traditions, and it must be incorporated into any practical governance design. Visitor and community segmentation cannot be assumed; it must begin with simple, feasible tools and a recognition that local residents represent a distinct and primary stakeholder group. Likewise, integrating conservation and development requires not only better messaging but also clearer mechanisms for community participation and transparent benefit distribution.

These findings contribute to the growing body of scholarship on community-based heritage governance in the Global South (Giampiccoli & Mtapuri, 2021; Su et al., 2023) by providing empirical evidence from an Indonesian urban kampung context. The research extends participatory governance theory by demonstrating how indigenous participatory practices—musyawarah and gotong royong—function as both enablers and constraints of inclusive heritage management. The practical implication is that policy interventions and capacity-building programs for heritage tourism in Indonesia should build upon existing community governance traditions rather than replacing them with externally designed institutional frameworks.

At the municipal policy level, the findings suggest that Surabaya's cultural tourism strategy would benefit from recognizing kampung heritage areas as community governance units requiring integrated support that bridges conservation mandates with community development resources. The current institutional separation between heritage preservation (typically managed through cultural affairs offices) and community economic development (managed through separate agencies) creates governance gaps that directly contribute to the fragmentation and participation deficits documented in this study. A coordinated approach that channels resources through community-level governance mechanisms, while providing technical support for visitor management and communication, would better align with the participatory realities of kampung-based heritage tourism.

4. Conclusions

This study demonstrates that community engagement and participatory governance are central to the sustainability of urban heritage tourism in Kampung Peneleh. The main challenges identified are fragmented heritage value articulation reflecting limited participatory meaning-making, heavy dependence on informal coordination that simultaneously enables flexibility and reproduces exclusion, weak visitor and community segmentation capacity, and an unresolved tension between preservation discourse and community-oriented development. These challenges are not caused primarily by stakeholder unwillingness, but by structural conditions including fragmented institutions, limited resources, uneven access to governance networks, and the inherent complexity of adapting international frameworks to culturally embedded local practices.

The study contributes to the field of community engagement and social environment scholarship by providing empirical evidence that UNESCO's strategic communication framework, while analytically valuable, must be substantially adapted for high-context and resource-constrained heritage environments. The Kampung Peneleh case demonstrates that effective heritage tourism governance requires culturally resonant hybrid governance mechanisms that preserve indigenous practices of *musyawarah* and *gotong royong*, practical audience differentiation that recognizes local residents as primary stakeholders, and more visible and transparent links between conservation practice and community economic benefit. The four findings of this study, taken together, reveal a pattern in which well-intentioned heritage preservation coexists with inadequate community participation,

underscoring the need for governance innovations that bridge these domains. The staged adaptation pathway proposed in this study offers a replicable model for other kampung-based heritage initiatives in Indonesia and comparable community-managed heritage settings in Southeast Asia.

Several limitations should be acknowledged. The study drew on a purposive sample of ten participants, which, while appropriate for qualitative depth, limits the breadth of perspectives represented. Future research could extend this work through larger-scale studies incorporating quantitative community surveys, longitudinal tracking of participatory governance interventions, and comparative analysis across multiple kampung heritage sites in different Indonesian cities. Research examining the role of digital platforms in enabling more inclusive community participation in heritage governance also represents a productive avenue for future investigation.

Acknowledgment

The authors thank the heritage actors, community members, and visitors in Kampung Peneleh who participated in this study and shared their time, experiences, and reflections during the interview process. Authors would also thank for LPPM (Insitute of Research and Community Engagement) Universitas Pembangunan Nasional Veteran Jawa Timur for awarding the research funding for this project.

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