Abstract
This article aims to analyze the problems of the Rainbow Village in Semarang City. The success of the Rainbow Village at the beginning of its development contrasts with the current conditions that are empty of visitors, damaged paint conditions, and many wild plants growing along the road between people’s houses. The problem analysis will focus on studying policy networks in implementing Kampung Pelangi. The existence of policy networks in implementation and policy-making is interesting to examine because the process involves a political process that is not only controlled by the state but involves various actors and diverse interests. Through qualitative methods and the theoretical framework of Waarden and Rhodes’ policy networks, this paper wants to answer how the dynamics of policy networks run and the types of policy networks that develop. As a result of the study, the Rainbow Village policy network tends to be unstable and only runs when this program goes viral in the early days of implementation. The network built involves three important policy stakeholders, namely civil society, the private sector, and the government. The interaction between actors in policy networks tends to be unbalanced so there are inequalities in the distribution of resources and authority. This causes pokdarwis as the leading actor of the network to have difficulty maintaining the network’s existence. The type of policy network is an issue network, where the network is temporary when program issues arise and network actors are not bound in a permanent network.

Keywords: Rainbow Village; Policy Implementation; Policy Networks; Actor Relations.

INTRODUCTION

The issue of slums in urban areas has become a classic issue along with population growth and urbanization movements. (Ramandei & Nawipa, 2023). Based on data reported by the Ministry of Public Works, the growth rate of slums in Indonesia per year reaches 4.1% per year and is the highest growth rate in Asia. Still in the same data, 53.7% of the population in Indonesia live in slums. This is in line with the rapid increase in urbanization flows from year to year, which has major implications for the increase in urban slums. The urbanization flow from 2020 to 2025 is predicted to increase from 56.7% to 60% (around 200 million people). This condition certainly needs intense handling so that people can still access decent housing that is their right according to the constitution.

The handling of slums is carried out through one of the city without slums policy programs abbreviated as "Kotaku" with the leading sector of the Ministry of Public Works and Public Housing (PUPR) through the Director General of Cipta Karya. (PUPR, 2023). The Kotaku program is a strategic initiative of the Directorate General of Cipta Karya to accelerate the handling of slums in Indonesia and support the "100-0-100 Movement". This movement aims to achieve 100% universal drinking water access, eliminate 0% slums, and achieve 100% access to proper sanitation.

Based on data from the Semarang City Environmental Agency, Semarang City was included in the top 10 cities with the largest slum areas in Indonesia in 2012. Therefore, one of the innovations carried out is to transform one of the urban slum areas through the Rainbow Village Wonosari program. (Admin Department, 2020). Kampung Pelangi is a transformation of an urban slum village into an aesthetic tourist destination. The location of this village is in the middle of Semarang city which is adjacent to the city icons, namely Tugumuda and Lawangsewu. Its strategic location promises good development for the area. In the beginning, the village had a very shabby and disorganized condition. Around it were bushes of wild plants and unpainted red walls. There were about 325 houses that crowded into each other and were located very close to the banks of the Semarang river. After that, this village was transformed in 2017 through the rainbow village program with colorful house painting activities, construction of landslide-resistant girders, free certificate programs, river normalization, bridge repair, and capacity building training for villagers. (Aryaningtyas et al., 2021).

The transformation of Kampung Pelangi has also brought a number of achievements of its own. Many visitors from within the country and abroad are amazed by the beauty of the creative arts that are scattered in various places in Kampung Pelangi. (Aprithama, 2022). The success of the rainbow village seems to be in contrast to the current conditions. Reported from the Jawa Pos Radar Semarang news site (Agus AP, 2022)(Agus AP, 2022), the Rainbow Village is currently empty of visitors, the paintwork is damaged, and many wild plants grow along the road between people's houses. Gardens that used to be photo spots are now used as pigeon nests. Many residents who were once economically empowered through trading activities have gone bankrupt due to the lack of visitors. This has happened since the end of the covid-19 pandemic where the collaboration network that was previously formed seems unable to be active again to lift the glory of Pelangi Village some time ago.

The success of Rainbow Village at the beginning of its existence was due to the participatory and collaborative model between all stakeholders or policy actors. (Irwandi et al., 2020). The stakeholders involved can be said to be quite diverse, ranging from the Government, Non-
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Governmental Organizations (NGOs), to the private sector. Each stakeholder has a vital role in the development process of Rainbow Village. Based on the author's interview with the Pokdarwis of Rainbow Village, the root of the problem of the decline of Rainbow Village lies in the loss of the collaboration network formed between the various stakeholders. This is also in line with the results of interviews the author conducted with the Tourism Office as the leading sector of the program. The loss of the collaboration network makes it difficult for Rainbow Village to develop its potential as in its heyday. Looking back, Rainbow Village was very dependent on the collaboration network of these actors. This can be seen from the injection of funds from the government and private parties, capacity building from NGOs, promotion by Rainbow Village volunteers, and routine training from the government.

Based on these conditions, the author wants to dissect how the problem of the decline of the rainbow village through a policy network perspective. This perspective is very relevant to the conditions of the Rainbow Village problem because this policy network study focuses on analyzing the collaboration networks that form a particular public policy or public program. In addition, policy networks are the perspective used in analyzing the implementation of Rainbow Village because this perspective is still relatively new in policy studies. The literature that discusses this study is mostly in the context of policies in Europe and America. (Marta & Agustino, 2019). The existence of policy networks in policy implementation and making is interesting to study because the process involves a political process that is not only controlled by the state, but involves various actors and diverse interests (Blom-Hansen, 1997). (Blom-Hansen, 1997; Marsh & Smith, 2000; Rhodes, 1990; Thatcher & Braunstein, 2015; Van Waarden, 1992). as we can see in the development journey of this rainbow village.

There have been many research studies that use Rainbow Village as the object of study. Some studies place different perspectives on the study, including the study of women’s participation by (Esariti, n.d.)(Esariti, n.d.), a study of community perceptions and support related to the development of rainbow villages (Aryaningtyas et al., 2021; Irwandi et al., 2020). Furthermore, there are several studies of business empowerment and street vendors in the rainbow village (Salsabiila, 2021; Irwandi et al., 2020). (Salsabiila, 2021; Wibowo et al., 2022)., a study of strategies to raise the potential of the community (Satato et al., 2019) and spatial space studies related to technical matters (Chakam & Ristianti, 2019). (Chakam & Ristianti, 2021; Ratnasari et al., 2020) Of all the studies that examine rainbow villages, there are no studies that specifically discuss from a policy network perspective, about who the actors involved are, how these actors interact with each other, exchange resources and form a network of rainbow village development. The author will try to investigate this empty space, which in turn can diagnose the problem of the decline in the development of rainbow villages that is currently occurring.

This study will address two important issues. First, it is related to the process and dynamics of the formation of policy networks in the development of Rainbow Village. Second, after knowing the process of network formation, it will be possible to see the characteristics of the formed network so that finally the type of policy network that has been formed can be determined. These two main issues will contribute information related to the current decline in the development of Rainbow Village. As a framework for this study, the author will use Van Waarden's theory and combine it with Rhodes’
perspective on policy networks. Both Rhodes and Waarden reveal several dimensions that must be seen in the formation of networks so that network characteristics will be formed. (Rhodes R.A.W & David Marsh, 1992; Van Waarden, 1992). These dimensions are the scale of actors involved, the function of the network itself, and the balance of power between actors. Power here is related to the dominance of state agencies over other social actors, including how structures in the network are built, interaction patterns are built and how the role of each actor in the policy network.

**RESEARCH METHODS**

This study is a type of field research that uses qualitative methods. This method is used with the aim of understanding the socio-political phenomena experienced by the research subject by prioritizing the use of descriptive methods. (Hadi, 2004). This method was chosen because through qualitative methods the author will be able to construct in-depth knowledge through holistic interpretation of data. While the approach used in this research is a single instrumental case study, in which the researcher focuses on one case to illustrate the theme or issue that is the focus of the research (Creswell, 2014). Through this approach, the focus of analysis will be more centered on the case that is the subject matter, so that data exploration will be more focused and in-depth.

The data collection techniques used are in-depth interviews, observation and document study. Interviews will be conducted with key informants of stakeholders involved in the development of Rainbow Village. Observations are consistently conducted as supporting data for interviews, as well as relevant document studies. The data obtained will be validated through a triangulation process, to ensure the validity of the data that has been obtained. The sampling technique used uses purposive sampling combined with snowball sampling in order to obtain informants who are competent in the problem to be studied. Purposive sampling used points to the initial informant from the author’s initial observation, which then develops using snowball sampling to obtain key informants until the data is saturated. This technique is also done to ensure research gets valid and reliable data.

The data analysis process uses spiral analysis (Creswell, 2014) which uses the stages of data collection, coding, and presentation. Spral analysis was chosen with the aim that data analysis can answer the objectives of this study. First, explaining how the policy networking process in the implementation of the Rainbow Village policy in Semarang City, which includes describing the actors involved, the relationships between actors, and the exchange of resources and interests in the process. Second, identify and analyze the type of policy networking in the implementation of the Rainbow Village policy in Semarang City. Through the identification of these types, it is hoped that a solution to the existing problems can be found.

**RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

**Process of Rainbow Village Policy Network**

The development of Rainbow Village began in 2017 during the reign of Mayor Hendrar Prihadi. Kampung Pelangi has the original name of Wanosari village or better known as the Gunung Brintik area. The area is known for its slum label. The initial development of Kampung Pelangi began when the Mayor upgraded the Kalisari integrated flower trading area located in front of Wanosari village. To beautify the face of the flower trade area, as well as to improve the quality of Wanosari village, the development of a tourist village called Rainbow Village was initiated.

The mayor, as the initial initiator, began to mobilize a network of actors who
had a role in the development of Rainbow Village. If we take the concept of *quadruple helix* from Michael Calanon et al in (Yuniningsih et al., 2023), the division of actors includes universities, industry, government and civil society. In the context of this rainbow village, the *quadruple helix of actors* is also reflected. University actors, or commonly referred to as academics, are Diponegoro University (Undip) and Semarang State University (Unnes). These academics have scientific resources, so they contribute to the development of tourism, as well as some training to improve the ability of human resources. Furthermore, government actors or *state agencies* as the *leading sector* are the tourism office, which is assisted by the environment office, trade office and public works office. These *state agencies* at the beginning of the rainbow village development had a central role as the main implementor or coordinator in the rainbow village development both in terms of development innovation as well as the owner of the initial financial resources for the rainbow village development.

Industry actors involved include PT Djarum, PT Nippon Paint, and PT Paragon Technology and Innovation (owner of Wardah cosmetic brand). Some of these companies are involved by making financial contributions such as PT Djarum and PT Paragon as well as providing some of their products for sale. As for PT Nippon Paint, it provides assistance in the form of paint for painting all the rainbow village houses. Even this company tends to have a pretty good commitment because after providing paint assistance in 2017, they provide assistance again in 2021 according to the paint longevity cycle. Several state-owned companies are also involved, including Bank BRI and PLN. These companies provide financial contributions for physical and non-physical development. As for civil society actors who play a role in the form of social foundations, small-scale NGOs that assist in providing training in the form of human resource training, as well as tourism promotion training. Community actors here also include the rainbow village community as the object of the policy as well as the subject of the policy itself.

Through the *quadruple helix* analysis, it can be analyzed that the relationship between the actors mentioned above runs very dynamically because they have their own interests and goals. Government actors with their empowerment agenda. Academic actors with an agenda of knowledge production and community service. Industry actors with an agenda of corporate social responsibility while strengthening branding through promotion. Meanwhile, civil society actors with empowerment agendas are sometimes very sectoral. The combination of various interests is very visible in the Rainbow Village collaboration, so that sometimes there are differences of opinion on the role of each other’s actors, but it does not have a significant impact on the collaboration that has been established at the beginning of development.

**Relationships between Actors in the Rainbow Village Policy Network**

The policy network formed through some of the actors above was quite collaborative at the beginning of the establishment of Rainbow Village in 2017, until the 2018 period. However, the pattern is still *top down* because it is still dominated by government actors as network coordinators. The goal of developing Rainbow Village is projected to become a sustainable and independent tourism village that will have an impact on the physical and social transformation of the Rainbow Village community. The output of interactions between network actors resulted in several essential activities in the development of Rainbow Village. First, physical development in the form of infrastructure arrangement of
basic facilities such as roads, painting, settlements, bridge construction, waterways, river normalization, and settlement arrangement, especially hygiene maintenance. The physical transformation makes the face of Rainbow Village more beautiful. The following picture shows the physical transformation of Rainbow Village:

![Figure 1 Physical transformation of Pelangi Village](image)

Figure 1 Physical transformation of Pelangi Village
Source: Semarang City Environment Agency

Second, in the form of community empowerment activities. This empowerment activity is a discourse built by government actors so that the physical development that has been carried out can survive and be sustainable with other activities that have social and economic impacts on the residents of Pelangi Village. These activities include training to improve human resource skills. The training is more about training to strengthen tourism activities, such as training in making crafts, cultural arts training, and basic tourism training. Another form in this context is financial assistance for start-up capital for small and medium enterprises (MSMEs) and art groups provided by several actors involved.

Early policy networks were more euphoric. All actors contributed their resources, both financial and scientific. However, from the author’s observation, the exchange of resources is only one-way, where the residents of the rainbow village are only passive, amidst the onslaught of discourse from government actors to make Wonosari Village a tourist village and one of the tourist attractions in Semarang City integrated with the tourist attractions of Lawang Sewu, the old city, and Sampoekong. The number of actors involved in this network at the beginning of the rainbow village discourse was very large and they actually brought their own interests. The frequency of interaction between the actors involved was not permanently scheduled and depended on the interests of the actors who wanted to be involved. The network structure formed is more open, because various actors can enter the network and exchange resources. Some actors do not have a permanent commitment to be in the network. Therefore, the exchange of resources is more unequal. When resource exchange is not based on interdependence, the network is less stable.

The euphoria of the fat network at the beginning of the rainbow village development did bring instant fame to the rainbow village community. Economic growth and changes in the social status of the village are seen from the status of slums to a tourist village that is attracted by many local and foreign tourists. Several interviews that the author conducted with several residents of Rainbow Village explained that with the euphoria of the incoming network of actors, they really felt the benefits, especially from the physical side of the settlement and from the economic side. The majority of residents of Rainbow Village do not have permanent jobs (freelancers), so when there is an opportunity to open a business with the existence of Rainbow Village, they become very enthusiastic. Some residents set up small stalls to accommodate the food and beverage needs of tourists. Some other residents are creative through typical handicrafts for souvenirs such as key chains, crafts, and several other handicrafts. This includes the "jathilan" art attraction initiated by local artists in
collaboration with the network of actors involved.

The initial success of the rainbow village phenomenon has led government actors who are the network coordinators, through the tourism office, to continue the development of rainbow tourism village to become a sustainable tourism village. A more concrete community empowerment discourse began to be realized, namely the formation of a Tourism Awareness Group (Pokdarwis) with official legality. The formation of Pokdarwis was carried out through deliberations with several related stakeholders, especially the relationship between government actors and the rainbow village community. The initial management period formed in 2017 was dominated by volunteers who did not have experience in the field of empowerment, especially tourism. This is a point that needs to be developed through existing networks, especially government actors. The Tourism Office is committed to assisting in terms of human resource training, but in terms of the sustainability of this rainbow village, it is entirely the authority of the Pokdarwis together with the community. This authority is actually also a delegation of the authority of the policy network coordinator previously held by government actors.

The Pokdarwis has a lot of authority and responsibility. This is because Pokdarwis needs to maintain the continuity of the network that has been established, while trying to make innovations related to the continuation of Pelangi Village. The dynamics began when the Pokdarwis became the network coordinator. Various interests began to emerge, especially within the Pokdarwis itself. Based on the author’s observations and interviews, the most striking dynamic that led to conflict was the internal dynamic between the pokdarwis chairperson and other members. The elected Pokdarwis chairperson tends to have poor communication with members. This lack of communication hampers the flow of information to and from the actor network. Information in the form of human resource training, for example, stops at the pokdarwis chairperson without being socialized to pokdarwis members and the community. Due to poor communication, the development of Rainbow Village tended to stagnate from mid-2018 to 2019.

Even in mid-2019 when the rainbow village festival event was held, coordination was carried out through pokdarwis members due to communication problems with the pokdarwis chairperson. Some pokdarwis members who really care about the sustainability of the rainbow village are trying to re-develop the network of actors that had been established in the early period of the rainbow village.

Entering the covid 19 pandemic in 2020 until 2021/2022, Rainbow Village experienced a decline in activity due to restrictions on social interaction. The number of visitors also decreased dramatically until there were no visitors at all. This also had an impact on the initial network that had been formed in the previous period. In the endemic period of late 2021 and early 2022, when economic activity had begun to recover, the rainbow village was even worse off. There were no initiatives to revitalize the existing network due to internal conflicts within the Pokdarwis organization. This culminated in a change in the pokdarwis management, particularly in the position of the pokdarwis chairperson. This happened after a long process of hearings with several network actors starting from the village level to the Tourism Office, which has the authority to change Pokdarwis administrators.

After the change of Pokdarwis management in 2023, the new chairman attempted to re-activate the network by talking to some of the original network actors. The main objective was to contribute the resources of some of the
relevant actors, especially the private sector. Several measures such as the plan to collect entrance tickets are also being rolled out, but have not yet met with agreement, especially approval by government actors. Based on the results of the interviews, the Pokdarwis is still constrained by financial constraints as well as innovative activities to attract more visitors to Rainbow Village. If the number of visits increases, it will have an impact on increasing the community’s economic stretch through micro-sector businesses.

Overall, the evolution of Kampung Pelangi’s policy network reflects the complex dynamics between local community participation, government intervention, and the economic interests of the actors. Government intervention is the main factor that greatly influences the evolution of the existing policy network. The government still plays a dominant role in both creating permanent collaborations and negotiating internal conflicts within the Pokdarwis community. However, the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic has also played a significant role. The pandemic has affected the economic interests of each actor. The government is preoccupied with handling the pandemic, which costs a lot of money, while other actors are affected by social restriction policies that hamper the economy. This certainly has a huge impact on the collaboration of actors that has been established. The network coordinator, namely the government, which has shifted its focus, has led to the neglect of the initial Rainbow Village network that has been formed.

**Type of Policy Network Formed**

When looking at the concept of policy networks offered by both Waarden and Rhodes to assess the typology of policy networks, it is necessary to look at several dimensions including the scale of actors involved including the membership system, the characteristic patterns of relationships in the network and the balance of power between actors. Through the identification of these dimensions, the network typology will then be determined. Network typology is divided into 2 major types, namely policy communities and issue networks. Policy communities lead to more stable relationships with a more balanced balance of power between actors. Meanwhile, issue networks lead to the opposite, which tends to be unstable and unequal power balance. (Rhodes R.A.W & David Marsh, 1992; Van Waarden, 1992).

Looking at the previous explanation, we can see that the scale of actors in the network involved in the development of Rainbow Village is very large, and the structure tends to be open. Any actor with various interests can enter the network and contribute their resources. All actors who have a connection with the development of Rainbow Village can enter the network. Meanwhile, with regard to the interaction patterns of actors between networks, it can be said that the interaction patterns formed are not regular or routine and permanent interaction patterns. The characteristics of the interactions that are formed are fluctuating, both in terms of frequency and intensity. The private and civil society actors involved do not have a specific commitment to contribute resources on an ongoing basis. The interaction is one-way and highly dependent on the resource owner. Thus, there is an imbalance in interaction, which means that when the network coordinator, in this case Pokdarwis, requests recontribution of resources to actors in the network, Pokdarwis has difficulty due to the absence of a clear initial commitment.

This is also seen in the dimension of the balance of power between actors in the network. Some policy actors have the necessary resources, but the distribution of resources must be negotiated first. Pokdarwis, as one of the important actors in the development of Rainbow Village, does not have balanced power with other
actors in the network, especially the dominating actor, namely government actors. Some innovations made, need to get approval from government actors even though in the empowerment discourse built, Pokdarwis has the authority to manage Rainbow Village according to the aspirations of the local community.

Looking at the review of the three dimensions above, the typology of policy networks formed in the development of Rainbow Village falls into the type of "issue networks". The implication of this type is that the networks formed tend to be less stable. The relationship between the actors involved is not based on a commitment to a common goal, but only on temporary issues. The implications of this typology can clearly explain why Rainbow Village is currently experiencing a decline. However, from this typology, we also get data as a basis for developing solutions to strategies for developing the sustainability of Rainbow Village. First, the need to strengthen leadership and coordination. It is important to have strong leadership and a clear coordination mechanism to maintain focus and consistency in the efforts to develop Rainbow Village. Second, resource diversification to develop a funding and support resource strategy, including seeking funds from various sources such as donations, sponsorships, and government initiatives. Third, encouraging active participation, by garnering active commitment from network members, be it in the form of financial contributions, labor, or other non-material support. This also includes the need for a formal legal agreement in the form of a MoU or memorandum of understanding between several actors involved so that there is binding power regarding commitment to realizing goals. Fourth, evaluation and learning. It is important to conduct periodic evaluations to understand the impact of network activities, and to learn from experience to improve sustainability and effectiveness in the long term.

CONCLUSION

This study also found that the failure of Pelangi village development was due to several factors. First, due to the instability of the policy network that was formed. This can be seen from the low commitment of the actors regarding the goals to be achieved by Rainbow Village. The actors involved only took advantage of the euphoric moment when the Rainbow Village went viral. When this village sank due to the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic, development activities also stopped. The network reactivation process carried out afterwards was unable to restore the policy network formed in the early days of development. The second is the internal conflict experienced by the informal leadership of Pokdarwis as the network coordinator. This conflict has weakened the coordination and effort of development activities that would have been conducted regularly. Third, the government's dominance is still too great in the development of Pelangi Village. This can be seen when the ruling regime changed, the government's attention to Pelangi Village also decreased. This decrease in attention has caused Pokdarwis to work alone in reactivating the policy network, including in terms of funding Pelangi Village.

Based on the above factors, the study offers several solutions. First, there is a need to build a long-term and sustainable commitment between the actors involved. This can be done by establishing a formal structure for the Rainbow Village policy network that includes written commitments, roles and responsibilities of each network member, as well as a binding code of conduct to ensure consistency in common goals and actions. Second, establish collaborative and transparent leadership to avoid internal conflicts. One form is to develop a clear and detailed
collective work agreement on roles, responsibilities and conflict resolution mechanisms among network members and informal leadership. Third, encourage multi-stakeholder collaboration and diversify funding sources. This can be done by establishing a long-term partnership agreement with the newly elected government or other institutions to establish a stronger commitment to the long-term development of Kampung Pelangi. In addition, funding diversification can be done through initiatives such as grant funds, social investment, and crowdfunding approaches to reduce dependence on government budgets.

**LITERATURE**


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