Indonesian Journal of Multidisciplinary on Social and Technology
Homepage: https://journal.ilmudata.co.id/index.php/ijmst
Vol. 4 No. 3 (2026) pp: 3039-3046
P-ISSN: 2986-6790, e-ISSN: 2986-6782

Subak from the Perspective of Collaborative Governance in Realizing Heritage Tourism in Bali

Ni Putu Ayu Yudanti[1], Nyoman Diah Utari Dewi[2]
[1,2] Program Studi Magister Administrasi Publik, Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Humaniora, Universitas Ngurah Rai
ayuyudanti2003@gmail.com[1], diah.utari@unr.ac.id[2]

Abstract
The management of Subak as a heritage tourism destination in Bali requires a governance model capable of balancing cultural heritage preservation with sustainable tourism development. This study aims to analyze the coordination patterns among stakeholders in managing Subak as a heritage tourism destination through the perspective of Collaborative Governance. A descriptive qualitative approach was employed using document analysis of laws and regulations, government policy documents, UNESCO publications, Subak *awig-awig* (customary regulations), and relevant previous studies. The findings reveal that Subak management involves four primary stakeholders: the government, indigenous communities (*krama* Subak), the private sector, and local communities, each with interconnected roles and interests. The collaborative process is built upon five key dimensions, namely participation, legitimacy, trust, accountability, and shared understanding, which collectively support effective governance. The implementation of collaborative governance contributes to community empowerment through tourism-based economic activities, the preservation of Subak culture through the strengthening of *awig-awig* and the revitalization of traditional practices, and local economic development through the diversification of community income sources. However, power imbalances between *krama* Subak, government institutions, and private investors remain a significant challenge, potentially limiting the substantive participation of indigenous communities in decision-making processes. Therefore, strengthening collaborative governance mechanisms grounded in the values of *Tri Hita Karana* is essential to ensure the long-term sustainability of Subak's ecological, cultural, social, and economic functions while preserving its status as a UNESCO World Cultural Heritage site.

Keywords: Subak, Heritage Tourism, Bali, Collaborative Governance

1. Introduction

Subak is a traditional irrigation system that has developed over centuries in Bali and has become an inseparable part of the island's agrarian society (Norken, 2019; Zen et al., 2024; Destishinta & Priadiantoro, 2025). Beyond serving as a mechanism for regulating water distribution to agricultural land, Subak embodies the social, cultural, and spiritual values that have been passed down through generations of Balinese communities (Rasna et al., 2025). This uniqueness has established Subak as a form of local wisdom that plays a vital role in maintaining agricultural sustainability while strengthening the cultural identity of the Balinese people. The management of Subak is founded upon the philosophy of *Tri Hita Karana*, which emphasizes harmonious relationships between humans and God (*Parahyangan*), among humans (*Pawongan*), and between humans and nature (*Palemahan*). Through this philosophy, Subak has evolved not merely as an irrigation system but also as a social institution that collectively governs community life (Adnyana, 2016).

The inscription of Subak as a UNESCO World Cultural Heritage site in 2012 marked a significant milestone in reinforcing its position as a cultural asset of outstanding universal value (Sarita et al., 2013). This recognition confirms that Subak is not merely a traditional agricultural infrastructure but also a cultural landscape representing the harmonious relationship between humans and nature. Its World Heritage status has created greater opportunities for Bali to develop cultural-based tourism through heritage tourism, with Subak serving as one of its primary attractions. The increasing interest of both domestic and international tourists in visiting Subak landscapes demonstrates that their cultural significance and scenic beauty possess strong competitiveness within the tourism industry. Consequently, Subak has become a strategic asset that contributes not only to ecological and socio-cultural sustainability but also to regional economic development.

The development of Subak-based heritage tourism has generated various economic opportunities for local communities (Budiarto & Rani, 2016; Purnawan & Sardiana, 2018). Tourism activities have stimulated the growth of supporting businesses, including accommodation services, tour guiding, traditional culinary enterprises, handicraft production, and souvenir sales involving local residents around Subak areas. These developments have created additional income sources for farmers and surrounding communities who previously relied primarily on agricultural production. In addition to improving community welfare, cultural tourism has also enhanced the international promotion of Balinese culture. Therefore, Subak possesses substantial potential as an instrument for economic development while simultaneously preserving local cultural heritage.

Despite its economic benefits, the rapid expansion of tourism has also introduced significant challenges to the sustainability of Subak (Diarta & Sarjana, 2018; Sarna, 2025). The increasing intensity of tourism activities has encouraged the commercialization of agricultural landscapes, potentially shifting the primary function of Subak as a traditional irrigation system. Pressures arising from land-use conversion, tourism infrastructure development, and the growing demand for supporting facilities pose serious threats to the preservation of Subak as a cultural landscape. Furthermore, excessive cultural commercialization may gradually diminish the authenticity of the traditional customs and rituals that constitute the foundation of the Subak system. Rahmi and Setiawan (2020) argue that development pressures and tourism expansion have become major challenges in maintaining the sustainability of Bali's cultural landscape heritage represented by Subak.

Another major challenge lies in the increasingly complex relationships among stakeholders involved in managing Subak as a heritage tourism destination. The government is responsible for formulating regulations and conservation policies, while indigenous communities through *krama* Subak retain traditional authority based on *awig-awig* (customary regulations). Meanwhile, the private sector functions as investors and tourism business operators, whereas local communities directly experience the social, economic, and environmental impacts of tourism development. These diverse interests frequently generate conflicts regarding the future direction of Subak management, particularly between short-term economic objectives and the long-term goals of cultural and environmental conservation. This situation indicates that Subak management can no longer rely solely on a sectoral approach but instead requires a governance mechanism capable of accommodating the interests of all stakeholders through a collaborative framework.

Managing areas that involve multiple stakeholders with diverse interests requires a governance approach capable of fostering synergy among all parties. A governance model that relies solely on the government is no longer sufficient to address complex public issues, particularly in the management of cultural heritage areas that encompass social, economic, cultural, and environmental dimensions simultaneously. Therefore, a governance mechanism that enables all stakeholders to participate equally in decision-making processes is essential. One of the approaches that has gained prominence in public administration is *Collaborative Governance*, a governance model that positions government and non-government actors as equal partners in formulating and implementing public policies. This approach emphasizes dialogue, deliberation, and consensus-building to generate sustainable solutions to public problems.

Ansell and Gash (2008) define *Collaborative Governance* as a strategy designed to bring together all stakeholders within a collaborative forum to achieve consensus in addressing public issues. In the context of Subak management, this concept is highly relevant because it integrates the interests of government agencies, *krama* Subak, local communities, and the private sector into a unified decision-making process. Such collaboration enables each stakeholder to express their interests, needs, and responsibilities openly, thereby minimizing potential conflicts through deliberative processes. In addition to producing more democratic decisions, a collaborative approach also strengthens stakeholders' sense of ownership over mutually agreed policies. Therefore, *Collaborative Governance* serves as a fundamental pillar for establishing sustainable governance in the management of Subak.

According to Davies and White (2012), *Collaborative Governance* should not merely be understood as institutional cooperation but also as a shared decision-making process that requires the collective distribution of responsibilities, resources, and common goals. Effective collaboration depends on the commitment of all participating actors to ensure that their relationships extend beyond formal coordination. In managing Subak, successful collaboration largely depends on the ability of government institutions, indigenous communities, and private stakeholders to build mutual trust and maintain continuous communication. Without trust among stakeholders, the implementation of public policies is likely to encounter significant obstacles. Consequently, fostering collaborative relationships is a critical determinant of the successful management of cultural heritage areas.

In addition to *Collaborative Governance*, the implementation of *Good Governance* principles plays a vital role in enhancing the effectiveness of Subak management as a heritage tourism destination. Principles such as participation, transparency, accountability, responsiveness, effectiveness, and efficiency serve as key indicators for assessing the quality of public governance. The application of these principles encourages more transparent, accountable, and inclusive decision-making processes that accommodate the interests of all stakeholders. Conversely, weak implementation of *Good Governance* may lead to conflicts of interest, unequal distribution of economic benefits, and declining public trust in government policies. Therefore, *Good Governance* principles provide an essential framework for evaluating existing governance practices in the management of Subak.

Furthermore, the *New Public Service* perspective emphasizes that public administration should not focus solely on economic efficiency but should prioritize the interests of citizens as active participants in governance. This approach positions the community as a key partner of the government rather than merely as beneficiaries of public services. In the context of Subak management, the values of *New Public Service* encourage governments to respect the aspirations of indigenous communities, protect local cultural values, and strengthen participatory democracy

DOI: https://doi.org/10.69693/ijmst.v4i2. 12926
Lisensi: Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International (CC BY 4.0)

throughout the policy-making process. This perspective aligns closely with the philosophy of *Tri Hita Karana*, which promotes harmony among humans, nature, and God as the fundamental principle of Balinese society. Consequently, the integration of *Collaborative Governance*, *Good Governance*, and *New Public Service* provides a comprehensive conceptual framework for achieving sustainable governance of Subak.

Previous studies have highlighted the importance of collaborative governance in the management of cultural heritage and tourism destinations. Febriantini et al. (2019) demonstrated that synergy between village governments and local Subak institutions contributes significantly to sustainable development by strengthening the role of local communities in preserving Subak as a World Cultural Heritage site. Similarly, Putra and Dwijendra (2022) emphasized that heritage tourism development should not merely focus on increasing tourist arrivals but also ensure the preservation of cultural authenticity and historical values. These findings indicate that collaboration among stakeholders plays a crucial role in balancing conservation objectives with tourism development. Nevertheless, the dynamics of stakeholder collaboration in Subak management remain highly complex due to the diversity of actors involved and their differing interests.

Several studies have also reported that the rapid growth of tourism in Bali has intensified pressure on the sustainability of Subak landscapes. Land-use conversion, infrastructure expansion, and the commercialization of cultural assets have increasingly threatened the ecological and socio-cultural functions of Subak as a living cultural landscape. Rahmi and Setiawan (2020) argued that these pressures have become one of the most significant challenges in maintaining the integrity of Bali's World Cultural Heritage landscape. At the same time, tourism continues to provide substantial economic opportunities for local communities, creating a dilemma between economic development and cultural preservation. Consequently, balancing these competing interests has become a major governance challenge that requires a collaborative and sustainable policy approach.

Although collaborative governance has been widely discussed in the fields of public administration and tourism management, studies specifically examining Subak from the perspective of collaborative governance remain relatively limited. Most previous research has focused on the ecological functions of Subak, its agricultural management, or its role as a cultural heritage asset. Comparatively fewer studies have explored how governments, indigenous communities (*krama* Subak), the private sector, and local communities collectively build collaborative relationships in managing Subak as a heritage tourism destination. Moreover, limited attention has been given to how collaborative governance principles interact with *Good Governance*, *New Public Service*, and the philosophy of *Tri Hita Karana* within a single analytical framework. This gap highlights the need for further research that comprehensively examines stakeholder collaboration in Subak management.

This study addresses that research gap by integrating the perspectives of *Collaborative Governance*, *Good Governance*, and *New Public Service* to analyze the governance of Subak as a heritage tourism destination in Bali. Rather than viewing collaboration merely as institutional cooperation, this study emphasizes the interaction among stakeholders through the dimensions of participation, legitimacy, trust, accountability, and shared understanding. Furthermore, this study places the values of *Tri Hita Karana* at the center of its analysis to explain how local wisdom shapes collaborative governance practices. Through this integrated perspective, the study seeks to provide a more comprehensive understanding of sustainable governance in managing cultural heritage tourism. The proposed framework is expected to enrich both theoretical discussions in public administration and practical approaches to heritage tourism governance.

Based on the background and research gap described above, this study aims to analyze the coordination patterns among stakeholders in managing Subak as a heritage tourism destination in Bali through the lens of *Collaborative Governance*. Specifically, the study seeks to examine the roles of government, *krama* Subak, the private sector, and local communities in collaborative decision-making processes, as well as to evaluate how *Good Governance* principles and *New Public Service* values support sustainable heritage tourism management. Ultimately, this research is expected to contribute to the development of a collaborative governance model rooted in the philosophy of *Tri Hita Karana*, enabling a balanced integration of economic development, cultural heritage preservation, and environmental sustainability. The findings are expected to serve as valuable references for policymakers, tourism practitioners, indigenous institutions, and future researchers concerned with the governance of cultural heritage destinations.

Literature Review

1) Subak

According to Peraturan Daerah Provinsi Bali Nomor 9 Tahun 2012, subak is defined as a traditional organization in the field of water use and/or crop management at the farming level within Balinese customary communities, which is socio-agrarian, religious, and economic in nature, and which has historically continued to grow and develop. Subak is a traditional irrigation organization that represents one form of Balinese local wisdom in maintaining harmonious relations with nature (Adnyana, 2016). The existence of subak is grounded in the concept of Tri Hita Karana, derived from the words "Tri," meaning three, "Hita," meaning prosperity, and "Karana," meaning cause, so that Tri Hita Karana can be understood as the three causes that create happiness and prosperity. Tri Hita Karana balances the relationship among three aspects: the relationship between humans and God

DOI: https://doi.org/10.69693/ijmst.v4i2. 12926
Lisensi: Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International (CC BY 4.0)

(Parahyangan), among humans (Pawongan), and between humans and nature (Palemahan). Within the concept of Tri Hita Karana, subak reflects the use of water resources intended to maintain harmony between humans and each other, between humans and nature, and between humans and God.

The manifestation of Parahyangan can be seen in the existence of subak temples (pura ulun carik), the manifestation of Pawongan is reflected in the coordination activities among members (*krama*) of the subak and the manifestation of Palemahan is reflected in the determination of agricultural areas using natural boundaries such as rivers, roads, villages, or other features. Harmony among Parahyangan, Palemahan, and Pawongan is the main pillar for maintaining the consistency and sustainability of subak as a pillar of Balinese culture (Adnyana, 2016).

2) Collaborative Governance

Collaborative governance is a mode of governance that directly involves stakeholders outside government or the state, oriented toward consensus and deliberation in collective decision-making aimed at formulating or implementing public policies and public programs (Rifai et al., 2025). According to Ansell and Gash (2008), collaborative governance is used as a new strategy to bring together all stakeholders in one place and reach consensus on how to resolve public problems. From the perspective of subak, collaborative governance can be described as involving stakeholders with an interest in managing cultural heritage tourism. The collaborative governance framework is relevant for subak in mapping how government, indigenous communities (krama subak), the private tourism sector, and local communities build shared understanding regarding the boundaries of tourism commercialization that can be tolerated without compromising the ecological and socio-religious functions of subak. The subak perspective within collaborative governance also encourages formal recognition of the authority of awig-awig (customary regulations) as one basis for decision-making, on par with government regulations and the market mechanisms brought by tourism investors.

3) Heritage tourism

Heritage tourism refers to tourism that positions a place or area with significant historical importance and a major role in a region as a tourist destination (Putra & Dwijendra, 2021). This concept holds that cultural heritage carries not only historical and symbolic value for the communities that own it but also economic potential that can be developed through tourism activities. In practice, heritage tourism demands a balance between two often-conflicting interests: efforts to preserve the authentic values of cultural heritage on one hand, and the demands of commercialization and meeting tourist expectations on the other. This tension makes the management of heritage tourism a complex issue, as its success depends heavily on how cultural values are safeguarded so that they are not reduced to mere tourism commodities. The increasingly massive influx of tourists to subak areas has also given rise to various consequences, ranging from land-use conversion and the commercialization of customary rituals, to a shift in management authority away from krama subak toward external parties such as the government and tourism investors.

2. Research Methodology

This study employs a descriptive qualitative research that aimed at gaining an in-depth understanding of the patterns of multi-stakeholder interaction and coordination in the management of subak as a heritage tourism destination in Bali. The data collection method used is document study, namely the tracing and analysis of various relevant secondary data sources, including laws and regulations concerning subak and cultural heritage, local government policy documents, reports and publications from UNESCO-related institutions, subak awig-awig (customary regulations), and prior research on subak, heritage tourism, and collaborative governance.

3. Result and Disscussion

3.1. Coordination Patterns

The results of the document analysis indicate that the management of Subak as a heritage tourism destination in Bali involves four principal groups of stakeholders with interconnected roles, responsibilities, and interests: the government, indigenous communities represented by *krama* Subak, the private sector, and local communities. These stakeholders collectively form a complex governance system because each possesses distinct authorities and responsibilities in maintaining the sustainability of Subak as a UNESCO World Cultural Heritage site. The government serves as the regulatory authority responsible for formulating policies, establishing zoning regulations for cultural heritage areas, allocating conservation budgets, and acting as the liaison between local governments and UNESCO in implementing heritage preservation programs. Meanwhile, *krama* Subak and customary village (*desa adat*) institutions function as the primary owners and managers of the traditional irrigation system, exercising authority through *awig-awig* (customary regulations) that govern agricultural activities, water distribution, and community life. At the same time, the private sector and local communities act as supporting stakeholders who contribute to tourism development while simultaneously experiencing the direct impacts of changes occurring within the Subak landscape.

The government's role in Subak management extends beyond regulatory functions to include facilitation, coordination, and supervision of heritage conservation policies. Both the Provincial Government of Bali and

DOI: https://doi.org/10.69693/ijmst.v4i2. 12926
Lisensi: Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International (CC BY 4.0)

district or municipal governments are responsible for ensuring that tourism development remains consistent with UNESCO conservation principles and the provisions stipulated in Bali Provincial Regulation No. 9 of 2012 concerning Subak. In addition to establishing zoning policies and conservation regulations, the government provides financial support for conservation initiatives, infrastructure development, and community empowerment programs. In practice, government institutions also function as mediators whenever conflicting interests arise among indigenous communities, tourism business operators, and other local stakeholders. Consequently, the effectiveness of Subak management largely depends on the government's capacity to establish strong coordination and constructive communication with all stakeholders involved.

Indigenous communities represented by *krama* Subak occupy a central position in the governance structure because they are directly responsible for maintaining the traditional irrigation system while preserving the cultural values embedded within it. Through the authority granted by *awig-awig*, *krama* Subak regulate water allocation, organize customary and religious ceremonies, and make collective decisions regarding agricultural activities within Subak areas. The existence of customary village institutions further strengthens the social legitimacy of decisions affecting community interests. Within the context of heritage tourism, *krama* Subak function not only as custodians of environmental conservation but also as guardians of the cultural authenticity that constitutes the primary attraction of Subak landscapes. Therefore, the active involvement of indigenous communities represents an indispensable prerequisite for achieving sustainable governance of heritage tourism destinations.

On the other hand, the private sector serves as both an investor and a provider of tourism-related services, including villa management, restaurants, travel agencies, and other tourism enterprises that capitalize on the attractiveness of Subak landscapes. The participation of private businesses contributes to regional economic growth by increasing investment, creating employment opportunities, and expanding tourism facilities and services. Nevertheless, the profit-oriented nature of private investment may also generate pressure on the ecological and socio-cultural functions of Subak if not accompanied by effective regulatory oversight. Meanwhile, local communities outside the formal Subak structure remain important stakeholders because they directly experience the consequences of land-use changes, increasing tourist arrivals, and the expansion of tourism-related economic activities. These conditions demonstrate that each stakeholder possesses distinct interests, making effective coordination essential to reconcile diverse objectives and ensure balanced heritage tourism development.

The findings further reveal that coordination among stakeholders in Subak management remains partial and has not yet evolved into a fully integrated governance system. In several Subak areas that have become iconic tourism destinations, communication forums involving tourism village management organizations, tourism awareness groups (*Pokdarwis*), and *krama* Subak have already been established to discuss issues related to heritage tourism management. These forums provide opportunities for stakeholders to exchange ideas, express their concerns, develop mutual understanding, and identify solutions to emerging challenges. However, local government institutions are generally not yet structurally involved in day-to-day operational decision-making, resulting in coordination mechanisms that remain fragmented and largely sectoral. Consequently, many policy initiatives continue to be implemented independently according to the respective authority of each institution rather than through integrated collaborative governance.

These findings are consistent with the early stages of the *Collaborative Governance* framework proposed by Ansell and Gash (2008), which emphasizes the importance of face-to-face dialogue as the foundation for developing collaborative relationships among stakeholders. At this stage, communication primarily aims to establish mutual trust, strengthen legitimacy, and foster shared commitment before collaboration evolves into more formal and binding institutional arrangements. Accordingly, the existing coordination pattern in Subak management demonstrates that collaborative processes have begun to emerge but have not yet reached a mature stage of governance. Strengthening institutional arrangements, clarifying stakeholder roles and responsibilities, and establishing more integrated coordination mechanisms are therefore essential to enable all stakeholders to participate effectively in achieving sustainable heritage tourism management while preserving the ecological, cultural, and social values of Subak.

3.2. Collaborative Dynamics

The document analysis reveals that the collaborative process in the management of Subak as a heritage tourism destination in Bali is characterized by five interrelated dimensions: participation, legitimacy, trust, accountability, and shared understanding. These dimensions do not operate independently but rather reinforce one another in creating an effective collaborative governance process. The interaction among stakeholders demonstrates that successful collaboration depends not only on the formal involvement of relevant institutions but also on the quality of relationships established among government agencies, *krama* Subak, the private sector, and local communities. Through continuous interaction, stakeholders gradually develop a collective commitment to balancing cultural heritage preservation with tourism development. Consequently, collaborative governance in Subak management should be understood as a dynamic process that evolves through sustained communication, negotiation, and mutual adjustment among stakeholders.

DOI: https://doi.org/10.69693/ijmst.v4i2. 12926
Lisensi: Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International (CC BY 4.0)

Participation constitutes the initial stage in the collaborative process because it provides opportunities for all stakeholders to contribute to decision-making. The active involvement of *krama* Subak in tourism management forums demonstrates that indigenous communities are not merely beneficiaries of tourism development but also key actors in determining the future direction of Subak management. Their participation ensures that decisions concerning tourism activities remain aligned with customary values and the ecological functions of Subak. Moreover, involving *krama* Subak in deliberative processes strengthens the legitimacy of collective decisions because the communities possessing traditional authority formally recognize and support the agreed policies. As a result, participation serves as the foundation for developing broader collaborative relationships among stakeholders.

Legitimacy subsequently contributes to the development of trust among collaborating actors. Decisions that consistently respect *awig-awig* (customary regulations) and the philosophy of *Tri Hita Karana* foster confidence among indigenous communities that their cultural values and traditional rights are adequately protected. This trust encourages stakeholders to maintain long-term cooperation and minimizes the likelihood of conflicts arising from differences in interests. In addition, trust facilitates open communication among government institutions, indigenous communities, tourism businesses, and local residents, enabling each party to express concerns and expectations transparently. Therefore, legitimacy and trust function as mutually reinforcing dimensions that sustain collaborative governance in Subak management.

Accountability represents another essential component that strengthens collaboration by ensuring transparency and responsibility in decision-making and resource management. Clear accountability mechanisms in the management of tourism revenues, conservation funds, and development programs reduce suspicion among stakeholders and help preserve the cooperative relationships established through previous collaborative efforts. Transparent reporting and shared responsibility also enhance public confidence in governance processes, particularly among indigenous communities that directly experience the impacts of tourism development. Consequently, accountability functions as a bridge between trust and the long-term sustainability of collaborative governance. Without effective accountability mechanisms, collaborative relationships are vulnerable to weakening due to misunderstandings and unequal distribution of responsibilities and benefits.

The fifth dimension, shared understanding, develops through continuous dialogue among government institutions, *krama* Subak, the private sector, and local communities regarding the acceptable limits of tourism commercialization. This shared understanding is reflected in collective agreements concerning visitor quotas, operating hours for tourism activities, restrictions on permanent construction within the core heritage zones, and the protection of sacred cultural spaces. Such agreements demonstrate that collaborative governance extends beyond institutional coordination to include the development of common values and shared objectives among stakeholders. As described by Ansell and Gash (2008), these five dimensions operate in a cyclical manner, whereby progress in one dimension strengthens the others and contributes to a more mature collaborative governance process. Accordingly, the effectiveness of collaboration in Subak management depends on maintaining a continuous cycle of participation, legitimacy, trust, accountability, and shared understanding.

Despite these positive developments, the implementation of collaborative governance in Subak management continues to face significant challenges, particularly regarding the unequal distribution of power among stakeholders. In many cases, *krama* Subak remain structurally and economically weaker than government institutions and private investors, creating the risk that their participation becomes merely symbolic rather than substantive. Such power imbalances may gradually transform Subak from an active subject of heritage management into an object of tourism commodification driven primarily by economic interests. Therefore, collaborative governance in the context of Subak should not be evaluated solely based on the existence of participatory forums but also on the extent to which indigenous communities genuinely influence policy formulation and implementation. From this perspective, the recognition of *awig-awig*, customary values, and the decision-making authority of *krama* Subak should become an integral component of heritage tourism governance. Such an approach enables governments, indigenous communities, the private sector, and local communities to develop a shared understanding regarding the limits of tourism commercialization without compromising the ecological, cultural, and socio-religious functions of Subak.

3.3. Outcome

The document analysis indicates that the implementation of collaborative governance in several Subak areas in Bali has generated three major outcomes: community empowerment, cultural preservation, and local economic development. These outcomes demonstrate that collaboration among government institutions, *krama* Subak, the private sector, and local communities has contributed not only to improving tourism management but also to strengthening the sustainability of Subak as a UNESCO World Cultural Heritage site. The integration of various stakeholders through collaborative governance enables heritage tourism to function as an instrument for balancing conservation objectives with socio-economic development. Consequently, the benefits of tourism extend beyond increasing visitor numbers to include broader social, cultural, and environmental impacts. These findings suggest

DOI: https://doi.org/10.69693/ijmst.v4i2. 12926
Lisensi: Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International (CC BY 4.0)

that collaborative governance provides a valuable framework for achieving sustainable heritage tourism management in culturally significant landscapes such as Subak.

The first major outcome is community empowerment, which is reflected in the increasing capacity of *krama* Subak and local communities to participate actively in tourism-related economic activities. In several Subak areas, indigenous communities have become directly involved in managing tourism services, including guided rice-field tours, community-based accommodation, traditional culinary enterprises, and the marketing of local agricultural products and handicrafts. Such participation enables local residents to become active economic actors rather than merely passive beneficiaries of tourism development. Moreover, community empowerment strengthens local ownership of tourism initiatives and encourages greater responsibility for maintaining the environmental and cultural integrity of Subak landscapes. As a result, tourism development contributes not only to improving household incomes but also to reinforcing the long-term sustainability of indigenous community institutions.

The second outcome is the preservation of Subak culture, which remains one of the principal objectives of collaborative governance. The collaborative process has supported the revitalization of Subak temples (*Pura Ulun Carik*) as centers of religious and customary activities, while tourism-generated revenues have provided additional financial resources for the implementation of traditional ceremonies and cultural rituals. At the same time, the strengthening of *awig-awig* has reinforced the capacity of indigenous communities to regulate land use, water management, and development activities within the core cultural heritage zones. These customary regulations continue to function as an important mechanism for maintaining the authenticity of Subak while ensuring that tourism development remains consistent with local cultural values and the philosophy of *Tri Hita Karana*. Consequently, collaborative governance contributes to preserving Subak not only as a physical agricultural landscape but also as a living cultural heritage sustained through community traditions and customary institutions.

The third outcome is local economic development, which is reflected in the diversification of income sources among Subak farmers and surrounding communities. Whereas agricultural production previously represented the primary source of livelihood, the growth of heritage tourism has created additional employment opportunities in tourism services, hospitality, transportation, food and beverage businesses, and other community-based enterprises. This diversification has enhanced the economic resilience of local communities by reducing their dependence on agricultural income alone. Furthermore, the circulation of tourism-generated revenue within local communities contributes to broader regional economic development while encouraging continued investment in heritage conservation. These findings indicate that collaborative governance has the potential to create mutually reinforcing relationships between cultural preservation and economic growth when all stakeholders participate in a balanced and coordinated manner.

Despite these positive outcomes, the benefits of collaborative governance have not been distributed equally across all Subak areas in Bali. In several locations, disparities remain between the economic benefits received by *krama* Subak and those obtained by large private investors, indicating that collaborative processes have not yet reached the level of maturity envisioned within the *Collaborative Governance* framework. Unequal access to resources, differences in bargaining power, and varying institutional capacities continue to influence the effectiveness of stakeholder collaboration. Consequently, there is a risk that indigenous communities may receive only limited benefits from tourism while bearing a significant share of its environmental and socio-cultural impacts. These findings suggest that strengthening collaborative governance should focus not only on expanding stakeholder participation but also on ensuring a more equitable distribution of decision-making authority, economic benefits, and conservation responsibilities. Such improvements are essential to achieving sustainable heritage tourism that simultaneously protects the ecological, cultural, social, and economic values of Subak for future generations.

4. Conclusion

This study demonstrates that Collaborative Governance offers a relevant and necessary framework for managing subak as a heritage tourism destination in Bali. The analysis shows that subak governance involves four interdependent groups of actors government, subak members/communities (krama subak), the private sector, and local communities that coordinated and integrated with local government decision-making. The collaboration process is shaped by five interlocking dimensions: participation, legitimacy, trust, accountability, and shared understanding, which together generate positive outcomes in the form of community empowerment, cultural preservation, and local economic development. However, the application of Good Governance principles in subak management is still uneven, and the persistence of power imbalances between krama subak and more resourceful actors such as government agencies and private investors continues to threaten the substantive, rather than merely symbolic, participation of indigenous communities in decision-making.

The sustainability of subak as a UNESCO World Cultural Heritage site depends on strengthening collaborative governance mechanisms that place equal weight on economic, ecological, and socio-cultural interests, guided by the values of Tri Hita Karana. This requires formal recognition of awig-awig as a legitimate basis for decision-making alongside government regulation and market mechanisms, as well as clearer, more binding commitments among stakeholders regarding the boundaries of tourism commercialization. Without deliberate efforts to

DOI: https://doi.org/10.69693/ijmst.v4i2. 12926
Lisensi: Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International (CC BY 4.0)

redistribute power and ensure that krama subak retain genuine authority over their land and traditions, heritage tourism risks reducing subak from a living cultural and ecological system into a mere object of commodification. A more mature and equitable collaborative governance model is therefore essential to simultaneously optimize economic benefits for subak communities, safeguard the cultural heritage recognized by UNESCO, and preserve the ecological functions of Bali's traditional irrigation system for future generations.

Reference

Adnyana, P. B. (2016). Subak Sebagai Media Pembelajaran Biologi Berbasis Kearifan Lokal. In *Prosiding Seminar Nasional MIPA*.

Budiarto, M. H., & Rani, F. (2016). *Kebijakan Pemerintah Indonesia Dalam Mempertahankan Irigasi (Subak) Di Lingkungan Masyarakat Bali Pasca Diresmikan Sebagai Warisan Budaya* (Doctoral Dissertation, Universitas Riau).

Buleleng.Go.Id. (2021). *Sistem Irigasi Subak Bali, Indonesia, Metode Pengairan Sawah Tradisional Di Bali Yang Terkenal Dan Ditetapkan Oleh UNESCO Sebagai Warisan Budaya Dunia*. Diakses 24 Juli 2026 Dari Https://Buleleng.Bulelengkab.Go.Id/Informasi/Detail/Artikel/80-Sistem-Irigasi-Subak-Bali-Indonesia-Metode-Pengairan-Sawah-Tradisional-Di-Bali-Yang-Terkenal-Dan-Ditetapkan-Oleh-Unesco-Sebagai-Warisan-Budaya-Dunia

Destishinta, L. Y., & Priadiantoro, B. C. (2025). Sosialisme Dalam Utopia Subak: Pergeseran Dan Krisis Nilai Kolektivitas Di Era Bali Modern. *Multikultura, 4*(4), 7.

Diarta, I. S., & Sarjana, I. M. (2018). Strategi Pengembangan Subak Padanggalak Sebagai Daya Tarik Wisata Di Kota Denpasar Bali. *Media Konservasi, 23*(3).

Elani, K. A., Pribadi, I. A. P., Sutikno, C., Amanda, A., & Atika, Z. R. (2025). Collaborative Governance Dalam Pengembangan Usaha Mikro Kecil Menengah (UMKM) Di Kecamatan Kedungbanteng Kabupaten Banyumas. *Journal Of Community Development And Disaster Management, 7*(1), 77–95. Https://Doi.Org/10.37680/Jcd.V7i1.6821

Febriantini, K. T., Indriani, N. K., Kusuma, B. O., & Yuniari, N. K. Y. (2019). Sinergitas Pemerintah Desa Dan Kelembagaan Lokal Subak Dalam Mewujudkan Pembangunan Berkelanjutan Berbasis Subak Sebagai Warisan Budaya Dunia (Studi Kasus: Subak Jatiluwih, Kabupaten Tabanan). *Spirit Publik: Jurnal Administrasi Publik, 14*(2), 189–202.

Norken, I. N. (2019). Efforts To Preserve The Sustainability Of Subak Irrigation System In Denpasar City, Bali Province, Indonesia. In *MATEC Web Of Conferences* (Vol. 276, P. 04002). EDP Sciences.

Purnawan, N. L. R., & Sardiana, I. K. (2018). Paket Wisata Edukasi Subak Upaya Menjaga Keberlanjutan Potensi Pertanian Dan Pariwisata Berbasis Budaya Di Bali. *Jurnal Kawistara, 7*(3), 275.

Putra, I. M. A. D., & Dwijendra, N. K. A. (2022). Mengembangkan Heritage Tourism Di Kota Denpasar Dengan Memanfaatkan Dokar Hias. *Nalars, 21*(2), 161–168.

Rahmi, D. H., & Setiawan, B. (2020). Pressures On The Balinese World Cultural Landscape Heritage: The Case Of Jatiluwih Subak Village. In *IOP Conference Series: Earth And Environmental Science* (Vol. 501, No. 1, P. 012032). IOP Publishing.

Rasna, I. W., Darmayanti, I. A. M., & Partawan, I. K. S. (2025). Kearifan Lokal Bali Dalam Pendidikan Ekonomi Hijau Sebagai Model Pembelajaran Bahasa Bali. In *Seminar Nasional Riset Inovatif* (Vol. 10).

Rifai, A., Hattab, S., & Astuti, A. S. (2025). Collaborative Governance Dalam Pembangunan Sistem Pengairan Pedesaan Di Desa Bakti Agung Kecamatan Poso Pesisir Utara. *JPS: Journal Of Publicness Studies, 2*(1), 1–10.

Sarita, A. F., Windia, I. W., & Sudarta, I. W. (2013). Persepsi Petani Terhadap Penetapan Subak Sebagai Warisan Budaya Dunia (Studi Kasus Subak Pulagan Kawasan Kecamatan Tampaksiring Kabupaten Gianyar). *Journal Of Agribusiness And Agritourism*, 44958.

Sarna, K. (2025). *Menakar Keberlanjutan Ruang Kawasan Subak Dari Perspektif Hukum Penataan Ruang: Telisik Dasawarsa Pembangunan Bali*. Deepublish.

Zen, I. S., Surata, S. P. K., Titisari, P. W., Ab Rahman, S. A., & Zen, S. (2024). Sustaining Subak, The Balinese Traditional Ecological Knowledge In The Contemporary Context Of Bali. In *IOP Conference Series: Earth And Environmental Science* (Vol. 1306, No. 1, P. 012034). IOP Publishing.

Peraturan Daerah Provinsi Bali Nomor 9 Tahun 2012 Tentang Subak

Kusbandrijo, B. (2020). *Apa Itu Collaborative Governance?* Diakses 24 Juli 2026 Melalui Https://Publik.Untag-Sby.Ac.Id/Web/Beritadetail/Apa-Itu-Collaborative-Governance-.Html

DOI: https://doi.org/10.69693/ijmst.v4i2. 12926
Lisensi: Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International (CC BY 4.0)