



Adaptive Governance Model in Cultural Preservation: Balancing Customary Obligations and Community Economy in Bali

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to analyze the coordination patterns between the Bali Provincial Government and *Desa Adat* (Customary Villages) regarding cultural preservation and to evaluate the effectiveness of the current governance model. Methodologically, this study employs a qualitative approach through in depth interviews with key informants, including government officials, *Majelis Desa Adat* administrators, *Bendesa Adat*, and community members (*krama*). The results show that the current cultural governance model is protective-normative, focusing on institutional strengthening and budgetary support, yet it is not yet fully adaptive to the community's economic pressures. There is a noted imbalance between the symbolic value of culture and the actual economic capacity of residents, exacerbated by rising ceremonial costs and social expectations. Consequently, this study proposes an adaptive-collaborative governance model supported by four main pillars: flexible *awig-awig* regulation, needs based cultural subsidy schemes, digital transparency in customary fund management, and deliberative collaborative forums. In conclusion, the transformation toward an adaptive collaborative governance model is a structural necessity to maintain the balance between state authority, customary autonomy, and the socio-economic sustainability of the community. This integration is expected to ensure that the preservation of tradition remains proportional and inclusive, while guaranteeing social justice for the Balinese people amidst the dynamics of globalization.

INTRODUCTION

The Province of Bali is globally recognized as a region with a highly institutionalized cultural system that serves as the primary foundation for its social structure (Sanjaya & Dharma, 2023). Culture in Bali does not merely function as a symbolic identity; rather, it acts as a value system that regulates social relations, religious practices, and daily life (Maya Poetra & Nurjaya, 2024). Within the context of public policy, cultural preservation is central to the regional development vision, articulated through the *Nangun Sat Kerthi Loka Bali* concept, which positions the preservation of customary values as the primary basis for social, economic, and environmental development (Herscovici, 2025).

However, over the last two decades, the sustainability of this cultural system has faced significant multidimensional pressures. Globalization and shifting economic orientations have driven transformations in socio cultural practices (Huraerah et al., 2023). The most urgent phenomenon is the shift in religious rituals and ceremonies, which are increasingly oriented toward symbolic representations of social status and prestige (Hasanah, 2025). Consequently, the costs of performing customary practices have risen sharply, which for low to middle income groups is perceived as a burdensome financial obligation amid global economic uncertainty (Safitri et al., 2024). This situation is increasingly critical given Bali's economic structure, which is heavily dependent on the tourism sector, a sector proven vulnerable to economic fluctuations, as witnessed during the COVID-19 pandemic.

The gap between sacred customary obligations and community economic capacity creates a serious policy dilemma.

To date, literature on cultural preservation in Bali has been dominated by anthropological, sustainable tourism, and customary law approaches. These studies tend to position culture as an object of normative conservation, yet few have examined it from a public governance perspective that integrates fiscal and economic aspects. International literature indicates that cultural heritage preservation requires cross sectoral policy integration and multi actor participation however, research specifically integrating cultural economics theory into the governance framework in Bali remains very limited (Ariesmansyah et al., 2023). This study aims to address this research gap by developing an *adaptive governance* model, as presented in the conceptual framework of Figure 1 below:



Figure 1 : Conceptual Framework : Adaptive Governance Model for Cultural Preservation in Bali

Source: Researcher's analysis

The conceptual framework of this study is built on the premise that cultural preservation in Bali can no longer be

understood as an entity isolated from the community's economic realities. The tension between sacred customary obligations and household economic capacity is a complex public problem (*wicked problems*) that demands a more dynamic and collaborative policy response. Theoretically, the study's logic begins by identifying multidimensional challenges including globalization pressures, the shift in ritual orientation toward social prestige, and economic vulnerability due to tourism dependency as dilemmatic inputs (Harfst et al., 2024). These challenges are then analyzed using three primary theoretical pillars:

1. Governance Theory: Emphasizes adaptive capacity and collaboration among actors (state, market, and civil society) to handle the dynamics of non-static public issues (Ansell et al., 2025).
2. Cultural Economics: Views culture through a duality of value as both a symbolic asset and an economic resource necessitating a rational balance in its management (Herscovici, 2025).
3. Institutional Theory: Analyzes how regulative (formal rules), normative, and cultural pillars shape interaction patterns between the government, *desa adat* (customary villages), and the community in daily practices (Aksom & Vakulenko, 2024).

Through a governance process involving interactions between formal regulations and *awig-awig* (customary law), multi-sectoral coordination, and responsive community participation, this study moves toward developing concrete policy models (Khassawneh & Elrehail, 2022). Its primary focus is to formulate policy instruments such as flexible regulations, needs based cultural subsidies, and digital based customary fund transparency that are capable of bridging economic gaps (Nookala Jp, 2024). Ultimately, this conceptual framework directs the research toward long-term outcomes in the form of a balance between the preservation of sacred cultural values and the strengthening of community economic resilience (Herscovici, 2025). Thus, cultural preservation is no longer perceived as a burdensome financial obligation, but rather as a sustainable, adaptive social asset capable of responding to dynamic socio economic challenges in Bali (Eitrem et al., 2024).

METHOD

This study employs a qualitative approach with an explanatory case study design to examine the interactions of cultural governance in Bali. The empirical foundation of this research was built through data triangulation (Steckhan et al., 2024) involving 20 informants selected using purposive sampling, consisting of: technical officials at the Bali Province Cultural Office (3 people), administrators of the Customary Village Council (*Majelis Desa Adat*) at the provincial and regency levels (4 people), *Bendesa Adat* (customary village heads) from three customary villages with different economic characteristics (6 people), and *krama* (customary village members) representatives from lower-middle-income groups (7 people). Data collection procedures were conducted over six months through in-depth interviews with a duration of 60–90 minutes per session, participatory observation in customary village coordination meetings, and documentary studies of regional regulations and *awig-awig* (customary laws). All interview data were transcribed verbatim and verified through member checking to ensure the accuracy of the information.

Data analysis was performed using the interactive model of Miles, Huberman, and Saldana, integrated with a thematic analysis framework to construct an adaptive governance model (Coates et al., 2023). We applied inductive coding steps to identify patterns of tension between customary obligations and economic realities, followed by pattern matching with governance, cultural economics, and institutional theories to validate the findings. The model development process was conducted iteratively by synthesizing empirical data regarding field practices and community needs, which were then conceptualized into an adaptive governance framework. The transparency of this analytical process, from raw data coding to the formulation of model propositions, is explained through a documented audit trail to ensure the credibility, rigor, and replicability of this study.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Collaboration between the Bali Provincial Government and *Desa Adat* in Cultural Preservation Governance

Research findings indicate that the Bali Provincial Government has positioned cultural preservation as a strategic priority in regional development. This commitment is reflected in the integration of culture-based development visions into regional planning documents, as well as the strengthening of regulations that affirm the status of *Desa Adat* (customary villages) as legal entities and strategic government partners. In recent years, Bali's development approach has increasingly emphasized the balance between economic growth and customary preservation, particularly as a response to pandemic related economic pressures and the resurgence of global tourism. The regional government views culture not merely as heritage, but as the foundation of sustainable development (Rangkuti et al., 2024). The empowerment of *Desa Adat* institutions has been implemented through direct budgetary support, administrative guidance, and the facilitation of cultural programs. Special financial assistance for *Desa Adat* serves as a crucial instrument to support the performance of rituals, the maintenance of temples, and other customary activities. In the current context, as tourism activity recovers and social mobility increases, this support serves as a buffer, allowing *Desa Adat* to continue fulfilling their socio religious roles without being entirely dependent on contributions from the *krama* (customary members). The government also encourages synergy between *Desa Adat* and administrative villages (*desa dinas*) to prevent the overlapping of authorities in managing cultural activities.

- a. Interviews with officials from the Bali Provincial Culture Office (Informant: D-01) revealed that cultural preservation policies are designed to maintain traditions while strengthening the collective identity of the Balinese people amidst modernization. Strategies developed include the digitization of cultural archives, documentation of intangible cultural heritage, and the recording of customary ceremonies to prevent the loss of knowledge among the younger generation. Recent programs also utilize digital platforms to publish ritual calendars and promote cultural events, thereby expanding information access and increasing cultural literacy within the community.
- b. However, field findings indicate that current policies remain largely oriented toward the normative and symbolic aspects of cultural preservation. Regulations

emphasize the protection of the existence of customary institutions and the legitimacy of rituals, while the rationalization of the economic costs of ritual implementation has not yet become a primary focus. In practice, the costs of certain ceremonies have increased significantly due to evolving social standards, the use of more complex ritual equipment, and high expectations for *krama* participation. A *Bendesa Adat* (Informant: B-02) explained, "Ritual burdens currently often exceed the monthly income of residents, so many families are forced to go into debt just to fulfill customary obligations." This situation is acutely felt in urban areas and tourism buffer zones, where household economic pressure is significant.

- c. The phenomenon of symbolic competition or social prestige in ritual performance also poses a distinct challenge. Several informants, including administrators of the *Majelis Desa Adat* (Informant: M-01), reported a tendency among community members to perform large scale ceremonies as a display of social status, especially during events such as *ngaben* (cremation) or major temple rituals (*upacara besar*). In an economic context that is not yet fully stable, such practices can burden family and community finances. The provincial government generally respects the autonomy of *Desa Adat* in regulating ritual practices, and as such, interventions in the technical aspects of ceremony implementation remain very limited. Regarding this, a *krama* representative (Informant: K-04) stated, "We sincerely hope there is room to simplify ceremonies without diminishing their sanctity, especially during difficult economic times like these."
- d. Currently, the challenge of cultural preservation governance in Bali extends beyond the protection of traditional values: it also involves formulating policies that are adaptive to the community's socio economic dynamics. A collaborative approach between the regional government, the *Majelis Desa Adat*, and other stakeholders is required to encourage ritual practices that remain sacred yet economically proportional. Future strategies could focus on developing context sensitive guidelines for ritual implementation, strengthening culture-conscious rational literacy, and integrating cultural policy with community economic empowerment programs to ensure that cultural preservation and economic sustainability progress in balance.

The Dynamics of Economic Burdens in the Implementation of Customary Practices

Interviews with *krama* (customary members) indicate a trend of rising costs for conducting customary ceremonies in Bali, particularly for rituals involving large-scale consumption, decorations, and ritual equipment. The increasing prices of *upakara* materials (offering ingredients), equipment rentals, and support services in recent years have significantly raised household expenditures. A community member (Informant: K-02) stated, "The prices of ceremonial supplies keep rising, but the demand for the ceremony to look 'decent' remains high. This forces us to spend far beyond our actual capabilities." Several informants noted that the social pressure to hold ceremonies

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deemed "proper," "appropriate," or "not inferior" to other families is the primary driver of cost escalation. In Balinese society, where family and community honor are highly valued, this symbolic dimension carries strong social significance.

The accompanying photograph illustrates the comparison of *bade* (cremation tower) construction for *Ngaben* ceremonies in Bali, highlighting the differences in scale and financing according to a family's economic capacity. On one hand, a *bade* with high construction, intricate ornaments, and luxurious decorations reflects a relatively high cost. On the other hand, a simpler *bade* with smaller dimensions and minimal ornaments represents a more affordable choice. This comparison demonstrates that *Ngaben* ceremonies in Bali are flexible and adaptive to a community's economic condition without diminishing the spiritual meaning or sanctity of the ritual.



Figure 2: A Simple Ngaben Ceremony

Source: <https://dwimistryriver.wordpress.com/tag/ngaben/>



Figure 3: a luxury ngaben ceremony

Source: <https://baliexpress.jawapos.com/bali/676389366/pelebon-ibunda-dan-kakak-jaya-negara-digelar-bersamaan-dua-lembu-iringi-ke-setra>

The *Ngaben* ceremony in Bali, as part of the Hindu cremation tradition, shows variations in implementation influenced by

social context, customary norms, and a family's economic capacity. For some, *Ngaben* is performed on a large and elaborate scale, featuring a tall, artistically decorated *bade* and complete ceremonial equipment. This model generally requires substantial expenditure, involving many ritual supplies, customary labor, and complex procession arrangements.

However, in contemporary social practice, not all *Ngaben* ceremonies are conducted at a high cost. Many *Desa Adat* (customary villages) organize simpler ceremonies or even *Ngaben massal* (mass cremation) as a form of social solidarity to assist low and middle income households. Through this collective mechanism, ritual costs can be reduced because ceremonial equipment is shared, preparations are made collaboratively, and expenses are distributed proportionally. This practice demonstrates the flexibility of Balinese customary law in adapting to economic challenges without compromising the spiritual and religious significance of the ceremony. Consequently, *Ngaben* in Bali reflects a balance between sacred values, customary social structures, and the economic realities of the community.

In the current situation, as social and religious activities have returned post pandemic, the frequency of ceremonies has increased significantly. Delays during previous social restrictions resulted in a "backlog" of ritual agendas in recent years, increasing the demand for ceremonial equipment and support services, which has indirectly driven up prices. In urban areas and tourism buffer zones, aesthetic standards and ceremony scales tend to be larger than before, influenced by exposure to social media and digital documentation, which expand opportunities for symbolic representation.

From the perspective of institutional theory, this phenomenon can be understood as a form of normative and cultural cognitive pressure that shapes social behavior (Qaissi, 2024). Collective norms regarding proper customary behavior create strong social expectations about how families should conduct ceremonies. Although not stated explicitly in formal government regulations or *awig-awig* (customary laws), this pressure carries significant social binding power. A *Bendesa Adat* (Informant: B-05) acknowledged, "There is a fear of being judged poorly by neighbors if the ceremony held is too simple, so even if the family economy is struggling, they still force themselves (to spend) so as not to be considered incapable." Consequently, rational economic considerations are often defeated by the need for social legitimacy.

This situation highlights the gap between formal government regulations and informal customary norms. Regional governments tend to emphasize the protection and facilitation of cultural preservation without specifying detailed technical procedures for ritual implementation, out of respect for *Desa Adat* autonomy. However, in practice, social dynamics at the community level develop independently, setting new standards that are not always aligned with principles of economic efficiency. In other words, formal governance has not fully reached the informal social mechanisms that largely determine community behavior.

Economically, the burden of ritual implementation is felt most heavily by families with unstable incomes, especially amidst global economic fluctuations, uncertainty in the tourism sector, and rising living costs. Although Bali's tourism sector has shown signs of recovery, not all community members benefit equally. Informal workers and small scale sectors continue to experience

income instability. Although financial assistance for *Desa Adat* is available and supports collective activities, such assistance does not always meet the needs of individual families facing financial pressure when required to perform ceremonies on a certain scale.

The dynamics of the economic burden in ritual practice must be considered within the framework of *Ekonomi Kerthi Bali* as a regional development paradigm. This concept emphasizes the balance between cultural preservation and community welfare, meaning that ritual practices must be managed proportionally and sustainably (Balzano et al., 2025). However, in practice, the rising standards of ceremonies and social symbolism often exceed the economic capacity of the *krama*, thereby creating financial pressure at the family and community level. A *Majelis Desa Adat* administrator (Informant: M-03) stated, "We need to find a middle ground through more adaptive policies, so that cultural values are preserved but the community is not burdened by constantly increasing social standards."

Within the *Ekonomi Kerthi Bali* framework, cultural preservation includes not only maintaining sacred values and collective identity but also ensuring the economic sustainability of the customary community (Astiké, 2022). Therefore, it is necessary to integrate cultural policy with principles of efficiency, rational cultural literacy, and the strengthening of economic empowerment so that traditions can be maintained without imposing excessive socio-economic burdens. These findings reveal a gap between cultural preservation policies and the socio economic realities of the community. The governance challenge is not only to maintain cultural sustainability but also to formulate an approach that is more adaptive and sensitive to the economic conditions of the *krama* (Horban et al., 2022). Without reflective efforts and collaborative dialogue between the government, *Desa Adat*, and the community, there is a risk that the socio economic burden will continue to increase, turning cultural preservation into a source of pressure for specific segments of society.

Coordination Patterns Between the Government and Customary Villages (*Desa Adat*)

This study finds that coordination between the Bali Provincial Government and *Desa Adat* (Customary Villages) occurs through complementary formal and informal mechanisms (Handke & Dalla Chiesa, 2022). Formally, coordination is conducted through the *Majelis Desa Adat* (MDA/Customary Village Council), consultative meetings, cultural communication forums, and program synchronization between local government agencies and customary village representatives. An official from the Department of Culture (Informant: D-01) explained, "Formal coordination through forums such as the *Pasamuhan Agung* is crucial to ensure that the direction of cultural preservation policies is aligned from the provincial level down to the customary villages." The following is an example of a formal mechanism implemented by the *Majelis Desa Adat* of Bali Province:



Figure 4: Pasamuhan Agung of the Majelis Desa Adat (MDA)

Bali

Source: Bali Provincial Government documents

The figure above depicts the *Pasamuhan Agung* of the Bali Provincial *Majelis Desa Adat*. The *Pasamuhan Agung* is the highest forum within the provincial customary institutional structure and plays a strategic role in maintaining a unified policy direction for *Desa Adat* in Bali. Its primary objective is to formulate policies regarding the governance of *Desa Adat*, the preservation of Balinese customs, religion, traditions, and culture so that they remain harmonious and adaptive to social dynamics. This forum also serves as a consolidation space for all *Desa Adat* to strengthen solidarity and maintain social stability. A member of the *Majelis Desa Adat* (Informant: M-02) added, "This forum is a venue for us to align *awig-awig* (customary laws) and *pararem* (village regulations) with national legal provisions without losing our character and customary autonomy."

In addition to formal mechanisms, informal coordination plays a crucial role. Personal relationships between local government officials, *Majelis Desa Adat* administrators, and *Bendesa Adat* (customary village heads) often provide more flexible and rapid communication channels. Within the framework of collaborative governance, this pattern reflects multi actor interaction in managing cultural issues. However, the study found that grassroots community participation in policy formulation remains relatively limited. A *Bendesa Adat* (Informant: B-03) noted, "Often, policies are already drafted at the provincial level and then consulted with us, but the space for participation for *krama* (community members) at the grassroots level to provide technical input is still very minimal."

Regarding policy effectiveness, several *Bendesa Adat* reported that the government rarely provides specific technical guidelines regarding cost ceilings or economically proportional standards for conducting rituals. A *Bendesa Adat* (Informant: B-01) revealed, "The government is more focused on strengthening identity and providing funding assistance, but there is no integrative guidance on how to balance ceremonial costs with the economic capacity of residents amidst rising living costs." Consequently, policy variations between villages are significant, depending on local social and economic dynamics. The following are examples of *awig-awig* from several *desa adat* in Bali Province:

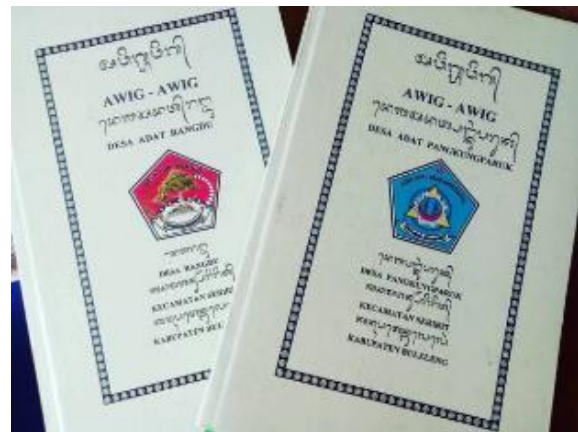


Figure 5: Awig-Awig Document of Rangdu Customary Village, Buleleng Regency, Bali Province

Source: Bali Provincial Government documents

Awig-awig holds a crucial position as the normative foundation of *Desa Adat* governance. This document is not merely customary rules, but a local legal system that regulates institutional structures, the authority of *prajuru* (village officials), the rights and obligations of *krama*, and dispute resolution. From an institutional perspective, *awig-awig* strengthens the legitimacy of the *Bendesa's* leadership and provides binding social authority for every decision taken. A community member/*krama* (Informant: K-05) stated, "We obey the rules in the *awig-awig* because they are the result of collective agreement through deliberation in the village, although sometimes we feel burdened if the cost standards for rituals in the *awig-awig* are not adjusted to current economic conditions."

This condition illustrates that cultural governance in Bali is hybrid in nature, combining formal state regulations with living customary norms. The state provides legitimacy and a legal framework, while *Desa Adat* performs operational functions based on values and traditions. The current challenge does not lie in institutional recognition, but in policy harmonization that is sensitive to the community's economic dynamics (Partelow et al., 2020). Moving forward, a more deliberative and inclusive collaborative forum is needed, where the economic sustainability of *krama* families becomes part of the cultural policy discourse. Integration between formal regulations, the updating of *awig-awig*, and village based economic empowerment programs can be a relevant strategy to ensure that the preservation of tradition remains proportional and socially economically sustainable.

Based on the research findings, the cultural preservation governance model in Bali can currently be categorized as a protective normative model. This model is characterized by a strong emphasis on protecting cultural existence, strengthening customary institutions, providing collective budget support from the local government, and minimal intervention in the internal social economic dynamics of the community (Filgueiras et al., 2023). A Department of Culture official (Informant: D-01) asserted, "Our focus is to ensure the continuity of customary institutions and traditional values through regulatory and budgetary support, but we avoid technical intervention in internal rituals so as not to undermine the autonomy of the *Desa Adat*." This model is effective in maintaining the stability of customary institutions amidst globalization and modernization.

However, this model is not yet fully adaptive to the economic pressures experienced by segments of the community. A *Bendesa*

Adat (Informant: B-02) conveyed, "Government assistance is indeed helpful for collective activities, but at the household level, the pressure of ceremonial costs remains very heavy for residents with uncertain incomes." The imbalance between the symbolic value of culture and actual economic capacity is increasingly evident as social expectations rise due to social media exposure. A resident/*krama* (Informant: K-03) noted, "We feel pressured by ceremonial standards that are becoming increasingly luxurious; there is social pressure so that ceremonies do not appear 'cheap', even though we are struggling economically."

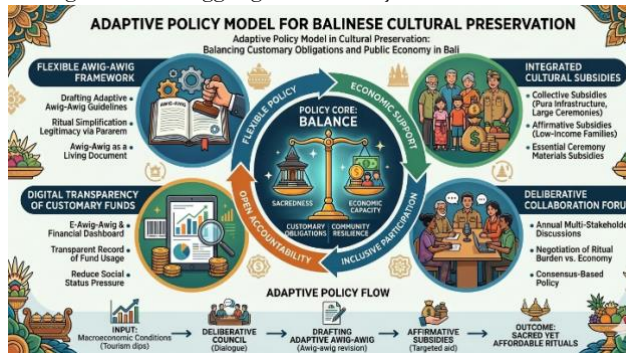


Figure 6. Adaptive Policy Model for Balinese Cultural Preservation
Source: Researcher's analysis

An adaptive policy model aimed at balancing customary obligations with the economic resilience of the community in Bali. The core of this model is to maintain a balance between the sacred value of rituals and the economic capacity of residents, where customary obligations must remain in harmony with community resilience. This model is supported by four main pillars: a flexible *awig-awig* framework, integrated cultural subsidies, digital transparency in customary fund management, and deliberative collaboration forums involving various stakeholders to reach a consensus.

The adaptive policy flow begins with observing macroeconomic conditions, such as tourism fluctuations (Younas, 2022). This process involves dialogue within a deliberative council to revise *awig-awig* to be more adaptive, as well as the distribution of affirmative subsidies targeted at families in need. The final outcome of this flow is the creation of ritual practices that remain sacred yet economically affordable for the community, ensuring that cultural preservation can take place sustainably.

Based on theoretical and empirical analysis, this study proposes a collaborative-adaptive governance model which includes four main pillars:

- Adaptive Regulation: Flexibility in *awig-awig* facilitated by the government to encourage cost rationalization without diminishing sacredness. A *Majelis Desa Adat* official (Informant: M-01) stated, "We need guidelines that are not rigid, where *Desa Adat* are given the space to simplify rituals through *pararem* adjusted to the economic capacity of the residents."
- Needs Based Cultural Subsidy Schemes: Direct assistance or structured cooperative funds for vulnerable families.
- Digital Customary Fund Transparency: Digitalization of financial reports to increase accountability and reduce social pressure caused by assumptions of a lack of transparency. A *Bendesa Adat* (Informant: B-04)

revealed, "Digitalizing *Desa Adat* finances is an important step so that *krama* trust that the dues they contribute are managed well and transparently."

- Collaborative Forum: A participatory dialogue space between the government, *Desa Adat*, academics, and community representatives for periodic evaluation.

Analysis of the Emerging Governance Model

Based on the research findings, the current model of cultural preservation governance in Bali can be categorized as a protective normative model (Nookala Jp, 2024). This model is characterized by a strong emphasis on safeguarding cultural existence, strengthening customary institutions, providing collective budgetary support from the regional government, and minimal intervention in the internal socio-economic dynamics of the community (Tousi et al., 2025). In the current context, this model has proven effective in maintaining the stability of customary institutions amid globalization, modernization, and the recovery of the tourism sector (Saputra, 2024). *Desa Adat* remains the center of social religious life, and Balinese cultural legitimacy is increasingly reinforced within regional development policies.

From a governance perspective, the protective normative approach successfully ensures the continuity of institutional structures and the authority of customary institutions (LI et al., 2025). The local government acts as a facilitator and protector rather than a technical controller of ritual practices (Savoie et al., 2025). However, this model is not yet fully adaptive to the economic pressures experienced by parts of the community, especially those with irregular income. In the current situation, with rising living costs, higher prices of ceremonial materials, and increasing social expectations influenced by social media exposure, there is a growing imbalance between the symbolic value of culture and the community's actual economic capacity (Zhu & Li, 2024).

When symbolic cultural values rise without being accompanied by sensitive economic policies, the potential for social inequality also increases. Families with greater economic capacity can more easily meet social expectations during ceremonies, whereas vulnerable families face financial and psychological stress. In recent cases, internal village discussions have emerged regarding the need to simplify ceremony scales or strengthen cooperative mechanisms (*gotong royong*), yet these initiatives are not yet systematically integrated into regional regulatory framework (Butler et al., 2021)s. This situation highlights the need for a transformation toward a more responsive governance model (Melaku, 2023).

Based on theoretical and empirical analysis, this study proposes a collaborative adaptive governance model which includes four main pillars:

- Adaptive Regulation: Flexibility in *awig-awig* facilitated by the government to encourage cost rationalization without diminishing sacredness. A *Majelis Desa Adat* official (Informant: M-01) stated, "We need guidelines that are not rigid, where *Desa Adat* are given the space to simplify rituals through *pararem* adjusted to the economic capacity of the residents."
- Needs Based Cultural Subsidy Schemes: Direct assistance or structured cooperative funds for vulnerable families.
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reduce social pressure caused by assumptions of a lack of transparency. A *Bendesa Adat* (Informant: B-04) revealed, "Digitalizing *Desa Adat* finances is an important step so that *krama* trust that the dues they contribute are managed well and transparently."

- d. Collaborative Forum: A participatory dialogue space between the government, *Desa Adat*, academics, and community representatives for periodic evaluation.

Implications of Findings

Theoretically, this study expands the discourse on governance by incorporating the economic burden of rituals as a public policy concern (Aslinda & Amrizon, 2025). Practically, the Bali Provincial Government needs to complement the protective approach with an affirmative approach for vulnerable groups. An official from the Department of Culture (Informant: D-02) acknowledged, "Going forward, our policies must indeed be more sensitive to the economic disparities between families so that cultural preservation does not become a burden for certain groups in society."

Table 1: Integration of Theoretical and Empirical Perspectives

Theory	Core Concept	Key Findings	Model Implications
Governance	Regulation & Facilitation	Cultural funding policies & social assistance	Need for flexible, adaptive regulation
Collaborative Governance	Multi-stakeholder	Dialogue forums to respond to cost burdens	Collaborative forums as a participatory mechanism
Institutional Theory	Norms & Legitimacy	Awig-awig as the primary reference	Policies must align with local norms
Cultural Economy	Culture as an economic system	Rituals stimulate the local economy but burden residents	Need for cultural subsidies & cost rationalization

Source: Researcher's analysis

The integration of these four perspectives reinforces the argument that an adaptive governance model is not merely an administrative innovation, but a structural necessity to maintain the balance between state authority, customary autonomy, and the socio-economic sustainability of the community. As concluded by an official from the *Majelis Desa Adat* (Informant: M-03), "This adaptive model is the key to ensuring that our traditions not only survive physically but are also economically felt to be beneficial and accessible by the community."

CONCLUSION

This study reveals that the current cultural preservation governance in Bali is at a critical juncture, where the dominant protective normative model has begun to clash with the economic realities of the community. Through the formulation of an Adaptive Collaborative Governance Model, this study

contributes theoretically by integrating governance scholarship and cultural economics, in which the economic burden of rituals is recognized as a crucial variable in public policy. Practically, this research recommends *awig-awig* (customary village regulations) flexibility, needs based cultural subsidy schemes, digitalization of financial transparency, and deliberative collaborative forums as key instruments to ensure that the preservation of traditions remains inclusive, proportional, and sustainable without overburdening vulnerable groups. Nevertheless, this study has limitations due to its geographical scope, which is centered on areas with high tourism intensity; therefore, generalizing the findings to customary villages in rural or agrarian regions requires a more contextual approach. Given that the role of non-state actors and the diversification of cultural funding have not been explored in depth, future research agendas are advised to conduct comparative studies between tourism and non tourism zones, as well as to evaluate potential alternative financing schemes such as Corporate Social Responsibility or crowdfunding. Thus, the implementation of this Adaptive Collaborative Governance Model serves as a strategic response for the Bali Provincial Government in integrating the cultural preservation agenda with efforts to strengthen community economic resilience, ensuring that future cultural governance development can effectively address dynamic socio-economic challenges.

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