

RESEARCH ARTICLE



Agritourism as a Model for Subak Conservation in Bali

I Ketut Surya Diarta^a, Ni Made Classia Sukendar^b and I Putu Sudana^c

Article Info:

Received 13 July 2025

Revised 14 September 2025

Accepted 21 September 2025

Corresponding Author:

I Ketut Surya Diarta

Master of Sustainable

Development and Finance,

Postgraduate Program, University

of Udayana, Bali, Indonesia i

E-mail: suryadiarta@unud.ac.id

© 2026 Diarta et al. This is an open-access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution (CC BY) license, which allows unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided that proper credit is given to the original authors.



^a Master of Sustainable Development and Finance, Postgraduate Program, University of Udayana, Bali, Indonesia

^b Department of Agribusiness, Faculty of Agribusiness, University of Udayana, Bali, Indonesia

^c Department of Travel Industry, Faculty of Tourism, University of Udayana, Bali, Indonesia

Abstract

This research investigates the role of agritourism in conserving Subak Jatiluwih as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in Bali, based on the Tri Hita Karana philosophy. This study seeks to investigate how agritourism operates as a device for the conservation of traditional agricultural landscapes when threatened by modernisation and tourism. The study employed an ethnographic case study involving fieldwork, interviews, participant observation, and document analysis. Fieldwork was conducted from June to November 2024, using purposive sampling to gather insights from 20 informants, including Subak leaders, farmers, tourism actors, community representatives, government officials, and visitors, providing a comprehensive, multilevel understanding of Subak Jatiluwih. This study identified four critical means by which agritourism promotes conservation: institutional strengthening, ritual conservation, experiential engagement, and the equitable distribution of benefits. Agritourism ensures the continuity of traditional farming and contributes to the dissemination of spiritual-ecological values and the involvement of the youth and the population of the communities concerned. However, there have also been criticisms of issues ranging from unequal benefits to cultural commodification. This evidence-based study demonstrates that adaptive and inclusive governance are essential for achieving fair outcomes. The framework provides transferable lessons on how agritourism can mediate economic, ecological, and cultural interests in heritage landscapes and offers a template for other rural contexts in Southeast Asia and elsewhere.

Keywords: Agritourism, conservation, cultural landscape, subak, tri hita karana

1. Introduction

In contexts where agriculture is strongly associated with cultural heritage, traditional agricultural systems are increasingly threatened by land commodification and tourism-related transformations. In Indonesia, Subak, inscribed in 2012 on UNESCO's World Cultural Landscape list, is a distinctive indigenous community-based irrigation system rooted in the Balinese philosophy of *Tri Hita Karana* (THK) in Balinese culture, which is based on achieving a harmonious relationship among humans, nature, and gods [1]. This is the principal moral underpinning of land, water, and spiritual management in Bali's agricultural system. THK knowledge is required to understand tourism practices as they are assessed and planned in the Subak community. However, this World Heritage Site has been increasingly confronted with nascent challenges, such as rapid tourism development, urban sprawl overflows, and generational disconnection from farming practices, which threaten the ecological and cultural endurance of this system [2,3]. To confront these converging challenges, creative solutions that maintain Subak's material and spiritual components and offer economically viable alternatives to local people must be developed. Agritourism has been increasingly recognized as a potentially influential policy mechanism that balances protection-driven objectives and livelihood needs.

Agritourism has become a policy tool for revitalizing agrarian livelihoods and diversifying local economies in Japan. It combines agricultural business, landscape experience, and cultural interactions for economic and environmental purposes [4]. Globally, agritourism is considered an instrument for heritage conservation [5,6]. In Japan, rice terrace tourism involves visitors' direct and intensive immersion in traditional agricultural practices [7]. These cases show the potential of agritourism as part of an 'exchange' between economic

interests and cultural and ecological preservation. While overseas reports on these case studies demonstrate the multifaceted benefits of agritourism, they also highlight the necessity for local adaptation, that is, how such models can be implemented within specific cultural contexts. Based on this realization, there is a lack of empirical evidence to contest the conservation potential of agritourism in Southeast Asia (SEA).

Despite these developments, the literature in this area suggests a lack of systematic studies on the role of agritourism in agricultural conservation, particularly in SEA. The literature review reveals that, to date, research has predominantly concentrated on visitor satisfaction, tourism marketing or overlapping, and generalised sustainability concepts [8], while neglecting the governance, ritual, and ecological regulations involved in traditional systems, such as the Subak. Although participatory models and food heritage approaches have been explored, there is scarce empirical evidence to support or enhance community agricultural institutions through agritourism [4,9]. By clearly identifying and fulfilling its essential requirements, agritourism can function effectively as a powerful tool for conservation. These include their compatibility with local governance structures, capacity to transmit generational knowledge and practices, and flexibility in linking ritual calendars and ecologies to tourist experiences. Previous successful cases in Japan, Spain, and Switzerland have shown that agritourism works if it strengthens rather than undermines traditional authority and ecological performance. These were used as the criteria for assessing the Jatiluwih agritourism model.

This study addresses this knowledge gap by considering agritourism not only as an economic activity but also as a possible model for protecting Subak as a living socioecological system. It is based on the idea that conservation is not just about static preservation but also about developing adaptive continuity based on local values. It focuses on Subak Jatiluwih, a globally renowned heritage site, as an example of how tourism integrated within localised governance and religious ideology can aid the rejuvenation of Balinese agricultural systems. Conceptually, this reframing of agritourism as a conservation-enabling activity is new: the idea that agritourism as an economic practice can be structured not only to buttress but also to support the spiritual, ecological, and community components of agriculture is new. It is based on the Balinese THK worldview and the world's view derived from the heritage tourism phenomenon, serving as an inspiration for a model of sustainability oriented to the context of the analysis.

Building upon this conceptual foundation, the research advances an integrated model that unites community ritual, ecological stewardship, and participatory governance to redefine sustainable operations within agritourism. Drawing on ethnographic fieldwork, stakeholder interviews, and policy analysis, this study identifies the institutional, cultural, and operational preconditions that enable agritourism to serve as a conservation strategy in the region. The emphasis is placed on the design of tourism experiences, the role of farmers as cultural interpreters, and inclusive, locally empowering, and intergenerational governance.

Ultimately, the study develops an agritourism-based model of Subak conservation that bridges heritage values with sustainable economic practices. Unlike many Western conservation-tourism models that often detach tourism from spiritual and ecological governance, this study introduces a culturally embedded framework where agritourism is integrally aligned with the spiritual, ecological, and communal tenets of the Subak system. Instead of presenting a blueprint, however, this study provides a situated model that constitutes a good starting point for considering the particular nature of life as lived by Balinese and imposing external and competing models of agricultural modernisation and tourism development in Bali. This study adds to the shared discussion on rural heritage preservation and the way in which culturally bound tourism may be used as a tool for preserving indigenous agricultural systems. Theoretically, this study offers empirical insights into policy frameworks that seek to balance tourism development and the protection of cultural landscapes while advancing academic debates that focus on the nexus between agriculture, culture, and sustainable tourism.

2. Materials and Methods

2.1. Methods

This investigation used an ethnographic case study design to explore the socioecological dynamics of Subak Jatiluwih, a UNESCO-acknowledged cultural landscape in Bali. The ethnographic orientation made it possible to probe deeply into the cultural meanings, ritual practices, and governance systems that are part of the Subak [10,11], while the case study framework made it possible for the inquiry to concentrate on Subak Jatiluwih as a delimited and contextually important site.

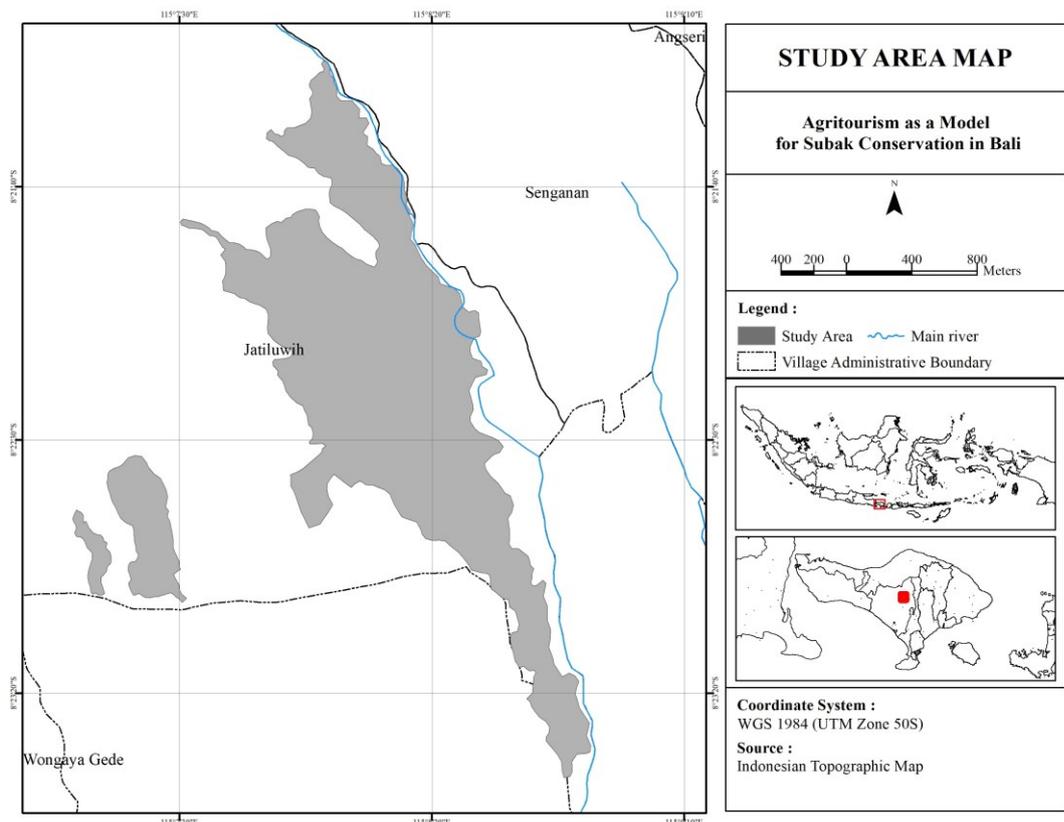


Figure 1. The map illustrates the Subak Jatiluwih area in Tabanan Regency, Bali, delineated by a red boundary as the study site. Situated on the slopes of Mount Batukaru, this UNESCO World Heritage landscape exemplifies Bali's traditional *Tri Hita Karana* philosophy through its harmonious integration of water management, agriculture, and spiritual values.

Fieldwork was conducted between June and November 2024, based on Subak Jatiluwih in Tabanan Regency. This timeframe was sufficient for interacting with the community, observing rituals, and farming the land. Perspectives from the various participants in the study were gathered through purposive sampling. In total, 20 informants participated, comprising Subak leaders (3), farmers (5), tourism entrepreneurs (3), representatives of community organizations (2), government officials (2), and visitors (5). This combination provides a multilevel understanding of Subak practices from institutional, community, and external viewpoints.

Primary data were collected through intensive interviews, participatory observations, and analyses of relevant documents. The interviews were conducted in Balinese or Bahasa Indonesia, recorded with permission, and later transcribed and translated into English by the first author. Participants were asked questions about farming, governance of water, rituals, experiences with tourism, and *Tri Hita Karana* values. Participatory observation included the researchers' active participation in some of the farming ceremonies, guided tours, and Subak meetings, with field notes used to capture both verbal and nonverbal interactions. Secondary materials included relevant policy documents, Subak policies (or *awig-awig*), documents

from UNESCO, and plans for tourism development, which helped to clarify the institutional framework and policy context.

The analysis was conducted using a thematic method [12,13]. Based on open coding, transcripts, field notes, and documents, preliminary categories were generated. The codes were then synthesized into higher-order constructs, resulting in four thematic domains: institutional integration, ceremony alignment, experience design, and benefit sharing. These themes were constantly compared and refined, constantly compared, and then refined based on the empirical material and the empirical and the theoretical frameworks, especially the values of the Tri Hita Karana.

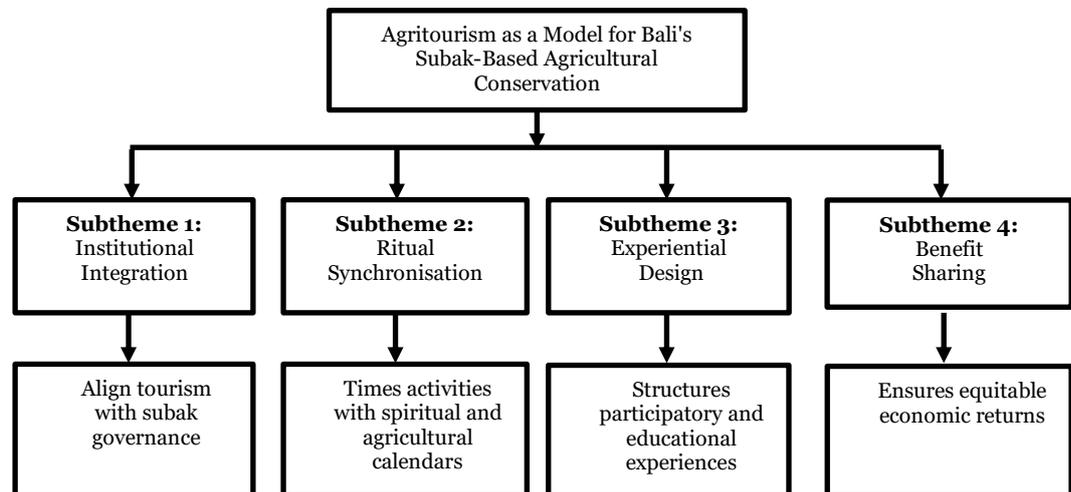


Figure 2. Thematic and sub-thematic coding of this study conceptualizes agritourism as a model for Bali's subak-based agricultural conservation. The coding framework identifies four interrelated subthemes—Institutional Integration, Ritual Synchronisation, Experiential Design, and Benefit Sharing—which collectively illustrate how tourism activities can be harmonized with subak governance, ritual calendars, participatory experiences, and equitable economic distribution.

Several methods were employed to enhance the trustworthiness of the study and mitigate any potential biases. All authors used field journals to practice reflexivity regarding the first author's position as a Balinese scholar with insider status. Some colleagues were involved in peer debriefing to self-critique the emerging interpretations, while member checks were conducted with key informants to confirm the study's results. All ethical measures involved in this work were fully complied with, including obtaining informed consent, maintaining participant confidentiality, and adhering to the rules governing rituals and community activities.

Having a methodical approach provides a synthesis that shows how Subak Jatiluwih operates as a social-ecological system. This complexity, along with the cultural stories and practices, aims to further clarify the relationships between cultural heritage, environmental governance, and the development of sustainable tourism.

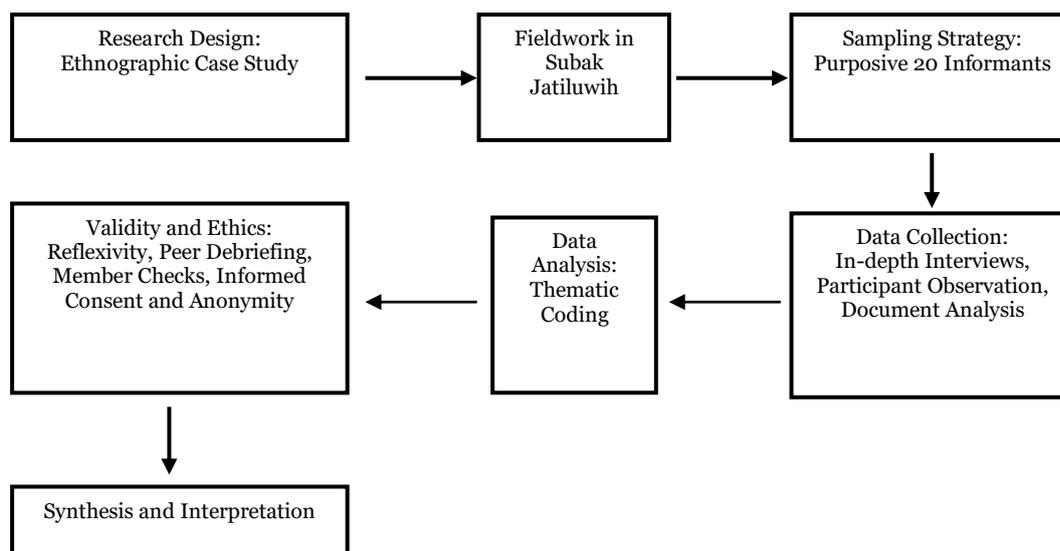


Figure 3. The methodology flowchart outlines an ethnographic case study in Subak Jatiluwih, involving purposive sampling of 20 informants and data collection through interviews, observation, and document analysis. Data were analyzed using thematic coding, supported by reflexivity and ethical validation, leading to an interpretive synthesis of findings.

2.2. Conceptual Framework

The combination of agriculture and tourism development, as observed in the traditional farming systems, is considered and studied for the promotion of the rural economy and preserving culture [14,15,16]. Due to land pressures, youth migration, and tourism expansion, the sustainability of Subak, the centuries-old, uniquely socio-religious and UNESCO-endorsed irrigation heritage, has and will continue to change in relevance to Agritourism's role as a conservation model.

2.2.1. Subak as a World Heritage Site

Bali's Subak system is a centuries-old community-based irrigation institution that represents a holistic socio-agricultural governance model based on the Tri Hita Karana philosophy, which unites human, environmental, and spiritual elements [11,17]. Managed by democratically controlled farmer associations and temple rituals, Subak is a flexible system that ensures an equitable distribution of water throughout terraced rice fields and increases productivity and ecological resistance [18,19]. Its spatial layout links upstream forests, canals, temples, and agricultural fields, creating a dynamic landscape system that serves both infrastructure and culture [20]. The sustainability of Subak is based on local governance, communal decision-making, and strong spiritual beliefs in land stewardship. As a UNESCO World Heritage Site, it is recognised to have exceptional universal value as an active cultural landscape, transformed by the pressures of modernisation while still maintaining a fundamental logic [10].

2.2.2. Agritourism and Preservation of Cultural Landscape

Agritourism has been widely used to create economic incentives for preserving traditional agricultural practices [21]. When properly conceived, it can fend off abandonment and conversion of land by making farming livelihoods economically profitable and keeping them rooted in traditional, local wisdom. Actively interpreting cultural heritage through tourism and education provides an avenue for implicating folk communities, as their well-being relies on its preservation [5]. In Subak landscapes, where spiritual rituals intertwine with farming, tourism functions not only as an experience for visitors but also as a conservation support model. Similarly, a more holistic governance approach can integrate tourism into the ecological and heritage protection approaches [6,22]. Such research also implies that conservation should be locally managed and community-based, which is analogous to the Subak system, through the practice of customary laws (*awig-awig*) and collective decision-

making. Agritourism exists as an adaptive organisation that maintains both the physical environment and the human sociocultural systems it governs.

2.2.3. Agritourism as Cultural Reproduction and Economic Buffer

Research on agritourism in Japan's rice terraces [7] and Catalonia for the revitalization of rural tourism [23] suggests that agritourism has the potential to culturally reproduce local practices, translating heritage into a lived and economically supported reality. When applied to Subak, this involves not only promoting rituals and rice terraces as tourist attractions but also fostering the living values of Tri Hita Karana as guiding principles for land use and tourism practices. Community-based agritourism offers potential to strengthen local actors by creating alternative income from hospitality and preserving culture through storytelling, farm activities, and ritual [4]. This is in line with the complementarity of food heritage and resilience, especially where local crops and farming practices are commodified through tourism sites [9].

2.2.4. Towards a Subak-Centred Agritourism Conservation Model

Although the literature on agritourism and conservation has progressed to some extent, there are limited models that place agritourism as an explicitly designed conservation practice in irrigated cultural landscapes, such as Subak. Such a model, if new, rests on the concept of tourism not as an extractive economy but as a value-based mechanism that maintains ecological functions, local governance, and cultural significance. The quality of rural tourism experiences is based on perceived authenticity, which, in the context of Subak, must be supported by actual practices of water use, community rituals, and land use and practices [24]. Sustainable agritourism-as-conservation models rely on institutional convergence and integration, including local leadership, policy scaffolding, and multi-stakeholder partnerships [6]. For Subak, this is represented by the incorporation of custom law, intergenerational passing on of ecological knowledge, and partnership in tourism governance to counteract the homogenising impacts of mass tourism.

2.2.5. Mechanisms Linking Agritourism and Subak Jatiluwih Conservation

Recent studies have highlighted the potential of agritourism to support heritage conservation when embedded within local governance and traditional knowledge systems [6,7]. In the context of Subak Jatiluwih, four mechanisms illustrate this linkage: community engagement, economic incentives, ritual synchronisation, and environmental education. Farmers act as cultural intermediaries, reinforcing intangible heritage and youth participation [4,25,26]. Tourism revenue incentivises landscape stewardship and sustains communal resource management [2,10,19]. Rituals remain central through alignment with agritourism calendars [1,27] while ecological learning platforms promote traditional knowledge [5,11]. These mechanisms reveal how agritourism can function as a culturally embedded conservation strategy [3, 28].

3. Results and Discussion

3.1. Result

3.1.1. Revitalizing Subak through Agritourism Engagement

The agritourism model in Subak Jatiluwih is not just an additional economic activity, but also a modality to rejuvenate Subak as a living cultural system. Agritourism triggers the collective memory and function of Subak, combining tourist curiosity with farmers' knowledge and promoting the development of a space for cultural and ecological stewardship [25,29]. In Subak Jatiluwih, the integration of traditional rice cultivation as a cultural heritage with tourism activities operates in a harmoniously integrated manner, supported by the terraced rice field landscape, *telabah* irrigation channels, and well-developed trekking paths [30].

"Initially, I thought the tourists just wanted to take photos in the rice fields, but it turned out they were eager to learn more. Therefore, I showed them how the subak canal system works, and even let them try planting rice in a paddy field. They were excited and said that it was the first time their holiday felt like a learning experience. The tourists were happy, and we became more enthusiastic

about taking care of the fields." (Translated by the Author. Interviewed with the head of Subak Jatiluwih Agritourism Management, July 14, 2024)

Economic diversification also underscores this, in which farmers are now participating in homestays, guided treks, and storytelling that exposes Subak as having a meaning far beyond irrigation, similar to that in Tyrol and Central Asia [31,32]. Jatiluwih demonstrates that agritourism is conserved not by isolating tradition but by reinventing it as part of a contemporary practice that makes sense in the present circumstances [33].

Agritourism in Subak Jatiluwih has significant strategic value in sustaining Bali's traditional rice farming system, which combines ecological conservation, culture, and the rural economy [34,35]. Guests can learn more about rice terraces through guided treks, plant and harvest heirloom rice varieties such as *Beras Merah* (red rice), and participate in storytelling sessions led by local farmers. Farmer cooperatives and increased non-agricultural income of up to 40% [34]. Pak Wayan S, a local farmer, offered the following interpretation.

"In the past, many farmers left their rice fields because the yields were inadequate. However, with the rise of tourism, many farming families have started to work in the tourism sector. We can share stories about Subak with guests and invite them to join in activities in the rice fields." (Translated by the Author. Interviewed on July 14, 2024)

This synthesis of tradition and modernity contributes to intergenerational knowledge exchange and community involvement, in line with the participatory rural tourism model [36]. Nevertheless, Subak Jatiluwih is challenged by the rising demand for tourism, which threatens the appreciation of the commodity value of its agricultural system and culture [37,38]. Rituals such as *ngusaba nini* continue to play an important role in cultural maintenance, reminding us that agritourism grounded in cultural sensibility can conserve land and heritage [39,40]. Such engagement supports economic diversification and paves the way for more comprehensive integration. Which leads us to our next point: integrating agritourism within local governance structures.

3.1.2. Embedding Agritourism in Customary Governance

The Jatiluwih Agritourism is an example of a type of tourism that is more closely aligned with local political and administrative structures to support rather than conflict with existing agrosystems. In embracing *awig awig* (customary law) and following the spiritual calendar, the Subak and the water councils can moderate the tourism flow so that the conservation is culturally relevant and community-based [19].

"We do not separate agriculture from spirituality and nature. In Jatiluwih, tourism is aimed at celebrating all that, and not replacing it. With tourists, we are increasingly committed to maintaining the rice fields, protecting the water, and performing the ceremony based on the customary law." (Translated by the Author. Interview with the head of Subak Jatiluwih, July 21, 2024)

Tourism revenue supports the maintenance of terraced rice fields, subak irrigation canals, forested watersheds, and temple rituals, creating strong incentives for environmental stewardship among local farmers. Unlike in the Philippines, where neoliberal tourism governance has sidelined smallholders [41], or in Thailand, where political vicissitudes have weakened local control [28], Jatiluwih's bottom-up model implies that conservation is local. Agritourism has emerged as a strategy in Subak to maintain the system's health while contributing to the well-being of its stewards. By linking economic benefits and conservation attributes, Jatiluwih exemplifies how culturally embedded tourism can act as a force that maintains vulnerable agroecological systems under the pressures of modernisation and land conversion [19,28].

Agritourism in Subak Jatiluwih is at the forefront of preserving the Subak system and incorporating tourism into traditional agricultural routines and local governance. Agritourism, using an approach based on participatory methods, increases the ability of the local population to manage forms of tourism that are compatible with the needs of environmental conservation as well as the heritage of culture [42,43].

"We do not immediately open access to all tourists. Usually, we discuss it first in the subak group, especially if there is a big ceremony or during the planting season. Occasionally, guests must wait or are redirected to another area. However, we do not want tourism activities to disrupt this rhythm."

This is not an ordinary tourist spot, but our place of life." (Translated by the Author. Interview with the head of Subak Jatiluwih on August 10, 2024)

One of the subak subdivision (*tempek*) leaders interviewed stated, emphasizing the role of culture on the rhythm of tourism development. Combining rituals, planting and community-based visitor management, agritourism enhances the Subak System's ecological functions and spiritual heritage [43,44]. Such an approach is also aligned with global best practices on site co-management and sacred site protection [42,45,46].

"When tourists come, we take them around, see the rice fields, water channels, small temples in the middle of the rice fields. We then explain why water is sacred and why farmers pray before planting. We also informed them about Tri Hita Karana. Sometimes, they are surprised to discover the deep philosophy of rice fields. They become more appreciative." (Translated by the Author. Interviewed on August 10, 2024)

The subject of this statement is the implementation of preservation education within agritourism and its adjunct sustainable practices. This is done through the balance of the tourist's engagement and the Subak irrigation system's infrastructure, and the surrounding culture and nature.

3.1.3. Managing Economic and Cultural Tensions

In Subak Jatiluwih, agritourism represents a two-fold solution that strengthens economic resilience while conserving the farm's socio-cultural roots. It supports economic diversification and enables local market resurgence in line with the global trend of agritourism, reinforcing rural resilience [8,28,47]. As Ketut P, one farmer, explained,

"In the past, we only hoped for the harvest. However, with tourism, we can earn additional income. Tourists come to join the rice harvest, learn how to plant, and often buy organic rice directly from farmers. They also provided tips after planting together. It feels like our work has been appreciated. Now, every planting season feels more enthusiastic, not only because of the harvest, but also because of the interaction with those who come from the city or abroad." (Translated by the Author. Interviewed on August 10, 2024)

This was a testimony to a shift in the livelihood system, from merely subsistence farming to that of the cultural dimension for tourists. However, metamorphosis does not occur without pain. Owing to the unequal distribution of tourism dividends, new disparities confront the ethics of the Subak's collective spirit. Nevertheless, non-uniform benefit-sharing (i.e. when only some households are involved) has caused conflict and social exclusion [28,48], with detrimental impacts on the cooperative values that are the bedrock of Subak. Made S, a local elder, noted:

"The ones who get the most benefits are those whose houses are near the main road or whose rice fields are near the photo spots. They easily receive guests and visitors to their homes. However, those who are higher up or far from access rarely get a chance. Some residents have started to feel that they are not involved in the process. The spirit of Subak is togetherness, sharing water, sharing profits, and helping one another. If only some people enjoy the results of tourism, then in the long run the value of cooperation can be damaged." (Translated by the Author. Interviewed on August 18, 2024)

These differences undermine the integrity of Subak Jatiluwih as a socio-ecological institution based on the mutual management of farmlands, water resources and labour. Structural barriers, such as resource constraints, bureaucratic obstacles, and poor intersectoral coordination, hamper community-level engagement [49,50]. Furthermore, environmental drivers, including water shortages and climate change, threaten the long-term prospects of agritourism and traditional rice farming in the region. However, strategic intervention is required to ensure that agritourism becomes a source of contribution rather than a deterioration of Subak's integrity. These include enhancing rural infrastructure [50], developing cooperative models [48,51], and equitable policy frameworks that incorporate tourism into Subak's cultural and ecological values [8,28]. When properly managed, agritourism can reinforce the sustainability and cultural vitality of Subak Jatiluwih as a living heritage landscape.

3.1.4. Operationalization of Tri Hita Karana on Agritourism Design

The incorporation of agritourism in Jatiluwih indicates the conscious operationalisation of the Tri Hita Karana philosophical foundation, in which spiritual, ecosystemic, and human values are linked as holistic conservation strategies that are mutually reinforcing. It is not an abstract process but a real one, based on rituals, farming, and storytelling, carried out to raise the awareness and responsibility of both the local community and tourists [52,53]. All agritourism activities (temple visitation, planting rituals, and ecological tours) are well designed for *parahyangan* (divine), *pawongan* (human), and *palemahan* (nature), thereby reinforcing Subak's holistic worldview [1,54]. Contrary to eroding indigenous value systems, tourism builds on existing traditional governance (*awig-awig*) as communities incorporate it into customary law. Made K, one local farmer, explained,

"This tourism does not make us forget Subak, but rather makes us more aware. When tourists join the ceremony or plough the rice fields, they see that Subak is not just irrigation but a life system. That makes us more enthusiastic about preserving nature and tradition." (Translated by the Author. Interviewed on August 18, 2024)

His feelings express how tourism plays a co-educational role in reinforcing cultural resilience and encouraging sustainable land use [11]. As such, agritourism is not only an economic development tool but also a conservation strategy that reinvigorates local knowledge, reinforces intergenerational cultural transmission, and maintains the ecological sustainability of the Subak landscape [1].

3.1.5. Agritourism as a Mediating Mechanism for Integrated Conservation

Returning to the main purpose of the study—to scrutinise agritourism as a conservation mechanism—it can be concluded that tourism, when based on local philosophy and institutions, can be a tool that helps to alleviate global economic pressure and cultural integrity. Unlike externally imposed conservation interventions, this community-based initiative taps into the awakening of ritualised sustainability practices. It situates conservation as a lived tradition rather than a technocratic abstraction [15,55,56].

"If there were no agrotourism, maybe these rice fields would have been sold. Because many young people nowadays do not want to work in rice fields, they look for work in cities. However, since tourists come here, we can earn additional income from them. Finally, these rice fields are still running, and young people are also starting to get involved again." (Translated by the Author. Interview with the head of Subak Jatiluwih on August 18, 2024)

said Made K, a Subak farmer. Agritourism also sustains the cultural identity of the subak through the incorporation of educational programs to inculcate local knowledge, rituals, and sustainable agricultural practices, which reinforce social identity and the dissemination of knowledge between generations [8,57]. Pak S, a young tour guide who was also a member of Subak Jatiluwih Tourism Management, said the following:

"I used to think that working in rice fields was old-fashioned. However, after taking tourists on a tour of Subak, I realised how meaningful our traditions are. The tourists were curious and asked about the water distribution system in the rice fields, the ceremonies, and how to cultivate rice fields. So, I learned again, and now I am proud to be part of the Subak." (Translated by the Author. Interviewed on September 7, 2024)

Environmentally, agritourism stimulates the practice of organic and environmentally friendly agriculture based on the Subak tradition, which directly leads to landscape and watershed conservation [58,59]. Nyoman K, a farmer from Subak Jatiluwih explains:

"In the past, many people used chemical fertilisers because the results were fast. However, after many tourists looked for organic products and asked about being environmentally friendly, we started to go back to the old way, which was using manure, and there was also counselling from the campus to make natural pesticides from leaves. It turned out that the results were also good, and the environment was maintained." (Translated by the Author. Interviewed on September 7, 2024)

Moreover, agritourism fosters adaptive governance through multilevel interactions among community actors, tourists, and institutions that co-evolve to enhance Subak resilience amid changing socioeconomic contexts [60]. Therefore, agritourism is not just an example of sectoral innovation but also a conservation strategy that restores Subak's ecological integrity,

social harmony, and economic sustainability. By integrating new economic opportunities with local approaches to tradition and environmental management, agritourism sustains Subak Jatiluwih as a dynamic heritage site that can navigate current challenges while ensuring minimal deviation from the sources of its identity, as discussed below. In summary, Subak Jatiluwih agritourism operates as a socioecological buffer. It acts as a mediator between market pressure and values of life, maintaining the purpose of Subak and adapting to a new economic reality with its fundamental characteristics [8,61]. Combining economic diversification with spiritual ceremonies and environmental equilibrium, the Jatiluwih model is a counterpoint to the often-employed extractive logic of rural tourism. It also provides an empirical basis for supporting the theoretical models proposed by [6] and [22], who suggest participatory, ecological, and spiritual models of heritage tourism.

3.2. Discussion

3.2.1. Developing Agritourism as a Subak Conservation Model

Subak Jatiluwih, recognized as a UNESCO World Heritage site, is a quintessential example of a living cultural landscape that integrates agricultural productivity, ecological sustainability, and socio-religious traditions. As Bali experiences growing tourism pressure and changing land-use patterns, the need to safeguard the Subak system has become increasingly urgent and critical. In this context, agritourism emerges not merely as an alternative livelihood strategy but as a deliberate conservation model that reinforces Subak's institutional, cultural, and ecological fabric. By embedding tourism within the endogenous structures of Subak, rather than operating parallel to or outside them, agritourism can function as a systemic mechanism for the protection, resilience, and regeneration of rice fields. The development of this model is defined through four interlinked components: institutional integration, ritual synchronisation, experiential design, and equitable benefit sharing.

The first and core element, Institutional Integration, is crucial for preserving local governance and the continuation of Subak's customary authority. The incorporation of tourism governance into Subak is presented here to ensure decision-making remains with local communities. Not corroding the Subak Council's role or influence (or that of traditional leaders), tourism has been reconfigured to enhance its authority. Consequently, local governance is maintained and strengthened through direct participation in decisions regarding the use and distribution of tourism benefits. Such assimilation is consistent with the self-determined principle and is opposed to the external disruption often present in commercialised tourism. It also provides a way for farmers and community members to become involved in participatory planning that ties tourism development to mutual cultural norms and ecological values [62,63]. Thus, institutional integration is crucial as a conservation strategy to prevent tourism development from undermining Subak's social harmony and fundamental values.

Second, ritual synchronisation attends to the temporal and spiritual coherence of the subak system. Subak is not just an irrigation system. It is inextricably woven into ritual calendars and spiritual cosmologies that control when rice is planted, harvested, and offered at the temples. Agritourism activities in Jatiluwih are set up according to these cycles and respect the holiness of sacred days and agricultural ceremonies. Tourists are invited to observe and participate in ceremonies and religious festivals that occur at various intervals throughout the agricultural cycle. Synchronisation in time allows the rhythm of Subak life and tourism to be connected [64]. Synchronisation fosters cultural continuity and promotes respectful interaction between tourists and host communities. It also supports conservation by strengthening the performative and spiritual aspects of Subak, which are typically the first victims of commodified tourism.

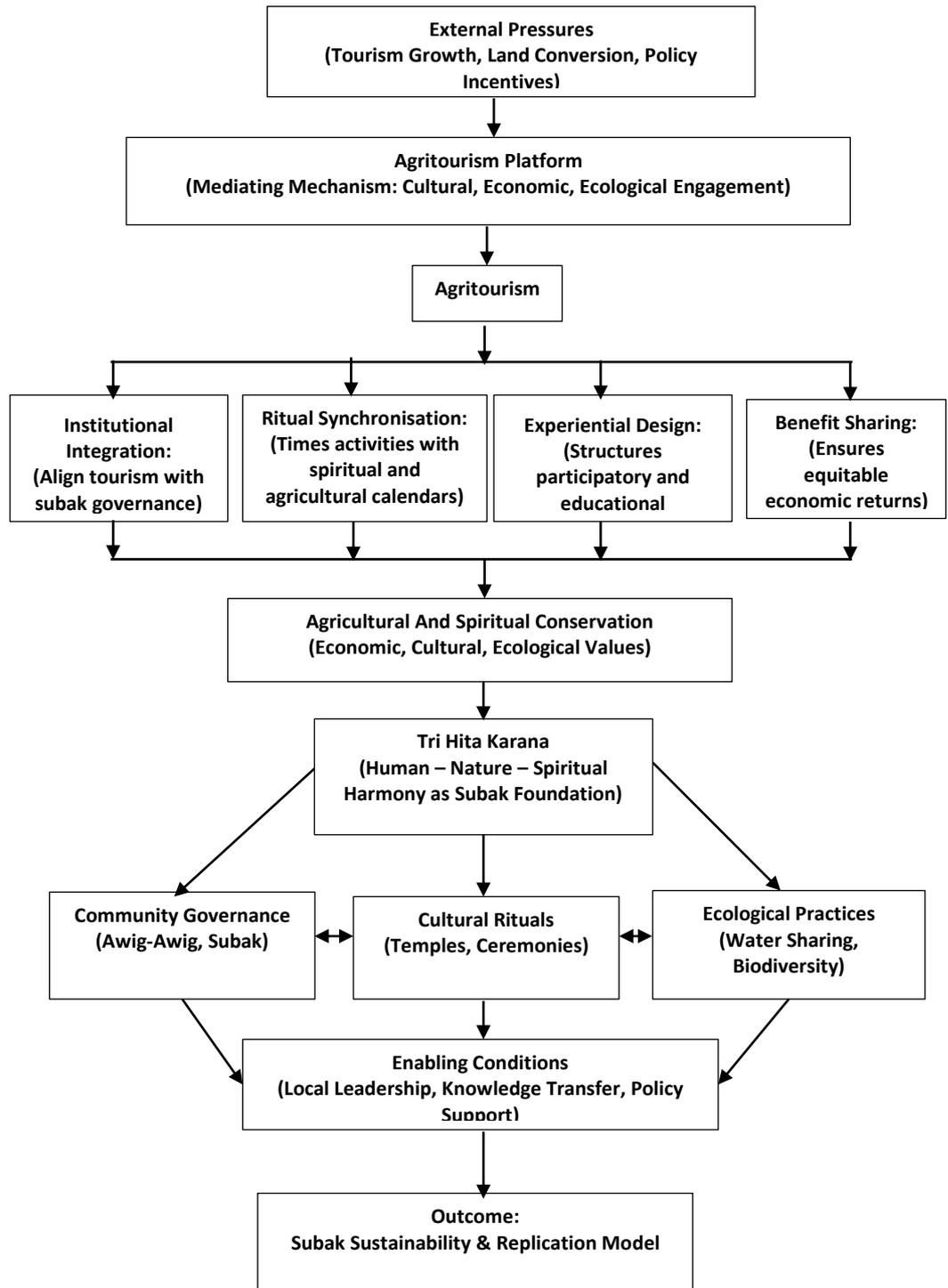


Figure 4. The diagram presents an integrated agritourism-based sustainability model in which external pressures are mediated through cultural, economic, and ecological mechanisms to reinforce agricultural and spiritual conservation in the subak system. Grounded in the Tri Hita Karana philosophy, the model aligns governance, rituals, and ecological practices to produce a sustainable and replicable subak framework.

The third element is Experiential Design, which focuses on organising immersive visitor engagement that is participatory and offers an educational experience. Through Subak Jatiluwih, tourists not only observe the presentation of farming and irrigation. They engage in rice planting, river cleaning, and cooperative work (*gotong royong*) activities. These experiences are purposefully designed to deepen our knowledge of the principles of the ecological logic of Subak and communal ethics [65]. Beyond their recreational value, the

objective is to promote value-based encounters that enhance tourists' awareness of traditional farming systems and their contributions to system-based biodiversity conservation, water governance, and climate resilience. Such experiential design creates an agri-environment format for social learning, in which visitors are considered stakeholders in conservation stories. As noted by Nugraha et al. [66], agritourism that incorporates local wisdom and collective action can help raise environmental awareness among residents and visitors.

The last element is equitable benefit sharing, which aims to ensure that the benefits derived from agritourism do not accrue to the elites in host communities or external investors. Instead, benefits are realised through cooperative and place-based systems that mirror Subak's collective ethos and core values at water temples. In Jatiluwih, revenues from ticketing, guide services, and farm stays are collectivised and reinvested in the village for common goods, such as irrigation infrastructure, ceremonial functions, and education. The number of tourists and management agency revenue from January to December 2023. This income transfer improves the welfare of the entire village and decreases inequality. Furthermore, it fosters local ownership of the Subak system and makes it more people-centred in its operations as a livelihood system and cultural institution [66]. By incorporating economic incentives into conservation through a direct mechanism that influences conservation behavior, fair rewards can transform agritourism into a long-term conservation tool that contributes to socio-ecological sustainability.

Table 1. The monthly data show the number of domestic and foreign tourists visiting Subak Jatiluwih Agrotourism in 2023, along with the corresponding total income in Indonesian Rupiah. Foreign tourists consistently outnumber domestic visitors, particularly from May to September, driving peak revenues, with August recording the highest income of IDR 1,949,003,300. In total, the site welcomed 337,714 tourists and generated IDR 12,024,820,450, reflecting a pronounced seasonal pattern primarily shaped by international arrivals.

Month	Number of Tourists (Person)			Total Income (Rupiah/IDR)
	Domestic Tourists	Foreign Tourists	Total	
January	6,355	10,557	16,912	529,705,900
February	3,976	11,548	15,524	537,913,700
March	4,632	14,157	18,789	650,001,250
April	6,842	19,965	26,807	924,077,900
May	5,453	24,352	29,805	1,101,001,550
June	6,004	21,695	27,699	988,058,000
July	4,369	31,147	35,516	1,328,157,250
August	6,668	45,691	52,359	1,949,003,300
September	5,243	31,774	37,017	1,394,044,100
October	5,804	27,740	33,544	1,230,243,350
November	6,210	16,521	22,731	775,263,700
December	9,320	11,691	21,011	617,350,450
Total	70,876	266,838	337,714	12,024,820,450

Source: Jatiluwih Tourism Management Agency (as of 2023, 1 USD = IDR 14,810.857).

When combined, these four components provide a logical structure in which agritourism is not only an economic development sector but also a conservation-oriented mixed economic ideal of the Subak Jatiluwih. This model protects agricultural landscapes and strengthens cultural traditions, governance, and community solidarity in the region. Instead of considering tourism invasive, the subak-based agritourism model reimagines it as a platform for resilience. It offers a replicable model for other agrarian societies facing similar developmental pressures and provides new paths for combining heritage preservation with economic development in the Global South.

3.2.2. Implications

This study contributes to the theoretical and practical aspects by introducing a culturally grounded framework, according to which tourism is reframed as a conservation tool. This

study extends the theoretical knowledge of agritourism by analysing the discursive positioning of the activity as a mediating institution that connects economic innovation and cultural resilience. By incorporating Tri Hita Karana as a normative axis, this framework challenges traditional models that dissociate tourism from heritage safeguards. It does not require tourism to internalise the landscape and proposes an alternative in which tourism strengthens and weaves (rather than commodifies) cultural landscapes. The novelty of this study lies in the evidence of how tourism can be programmatically accommodated within local governance, seasonal rhythms, and ritual obligations. Therefore, as opposed to customary top-down policy models, this subak-based approach, which is based on co-creation, mutual respect, and endogenous leadership design, provides a replicable model of rural heritage systems under pressure.

Future investigations should concentrate on exploring agritourism ecological outcomes and the sustained preservation and conservation of the subak system. This current work on the socio-ecological facets of agritourism is valuable; however, more work needs to be done on the qualitative aspect of the research to affirm and corroborate the standing observations. Quantitative methods would not only strengthen the qualitative evidence but would also provide evidence that is applicable in secondary subak regions. This kind of work will go a long way in expanding the boundaries of knowledge on agritourism and its capacity to promote socio-economic development and environmental conservation in more traditional agricultural regions.

3.2.3. Limitations

Although this study makes important contributions to the understanding of agritourism as a conservation strategy, it has some limitations. First, it centres its analysis on Subak Jatiluwih in Bali. This internationally recognized and institutionally oriented site may limit its applicability to other agricultural areas with less publicity or infrastructure. Second, the qualitative method used in this ethnographic study was an in-depth approach (as opposed to a broad-scale approach). Although it contains significant ethnographic and contextual information, it lacks longitudinal data and ecological markers for change. Third, intra-community power relationships (gender, generationality, and elite capture) may affect tourism and research participation. However, these subtleties require further investigation to be comprehensively understood. Ultimately, this study offers a snapshot of a specific point in time within the rapidly expanding tourism sector. Further longitudinal and comparative studies are needed to assess the sustainability and replicability of the subak-based agritourism model under varying sociocultural conditions on the island. Overcoming these limitations in future research will enhance the conceptual soundness and practical applicability of agritourism conservation models in diverse settings.

4. Conclusion

In conclusion, this research demonstrates that Subak-based agritourism can serve as a model for preserving Subak, incorporating its cultural, spiritual, and ecological aspects. The Jatiluwih case demonstrates how tourist visitation can support traditional farming, rituals, and community governance through a form of ritualized sustainability that differs from Western models of agritourism. By integrating tourism with the spiritual cycle and local authority structure, the Subak system preserves both the landscape and cultural values. Although there are issues such as the equity of benefits and land conversion, they emphasize the demand for adaptive and inclusive governance. Subak Jatiluwih demonstrates an explicit similarity between the financial and cultural agro-tourism models, a place-based form of conservation, and co-producing the future and culture with communities.

Author Contributions

IKSD: Conceptualization, Methodology, Investigation, Writing - Review & Editing; **NMCS:** Investigation, Writing - Review & Editing, Supervision; **IPS:** Writing - Review & Editing.

Conflicts of interest

There are no conflicts to declare.

AI Writing Statement

During the preparation of this work, the authors used ChatGPT, an AI language model, in order to refine academic phrasing and enhance the clarity of the manuscript. After using this tool, the authors reviewed and edited the content as needed and take full responsibility for the content of the publication.

Acknowledgements

The authors express their sincere gratitude to the Research and Community Service Institute (LPPM) of Udayana University for funding this research under the 2024 Udayana University Research Grant (Contract No. DIPA PNPB Udayana University TA 2024, Assignment Letter No. B/255.24/UN14.4.A/PT.01.03/2024, dated April 17, 2024). Further appreciation is extended to all Subak Jatiluwih agrotourism staff, visitors, and informants. Special thanks to Intan Noer Annisa who helped create the research location map.

References

1. Arsana, I.N.; Juliasih, N.K.A.; Sudiartawan, I.P.; Suardana, A.A.K.; Sumarya, I.M.; Widyantari, A.A.A.S.S. SUBAK: Traditional Ecological Knowledge for Sustainable Biodiversity Conservation. *IOP Conf. Ser. Earth Environ. Sci.* **2025**, *1438*, doi:10.1088/1755-1315/1438/1/012005.
2. Wardana, A. Neoliberalizing Cultural Landscapes: Bali's Agrarian Heritage. *Crit. Asian Stud.* **2020**, *52*, 270–285, doi:10.1080/14672715.2020.1714459.
3. Zen, I.S.; Surata, S.P.K.; Titisari, P.W.; Ab Rahman, S.A.; Zen, S. Sustaining Subak, the Balinese Traditional Ecological Knowledge in the Contemporary Context of Bali. *IOP Conf. Ser. Earth Environ. Sci.* **2024**, *1306*, doi:10.1088/1755-1315/1306/1/012034.
4. Saepudin, P.; Putra, F.K.K.; Hernowo, A.; Maemunah, I.; Dianawati, N. Community-Based Agritourism: A Qualitative Research of the Impacts, Opportunities, and Constraints in a Tourist Village. *J. Environ. Manag. Tour.* **2022**, *13*, 2320–2332, doi:10.14505/jemt.v13.8(64).24.
5. Sánchez-Martín, J.M.; Guillén-Peñañiel, R.; Flores-García, P.; García-Berzosa, M.J. Agritourism in Extremadura, Spain from the Perspective of Rural Accommodations: Characteristics and Potential Development from Agrarian Landscapes and Associated Activities. *Heritage* **2024**, *7*, 4149–4181, doi:10.3390/heritage7080195.
6. Cracco, M.; Ritzel, C. The Effect of Swiss Regional Nature Parks on Agricultural Earnings. *Conserv. Sci. Pract.* **2025**, *7*, doi:10.1111/csp2.70025.
7. Wang, Q.; Yang, X.; Liu, X.; Furuya, K. Rice Terrace Experience in Japan: An Ode to the Beauty of Seasonality and Nostalgia. *Land* **2024**, *13*, doi:10.3390/land13010064.
8. Ait-Yahia Ghidouche, K.; Nechoud, L.; Ghidouche, F. Achieving Sustainable Development Goals through Agritourism in Algeria. *Worldw. Hosp. Tour. Themes* **2021**, *13*, 63–80, doi:10.1108/WHATT-08-2020-0092.
9. Britwum, K.; Demont, M. Food Security and the Cultural Heritage Missing Link. *Glob. Food Sec.* **2022**, *35*, doi:10.1016/j.gfs.2022.100660.
10. MacRae, G. Universal Heritage Meets Local Livelihoods: 'Awkward Engagements' at the World Cultural Heritage Listing in Bali. *Int. J. Herit. Stud.* **2017**, *23*, 846–859, doi:10.1080/13527258.2017.1339107.
11. Risna, R.A.; Rustini, H.A.; Herry; Buchori, D.; Pribadi, D.O. Subak, a Nature-Based Solutions Evidence from Indonesia. *IOP Conf. Ser. Earth Environ. Sci.* **2022**, *959*, doi:10.1088/1755-1315/959/1/012030.
12. Herzog, C.; Handke, C.; Hitters, E. Analyzing Talk and Text II: Thematic Analysis. In *The Palgrave Handbook of Methods for Media Policy Research*; Springer International Publishing: Erasmus Research Centre for Media, Communication and Culture (ERMeCC), Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam, Rotterdam, Netherlands, 2019; pp. 385–401 ISBN 9783030160654.
13. Sandhiya, V.; Bhuvanawari, M. Qualitative Research Analysis: A Thematic Approach. In *Design and Validation of Research Tools and Methodologies*; IGI Global: Vellore Institute of Technology, India, 2024; pp. 289–309 ISBN 9798369311363.

14. Wu, T.C. (Emily); Chen, C.P.; Hsu, A.Y. chan; Wall, G. Farm Diversification through Agritourism: Innovation Synergies. *Int. Food Agribus. Manag. Rev.* **2024**, *27*, 509–525, doi:10.22434/IFAMR2022.0167.
15. Gasimova, G.; Mustafayev, T.; Gasimov, I. The Role of Agritourism In the Development of Regions. In Proceedings of the BIO Web of Conferences; 2025; Vol. 151.
16. Broccardo, L.; Culasso, F.; Truant, E. Unlocking Value Creation Using an Agritourism Business Model. *Sustain.* **2017**, *9*, doi:10.3390/su9091618.
17. Royo, A.; Dharmiasih, W.; Arbi, Y. Forum Pekaseh in the Management of Subak Landscape of Catur Angga Batukaru, Unesco World Heritage Sites in Bali. *Asian Sacred Nat. Sites Philos. Pract. Prot. areas Conserv.* 2016, 118–130.
18. Suasih, N.N.R.; Mustika, M.D.S.; Pratiwi, A.A.M.; Mahaendrayasa, M.S.A.; Saraswati, I.G.A.P.; Krisnayanti, N.M.N. Predicting Agriculture Sustainability in Subak Pulagan as World Cultural Landscape of Bali: Bayesian Networks Approach. *Res. World Agric. Econ.* **2024**, *5*, 1–13, doi:10.36956/rwae.v5i3.1135.
19. Sutomo; Iryadi, R.; Putudarma, I.D.; Wibawa, I.P.A.H.; Rahayu, A.; Hanum, S.F.; Rizal, S.; Novamizanti, L.; Raharjo, J. Short Communication: Plant Diversity Utilization and Land Cover Composition in the Subak Jatiluwih, Bali, Indonesia. *Biodiversitas* **2021**, *22*, 1424–1432, doi:10.13057/biodiv/d220345.
20. Prastyadewia, M.I.; Susilowati, I.; Iskandara, D.D. Preserving the Existence of Subak in Bali: The Role of Social, Cultural, and Economic Agencies. *Econ. Agro-Alimentare* **2020**, *22*, 1–20, doi:10.3280/ecag3-2020oa11045.
21. Egusquiza, A.; Zubiaga, M.; Gandini, A.; de Luca, C.; Tondelli, S. Systemic Innovation Areas for Heritage-Led Rural Regeneration: A Multilevel Repository of Best Practices. *Sustain.* **2021**, *13*, doi:10.3390/su13095069.
22. Bojar, W.; Żarski, W.; Kuśmierk-Tomaszewska, R.; Żarski, J.; Baranowski, P.; Krzyszczyk, J.; Lamorski, K.; Sławiński, C.; Mattas, K.; Staboulis, C.; et al. A Comprehensive Approach to Assess the Impact of Agricultural Production Factors on Selected Ecosystem Services in Poland. *Resources* **2023**, *12*, doi:10.3390/resources12090099.
23. Doyon, S.; Carbonell, E. New Rurality and Agritourism in Empordà, Catalonia. *Int. J. Tour. Anthropol.* **2021**, *8*, 351–369, doi:10.1504/IJTA.2021.123197.
24. Abadi, A.; Khakzand, M. Extracting the Qualitative Dimensions of Agritourism for the Sustainable Development of Charqoli Village in Iran: The Promotion of Vernacular Entrepreneurship and Environment-Oriented Preservation Perspectives. *Environ. Dev. Sustain.* **2022**, *24*, 12609–12671, doi:10.1007/s10668-021-01958-0.
25. Di Caprio, V.; Wiltshier, P.; Della Corte, V. The Development of the Agritourism Sector in Campania, Italy. In *The Branding of Tourist Destinations: Theoretical and Empirical Insights*; Emerald Group Publishing Ltd., 2018; pp. 83–95 ISBN 9781787693739.
26. Ferreira, D.I.R.; Sánchez-Martín, J.M. Shedding Light on Agritourism in Iberian Cross-Border Regions from a Lodgings Perspective. *Land* **2022**, *11*, doi:10.3390/land11101857.
27. Sukanteri, N.P.; Yuniti, I.G.A.D.; Suryana, I.M.; Verawati, Y. The Role of Subak in Managing Farmer Behavior in Realizing Sustainable Agriculture in Bali. *J. Kaji. Bali* **2021**, *11*, 407–426, doi:10.24843/JKB.2021.v11.i02.p09.
28. Srisomyong, N.; Meyer, D. Political Economy of Agritourism Initiatives in Thailand. *J. Rural Stud.* **2015**, *41*, 95–108, doi:10.1016/j.jrurstud.2015.07.007.
29. Ferreira, D.I.R.; Martín, J.M.S. the Olive Grove As an Opportunity for Tourism in the International Tagus Nature Reserve. *Finisterra* **2021**, *56*, 55–80, doi:10.18055/Finis19241.
30. Siedlecka, A.; Zielnik, K. Factors for the Development of Agrotourism in the Opinion of Tourists on the Example of the Lubelskie Voivodeship. *Ann. Polish Assoc. Agric. Agribus. Econ.* **2022**, *XXIV*, 169–183, doi:10.5604/01.3001.0016.1209.
31. Grillini, G.; Sacchi, G.; Streifeneder, T.; Fischer, C. Differences in Sustainability Outcomes between Agritourism and Non-Agritourism Farms Based on Robust Empirical Evidence from the Tyrol/Trentino Mountain Region. *J. Rural Stud.* **2023**, *104*, doi:10.1016/j.jrurstud.2023.103152.
32. Togaymurodov, E.; Roman, M.; Prus, P. Opportunities and Directions of Development of Agritourism: Evidence from Samarkand Region. *Sustain.* **2023**, *15*, doi:10.3390/su15020981.
33. Joshi, S.; Panzer-Krause, S.; Zerbe, S.; Saurwein, M. Rural Tourism in Europe from a Landscape Perspective: A Systematic Review. *Eur. J. Tour. Res.* **2024**, *36*, doi:10.54055/ejtr.v36i.3328.
34. Triani, E.; Bangun, I.C. Diversified Utilization of Rice Field Functions for Agritourism and Education Development in Denai Lama Village: Economic Sustainability Innovation in Era 4.0. In Proceedings of the IOP Conference Series:

- Earth and Environmental Science; M., B., I., S., B., S., R., O., A.A., A., null, S., Eds.; Institute of Physics: Faculty of Social and Political Science, Universitas Sumatera Utara, Medan, 20155, Indonesia, 2025; Vol. 1445.
35. Tekken, V.; Spangenberg, J.H.; Burkhard, B.; Escalada, M.; Stoll-Kleemann, S.; Truong, D.T.; Settele, J. "Things Are Different Now": Farmer Perceptions of Cultural Ecosystem Services of Traditional Rice Landscapes in Vietnam and the Philippines. *Ecosyst. Serv.* **2017**, *25*, 153–166, doi:10.1016/j.ecoser.2017.04.010.
 36. Quella, L.; Chase, L.; Conner, D.; Reynolds, T.; Wang, W.; Singh-Knights, D. Visitors and Values: A Qualitative Analysis of Agritourism Operator Motivations across the U.S. *J. Agric. Food Syst. Community Dev.* **2021**, *10*, 287–301, doi:10.5304/jafscd.2021.103.010.
 37. Lanya, I.; Subadiyasa, N.; Sardiana, K.; Ratna Adi, G.P. Planning of Agro-Tourism Development, Specific Location in Green Open Space Sarbagita Area, Bali Province. In Proceedings of the IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science; Institute of Physics Publishing: Study Program Agroecotechnology, Faculty of Agricultural, Udayana University, Bali, Denpasar, Indonesia, 2018; Vol. 123.
 38. Rusadi, N.W.P.; Pitana, I.G.; Sunarta, I.N.; Arida, I.N.S. Farmer Perspectives on Sustainable Urban Farming Tourism: A Case Study of Bali's Subak Lestari Program. *J. Kaji. Bali* **2024**, *14*, 93–117, doi:10.24843/JKB.2024.v14.i01.p05.
 39. Sánchez-Martín, J.; Guillén-Peñañiel, R.; Flores-García, P.; García-Berzosa, M.-J. Agritourism in Extremadura, Spain from the Perspective of Rural Accommodations: Characteristics and Potential Development from Agrarian Landscapes and Associated Activities. *Herit.* **2024**.
 40. Guillén-Peñañiel, R.; Hernández-Carretero, A.M.; Sánchez-Martín, J.M. Intangible Heritage, Education and Tourism as a Strategy for the Enhancement of the Value of the Dehesa and the Traditional Shepherd's Trade. *Sustain.* **2024**, *16*, doi:10.3390/su162410997.
 41. Montefrio, M.J.F.; Sin, H.L. Elite Governance of Agritourism in the Philippines. *J. Sustain. Tour.* **2019**, *27*, 1338–1354, doi:10.1080/09669582.2019.1621327.
 42. Silva, L.F.; Carballo-Cruz, F.; Ribeiro, J.C. Residents' Perceptions of Tourism Development in the Context of a New Governance Framework for Portuguese Protected Areas: The Case of a Small Peripheral Natural Park. *J. Rural Stud.* **2024**, *112*, doi:10.1016/j.jrurstud.2024.103451.
 43. Rodríguez-Márquez, R.L.; Angulo-Rangel, F.A.; Ustate Pérez, M. Innovation in ecological and cultural tourism: strategies for sustainable development. *Rev. Venez. Gerenc.* **2024**, *29*, 1346–1363, doi:10.52080/rvgluz.29.e12.28.
 44. Purboyo Priambodo, M. Application of the Community Economic Development Approach to Enhance the Development of Participatory-Based Cultural Ecotourism in Palparan Rural Area. In Proceedings of the E3S Web of Conferences; null, T., null, W., N., R., null, S., R., W., F.R., F., M., S., A.A., A., M.M., T., A.B., R., P., S., M.F., bin K., J., S., H., B., Z., P., Y., W., J.H., M., B., K., Eds.; EDP Sciences: Department of Economics Development, Faculty of Economics and Business, Universitas Negeri Malang, Indonesia, 2024; Vol. 595.
 45. Sun, J.; Xu, Y.; Wang, X. The ternary interactive practice of the production of traditional ritual space in the tourism context. *Dili Xuebao/Acta Geogr. Sin.* **2020**, *75*, 1742–1756, doi:10.11821/dlxb202008013.
 46. Sinthumule, N.I.; Mugwena, T.; Rabumbulu, M. The Conflict between Preserving a 'Sacred Natural Site' and Exploiting Nature for Commercial Gain: Evidence from Phiphidi Waterfall in South Africa. *Sustain.* **2021**, *13*, doi:10.3390/su131810476.
 47. Lak, A.; Khairabadi, O. Leveraging Agritourism in Rural Areas in Developing Countries: The Case of Iran. *Front. Sustain. Cities* **2022**, *4*, doi:10.3389/frsc.2022.863385.
 48. Ma, X.; Zhao, Y.; Su, W. When Hosts Meet Guests: Local Residents' Identity Construction amidst Rural Tourism Gentrification. *Ann. Tour. Res.* **2025**, *112*, doi:10.1016/j.annals.2025.103951.
 49. Pratt, S.; Magbalot-Fernandez, A.; Ohe, Y. Motivations and Constraints of Developing Agritourism under the Challenges of Climate Change: The Case of Samoa. *Int. J. Tour. Res.* **2022**, *24*, 610–622, doi:10.1002/jtr.2525.
 50. Hosseini, S.N.; Borimnejad, V.; Rahmani-Fazli, H.; Dehyouri, S. Evaluating the Potentials and Challenges of Agritourism Development in Golestan Province, Iran: A Clustering and Risk Analysis. *Discov. Sustain.* **2025**, *6*, doi:10.1007/s43621-025-00812-x.
 51. Gao, J.; Wu, B. Revitalizing Traditional Villages through Rural Tourism: A Case Study of Yuanjia Village, Shaanxi Province, China. *Tour. Manag.* **2017**, *63*, 223–233, doi:10.1016/j.tourman.2017.04.003.

52. Hisyam, M.A.; Damyati, A.R.; Khambali Hambali, K.B.M.; Toksöz, H. Tri Hita Karana and Islamic Ethics: Bridging Universal Values for Social Harmony and Environmental Sustainability. *Teosof. J. Tasawuf dan Pemikir. Islam* **2024**, *14*, 167–194, doi:10.15642/teosofi.2024.14.2.167-194.
53. Kubontubuh, C.P. Tri Hita Karana, a Spiritual Connection to Nature in Harmony. *J. Siam Soc.* **2023**, *111*, 247–252.
54. Sukanteri, N.P.; Yuniti, I.G.A.D.; Suryana, I.M.; Verawati, Y. The Role of Subak in Managing Farmer Behavior in Realizing Sustainable Agriculture in Bali. *J. Kaji. Bali* **2021**, *11*, 407–426.
55. Ndhlovu, E.; Dube, K. Agritourism and Sustainability: A Global Bibliometric Analysis of the State of Research and Dominant Issues. *J. Outdoor Recreat. Tour.* **2024**, *46*, doi:10.1016/j.jort.2024.100746.
56. Ciolac, R.; Adamov, T.; Iancu, T.; Popescu, G.; Lile, R.; Rujescu, C.; Marin, D. Agritourism-A Sustainable Development Factor for Improving the “health” of Rural Settlements. Case Study Apuseni Mountains Area. *Sustain.* **2019**, *11*, doi:10.3390/su11051467.
57. Meza Jiménez, A.; Parra Vázquez, M.R.; García Barrios, L.; Verschoor, G.; Estrada Lugo, E.I.J. Socio-Environmental Regimes in Natural Protected Areas: A Case Study in La Sepultura Biosphere Reserve. In *Socio-Environmental Regimes and Local Visions: Transdisciplinary Experiences in Latin America*; Springer International Publishing: Department of Agriculture, Society and Environment, El Colegio de la Frontera Sur, Chiapas, San Cristóbal de Las Casas, Mexico, 2020; pp. 291–312 ISBN 9783030497675.
58. Adamov, T.; Ciolac, R.; Iancu, T.; Brad, I.; Peț, E.; Popescu, G.; Șmuleac, L. Sustainability of Agritourism Activity. Initiatives and Challenges in Romanian Mountain Rural Regions. *Sustain.* **2020**, *12*, doi:10.3390/su12062502.
59. Cortés, J.; Vieli, L.; Ibarra, J.T. Family Farming Systems: An Index-Based Approach to the Drivers of Agroecological Principles in the Southern Andes. *Ecol. Indic.* **2023**, *154*, doi:10.1016/j.ecolind.2023.110640.
60. Clark, C.; Nyaupane, G.P.; Xiao, X. Building Community Resilience and Adaptive Capacity Through Investments in Tourism and Conservation. *J. Travel Res.* **2024**, doi:10.1177/00472875241304482.
61. Ciolac, R.; Iancu, T.; Brad, I.; Popescu, G.; Marin, D.; Adamov, T. Agritourism Activity-A “Smart Chance” for Mountain Rural Environment’s Sustainability. *Sustain.* **2020**, *12*, 6237, doi:10.3390/SU12156237.
62. MacRae, G.S.; Arthawiguna, I.W.A. Sustainable Agricultural Development in Bali: Is the Subak an Obstacle, an Agent or Subject? *Hum. Ecol.* **2011**, *39*, 11–20, doi:10.1007/s10745-011-9386-y.
63. Wanner, A.; Pröbstl-Haider, U.; Feilhammer, M. The Future of Alpine Pastures – Agricultural or Tourism Development? Experiences from the German Alps. *J. Outdoor Recreat. Tour.* **2021**, *35*, doi:10.1016/j.jort.2021.100405.
64. Dahlan, M.Z.; Dewi, M.R.; Putri, V.O. The Challenges of Forest Bathing Tourism in Indonesia: A Case Study in Sudaji Village, Bali. *IOP Conf. Ser. Earth Environ. Sci.* **2021**, *918*, doi:10.1088/1755-1315/918/1/012012.
65. Golian, S. Profil osobowy właścicieli gospodarstw agroturystycznych na Roztoczu. *Ann. Univ. Mariae Curie-Skłodowska. Sect. B* **2016**, *71*, 153–164, doi:10.17951/b.2016.71.2.153.
66. Nugraha, A.T.; Prayitno, G.; Hasyim, A.W.; Roziqin, F. Social Capital, Collective Action, and the Development of Agritourism for Sustainable Agriculture in Rural Indonesia. *Evergreen* **2021**, *8*, 1–12, doi:10.5109/4372255.